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Dynamic Ideologies: Insights from the Slow Food Movement

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Abstract

Ideology is the framework in which all consumer decisions are made and as such, an understanding of ideology is important for marketers. There is however, little research which conceptualises either what ideology actually is, or the role that it plays in a marketing context. One of the most obvious problems is the tendency for scholars to treat ideology as static, rather than exploring its dynamic nature.

This thesis examines ideological change in the context of a consumer activist movement. The Slow Food movement is a contemporary example of such a movement and provides an interesting research case for investigating ideology. The research is guided in that it uses a framework provided by new social movement theorist Alberto Melucci to study ideological change. A number of research propositions are derived from this framework about the form, content and role of ideology and how these vary over time. The histories of the Slow Food movement members are therefore ‘told’ in this thesis through the eyes of Melucci’s criteria. A historical methodology is used to search for evidence based on these research propositions. The data is collected at two different levels of analysis: at an organisational level and an individual activist level.

The thesis makes a number of significant theoretical and practical contributions:

- The research provides a comprehensive historical narrative of the Slow Food movement. This includes insights into food activists’ thoughts and behaviours and how these have changed over time.
- The research extends on current marketing conceptualisations of ideology by investigating how it is operationalised in a marketing context. This includes an understanding of how it is co-produced, how it changes over time and how it is used strategically by a consumer activist movement to reach its objectives. In achieving these ends, the research has also extended on several well known marketing concepts and theories by applying them to the research context of ideology.
The research overviews the work done in marketing to date on consumer activist movements and suggests the new title 'consumer activist movement theory' for this body of literature. Building on this, the research then shows how consumer activist movements can be conceptualised as a subset of social movements and how these can be differentiated from other types of collective actions that occur in the marketplace. A systematically logical and simple way of differentiating between different types of consumer activist movements is identified.

The research emphasises the importance of ideology as a leadership resource and provides consumer activist movement leaders with the knowledge of how to approach and assess their movement's ideology.

The major finding of this thesis is that Melucci's framework for evaluating ideology — when used in conjunction with a number of marketing theories such as tribal marketing— is useful in helping marketers understand ideological change in the context of contemporary consumer activist movements. Future research could investigate if this framework can be extended into other contexts such as understanding the ideologies of political parties.
Preface

Before reading the history which follows, it is important to understand both the background of the person who wrote it and the philosophical stance from which it has been approached.

I was both a food enthusiast and ecological activist long before I had ever heard of Slow Food. Therefore I was delighted to discover in 2006 that an international non-for-profit organisation existed which was centred on the concept of 'ecological-gastronomy', a combination of two of my personal passions. Curious to find out more about this organisation and the work that they do, I read a book called the *Slow Food Revolution: A New Culture for Eating and Living* (c.f. 2006) which takes readers on a gastronomic journey through the history of the Slow Food organisation. What really struck me in this book was how much the organisation had evolved within the relatively short time-span of approximately 30 years. I was fascinated as to how an organisation originating in the Italian Communist Party with a mandate to promote the right to pleasure, had become the international leader in ecological and social food activism that it is today. In fact I was so fascinated that this was to become the subject of my PhD thesis! After sending my subscription fee off to the official organisational headquarters in Italy at the start of 2007, I officially became a Slow Food member.

Even though I am an advocate of Slow Food principles and values, the ultimate aim of undertaking this particular historical study was to try and comprehend the changes in the movement’s ideology which I had found so interesting. Although the findings of this thesis will be of interest for the Slow Food organisation’s leaders, this history was not written especially for such utilitarian purposes, nor did I have any interest in arriving at one conclusion over another.

Rather the aim of this thesis has been to uncover the story of ideological change and to communicate this historical argument by presenting an objective narrative. While striving for such objectivity, I do however accept that there are limitations which prevent historians ever truly knowing or presenting the social past with any absolute certainty given the fact that we
always see the past through our own personal dispositions. In the discipline of marketing this approach is referred to as interpretive.

The purpose of presenting this summary of my history with the Slow Food movement and my philosophical position with respect to understanding the past, has not been to defend these viewpoints as this is not the focus of this thesis. Rather, by disclosing upfront my background and the epistemological stance of the thesis, it allows the reader to follow the chain of reasoning that is presented in this thesis.

A number of thanks must go out at this stage to everyone who has supported me through this challenging but immensely satisfying PhD journey. Firstly, thank you Romain, for your constant encouragement and your absolute confidence in my ability to succeed. Secondly, thank you little Luca, for showing such incredible patience in the first year of your life while your mum finished off her thesis. Thirdly, thank you mum and dad, for teaching me the value of education and for all the amazing opportunities you have given me throughout my life. Fourthly, thank you Rob and Ben. I could not have hoped for better supervisors than the two of you. I have learnt so much from you both and have always enjoyed our meetings together discussing not only theories and literature, but gardening, chickens and our favourite dishes. Fifthly, to all the members of the official Slow Food organisation in Bra Italy, who were more than happy to not only talk with me at length about the realities and the aspirations of their movement, but who were also happy to bend the rules a little by allowing me to sit in on their International Councillors Meeting in Switzerland. Lastly, to everyone else I interviewed, thank you. I am privileged to have had the chance to talk with such passionate people.
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<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>Slow Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member SFO</td>
<td>(Official) Member of the Slow Food Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member SFM</td>
<td>(Unofficial) Member of the Slow Food Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arci</td>
<td>The Italian Recreational and Cultural Association <em>[Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana]</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCI</td>
<td>Italian Communist Party <em>[Partito Comunista Italiano]</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>GMO</td>
<td>Genetically Modified Organism</td>
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Chapter 1  Introduction

1.1. Background to the Research

Understanding consumption requires that researchers also be aware of the social movements that stand in opposition to it (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004). Social movements play an important role in initiating many of the changes that appear in the marketplace because "they are not necessarily limited to, or bound by the rules of the game and the institutionalization of dominant values and norms" (Castells, 1983, p. 294). Pressure from the Animal Rights, Fair Trade and Environmental movements, for example, has resulted in recent changes in supermarkets (e.g. increases in the availability of free range and fair trade products and in the number of recyclable shopping bags used). As such, researching social movements offers exciting insights into what is happening in the marketplace today and also has the potential to obtain an understanding of any changes likely to happen in the future. As well as being key sources of innovation, movements also help us understand the creation of social action, including individual action (Melucci, 1992), and thus the analysis of these offers a range of theoretical concepts and tools that can be applied in marketing beyond the field of collective action.

While the analysis of movements provides the opportunity for the exploration of new possibilities, a review of the marketing literature reveals that the work which attempts to theorise social movements is inconsistent and incomplete. Literature in the area is not only sparse but it is also mainly descriptive with little reference to substantiated theory. Ideology, for example, has been highlighted as a key analytical level for the understanding of movements (Melucci, 1992) and the concept has been theorised extensively in other social sciences. The study of movement ideology is an especially critical level of analysis for marketers as not only does ideology define a movement but it is also its product. Ideology is what a movement uses to brand itself, to position itself against an adversary and to recruit new members. Therefore, to be able to understand movements, marketers must understand their ideologies. However there has been relatively little discussion amongst researchers in the marketing domain about what ideology actually is and how it may be used in a marketing context. There appears to be two main reasons for this paucity of research into ideology within marketing. Firstly, there is a lack of marketing theory in the area of social movements where the study of ideology would most naturally occur. Secondly, it
seems that in a somewhat non-confrontational manner, marketing as a discipline has yet to face up to the concept of ideology. Rather than posing the difficult and messy questions which threaten to undermine the fundamental basis upon which the discipline is based, marketing scholars have tended to put it into a basket with other concepts which may be considered as too hard and too dangerous. In a discipline which has long been overshadowed by the dominant ontology, epistemology and methodology ideologies of positivism, new voices are starting to be heard by feminist, post-modern and critical theorists (c.f. Hirschman’s 1993 article which presents a Marxist and Feminist Critique of ideology in Consumer Research between 1980 and 1990). These voices question the hegemonic consensus of the economic role of marketing. As such, research which ventures into further exploration of ideology in marketing is timely. Generally speaking, in marketing, the concept of ideology remains incomplete on a number of grounds. Most importantly, little consideration has been given to the dynamism of ideologies, despite the fact that it is logical to assume that ideologies do change, just as goals shift over time as people extend them. Thus this thesis investigates the interaction between social movements and their dynamic ideologies.

This is done by investigating how and why the content and the role of the ideologies of a social movement change over time, with the Slow Food (SF) movement serving as a case study for this research. The SF movement is a contemporary social movement that is concerned with a range of issues concerning food such quality, taste, environmental/cultural sustainability and social justice. The concept of SF evolved in a world shaken by major events such as the Gulf war, the tragedy of the Balkans and the end of the Soviet Union. During these years of international turmoil “strong ideologies were replaced by special interests — expressions of ‘weak thought’ — that defended interests related to a specific problem” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.136). Undermining traditional political categorisations, SF defended the right to material and convivial pleasure and by doing so positioned itself away from its Leftist origins. This move away from traditional politics and the focus on changing dominant normative and cultural codes made SF an organisation very characteristic of its time. Other single issue movements that emerged in the 1970s/1980s (in the wake of the student protests of the 1960s) include, for example, the Peace movement, the Environmental movement, Second-wave Feminism, the Anti-Nuclear Movement, the Anti-globalisation movement and the Animal Rights movement. Like SF, these movements seek recognition for new identities and lifestyles and as such they are often referred to in the social movement literature as ‘identity-based’ or ‘new’ social movements (Castells, 1997;
Cohen, 1985; Melucci, 1985, 1989; Offe, 1985; Touraine, 1981; Touraine, 2002 as well as Laraña, Johnston & Gusfield 1994 overview). There are various conceptualisations of identity-orientated movements most of which converge around three main points (Diani, 1992, p. 17): “these movements are networks of relations between a plurality of actors, collective identity and conflictual issues”.

The conceptualisation of the SF movement (and by analogy other ‘identity-based’ or ‘new’ social movements) includes a multiplicity of different organisations, interest groups and individuals. The initiator and main driver of the movement is the SF organisation which has attracted over 100,000 subscribed members who belong to the 1000 local chapters in over 150 countries since it officially become an international organisation in 1989 (SF.Editore, 2009). The international organisation runs a number of major events such as ‘Salone del Gusto’, an enormous food exhibition that draws over 150,000 visitors to Turin, Italy every other year. Each of the organisation’s nine national associations (in Italy, France, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, UK, Japan, USA and Australia) also hosts a range of events. For example, in 2008, SF USA held ‘Slow Food Nation’, an event promoted by food celebrity Alice Waters which attracted over 85,000 people to experience taste workshops and lectures on sustainable food issues (SF.Nation, 2009). The organisation’s ideology is nicely summed up by the marketing slogan that they use “good, clean and fair” which means that “the food we eat should taste good; it should be produced in a clean way that does not harm the environment, animal welfare or human health; and its producers should receive fair compensation for their work” (Malatesta, Mesmain, Weiner, & Yang, 2005, p. 3). This ideology has evolved since SF began as the president of the SF movement Carlo Petrini explains: “[Its] a result of our twenty-year journey.... While respecting our original search for pleasure and taste, it includes the ever more urgent ecological and social issues emerging around the world” (SF.Editore, 2009, online).

The SF movement is an appropriate case study for a number of reasons:
1. Research which ventures into exploration of food consumer activist movements is overdue in marketing. While much previous research has been done in consumer research on the subject of food — for example the work on food-related lifestyle segments (Cicia, Del Giudice, & Scarpa, 2002; Grunert, 1996; Grunert, Brunso, & Bisp, 1993) — in light of the pressing issues that the food industry currently face, further research in this area is timely. These issues include a demand for better quality healthy and authentic food (Schifferstein & Pam, 1998), rising concerns about food safety (Ruth
& Yeung, 2001), environmental issues relating to food production and food miles (Hinrichs, 2003), concerns about farmers’ welfare (De Pelsmacker, Driesen, & Rayp, 2005) and animal welfare (Schröder & McEachern, 2004). All of these issues fall under the scope of concern of the SF Movement and it is this diversity which makes SF an exciting case study.

2. The ideologies of the SF movement have quite obviously undergone change in recent years moving from a focus on gastronomy (good food), to the environment (clean food), to social justice (fair food) issues. As the research aims to examine ideological change over time, the SF movement is a relevant case study to use.

3. In order to analyse movement ideology, this thesis borrows a framework from the new social movement literature to help guide the research. This framework has been used previously to analyse movements such as the Women’s movement and the Peace movement. Such movements have a strong grassroots structure and are made up of many small groups. This is in contrast with the SF movement which provides a good example of a mixture of organisation and social movement. SF is a highly hierarchical organisation and at the same time it has what one could call a ‘movement identity’ and it uses social movement strategies (Hjelmar, 1996). In order to be able to determine the usefulness of the framework for analysing ideological change in the context of consumer activist movements, it is important to pick a case that is not too close to the ones that it has already been used to analyse. Thus, SF provides not only an exciting and relevant case but a theoretically important case as well.

Within a movement such as this, a number of different types of members exist. To help understand who these different members are it is useful to consider the tribal marketing work of Cova and Cova (2002) which appears to provide the most robust classification that is suitable to a consumer context. Based largely on Maffesoli’s (1996) ideas on neotribalism, Cova and Cova (2002) wrote an article entitled Tribal marketing: The tribalisation of society and its impact on the conduct of marketing, in which they postulate that tribal members can adopt four roles (see Figure 1): (1) a ‘member’ of institutions (associations); (2) a ‘participant’ in informal gatherings (demonstrations, happening), (3) a ‘practitioner’ or adept who has quasi-daily involvement in tribal activities; and (4) a ‘sympathiser’ who moves with the vogues and trends and is marginally/virtually integrated into the tribe. Tribes are “societal micro-groups, in which individuals share strong emotional links, a common subculture, a vision of life” (Cova & Cova, 2002, p. 599). While the relationship between consumer tribes and consumer movements has not yet been fully explored, Cova
and Dalli (2007) do mix the stream of literature on consumer resistance with that on consumer tribes and present a resulting concept they term "communal resistance". Furthermore, Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007) have referred to the anti-capitalist movement 'Reclaim the Streets' as a type of tribe. This thesis conceptualises consumer movements as a special type of tribe and attempts to apply this categorisation of tribal members to the context of the SF movement.

With the aim of the thesis being to investigate ideological change, it is natural to turn to the social movement literature on movement ideologies for guidance, given that well established and rich theories of movement ideologies exist in this literature. Different paradigms of sociological approaches to social movements (e.g. resource mobilisation, social construction and new social movement) have dealt with ideology in a number of different ways. The third of these paradigms — new social movement theory — is rooted in European traditions of social theory and political philosophy and emerged as a response to the inadequacies of classical Marxism for analysing collective action (Cohen, 1985; Klandermas, 1993). Opposing the classical reductionism of Marxism (which relied on analysing social movements in terms of production) new social movement theorists have turned to the spheres of culture, politics and ideologies. It is because of this emphasis on the cultural sphere and the fact that consumerist elements are often included into analyses, that new social movement theories provide the most useful framework for analysing the ideologies of contemporary consumer activist movements such as SF. The strength of the new social movement paradigm to inform marketing theory has been recognised by scholars working in the area of anti-consumption. For example, Cherrier and Murray's (2002) study
conceptualises the Voluntary Simplifier movement as a new social movement; Kozinets (2002) used new social movement theorist Turner to analyse the activists at the burning man festival; and Kozinets and Handleman (2004) used Touraine (1977, 1981) and Melucci (1989, 1996) as the theoretical basis for their study investigating the ideologies of the Anti-Advertising, Anti-Nike and Anti-GE Food movements. Although the new social movement literature is referred to as a paradigm, it is a vast and diverse literature. Thus for the purpose of theoretical focus the analysis in this thesis will rely solely on the work of the Italian new social movement theorist Melucci (1943-2001). Melucci was a Professor of Cultural Sociology and a Professor of Clinical Psychology at the University of Milan and is considered to be a key new social movement theorist (Buechler, 1995).

Melucci works from within a social constructivist paradigm, and he has published prolifically with more than ten books and many journal articles. He belongs to a generation of prominent European theorists (namely, Touraine, Eder and Offe) who emphasise the centrality of collective identity for understanding social movements. Melucci's basic claim is that collective action is produced and his theory critiques the reified notion of social movements as "unified empirical datum" (Melucci, 1989, p. 227). Instead, Melucci (1989) believes collective phenomena (including social movements) are the outcome of various processes through which actors produce meanings, negotiate and make decisions. Melucci's theories are considered to be "a highly original attempt to synthesize and evaluate the best current European and North American research on social movements" (Keane & Mier, cited in Melucci, 1989, p. 5) and "a rich source of suggestive hypotheses" (Polletta, 1997, p. 683). A number of authors have indeed rearticulated Melucci's conceptualisations of social movements in other fields (c.f. Carroll, 1992; Foweraker, 1995; Laraña, Johnston, & Gusfeld, 1994; Porta, Donatella, & Diani, 1999; Purdue, Dürrschmidt, Jowers, & O'Doherty, 1997; Schneirov & Geczik, 1996). After his death, a conference was held at the Faculties of Sociology and Social Work, University of Trento titled ‘In Memory of Alberto Melucci’, illustrating the influence that his work has had on the field. As part of his sociological theory of social movements Melucci presents a framework for assessing the makeup of movement ideologies and how these change over time (Melucci’s theoretical and conceptual innovations are overviewed in detail in Subsection 2.3.1).

1 Melucci’s constructivist approach addresses how individuals get involved in collective action as well as how actors construct collective action and unity within a social context (Melucci, 1989). It is a psychological approach which is not to be confused with the sociological approach of social constructionism (which is more concerned with the development of collective action relative to social contexts).
The main argument for using Melucci’s work on ideology as a theoretical basis for this thesis (as opposed to work by other key new social movement theorists such as Touraine, Castells and Habermas) is that it considers the dynamic nature of ideology (further justification for selecting Melucci’s framework is outlined in Subsection 2.2.2). While Melucci’s work on ideology is recognised as the most promising for developing a perspective on consumer movement ideology in marketing, Melucci’s approach has not yet lead to a substantial number of specific analyses (Bartholomew & Mayer, 1992). A handful of reasons have been suggested for this. For example, Poletta (1991, p. 682) suggests that this may be due to the fact that American sociologists are somewhat wary of “sweeping generalisations and speculative analysis” and therefore they find Melucci’s works discomforting. Other scholars (e.g. Bartholomew & Mayer, 1992; Vahabzadeh, 2001) have suggested that Melucci’s conceptualisations still need to be more finely tuned. The empirical findings of this thesis will provide insights into a movement (SF) which is quite a different movement from those that Melucci investigated which included Youth, Women’s, Ecological and Neo-Religious movements. As such, the findings of this thesis will help to develop and fine tune Melucci’s framework of ideology by evaluating it in a more challenging environment.

1.2. Research Question

The following research question will guide this thesis:

How and why have the form, content and role of the ideology of the SF movement changed over time?

The research question necessitates a research design which is a combination of description and explanation and that can capture a dynamic evolutionary concept such as change. Therefore, the research question is approached in this thesis by using the historical method (see Section 1.3 and Chapter 4 for further explanation) to investigate SF ideologies.

The research will be guided, in that it will entail searching for evidence around a number of research propositions. These are used as research agendas which provide a chain of reasoning and it is these that help to conceptualise and thus operationalise ideology by
providing the processes to identify and categorise ideological change. The justification for this approach is that relevant solid theory already exists in sociology and therefore, instead of re-creating the wheel so to speak by generating a whole new subset of theory, it is preferable to use what already exists and see if it is pertinent in a new research context (in this case the new context is consumer activist movements as opposed to social movements). As such, research propositions based in Melucci's (1996) framework of ideology will guide this research (see Section 2.3).

1.3. Methodology

A historical research method adopted from Shafer (1974) is used in this thesis as is shown in Figure 2.

![Figure 2 Outline of the Historical Method Employed in this Research](image)

The first step — to identify the research topic — has been introduced in Section 1.2 and the research propositions are presented in Subsection 2.3.1.

The second step is to collect historical data. In this thesis, the focus is on ideologies as they are located in language (linguistic symbols, textual, spoken discourse). The historical data is collected at two different levels. Firstly at the organisational level (the
textual production of the SF organisation produced by activists, committees and functionaries such as movement leaders and movement intellectuals at various levels of the organisation). Secondly, at the individual activist level (the production of speech by the different types of movement members). The organisational level data is a mix of secondary data found in SF archives, documents and publications and primary data which the researcher obtained by attending a SF organisation Meeting of International Councillors in Switzerland in 2008. The individual activist level data is primary data collected in semi-structured interviews which the researcher conducted with 23 members from either the SF organisation or the wider SF movement. The researcher searched for evidence (in both the organisational texts and the interviews) based around the research propositions derived from Melucci’s framework of ideology. Subsection 4.2.3 provides more details on the data collection method used in this thesis.

The third step is the integration and analysis of the data. Historical materials that can be analysed as evidence can take many forms depending on the ontological and epistemological beliefs of the researcher (see Exhibit 10 in Subsection 4.1.1). Given the interpretive stance of the thesis, the historical materials which are selected to build the historical argument are contextualised within Melucci’s theoretical framework as the primary means to reveal reality. Therefore, once again the research propositions are used to structure the analysis (these are explained in more detail in Subsection 4.2.3).

The fourth step involves the preparation and communication of the historical argument. A narrative structure is adopted for the purpose of this thesis and both chronological and topical periodisation (the process whereby the historian divides up the story into relevant sections) is used to communicate the findings (see Subsection 4.2.2). These findings relate to the concept of ideology, the SF movement, Melucci’s framework for analysing ideological change and a range of marketing theories such as tribal marketing and diffusion of innovation.

1.4. Key Definitions

The following definitions are used throughout this thesis:
Ideology (of a Movement): Is a set of symbolic frames (that comprise an identity, an opposition and a totality) that are used by members to represent their own actions to themselves and to others (adapted from Melucci, 1996a p.349) (see Section 2.3).

A Social Movement: The mobilisation of a collective actor (i) defined by specific solidarity, (ii) engaged in a conflict with an adversary for the appropriation and control of resources valued by both of them, and (iii) whose action entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action itself takes place (Melucci, 1996a p. 29/30) (see Subsection 3.2.1).

A Consumer Activist Movement: A social movement whose objectives focus on the marketplace and changing consumption practices (see Subsection 3.2.1).

The Consumer Movement: It is the movement that aims to increase consumer power vis-à-vis sellers of products or services (Kotler, 1972b). It is also known as the Consumerism movement (see Subsection 3.1.2).

The SF Movement: A consumer activist movement that is concerned with a range of issues concerning food such quality, taste, environmental/cultural sustainability and social justice. Included in the movement are:

- The SF organisation and a range of other networks and associations (e.g. producers of trademarked SF products), outlets (e.g. SF restaurants) and groups that offer related services (e.g. SF cooking classes or wine tastings). Note that these other groups may or may not be linked to the SF organisation.
- A whole spectrum of people including those who are involved in institutionalised forms of protest such as the SF organisation, as well as those who are involved in more individualistic forms of protest.

Throughout the thesis, members of the SF movement are referred to as members^{SFM} (see Subsection 3.2.1).

The SF Organisation: A formal manifestation of the wider SF movement. It has attracted over 100,000 subscribed members which belong to the 1000 local chapters in over 150 countries since it officially become an international organisation in 1989 (SF/Editore, 2009). This organisation has played a very central role in both initiating and promoting the wider SF movement. The words “Slow Food” and the organisation’s logo (a snail) are registered
trademarks and producers/retailers wishing to use the SF label are subject to the organisation's certification process. Throughout the thesis, members of the SF organisation are referred to as members\textsuperscript{SFO} (see Subsection 3.2.2).

1.5. Delimitations of Scope and Key Assumptions

The following points help to understand the scope of this research:

- The object of analysis in this thesis is ideology.
- The units of analysis in this thesis are the SF movement and the SF organisation.
- The tool used for analysis is Melucci's framework of ideological change.
- The method used to conduct the analysis is historical method.
- The approach used in this analysis is interpretive and therefore the findings of this thesis may not necessarily be generalisable to all other consumer activist movements. However it is reasonable to expect that some key findings can be carried over to other similar oppositional movements.

There are a number of assumptions regarding the historical method chosen. For example, this thesis assumes that:

- The truth can be approached but never proved (meaning that historians can make propositions about the past that are reliable to varying degrees).
- A data-theory approach is the best way to reveal historical reality.
- A middle ground position in the "structural versus agency debate" is the most realistic.

These and other such assumptions are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

1.6. Contributions that this Thesis Makes

First and foremost, this thesis makes a number of significant contributions to marketing theory. With regards to theory on ideology, these contributions include:

- An extension of current conceptualisations of ideology (by investigating how they change over time).
• An extension of several well known marketing concepts and theories (by applying these to a new research context).
• The introduction of a framework which helps operationalise ideology in a marketing context.

With regards to theory on consumer activist movements, these contributions include:
• A synthesising overview of the consumer activist movement theory literature.
• A workable definition of consumer activist movements.
• A suggestion on how to differentiate between various types of consumer activist movements.

This thesis also makes practical contributions to members of consumer activist movements. The research provides consumer activist movement leaders with the knowledge of how to approach and assess their movement’s ideology. Such knowledge will help leaders to better position and brand their movement and increase their chances of achieving the change they desire.

1.7. Outline of this Thesis

Following this introduction chapter, the thesis is divided into a further seven chapters. The relationship between these is illustrated in Figure 3.

Chapter 2 deals with the concept of ideology and includes an overview of the intellectual history of ideology. It also looks at the contemporary uses of ideology in social science disciplines generally and marketing in particular. The work of the new social theorist Alberto Melucci is introduced in this chapter which presents a broad overview of his theoretical and conceptual innovations and a more detailed presentation of his framework for assessing ideology.

Chapter 3 reviews the existing work on consumer activist movements and then presents an appropriate way to conceptualise and classify them.

Chapter 4 details and justifies the methodology used to collect and analyse the data.
Chapter 5 outlines the history of the SF organisation by presenting a chronological overview of key events and key change and provides insights into the form of SF ideology.

Chapter 6 investigates the changing content and role of SF ideology at both the organisational and individual activist level.

Chapter 7 is a discussion considering the implications of the research findings in light of the literature overviewed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by highlighting the contributions, the key findings, limitations and opportunities for future research.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: The Concept of Ideology

Chapter 3: Consumer Activist Movements

Chapter 4: Methodological Issues

Chapter 5: History of the SF Organisation and Insights into the Form of SF Ideology

Chapter 6: The Changing Content and Role of SF Ideology

Chapter 7: Discussion

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Figure 3 The Relationship Between Chapters in the Thesis
Chapter 2  The Concept of Ideology

It has been noted that ideology is to be the object of analysis in this study. What exactly however, does the term ‘ideology’ mean? The range of definitions that exist show that scholars are often referring to very different things when they talk about ideology. This ubiquity of ideology in academic discourse is taken as a starting point of analysis and Exhibit 1 provides five widely accepted definitions of ideology in the social science literature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“It represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence”</td>
<td>Althusser, 1971, p. 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“An explicit, consciously held belief system”</td>
<td>Putnam, 1971, p. 655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience”</td>
<td>Geertz, 1973, p. 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The ways in which meaning (or signification) serve to sustain relations of domination”</td>
<td>Thompson, 1984, p. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ideologies [are] those systems of political thinking, loose or rigid, deliberate or unintended, through which individuals and groups construct an understanding of the political world they, or those who preoccupy their thought, inhibit, and then act on that understanding”</td>
<td>Freedan, 1996, p. 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exhibit 1 Definitions of Ideology

Although the most common usage of ideology is, perhaps, in political discourse, many other types of ideologies exist including social, ethical, environmental and epistemological ideologies. It thus becomes evident that there exists an enormous and somewhat frustrating proliferation of meanings for the term ideology. It is however possible to find some common threads and Guess (1981) has suggested a distinction between the three different definitions of the term ideology — descriptive, pejorative and positive — which are now discussed in turn.

Firstly, the descriptive definitions of ideology are purely explanatory and they discuss this concept in a neutral sense. In this context, the concept of ideologies is close to the concept of worldview. Minar (1961) describes six different ways in which the word ‘ideology’ has been used: 1. as a collection of certain ideas with certain kinds of content, usually normative; 2. as the form or internal logical structure that ideas have within a set; 3. by the role in which ideas play in human-social interaction; 4. by the role that ideas play in
the structure of an organisation; 5. as meaning, whose purpose is persuasion; and 6. as the locus of social interaction.

Secondly, the pejorative definitions of ideology refer critically or negatively to the relations of power and maintaining dominance. If the motivation is unconscious then this is considered as self-deception. Here ideology means ideas which are fundamentally flawed.

Thirdly, the positive definitions of ideology consider the concept in a more favourable light. Eagleton (1991, p. 44) describes that here ideologies mean “a set of beliefs which coheres and inspires a specific group or class in the pursuit of political interests judged to be desirable”. It is this positive sense that ideology is defined in this thesis. As was stated in Section 1.4, an adapted version of Melucci’s definition (1996, p. 349) is used in this thesis. This is:

Ideology is a set of symbolic frames which collective actors use to represent their own actions to themselves and to others within a system of social relationships in the pursuit of interests judged to be desirable.

While it is not practical to review in depth the immense body of literature concerning ideology, it is important that any attempt to analyse the concept of ideology proceeds through a historically informed analysis. As such, Chapter 2 aims to familiarise readers with the concept of ideology by considering its intellectual history (Section 2.1) and its contemporary usage in general (Section 2.2). The chapter finishes with an overview of Melucci’s works, with particular attention given to his framework of ideology (Section 2.3).

2.1. History of Ideology

Firstly, this section summaries the historical origins of ideology. Secondly, Marx’s theory of ideology is presented. Thirdly, a number of traditions of the usage of ideology are discussed which include the Marxist and non-Marxist approaches as well as the structuralist and historicist approaches to the concept of ideology.
2.1.1. The Historical Origins of the Concept of Ideology

The term ideology has a very long and complicated history. A number of scholars have traced the historical origins of the concept of ideology and this and the next subsection draws heavily from Lorrain’s 1979 book *The Concept of Ideology*. Ideology as a concept is often linked back to Machiavelli (1460-1527) who, despite not using the term, is believed to be one of the first authors that wrote of matters which are directly connected with ideological phenomena such as the linkages between religion, power, domination and the use of force and fraud in order to get and maintain power. Influenced particularly by the ideas of French philosopher Helvétius (1715-71), Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), who was a French philosopher of the Enlightenment period who developed a way of systematising a science of ideas, coined the actual term ideology in 1796 and used it to refer to the objective study of experiences and to the theory of ideas in general. The term first took on its negative connotation in 1803 when Napoleon Bonaparte attacked the principles of the Enlightenment as ‘ideology’ and accused his intellectual opponents of being ideologues. This usage of the term in a negative sense as a term of abuse was reinforced in a number of works by 19th century thinkers including Comte (1798-1857) and Feuerbach (1804-1872).

2.1.2. Marx and the Coming of Age of Ideology

From Machiavelli, via Helvétius, de Tracy and Napoleon, to Comte and Feuerbach, ideology was always theorised to be a psychological distortion of sorts which occurred at the level of cognition. When Marx adopted the term ideology along with its pejorative meaning, he reconceptualised ideology as an instrument of social reproduction. Thus, the concept lost all traces of psychologism and this is why it is often said that with Marx the term ideology came of age (Lorrain, 1979). It was only after Marx’s new formulation of the concept in his 1845 works such as *Theses on Feuerbach* and *German Ideology*, where he uses the term to refer to the misrepresentation of the appropriate relationship between productive functions and consciousness (Manning, 1980), that the study of ideology as a battleground for struggle and social change began.

Marx proposes a base-superstructure model of society, with the base representing production and the superstructure representing knowledge, ideology, politics and religion. Marx emphasises that it is the production relations, more than all the other social relations that are the most important in that they determine all the other relations. The activity of production creates both what he terms ‘knowledge of nature’ and ‘knowledge of society’.
While knowledge of nature may benefit all classes, the knowledge of society is produced and reproduced by the ruling class of the period. This idea that a society's dominant ideology is a part of its economic superstructure, is one of the key premises on which Marx’s conceptualisation of ideology is based and is witnessed in the following well known passage:

The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. In so far, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch (Karl Marx 1904 in McLellan, 1977, p. 389).

This key Marxist idea, that social beings determine consciousness (as opposed to the consciousness of men determining their being) leads directly on to another one of Marx’s important concepts which is theoretically linked with the concept of dominant ideology: false consciousness. As aforementioned, the ruling class (who Marx spoke of as the bourgeois) were understood to have full ideological control over the subordinate class (termed the proletariat). The result of this is that the subordinate classes are not aware that they are under such control and hence they make sense of their individual circumstances in terms dictated by the dominant ideology. Thus ideology becomes a false consciousness, portraying a false reality.

While the notion of ideology as illusory knowledge was obviously of fundamental importance in Marx’s model of society, he doesn’t really formulate a comprehensive theory of ideology per se, at least not to the same extent as for example his theory of history (Rudé, 1980). Some scholars also noted that despite Marx’s frequent use of the term ideology (in his work Ideologie for example, he employs the term about 50 times), no normative, descriptive or real definition as such of the concept is provided (McLellan, 1986). Despite this, the Marxist view of ideology thought as a subjective instrument of social reproduction has been hugely influential in all corners of social science research to date.

2.1.3. Ideology after Marx

As has been outlined, ideology has a long intellectual history and according to Geering, who has conducted an extensive review on the subject, “virtually all social theorists, linguists and political philosophers worth their salt now have a concept of ideology” (1997, p. 962). While this makes a review of the traditions of usage across the board an enormous and
somewhat onerous task, the following subsection takes on this challenge which is fundamental to be able to obtain a coherent and informed understanding of the concept of ideology. The influence of Marx's notion of ideology has been far-reaching and a large number of researchers have followed in the Marxist tradition of scholarship. However, alternative debates about ideology have also been occurring parallel to the Marxist school of thought. The prominent authors on ideology and the manner in which they conceptualised the concept are now discussed according to the following criteria: the Marxist tradition and the non-Marxist tradition. Such a categorisation is well used in the sociology literature by scholars discussing the concept of ideology (c.f. Eccleshall, 2004; Lorrain, 1979; Nielsen, 1989).

**Marxist Research Tradition**

Even within the Marxist tradition of scholarship on ideology there exists much diversity. This stems in part due to the inconsistencies that arose in Marx's own usage of the term throughout his life's writings. Two main orientations are recognisable (Lorrain, 1979): The Engelsian tradition in which more reductionist type theories can be located; and the historicist approach. These two orientations are now discussed in turn.

The Engelsian research tradition arose from Engels interpretation of Marx. Engels criticised the oversimplification of Marx's base-superstructure theory, in which production (Engels refers to this as the economic factor) is considered to be the most important factor and the superstructure (i.e. knowledge, ideology, religion and politics) is merely an effect of this cause. While Engels' critique was continued by the likes of the Italian theoreticians Labriola and Plekhanov, it was reversed by another Russian revolutionary, Lenin. Instead, Lenin emphasised the importance of the economic factor, suggesting that all consciousness is reduced to its economic conditions. It is important to note here that the first usage of the concept of ideology in a neutral sense can be traced back to Lenin who wrote of socialist ideologies and class ideologies, implying that the term had come to represent both false and true forms of consciousness. Hence Lenin's treatment of ideology stripped the term of its previous critical connotations and introduced a much more general and positive concept that covered a wide range of social and political thought (Lorrain, 1979). Characteristic of this particular scholarly tradition is its positivist tendencies and adherence to the pejorative conceptualisation of ideology. Another important notion of these orthodox Marxists is that science has the answers to everything we need to know, provided that it is not distorted by reactionary class interests (Lichtheim, 1967).
The Historicist research tradition opposes the reductionist thinking that is found in the Engelsian tradition. Historicist scholars reject the interpretation of Marx and Engels as economic determinists and emphasise the importance of ideology as the founding principle of social unity. In this approach it is possible to locate Gramsci and Lukács, two of the most influential Marxist theorists who are often credited with founding the tradition of Western Marxism (Lorrain, 1979). Gramsci (1891–1937) — who was an Italian political theorist — conceptualised ideology as class world-views. Perhaps his most important contribution to conceptualisations of the concept of ideology was his theorising on the relationship between ideology and the state in his notion of class hegemony. Here one class was able to maintain moral and intellectual control over another class by controlling culture and ideology (cited in Forgacs, 2002). Lukács was a Hungarian philosopher who maintained that ideology is best understood as not only a consequence of the economic structure (as it is understood in the Engelsian tradition), but also as a precondition of it (Lorrain, 1979). As such, Lukács (1920) reasons that ideologies are in fact, a reflection of reality. He is also well known for his notion of the revolutionary subject. Influenced by these ideas was Mannheim, one of the founding fathers of classical sociology who amalgamated Lukács’ position with that of Weber’s. From this standpoint, Mannheim proposes a ‘sociology of knowledge’, which is heavily influenced by Marx’s theory of ideology. However Mannheim is careful to differentiate himself from Marx by encouraging a positive conceptualisation of ideology. In his work *Ideology and Utopia*, Mannheim (1936) suggests that as all ideologies result from social life and are shaped by the environment in which they were constructed, it is appropriate to broaden the term ideology accordingly. After Marx, Mannheim’s use of the term ideology is perhaps the most influential today (Manning, 1980). The French structuralist Althusser adopts the broader sense of the term ideology and his theory of ideology (where ideologies are primarily a question of lived relations) has been hugely influential. Ideology, Althusser claims, “expresses a will, a hope or a nostalgia, rather than describing a reality” (1969, p. 234). Thus according to Eagleton (1991), Althusser introduces a shift from a cognitive to an affective theory of ideology where he claims that ideological statements are subjective but universal: on the one hand ideologies make us uniquely what we are and on the other hand they provide a kind of universal truth.

**Non-Marxist Research Tradition**

There are two main orientations that can be distinguished in the literature on ideology which follows the Non-Marxist tradition, both of which are concerned with subjective processes:
The psychological conception of ideology and the Baconian tradition. The psychological conception of ideology is best represented by Freud and Pareto who do not use the term, but nevertheless discuss the concept (Lorrain, 1979). Contrary to the Marxist approach where ideology is seen as being determined by factors in society such as production, theorists of the psychological tradition separate ideology from historical social contradictions and look for it instead in human nature in the psychical structure of the individual mind. An ideology may be seen not simply as expressing social interests but as rationalising them. Pareto for example, suggests that ideologies are affective and irrational in nature and as such all theoretical ideology is a sort of elaborate rationalisation (Eagleton, 1991).

While according to the psychological approach, ideology is seen as an innate characteristic found in the individual psyche, in the Baconian tradition ideology it is represented in the collective consciousness (Lorrain, 1979). This tradition is best represented by the theorist Durkheim. Durkheim characterised the ‘ideological method’ as consisting of “the use of notions to govern the collation of facts rather than deriving notions from them” (1982, p. 86). Although Durkheim does not provide a theory of ideology as such, he does lay the foundations of a positivist conception of ideology in which ideology is postulated as being in contrast with science.

These authors which have been discussed along with a number of other prominent authors of ideology are summarised in Exhibit 2 which is categorised according to the Marxist and the Non-Marxist research traditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marxist Research Tradition</th>
<th>Non-Marx Research Tradition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Engelsian Tradition</strong> (reductionist)</td>
<td><strong>Psychoanalytic Tradition</strong> (ideology as an individualistic trait)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Engels: 1820-1895</td>
<td>• Pareto: 1838-1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Labriola: 1843-1904</td>
<td>• Freud: 1856-1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kautsky: 1854-1938</td>
<td><strong>Baconian Tradition</strong> (ideology is represented in the collective consciousness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Plekhanov: 1856-1918</td>
<td>• Durkheim: 1858-1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lenin: 1870-1924</td>
<td>• Foucault: 1926-1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Historicist Tradition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Exhibit 2 A Summary of the Different Research Traditions of Ideology</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Dilthey:1833-1911</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Weber:1864-1920</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lukács:1885-1971</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gramsci:1891-1937</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Marcuse:1898-1979</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mannheim:1893-1947</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Adorno: 1903-1969</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Althusser: 1918-1990</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Habermas:1929- now</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2.2. Contemporary Usage of Ideology in Social Science Disciplines

While the previous section considered the intellectual roots and history of the concept of ideology, this section focuses on where and how the concept has been applied in more recent times. This is done by firstly providing a brief overview of the concept in the social science domain, followed by a narrower, more in-depth focus of the field of marketing and then the sociological field of social movement analysis.

As discussed, there exists a wide diversity of writers on the subject of ideology and as such it is hardly surprising that the concept has taken on such a variety of meanings. Although only a rough guide, the 18,143 entries that resulted from a search in the social science citation index over the last 20 years is nevertheless an indication of the importance of the subject and the sheer volume of work that has discussed the concept in recent times. Almost all of the social science disciplines have at the very least touched on the subject of ideology but the depth of conceptualisation has varied enormously. Political studies is the discipline where discussion on ideology has been the most proliferate and other disciplines such as philosophy, linguistics, sociology, cultural studies, communication and religious studies have all extensively discussed ideology. This is in contrast to the paucity of discussion on the subject in disciplines such as marketing, economics and management, where it has largely been ignored.

To help come to grips with the diverse and enormous body of literature, Gerring (1997) presents a comprehensive definitional framework which he refers to as a ‘conceptual toolkit’ in which he consolidates all the attributes regularly associated with ideology in contemporary social science discourse. This excellent summary contains the core attributes arranged into logical parts (see Exhibit 3).
The concept of ideology is not without its critics. In fact, not only has the concept been condemned due to its semantic baggage, but there has also been a somewhat fashionable aversion to ideological critique which has resulted in the exclusion of the very notion of ideology from the writings of post-structuralism and post-modernism (Eagleton, 1991). A number of scholars have questioned the importance of ideology in advanced society on a number of grounds in what has become known as the ‘end-of-ideology’ thesis. These end-of-ideology arguments are presented in Eagleton’s (1991) book, where they are summarised into three main points of view:

1. There is no coherent dominant ideology. The dominant ideology thesis of the sociologists Abercrombie, Hill and Turner (1980), which claims that late capitalism operates largely without ideology serves as an example here.

2. Capitalism is a self-sustaining game in which ideology has yielded to technology. The German philosopher Habermas is representative of this view. Baudrillard (1998) also espouses the idea that advanced capitalism wipes out all traces of deep subjectivity and thus all modes of ideology.

3. There may be a dominant ideology at work, but nobody is gullible enough to act upon it. This is a condition that Sloterdijk (1988), names ‘enlightened false consciousness’ where society is aware of the harm it may be causing but goes ahead and does it anyway.

These more recent criticisms are predecessors to those which followed World War II in what became known as the ‘end-of-ideology epoch’. Here the concept of ideology was somewhat suppressed as a backlash against the crimes of fascism and Stalinism (Eagleton,
However, this time the reasons for dismissing the concept are different with no such political underpinnings being apparent. Despite such claims, ideology is still recognised by many scholars to be an important concept and especially so in contemporary society, which is witnessing a resurgence of ideological movements of many types and forms throughout the world. Walford (1990, online text) for example, claims:

> More than ever before, our world is a boiling, bounding, bubbling ferment of ideological novelty and the rate of change is accelerating. If the ideological system has reached completion it is only in the sense that a newborn child is complete.

As such, it is indeed a concept worthy of detailed analysis. While this subsection has provided an overview of ideology in the social sciences in general, the next two subsections consider ideology and its usage in two specific domains which are of particular relevance to this research: marketing and social movement analysis.

### 2.2.1. Ideology within the Marketing Discipline

Whilst the concept of ideology has been theorised extensively in other social sciences, marketing has not fully conceptualised (nor borrowed from elsewhere) this phenomenon, nor thought much about how it may be used in a marketing context. Perhaps this may be in part due to the lack of marketing theory in the area of consumer activist movements where the study of ideology would most naturally occur. Areas of research that have either indirectly or directly addressed the subject in some form or other are the following domains: consumer activist movement, consumer research (in particular the disciplinary brand of consumer culture theory), communication and advertising, political marketing, social marketing and marketing theory. This subsection discusses the treatment of ideology in all of these domains in turn. Firstly though, it is noteworthy that within these different discussions which have touched on the subject the ideology, in all bar one study (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004) there has been no conscious effort to conceptualise what ideology is and thus how marketers can use it. For example, marketing researchers have not fully considered the various usages and meanings of ideology (Section 2.1 outlined the intellectual roots of ideology). Nor have they considered the dynamic nature of ideology, with the tendency being to “treat particular ideologies as totalized and static categories” (Kozinets, 2008, p. 878). These conceptual gaps are significant given the importance of the subject and are highlighted in the following quote by Jameson:
‘The market is in human nature’ is the proposition that cannot be allowed to stand unchallenged; in my opinion it is the most crucial terrain of ideological struggle in our time (1994, p. 281).

**Ideology within the Consumer Activist Movement Literature**

There is a substantial amount of research in the area of activism and consumer activist movements that has looked at a range of related issues. For example, there is a stream of literature in marketing which is specifically interested in consumer resistance — Penaloza and Price (1993) have delineated this area of research — and which explores the meaning of behaviours such as boycotting (Kozinets & Handelman, 1998). However within this literature, the concept of ideology has been pushed aside and no mention is made of how consumers’ ideologies determine such acts of resistance. It is unclear whether this neglect has been purposeful due to the ambiguous nature of ideology that has taken on a diverse range of specific meanings, whether it has simply been forgotten, or whether it is because the American hegemony assumes a particular ideology.

The one notable exception is an article by Kozinets and Handelman (2004) *Adversaries of Consumption: Consumer Movements, Activism, and Ideology* that uses new social movement theorist Touraine and his ‘identity, opposition and totality’ theory (discussed in more detail in Subsection 2.2.2) to investigate how members of anti-advertising, anti-Nike and anti-GE movements construct ideologies. The article concludes with a word of encouragement from the authors for further theorising of consumer activist movements whose goals are fundamental change to the ideology and culture of consumerism. Kozinets and Handelman (2004) study is important because it highlights that the new social movement paradigm has the potential to be an appropriate framework to use to study ideology in a consumer activist movement context.

**Ideology within the Consumer Research Literature**

The consumer research field encompasses a large body of diverse literatures. Within this field a number of research traditions exist. Firstly, the literature on ethics and the literature on values are two fields of research which are of relevance and as such are examined and compared with the construct of ideology. Secondly, the consumer culture theory tradition

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2 This area has been influenced heavily by the work conducted in the 1970s by activist-researchers at the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies who looked at behaviour from an ideological point of view. Willis’s work (1972b) entitled *Profane Culture* which examined motor cycle gangs, was seminal in the area.
(which is arguably the most relevant area of consumer research to a study investigating ideology) is considered.

A stream of research in the domain of consumer research that has dealt with ideology is the consumer psychology literature and in particular three bodies of work — ethical decision making, values and motivations. These are now discussed in turn. A number of scholars have sought to explain why ethical judgments tend to differ between individuals and have come up with a number of possibilities including differences in backgrounds, moral development, proneness to judgment bias, application of different standards and philosophical orientations or ethical ideology (Kleiser, Sivadas, Kellaris, & Dahlstrom, 2003). The work on ethical ideologies can be traced back to Forsyth (1980) who put forward the idea that individuals can be classified according to their ethical ideologies. To measure these ethical ideologies he developed the ethical position questionnaire which has been used extensively in social psychology and other contexts as well as by a number of consumer researchers within marketing (Rawwas, Vitell, & Al-Khatib, 1994; Vitell, Lumpkin, & Rawwas, 1991). Forsyth’s (1980) questionnaire has been modified by Kleiser et al (2003) in an attempt to make it more applicable in a marketing context. In this stream of research much of the attention of researchers has been focussed on measuring these ethical ideologies but questions of why and how people develop personal ethical ideologies have not been investigated (Kleiser, et al., 2003). This thesis specifically explores ideology formation at a collective level.

It is also important to acknowledge the work which has been conducted within the domain of consumer research on individual’s personal values and their impact on consumer behaviour. Values can be described as “centrally held cognitive elements that stimulate motivation for behavioural response” (Vinson, Scott, & Lamont, 1977) and there is common agreement that they exist in an interconnected, hierarchical structure and that they are culturally and socially learned. Much of the work on the subject in marketing follows on from the seminal work on values by Rokeach (1973) and from the latter work on cross-cultural basic human values by Schwartz (1992). Although values and value systems are clearly related to ideology because they determine what individuals and groups believe is important, these two constructs are not the same. Both values and ideologies are centrally held beliefs that guide actions, but the theoretical and practical applications of these two constructs vary with the fundamental difference being that ideologies are more abstract than values. Other ways of conceptualising the disparity between the two is to consider the
notion that values underpin ideologies, or that ideologies are how sets of values are operationalised. In a paper comparing the concepts of values and ideology in the marketing context, Phipps and Brace-Govan (2006) state that “there is a need for marketing to broaden its outlook to a less structured, collective approach to values and... the concept of ideology has much to offer” which further justifies the decision to use the concept ideology rather than values in this thesis.

Finally another concept which has been used extensively in marketing is that of motivation. Much of the work on motivation has stemmed from Weber’s (1947) typology of the orientations or motivations of action in his major work *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*. However, perhaps the most widely discussed theory of motivation (especially in marketing) is Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy of needs. Many other scholars have produced classifications that organise theories of motives into categories. McGuire’s (1974) classification system which divides psychological motivations up into sixteen categories is an example of a classification system which is much more detailed than that of Maslow’s. Such classification systems are used by marketers to isolate what motivates consumers in different consumption situations. Motives can be conceptualised as expressions of values and the easiest way to differentiate motives from ideologies is to think about ideologies as a set or a system of motivations (Ricoeur, 1986). While this means that it is not possible to separate these two concepts from one another as one underpins the other, we can use what we already know in marketing on motivations to help us better understand the concept of ideology (which to date we know much less about).

In summary, although the consumer psychology work has proposed a number of constructs which are similar to ideology such as ethical ideologies, values and motivation, these are not equivalents to the notion of ideology as it is conceptualised in this thesis and as such may add to this work on ideology but not be a substitute for it.

In a synthesising overview of the work of consumer researchers during the last 20 years that has addressed sociological, experiential, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption, Arnould and Thompson (2005) provide a disciplinary brand for this research tradition which they call consumer culture theory. Consumer culture theory “refers to a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace and cultural meanings” (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p. 868). Within consumer culture theory, four research programs are identified: 1) consumer identity
projects; 2) marketplace cultures; 3) the socio historic patterning of consumption; and 4) mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers interpretative strategies.

Relevant work in the first stream of literature is Holt and Thompson's (2004) study which looks at the ideology of heroic masculinity, Thompson and Tian's (2008) study which provides a conceptual model highlighting competitive, historical, and ideological influences on commercial mythmaking, and Thompson and Haytko’s (1997) study which looks at consumers’ uses of fashion discourses and countervailing cultural meanings. One study in the second stream of literature that has dealt with the concept of ideology directly is that of Thompson and Coskuner-Ball (2007). In this paper, the authors discuss the construct of ideological recruitment which “conveys that consumers are proactively integrated into a social network linked by a common ideological outlook and goal system, and, conversely, that its members develop an enduring sense of commitment toward the community and its core values” (2007, p. 147/148). Apart from this paper, in the second stream in the literature, the concept of ideology is addressed only indirectly. The marketplace cultures stream of research emerged based largely on Maffesoli’s (1996) ideas on neo-tribalism and has been moving in a sociological tradition. Such literature includes the work on tribes. For example, the work which investigates groups of consumers such as Salomon snowboarders (Cova & Cova, 2002), Harley Davidson bikers (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995) and Star-Trek fans (Kozinets, 2001). The researchers which have examined such groups have reported that often members share similar values and world-views. Although these authors do not discuss ideologies, the conceptual similarities between world-views and ideologies have been previously discussed (in Section 2.1). Note though, that the idea of ideologies as world-views is closer to the descriptive definition of ideology than the positive definition of ideology employed in this thesis.

The third domain is made up by a body of literature which considers how institutional and social structures such as class, gender, ethnicity, community, family and other formal groups influence consumption. Literature which has investigated how consumers’ belief structures (or their ideologies) influence consumption includes for example, studies on occupation and values (Rosenberg, 1980) and class and conformity (Kohn, 1989). More recently and of relevance here is the study done by Kozinets (2008) which looks at how ideological fields influence consumers’ technology narratives. Also of significance is the work of Kilbourne (1995; 1998) who has also worked alongside others (c.f. Kilbourne, Beckmann, & Thelen, 2002) on the subject of the dominant social paradigm.
The dominant social paradigm is defined as consisting of "the values, metaphysical beliefs, institutions, habits, etc. that collectively provide social lenses through which individuals and groups interpret their social world" (Milbrath, 1984, p. 7). The dominant social paradigm, which is embedded in society and serves to legitimise and justify particular actions, is dominant because it is espoused by the dominant groups in a society, which may or may not make up the majority. The elements which constitute the dominant social paradigm are categorised by Kilbourne (1998) into a three-dimensional framework. The three dimensions are the economic, the technological and the political and these are referred to as the socio-economic domain of the dominant social paradigm. Although it is not explicitly implied in the marketing literature, the notion of a dominant social paradigm appears to be conceptually very similar the notion of dominant ideology as introduced by Marx (see Subsection 2.1.2). Likewise a number of other prominent scholars have also relied on theories of a dominant ideology in their writings on capitalist societies including neo-Marxists such as Althusser, Gramsci and Habermas. In particular, Gramsci's work on dominant cultures and his notion of cultural hegemony is particularly relevant and again is conceptually very similar to the notion of the dominant social paradigm. The justification for claiming the similarity of these concepts is that the dominant social paradigm can be perceived to function as an ideology, seeking to legitimise and justify dominant social process. The fundamental difference between dominant social paradigm and ideology lies in the definition of ideology. While the work in marketing thus far that has addressed the issue of a dominant social paradigm has relied on a more critical Marxist definition of ideology, the current work moves on from this and employs a positive definition of the concept. Here ideology is discussed as representing the set of ideas of those individuals and groups that are in fact counter to those set of ideas of a dominant culture. The second other important point worth noting is that while the dominant social paradigm has been applied in a number of different research contexts to discuss issues such as green advertising (Kilbourne, 1995), green marketing (Kilbourne, 1998) and sustainable consumption and the quality of life (Kilbourne, McDonagh, & Prothero, 1997), there has been no emphasis on how these dominant ideas and actions came to be dominant in the first place (e.g. how were they produced?). This thesis takes the production of such ideologies as a central focus.

Within the literature that constitutes the fourth research program, researchers have examined consumer ideology and ideology in consumer research (Hirschman, 1993). According to Arnould & Thompson (2005) this particular research program is guided by questioning from disciplines outside of marketing including critical and media theory.
Scholars in this area have posed questions concerned with the messages that media transmit about consumption (Hirschman, 1988) and how consumers make sense of messages and formulate critical responses (Hetrick & Lozada, 1994; Hirschman & Thompson, 1997; Murray & Ozanne, 1991; Murray, Ozanne, & Shapiro, 1994). Arnould and Thompson (2005, p. 874) describe how consumers are seen in this paradigm:

As interpretative agents whose meaning-creating activities range from those who tacitly embrace the dominant representations of consumer identity and lifestyle ideals portrayed in advertising and mass media to those who consciously deviate from these ideological instructions.

Those consumers whose do resist the ideological influence of media and marketing dictated by the dominant culture become part of counter-cultures which may criticise this dominant culture. Such criticism often attacks the capitalist system and the role of marketing as a social institution within it.

Traditional (neo-Marxist) critiques of capitalist society and consumer culture have been made by scholars from outside the marketing domain by the likes of Galbraith (1952; 1998), Scitovsky (1976) and a number of members from the Frankfurt School (Horkheimer, 1947; Horkheimer & Adorno, 1986; Marcuse, 1964). For example, Marcuse (1964) argues that society creates false needs (through marketing) which results in a one-dimensional universe of thought and behaviour in which aptitude and ability for critical thought wither away. More recently a number of scholars from within marketing have attempted to understand counter-culture groups and individuals which express anti-consumerist and anti-market ideologies such as the Anti-Branding movement (Holt, 2002); the Burning Man festival (Kozinets, 2002); the Voluntary Simplifiers movement (Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002).

There has been a cadre of critical social science theorists (particularly from the Frankfurt School), who have researched the ideology of consumption, which is well recognised as one of the central ideologies of Western modern culture (c.f. Baudrillard, 1968; 1998; Habermas, 1987). Within the domain of consumer research Belk and his colleagues have researched this particular ideology extensively (Belk, 1983; 1985, 1987; Belk & Pollay, 1985) as have many others (c.f. Hirschman, 1990). While these studies provide insights into the ideology of consumerism, they do not provide a framework that can be used for understanding other ideologies such as those of consumer activist movements.
There have also been a number of marketing scholars who have adopted various critical approaches and question the prominence of this ideology of consumption and the resulting ethical and moral issues associated with everyday consumption behaviour (c.f. Belk & Pollay, 1985; Belk & Coon, 1993; Belk, Devinney, & Eckhardt, 2005; Brownlie, Saren, & Whittington, 1999; Hirschman, 1988). Notable, is the study of Crockett and Wallendorf which considers the role of normative political ideology in shaping consumers consumption experiences and which “shares a theoretical platform with... research on resistance to the materialist ideology of contemporary Western consumer culture” (2004, p. 511). A number of critical theorists have targeted advertisements highlighting the negative social impacts that advertising can create as they transmit the ideological agendas of the capitalist marketplace (Belk & Pollay, 1985; Klein, 1999; Williamson, 1978). Likewise, following on from Arnould and Fisher’s seminal article (1996) are a number of reconstructionists who question the processes and outcomes of marketing (Crane, 1997; Fuller, 1999). Counter arguments to such criticisms attempt to justify that marketing tools (such as advertising) do facilitate consumerism.

In summary, the large body of work which falls under the consumer research disciplinary brand of consumer culture theory has discussed in various types and forms, the concept of ideology and the role that it plays in the consumer context. However, as this review has outlined, apart from a few notable studies such as the work of Kozinets and Handleman (2004) on consumer activist movement ideologies and of Kilbourne (1995; 1998) on the dominant social paradigm, the majority of the work that has employed the term or notion of ideology, fails to conceptualise the concept of ideology it in any depth.

**Ideology within the Communications and Advertising Literature**

Research on consumers’ relationships with advertising and media has perhaps been the area in marketing where the term ideology has most commonly been used. Thus although not directly related to the research at hand, it is important nevertheless to acknowledge the work which has been done in this area. This is done by firstly investigating this usage by introducing the perspective of the ‘active reader and the production of meaning’ and by then pointing out a number of studies which have deconstructed texts and highlighted the importance of the ideological messages found within these medias.

Within marketing there has been an important shift away from viewing the person receiving the communication message or advertisement as the recipient of information
flows, towards the view that that person is in fact the centre of the communication process (Aitken, Gray, & Lawson, 2008). This perspective which emphasises the proactive behaviour of people in their interpretation of texts is having a big impact on how researchers view communication and advertising. A number of theories have emerged which attempt to explain such behaviour such as the reader response theory (Scott, 1994a; Thompson, 2004b). Tied into this idea of the active, productive nature of consumer-media relationships (Aitken, et al., 2008; John & Hartley, 1978), is the idea that the interpretation of texts and other media is an interactive process where consumers act as active producers and construct their own perceived meaning (Hall, 1980; Hirschman & Thompson, 1997; Vargo & Lusch, 2004).

To illustrate this idea of the active, productive nature of consumer-media relationships and how it ties back into discussions on ideology, an example of a social movement flyer can be used. Social movement flyers are often full of ideological messages which the movement hopes to pass on to the reader. Traditional communication theories presumed that the reader played a passive role in their interpretation of the movement’s flyer, taking as given the messages, symbols and ideologies that were inherent in the text. New theories such as reader response theory make no such assumptions. In fact they insist that the reader of the social movement flyer will not just be dictated to but that they will actively engage with the movement’s flyer and create their own meanings and form their own opinions. The ideological message that they take away from the flyer may be in fact quite different from that which the movement’s marketers had hoped for. Therefore it makes little sense to discuss the ‘production’ of ideology by social movement leaders and activists because as this ideology is ‘consumed’ by new members and other people outside the movement through the media, the person receiving the message actively produces meaning and hence the message’s ideology is recreated by their interpretations of it. Thus it makes more sense to talk about co-production (Vargo & Lusch, 2004) of ideologies, which acknowledges this ongoing, active and productive consumer-media relationship.

Research which studies the ideological-construction of texts is plentiful with a large number of scholars describing how ideological messages are perpetrated in such texts (Scott, 1990, 1994a, 1994b; Stern, 1993, 1995, 1996). This is often done by a process referred to as deconstruction. Studies in marketing which have used this deconstruction process include for example that of Thompson (2004b) who investigated ‘mytho-ideologies’ in his critical reader-response analysis of natural health advertisements and Arnold, Kozinets, &

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3 Co-production is referred to in its broadest sense throughout the thesis. No distinction is made between this term and other similar terms such as co-creation and co-imagination.
Handelman (2001) who describe the importance of hometown mythologies in Walmart flyers. The reference to mythologies in such texts draws on the work of Barthes (1972) in which he describes how everyday myths structure popular culture. It is argued that advertisers target certain markets with their ideological messages and that to ensure that these messages are well received, a process of ideological tailoring occurs by leveraging cultural myths which have meaning for the target market. It is these representations that are referred to as mytho-ideologies (Thompson, 2004b).

Finally on a related note, there is considerable overlap between the concept of an ideology and a brand. For example, consumer activist organisations use ideology strategically in much the same way as any other business organisation uses its brand. Although the concepts are not the same, they are related in the fact that that a company’s or organisation’s branding strategy should be a manifestation of their ideology. Brands are therefore how ideologies are represented and marketed. More specifically, brands convey meaning and a point of differentiation based on an organisations ideology. The term ideology is occasionally used within the body of work in marketing that is based on communities in the sense of a brand’s ‘ideology’. An example of such work is the stream of literature on brand communities (Muniz Jr & O'Guinn, 2001) such as the study on the Nutella community (Cova & Pace, 2006). Though this literature tends to talk about “consciousness of a kind” rather than ideology, it is evident that there are conceptual similarities between the term “consciousness of a kind” and the descriptive definition of ideology (see Introduction to Chapter 2). However, the link between the concepts of ideology and brands has been given no serious attention in the literature to date.

In summary, the communications and advertising literature is perhaps the area in marketing which has most explicitly used the concept of ideology. This body of work is useful to this thesis, particularly by providing an understanding how ideologies are communicated through texts and other media as well as an understanding of how these ideologies may be interpreted by those receiving the message. The work in this domain though is restricted to the communication of ideological messages and as such does not consider where the ideologies have come from in the first place, or how they change over time, as does this thesis.
Ideology within the Marketing of Ideas Literature

Since the seminal work *Broadening the Marketing Debate* authored by Kotler and Levy (1969), there has been much lively academic discourse concerning the boundaries of marketing (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971; Luck, 1974). This controversy as to whether marketing should include public and non-profit applications has now to a large extent been resolved (Hunt & Burnett, 1982) with the concept of ‘product’ referring not only to goods but to services, organisations, persons and ideas as well (Kotler, 1972a). Before discussing the domains in which the marketing of ideas has been prominent, it is important to draw attention to the fact that the concept of marketing and the conceptualisation of ideas as products is not without its critics. For example, in an article entitled *Aesthetics, Ideologies and the Limits of the Marketing Concept*, Hirschman (1983) proposes that this fundamental marketing construct, the marketing concept (Kotler & Levy, 1969), as a normative framework, is not applicable to two different types of producers: artists and ideologists. Hirschman maintains that it is not possible to apply this construct in the context of artistic and ideological products because they both differ from normal products in that they are abstract, subjectively experienced, non utilitarian, unique and holistic. The discussion now turns to a general discussion on the marketing of ideas, then a review of the literature in the social marketing and political marketing domains.

The conception of ideas as a product is very relevant to a discussion on ideology. Major (2003) wrote extensively on the topic in her PhD entitled the Marketing of Ideas. Although this research offers many useful insights, Major creates a dichotomy between the production and the consumption of ideas and treats these as distinct constructs throughout her work. It has already been suggested that it is not realistic to create such a dichotomy between production and consumption because of the interactive nature of the consumer-media process. The literature thus far which attempts to conceptualise the process of marketing ideas has failed to recognise this problem.

Since the commencement of thinking about ideas as products by Kotler in the 1970s, there has been a plethora of other work on a wide range of topics which have considered both how to advertise and sell ideas as well as how marketing can help improve society. Much of this work has occurred especially within the domains of social and political marketing. The complexity of the problems in these two domains is similar to the problems inherent in the concept of ideology. For example, social and political marketers have to deal
with complex systems relationships and changing, interrelated sets of behaviour and belief systems.

Social marketing is an area of research which is defined by Andreasen (1994, p. 110) as "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programs designed to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part". Though this definition focuses on social marketing's behaviour change orientation with regards to voluntary behaviours, social marketers have also had much of an impact in other areas such as influencing public policy (c.f. Gentry, Kennedy, Paul, & Hill, 1995). Building on the typical assumption that behaviour follows knowledge, one of the fundamental aims of social marketing is to change behaviours (Andreasen, 1994; Hastings & Saren, 2003). To this end a number of techniques and tools have been borrowed and adapted from commercial marketing. Many of the original ideas about morals and ethics which originally fell under the social marketing literature have merged into the body of work which was forming in the area of social corporate responsibility and business ethics. Summarising the foundational literature of Bowen (1953) and Preston and Post (1975), Ostas (2004) defines corporate social responsibility as both compliance and cooperation with all aspects of business law. Although the very notion of corporate social responsibility is itself an ideology of sorts, as are the discussions which take place in this literature about the moral state of business and business ethics, the concept of ideology is again rarely mentioned.

With the recognition that there are parallels between the selling of politicians and the selling of certain products (O'Shaughnessy, 2001), political marketing has also become a recognised sub-discipline of marketing. Based on Grörooos’s (1990) definition of commercial marketing, Henneberg (1996, p. 1) defines political marketing as:

Seeking to establish, maintain and enhance long-term voter relationships at a profit for society and political parties, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organisation involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfilment of promises.

For example, both tangible rewards (e.g. better health care) and more abstract rewards (e.g. Thatcher's offer of 'strong leadership') are offered by politicians to the public in exchange for their taxes and their votes. Again, as in the social marketing sub-discipline, models from marketing which were created in the commercial context such as consumer behaviour decision making models have been applied in the political context to help understand
processes such as voter decision making (c.f. Rothschild & Houston, 1980). While social and political marketing have helped to understand social process and voting behaviours, there has been no significant research in either of the fields about the actual ideologies that direct these social behavioural change campaigns or political campaigns. The production (and co-production) of ideologies is the focus of this thesis.

In summary, a review of the literature reveals that researchers working in the area of marketing of ideas have sought to explain the best way to market social and political ideas and ideologies, which has resulted in a large body of operationally-focused work. This focus has been at the expense of efforts to conceptualise ideology, which thus remains undefined. It is also important to note that in the body of literature which has discussed the marketing of ideas, there has been no differentiation between ideas and ideologies. Ideas and ideologies are conceptually distinct but related concepts. The nature of their differentiation is in their scale and level of abstraction; ideologies are not simply an idea, nor a particular type of idea, but rather ideologies are a whole system of interrelated ideas and thus are much larger and more abstract than ideas. As such, the terms should not be used interchangeably. Much of the work in marketing may benefit from clearing up this semantic confusion. Finally, a number of scholars, including Hirschman (1983), argue that the marketing concept is limited in its application and is not relevant for ideological products for example. However, rather than simply dismiss ideological products as not within the domain of marketing, Hirschman promotes that they are important classes of products to research and posts a challenge for marketing academics to tackle their inherent difficulties.

Ideology within the Marketing Theory Literature
There is an immense body of literature which examines the subject of marketing and its ideological position. Varying ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies have all been debated with discussions taking place for example, over whether marketing is an art or a science (Brown, 2001). These ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies beliefs and their relationship to ideology are now considered.

The discipline of marketing emerged from the field of economics. Later, the discipline drew heavily from the field of psychology. Thus marketing as a discipline has evolved into the study of markets and exchange. The dominant ideology in marketing which is tied up in a strong belief in market capitalism is underpinned by a complex system of beliefs, assumptions and social realities and it is so widespread within the discipline that it
has long been the taken-for-granted reality of the discipline (Penaloza & Venkatesh, 2006). Hackley (2003), for example, highlights that the rhetoric in marketing management texts can be seen as overtly ideological. It was not until recently that the economic base upon which marketing is fundamentally based has been seriously questioned and that it is possible to suggest that an ideological paradigm shift may have started to occur. Recently, a number of ideologically driven different ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives have emerged within marketing. While much of the marketing discipline remains mono-ideological, an important shift is currently occurring in some research streams, with a move towards more pluralist positions (this shift is particularly noticeable in the field of consumer research for example). This move which has largely been initiated by a handful of scholars has promoted different ideological social theories such as feminism (Hirschman, 1993; Stern, 1993), social constructionism (Penaloza & Venkatesh, 2006) post-modernism (Brown, 1993) and critical theory stances (Murray & Ozanne, 1991). These represent fundamental shifts in ideology for the marketing discipline. Hirschman (1993) for example, drawing on a review of the Journal of Consumer Research articles between 1980 and 1990, presents a Marxist and feminist critique of the dominant masculine ideology which she claims prevails in the consumer behaviour literature.

What is important here is not that this shift has occurred per se (as many others e.g. Sheth, Gardner, & Garrett (1988) have written extensively on the history and evolution of the marketing discipline), but to note that amongst this literature there has been almost no acknowledgement or discussion that ontotologies, epistemologies and methodologies are inherently ideologically driven. There are of course exceptions and perhaps one of the most influential works that did discuss the ideological nature of ontotologies, epistemologies and methodologies was Alderson’s 1957 work and in particular the first chapter in which he discusses the philosophy of science. Hirschman’s 1993 work provides an example of a much latter exception. This has lead to the paradox that although the very ideological position of the subject of marketing has been examined in some detail, this has been done with only a few scholars referring to the concept of ideology.

In conclusion, the aim of this subsection has been to highlight the usage of the concept of ideology within the marketing literature. The logic that concept formation is prior to operationalisation seems to have been all but ignored with regards to the concept of ideology in marketing. Often marketing researchers appear to have been less concerned about how ideology is actually conceptualised and more concerned with getting on and
selling or advertising it. While it is acknowledged that a number of scholars do take the stance that definitional tasks are contained within tasks of operationalisation (Geering, 1997) and that a pragmatic approach to concept definition has proved to be successful in some cases in the marketing literature, this has not been the case with the ideology, the concept of which remains incomplete.

2.2.2. Ideology within the Domain of Social Movement Analysis

Social movements have received systematic attention from sociologists for over 30 years. While there is a long tradition of using the term ideology as a pejorative label for the ideas of political opponents as was outlined in the previous section, the core of the social movement work perceives ideology in non-pejorative terms and defines it positively as a system of meaning undergirding a social movement (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Within the vast and rich literature which makes up this field of study, no single theory of ideology reigns supreme. Rather, a number of theories of ideologies have emerged over the years, arising from within the different social movement traditions and from scholars with varying epistemological perspectives. These different theories of ideology portray dramatically different images of how people create and respond to ideologies (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). To grapple with how the concept of ideology has been theorised in a body of work so large, it is best to break down the field into its distinct traditions of social movement analysis. Although oversimplified, Exhibit 4 presents a clear overview of the field of social movement analysis by splitting the area into four domains.

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<th>USA</th>
<th>Europe</th>
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<td><strong>Pre-1970</strong></td>
<td><strong>Marxism</strong></td>
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<td>Collective Behaviour</td>
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<td><strong>1970s</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Onwards</strong></td>
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<td>Resource Mobilisation</td>
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Exhibit 4 Four Traditions of Social Movement Analysis
Adapted from Crossley (2002)

This distinction between the American and European trajectories of social movement analysis is commonplace in the social movement literature (c.f. Crossley, 2002; Diani, 2000; Mayer, 1991) and thus adhered to in the following analysis. Melucci (1985) suggests that
the most basic distinction between the two traditions that can be made is that the American approaches are often more concerned with 'how' of movement emergence (with theorists reflecting on the conditions which enable mobilisation), while the European theorists have tended to focus their attention more on the 'why' (considering the issues around which movements tend to mobilise). The American perspective (the left hand side of the matrix) is discussed in the first part of this subsection, followed by a look at how ideology has been conceptualised in the European traditions (the right hand side of the matrix) in the latter part of this subsection. The 1970s saw a significant paradigm shift in both the European and American literatures as scholars sought new theories to help explain new sorts of movements (such as the Student movement and the Peace movement) that were not following the rules of the previous movements (such as the Labour movement) on which much of the previous social movement theories had been based (Crossley, 2002). While the different paradigms of sociological approaches to social movement have dealt with ideology in different ways, there is general agreement that ideology is of central importance to obtaining an understanding of social movements.

**Ideology in the American Tradition of Scholarly Analysis of Social Movements**

In the 1950s and 1960s, collective behaviour theorists were writing predominantly from a social psychology perspective, conceptualising social movements as long-lasting panics or crowds. An overview of the collective behaviour literature (c.f. Crossley, 2002; Jenkins, 1983; McAdam, 1982; Tilly, 1978) concludes that this approach portrays social movements as irrational psychological responses to hardships which include, but are not limited to, grievances, deprivations and structural strains. The people who partake in these movements (which are seen to be manifestations of mob psychology or collective hysteria) are portrayed as isolated individuals who are disconnected from society at large.

In much of the literature of this time, ideology was discussed primarily in descriptive terms. It was seen as fairly static and was taken as a given entity. Writing in this collective behaviour tradition for example was Turner and Killian (1957), who in their book *Collective Behaviour* invoke a social constructivist view of the subject of ideology. Here they suggest that ideologies are prescriptions or maps which provide a simplifying perspective of the accounts of reality and justify the action of a social movement. Likewise, Wilson (1973) purported a functionalist account of ideology in his book *Introduction to Social Movements*. He defined ideologies as "a set of beliefs about the social world and how it operates, containing statements about the rightness of certain social arrangements and what action
would be undertaken in the light of those statements” (Wilson, 1973, p. 91). Wilson
developed a trichotomy of the structural elements of ideology: diagnosis (how things got to
be the way they are), prognosis (what should be done and what will the consequences be)
and rationale (who should do it and why). In the 1970s, a significant numbers of authors
(c.f. McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Tarrow, 1989; Tilly, 1978) turned their back on the collective
behaviour theory and focused upon the role of imported external resources in mobilising
movement participation. This resulted in a significant paradigm shift and came to be known
as the resource mobilisation theory.

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, resource mobilisation theory became the dominant
paradigm in America for studying collective action. Resource mobilisation theorists’ main
tenet is that the ability to acquire and secure resources and foster mobilisation are key factors
in the emergence and timing of collective action. Another central premise of resource
mobilisation theory is that rational actors engage in instrumental action through formal
organisations to secure resources and foster mobilisation (Buechler, 1993). Tied in with
these ideas put forward by the resource mobilisation theorists is the notion of political
opportunity structure which was introduced by Eisinger (1973). Proponents of the political
process model (c.f. McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1988; Tilly, 1978) contend that movement
development, tactics and impact are greatly affected by shifting factors external to the
movement itself. These include more stable elements of political opportunity such as
traditions and institutions and less stable elements such as public policy, political discourse
and elite alignment. In both the resource mobilisation and political process literatures, it was
acknowledged that ideology was an aspect of social movements. However it was rarely used
as an important variable or determinant in the analysis of social movements. Despite the
lack of focus on ideology, there is no disputing the success of the resource mobilisation and
political opportunity theories which is apparent as witnessed by the colossal amount of
attention they drew from social movement scholars. However, in the 1980s, the importance
that these two concepts placed on political and organisational factors was criticised by social
psychologists who believed that the focus on these factors was somewhat at the expense of
the role of social construction in social movement processes.

An article by Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford (1986) on frame alignment
processes was central in the social psychological turn that took place in resource
mobilisation theory. In this work they refer to frame alignment as “the linkage of individual
and social organisations’ interpretive orientations, such that set on individual interests,
values and beliefs and social movement activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complementary” (Snow, et al., 1986, p. 464). Since this work, there has been a proliferation of scholarship on collective action frames to the extent that framing processes have come to be considered on a par with resource mobilisation and political opportunity processes as central dynamics in understanding social movements. It is within this particular body of work that the concept of ideology has been developed in the American trajectory of social movement analysis. Thus the discussion now turns to consideration of framing processes and how these interact with the concept of ideology.

The concept of framing is rooted in the study of communicative interaction and was imported into the social movement literature in the early 1980s. The concept as it is utilised in the social movement literature comes from Goffman’s (1974) Frame Analysis and (1981) Forms of Talk, in which he identifies frames as a meta level of categorisation of the objects of experience that allows individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label these experiences. Ultimately the idea is that the individual’s interpretation of the event will affect the meaning that these experiences have for them and will hence affect the way in which they act toward them. According to the framing perspective, social movements actors are not simply carriers of existing ideas and meanings that have grown automatically out of structural arrangements, unanticipated events, or existing ideologies, but rather, are signifying agents who are actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning (Snow & Benford, 1988). It is this shift in thinking, away from treating ideologies as given in a social movement and towards the notion that they are socially constructed, that best differentiates framing theory from the old collective behaviour and resource mobilisation theories.

Snow and Benford (1988), in what is considered to be the original work in this area, adapt Wilson’s decomposition of ideology (discussed earlier on in this subsection) and refer to this as the core framing tasks: diagnostic framing (which includes injustice framing, boundary framing and adversarial framing), prognostic framing (outlines a plan of attack and strategies for carrying out the plan) and motivational framing (provides a call to arms and a rationale for participating in the collective action). With the important outcomes of facilitating agreement and action amongst movement actors, these core framing activities are at the heart of the framing perspective and to date a plethora of studies have analysed how specific movements and organisations have constructed and utilised the various types of frames in their struggles (Benford, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000; Jenness & Broad, 1994;
Noonan, 1995; Swart, 1996; Valocchi, 1996). In particular, many of these studies have focussed on the intentional way that movement intellectuals package and market their ideas so that they resonate well with the members of the public that they are trying to convince of the validity of their cause and/or mobilise to action. It is evident that the concept of framing is directly related to the concept of ideology. In fact, in much of the framing literature, the two terms are used interchangeably. Caught up in the enthusiasm that surrounds framing processes many researchers have in fact adopted the word ‘frame’ as a synonym for ideology.

Frame theory has been criticised on a number of fronts. For example, accusations have been made that framing activity reduces the richness of the culture of a social movement down to simple recruitment strategies (Jasper, 1997). The framing processes have also been accused for trivialising ideology and diverting attention away from a more serious examination of ideology. For example, Oliver & Johnston (2000) criticise that Snow and Benford’s (1988) adaptation of Wilson’s (1973) trichotomy of elements of an ideology was merely a renaming of the ideology literature in frame terms. Refuting such claims, Snow and Benford (2000) published an article which aimed to clarify the relationship between framing and ideology in social movements. Here they argue that framing helps move beyond just description of ideology, bringing dynamism to what was a fairly static concept. In an attempt to conceptualise the relationship between ideology and framing they outline the following aspects: Firstly, ideology is a cultural resource for framing activist and collective action frames consist of, at least in part, of strands of one or more ideologies. As such, ideologies facilitate and constrain framing activities. Secondly, frames may function as remedial ideological work (e.g. at moments when activists’ beliefs and behaviours are contradictory or when their beliefs and actual events in the world are at odds), allowing activists to maintain some consistency in their thinking. Thirdly, framing prevents ideology from reification.

Throughout this review of the American tradition of scholarship, it has become evident that the concept of ideology has been considered an important aspect of social movement analysis. Thus far, Subsection 2.2.2 has traced the development of ideology from a static and descriptive concept in the collective behaviour literature, to a more dynamic and actionable (but perhaps more muddled) concept in the more recent framing literature. There is no doubt that this American line of theorising in general and the framing theorising in particular, has resulted in significant understandings in certain areas of social movement
research concerning ideology. For example, frames are much more readily empirically observable than an ideology which has aided researchers in their analyses. As such, Melucci (1996) notes that it is logical to include frames in a study on ideology. However he states that these must be not separated from ideology (as has been the case in much of the framing literature in the resource mobilisation school), but located within a theory of ideology. The framing theory literature to date, as purported by the resource mobilisation school, has tended to emphasise the operational aspects of ideologies, such as the packaging and marketing of the movement's ideas. It is fair to conclude that this focus has been at the expense of the examination and conceptualisation of ideology in social movements. While it is important to understand these operational and motivational aspects of ideology, it is necessary to understand other aspects of ideology as well.

**Ideology in the European Tradition of Scholarly Analysis of Social Movements**

The magnitude of Marx's influence on scholarship concerning social movements and ideology is indisputable in the field of sociology and nowhere else more so than in the European tradition of analysis. Put simply, social movement scholars working in the Marxist tradition assert that capitalist societies are based around a fundamental conflict which occurs between the two major classes: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Whatever the range of conflicts that may be witnessed at the surface level, Marxist scholars maintain that they all boil down to one social movement: the Workers movement. Traditionally intellectuals working from within the Marxist paradigm have been focussed upon the Marxist model of politics that centred on parties, revolutions and states. Social movement discourse in the area primarily revolved around these factors as well as the local and sub-political issues of social movements. Marxist scholars of social movements inevitably take the perspective that ideology refers primarily to the views of a particular social class (or other such group of people). Incorporated into their analyses of movements is the concept of ideology as domination. The classic reference point on which these assumptions are made is in the work *The German Ideology* where Marx argues: "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force" (Marx, in Tucker, 1978, p. 172, Marx's original emphasis). Some Marxists writers have in their analysis of social movements moved away from this class-specific domination as discussed by Marx and Engels, towards a more general notion of structure of domination. There is a group of scholars that that have their roots firmly in the Marxist tradition but have moved significantly away from some of the
more conventional Marxist ideas. These scholars are referred to loosely as post-Marxists theorists. More commonly, they are known as new social movement theorists.

New social movement theory is rooted in traditions of European social theory and political philosophy. This paradigm shift emerged as a response to the inadequacies of classical Marxism for analysing collective action (Cohen, 1985; Klandermas, 1993). Opposing the classical reductionism of Marxism which relied on analysing social movements in terms of production, new social movement writers have turned to the spheres of culture, politics and ideologies. As well as questioning the more conventional Marxists, new social movement theorists also questioned the adequacies of the American approach for analysing identity-oriented movements that emerged out of the student movements of the 1960s such as the Peace movement, the Environmental movement, Second-wave Feminism and the Animal Rights movement) (see Section 1.1). Such movements opened up opportunities for a new kind of social movement analysis. New social movement theories have filled these voids. The new social movement literature contains a rich body of work and Kozinets and Handelman (2004) have suggested that it is worth continuing to link consumer research and new social movement theory to “bring into focus the history, tactics and paths of consumer culture movements” (2004, p. 703).

In an overview article Buechler (1995) presents a summary of the new social movement paradigm identifying a number of themes that characterise the theories helping to define these contemporary types of social movements.

1. Collective action is mainly found in the cultural sphere alongside instrumental action in the political sphere.
2. Processes that promote autonomy and self-determination are more important than strategies for maximising power and influence.
3. Conflicts are usually over post-materialist values rather than over material resources.
4. The construction of collective identity and group interests is seen as a fragile process as opposed to being structurally determined.
5. Grievances and ideologies are socially constructed as opposed to being deduced from a group’s structural location.
6. Collective action is often submerged in temporary networks as opposed to the centralised organisational forms which are the focus of analysis in the American tradition.
Buechler goes on to highlight the contributions of four key theorists (Castells, Touraine, Habermas and Melucci) whose work is central to this field. Although new social movement is referred to as a paradigm, it is a vast and diverse literature. So for the purpose of theoretical focus the analysis that follows will rely on the work of these four theorists. A general summary of these four scholars is provided in Exhibit 5 which presents a summary of information concerning these four key new social movement theorists.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theorist &amp; Nationality</th>
<th>Touraine</th>
<th>Castells</th>
<th>Habermas</th>
<th>Melucci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Catalanian-Spanish</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Born 1925</td>
<td>Born 1942</td>
<td>Born 1929</td>
<td>Born 1943 Died 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociological Tradition</td>
<td>Neo-Marxist</td>
<td>Neo-Marxist</td>
<td>Neo-Marxist</td>
<td>Post-Marxist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Orientation</td>
<td>Works out of the ‘French’ School of movement analysis &amp; builds a post-industrial sociology</td>
<td>Works out of the ‘French’ School of movement analysis &amp; develops an urban sociology</td>
<td>Works out of German critical theory tradition of the Frankfurt school &amp; attempts to build a normative social theory</td>
<td>A social constructivist who introduced semiotic &amp; post-modern elements into his works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Mainly structural level (analyses the ‘why’ of social movements)</td>
<td>Mainly structural level (analyses the ‘why’ of social movements)</td>
<td>Mainly structural level (analyses the ‘why’ of social movements)</td>
<td>Links structural and individual level (analyses the ‘why’ &amp; the ‘how’ of social movements)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Version of Theory</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society Totality</td>
<td>Post industrial &amp; Programmed society</td>
<td>Informational capitalism Network society</td>
<td>Contemorary society</td>
<td>Complex society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Major Works            | • The Self-Production of Society (1974)  
• The Voice & the Eye (1981) | • City, Class & Power (1978)  
• The City & the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements (1983)  
• Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age (1996a) |
| Empirical Studies      | Include: French Anti-Nuclear & Workers movements, Chilean Revolution | Include: Madrid Citizen’s movement, Commune of Paris movement, Anti-globalisation movement | None | Include: the Youth, Women’s, Ecological, Peace & Neo-Religious movements in the Milan area |
| Provides Propositions for Evaluating Ideology | Yes | No | No | Yes |

Exhibit 5 A Summary of Four Key New Social Movement Theorists
There are a number of overlaps between these theorists. For example, although they each use different terminologies in their analyses, all four theorists acknowledge we are living in a post-industrial, advanced capitalist society whose structural features are shaping the dynamics of contemporary collective action. A further example of the similarity in their thinking is that they are all concerned with the way in which the domain of everyday life in contemporary society is increasingly subject to bureaucratic and technological (including social technologies) regulation. However, it is clear from Exhibit 5 that while Habermas, Melucci, Touraine and Castells are considered to be new social movement theorists, they have worked from different national settings which have all had quite distinct histories of social movement action. This, along with the fact that they are working in different sociological traditions and at different levels of analyses, have been significant factors in creating theories that are remarkably different. Because of the diversity above, it has been suggested that it is preferable to talk about new social movement theories in the plural rather than in the singular new social movement theory (Buechler, 1995). The major contribution that each of these four scholars have made to the new social movement literature is now overviewed with particular attention given to their various conceptualisations of ideology.

Touraine’s perspective of social movements is rooted in the events of the 1968 May Revolution in Paris and the changes in French society and politics that followed (Hannigan, 1985). Touraine’s focus on studying social movements was most intensive during the period from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s and he formed his most detailed theories about social movements in his (1981) book *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements* (Martell & Stammers, 1996). In this book he explains his action-centred theory of social movements. One of the central contentions of his theory is that there is one central struggle in every type of society. This struggle is over the control of historicity — “the capacity to produce the [cultural] models by which [society] functions” (Touraine, 1981, p.25). In post-industrial (or programmed) society, he proposes that the crucial struggle for historicity is no longer between capital and labour in the factory, but between capital holders/managers/technocrats (the ruling class) and consumers/clients (the oppressed popular class). According to Touraine’s theory, the post-industrial struggle for historicity takes place through ideology. Touraine’s formula for social movement ideology has three dimensions: (a) identity, self definition of the movement by members which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement; (b) opposition, the definition of an adversary; and (c) totality, the stakes over which the movement and the adversary are in conflict. This has become known as the identity, opposition, totality model. Touraine’s
work has inspired a generation of social movement theorists (Hjelmar, 1996) and his identity, opposition, totality model is potentially useful in helping understand the ideology of the SF movement (though it does not provide a time dimension).

Castells’s ideas about new social movements were similarly formed during the post-1968 period. In the early 1970s, Castells worked primarily in the area of urban sociology where he proposed a theory of urban movements which focused on the role of urban movements in transforming cities (c.f 1977, 1978, 1983). Castells’ urban movement theory conceptualised the social system as a complex of three levels: economic, political and ideological. The theory suggests that contradictions develop within and between each level and that these contradictions are played out at the urban level within the sphere of collective consumption (e.g. transport, education, health). While Castells acknowledges Touraine’s action model as the main grounding for his theoretical work on urban movements, he claims that his work is more than an application of Touraine’s ideas (Hannigan, 1985). In the early 1980s, Castells research interests shifted to focus on the role of new technologies and global information networks in coordinating (and restructuring) the economy. In his works *The Rise of the Network Society* (1996), *The Power of Identity* (1997) and *End of Millennium* (1998) (first published as a trilogy in 1997 and updated in a second edition in 2003), Castells provides a description of contemporary globalisation in what he calls the information age. According to Castells, the information age is characterised by the dominance of global information capitalism (and its core institutions) over human agency. Castells suggests that identity-based movements arise in opposition to this social structure. His works describe and analyse of a large variety of identity-based movements including the Environmental, Lesbian and Gay, Anti-globalisation, American Militia and Al-Qaeda. The trilogy does not introduce new theoretical inventions — the theoretical background assumptions in his trilogy are clarified in an article entitled *Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society* (Castells, 2000). Castells steers clear of using the actual term ideology in his analysis of social movements, choosing instead to talk about value structures. To discuss the value structures of the various movements, Castells borrows Touraine’s (1981) identity-opposition-totality theory though he changes the words opposition to adversary and totality to societal goal to make it “clearer for an international audience” (Castells, 2003, p. 74). So although Castells empirical work does provide significant insights into the ideologies of a range of new social movements, it does not provide a conceptual framework for analysing ideology.
Habermas’ major contribution to new social movement theory is his colonisation of the life-world theory. The thrust of this theory is that system imperatives and logic intrude into personal life which results in money and power regulating not only economic and political transactions, but identity formulation and normative regulation as well (c.f. Habermas, 1984, pp. 269, 280-281, 1987, pp. 332-374). This colonization draws citizens out of “civil privatism” and into the public domain and “new conflicts thus arise at the seam between system and life-world” (Habermas, 1981, p. 36). Within this elaborate theory of social structure, Habermas produces a theory of the autonomy of normative structures which explains how meaning is created in the life-world through processes of rationalisation and consensus (Habermas, 1982). Though Habermas does not apply this theory directly to the context of ideology, Kenneth and Tucker (1989) propose that Habermas’ autonomy of normative structures theory is useful in explaining the independent role of ideology in determining the direction taken by social movements. Habermas’ theory (which highlights issues of cultural traditions and processes of the formation of knowledge) quite clearly provides a useful framework for understanding movement solidarity. However its usefulness for understanding social movement ideology is questionable given that Habermas actually abandons ideological critique altogether and focuses on the colonisation of the life world by power and money instead. Proclaiming he accepts an end-of-ideology thesis (c.f. 1990), Habermas argues that the capitalism is a self-sustaining game in which ideology has yielded to technology and that the colonisation of the life-world has resulted in a society which is too rational, too secular and too intellectually mature to be fooled by ideologies. Therefore using Habermas’ work to understand movement ideology is potentially problematic.

Melucci investigates the cognitive and phenomenological aspects of social movements in post industrial society and provides an original new framework for analysing social movements in contemporary society. In this new framework he “deliberately presents a variety of overlapping themes and levels of analysis” (Melucci, 1989, p. 13) and unlike some of the previous social movements theorists such as Habermas (1884-1987) — who have provided full-fledged coherent and systematic theories of social movements — Melucci claims only to have presented a “different viewpoint, through which the less obvious can be rendered visible” (Melucci, 1989, p. 13). Melucci’s (1988, p. 245) different viewpoint suggests that changes in historical circumstances have led to the emergence of new social movements. Contemporary society is characterised by increasing systematic differentiation, which simultaneously threatens social life with fragmentation, lack of communication and
atomised individualism (Melucci, 1996). Contemporary social movements — like contemporary society — are also heterogeneous, fragile and complex and they “act as symbols to remind us that both the external planet, the earth as our homeland and the internal planet, our ‘nature’ as human beings, are undergoing radical transformations” (Melucci, 1996, p. 7). Unlike the industrial society, where struggles traditionally took place over the production and distribution of material resources, in contemporary society the struggles are more often about the production of meanings and symbols. Set against this background, Melucci’s analysis is based around the paradoxical place of individuals who are autonomous yet forced to conform, who are supplied with endless choices yet distant from the sources of real power, and the social movements that represent them. A strength of Melucci’s analysis is that it consolidates the research from the resource mobilisation theories which focuses on bureaucratism and pragmatism (McCarthy & Zald, 1973; 1977; Tilly, 1978) and the research from the structural theories which focuses on enthusiasm and idealism (Habermas, 1981; Touraine, 1974; 1981). Combing these two viewpoints, Melucci provides an analysis “of the how without neglecting the why of collective action” (Melucci, 1989, p. 22). Another strength of Melucci’s work is that he has acknowledged that the “organization becomes a critical point of observation” (Melucci, 1985, p. 792) whereas the work of Touraine and Castells has been criticised for “failing to recognise the role of social movement organizations and of organizational structure in determining the fate of the social movement” (Hannigan, 1985, p. 446, also see Hjelmar’s 1996 article for a similar critique). Given that SF is an obvious mixture of both formal organisation and movement, Melucci’s theory is better placed to deal with this structure. Melucci did his doctorate under Touraine in early 1970s and his work on social movements is based on the same premises as that of his supervisors. Conceptually, Melucci’s ideas about ideology come from a critical appropriation of Touraine’s identity, opposition and totality theory. However as was explained in Chapter 1 (Section 1.1), Melucci adds a time dimension to this theory by proposing that these three fundamental elements of ideology change as the movement develops. He also elaborates on Touraine’s work by investigating the specific role for which movement ideology is used, again incorporating a dynamic perspective into this theorising.

In summary, this review has shown that the new social movement paradigm is the area of social movement research where the concept of ideology has been most developed and thus the most appropriate paradigm to use for this thesis. Though the new social movement paradigm is not unchallenged (e.g. Plotke (1990) questions the paradigms central propositions that new social movements are unique and Pichardo (1997) questions that they
are specifically a product of post industrial society), it has been widely adopted and used in the analysis of social movements, especially in the European context. Furthermore, well known marketing scholars such as Kozinets (2002), Kozinets and Handleman (2004) and Cherrier and Murray (2002) have recognised the strength of the new social movement paradigm to inform marketing theory.

The review of the four key new social movement scholars that this subsection has provided has identified that it is the work of Melucci that is the most useful for this thesis. Specifically, using the work of Melucci as a theoretical basis for this thesis has the following advantages:

1. Unlike the other theorists, Melucci provides an analysis of both the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ of collective action
2. His middle-of-the-ground theories stress an interplay between structure and actor
3. Unlike Touaine and Castells, Melucci recognises that the organisation is a critical point for social movement analysis
4. Melucci provides a richer and more comprehensive understanding of ideology than the perspectives of the other three theorists
5. Melucci provides specific propositions that can be used for evaluating ideology (while Touraine also provides such propositions, Melucci’s approach to social movements is more concrete than Touraine’s approach and as such it is easier both to verify and to use Hjelmar, 1996)
6. Most importantly, Melucci’s work on ideology considers the dynamic nature of ideology and as such it is helpful to understand the phases that the ideology of a social movement go through over time

With this basis, the following section presents Melucci’s framework of ideology and discusses how this ties back into the marketing literature.
2.3. Melucci's Framework of Ideology and Alternative Approaches for Studying Ideology

The first subsection presents Melucci's framework of ideology and the propositions derived from this framework which structure this thesis. The second subsection then ties back to the marketing literature by looking at a number of possible alternative frameworks that could have been used instead of Melucci’s for studying ideology.

2.3.1. Melucci’s Framework of Ideology

Like Touraine (1981), Melucci (1996) suggests that the three analytical elements that make up the form of an ideology of a movement are identity, opposition and totality. Based on these three elements, the following propositions are put forward in this thesis:

P₁. Movement members are able to articulate a self-identity which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement

P₂. There is identification by movement members of an adversary

P₃. Movement members are able to articulate shared objectives

(These three analytical elements that make up the ideology of a movement are referred to throughout the thesis as identity, opposition and totality respectively).

Developing Touraine’s trichotomy of the analytical elements ideology, Melucci adds a time dimension to this model by proposing that the content of these elements varies at different moments in the trajectory of the movement. Given the significance of the time dimension inherent in Melucci’s framework of ideology, it is important at this stage to overview the two phases which Melucci proposes that a movement passes through over time. The formative phase of ideology occurs during the nascent state of the movement. It is a “moment of the fusion of the various components of a movement into a new form of solidarity in which the expressive dimensions and emotional identification with collective goals prevail” (Melucci, 1996, p. 350). In the formative phase, movements are characterised by a situation referred to as a regressive utopia. The general characteristic of utopia is the immediate identification between the actor and the goals of a global society. This utopia becomes regressive when the change in society is equated with a return to the past and the myth of rebirth. After this nascent phase, “the utopian components do not disappear completely, but progressively give way to an ideological elaboration which is more directly linked to the specific problems of the movement” (1996, p. 352). In this phase (referred to
by Melucci as the organisational consolidation phase) “new languages and new symbols are created to define the field and the actors of the conflict. The mobilized social group, the adversary, and the collective goals are redefined in a more pertinent manner; ideology becomes a more complex and detailed symbolic system” (1996, p. 352).

As well as explaining how the content of ideology changes over time, Melucci’s framework also provides a description of how the role of ideology changes over time. It suggests that in the formative phase, ideology has two main functions. The first function is to reduce the gap between the expectations of the movement members and reality that they face. In the following quotation, Melucci outlines what he means by this:

The birth of a movement is marked by ‘moments of madness’ (Zolberg, 1972), when all things seem possible, and collective enthusiasm looks forward to action, confident of a positive outcome. Ideology overcomes the inadequacy of practice: the less capacity for action the still weak and unorganised movement has, the greater will be the production of symbols (Melucci, 1996, p. 350).

Based on this, the following proposition and sub-propositions are put forward with regards to the content and the role of ideology in the formative phase:

P₄. There is a negation of the gap between expectations and reality

P₄ₐ. Moments of madness lessen

P₄ᵦ. More capacity for action results in less production of symbols

The second function is to legitimise the movement goals and defend the movement’s identity by referring back to the past. Melucci talks about a theme of rebirth and in the following quote he outlines what he means by this phrase:

Collective actors often make reference to a ‘mother society’ or to a ‘golden age’, temporarily rewriting the chronicle of the group’s infancy. The ideology of rebirth, of a return to an a-temporal past, is closely bound up with the need for a totalising legitimacy. In the moment of its formation, the movement restructures old social allegiances in a new collective framework: the defense of identity still defined by reference to the past is often the way through which new problems are addressed.

Symbols and cultural models are sought in the traditions of the group and the social movements that came before the movement now in formation. Symbolic referents and the language in which the new collective demands are expressed come from the past (Melucci, 1996, p. 351).

Based on this, the following proposition and sub-propositions are put forward with regards to the content and the role of ideology in the formative phase:

P₅. There is a theme of rebirth
P_{5a} Identity is defined with reference to the past
P_{5b} The symbolic referents, cultural models and language used comes from the past

As the movement grows two essential aspects of ideology become important. The first of these is that it fulfils a function of integration with respect to the movement as a whole. In the following quotation, Melucci specifies what he means by this:

A movement is subject to strong centrifugal pressures, due to both its own internal fragmentation and the initiatives of the adversary. The need to maintain organisational unity becomes stronger as the movement is consolidated. Ideology emerges as one of the main tools which can be used to guarantee integration (Melucci, 1996, p. 352).

Melucci postulates that this function of integration is accomplished by: a repeated proposal for values and norms; the control of deviant behaviour; and the stabilisation of certain rituals. Therefore the following proposition and sub-propositions are put forward with regards to the *content and the role* of ideology in the organisational consolidation phase:

P_6. Ideology fulfils a function of integration with respect to the movement as a whole
   P_{6a} There is a repeated proposal for values and norms
   P_{6b} Ideology is used to control deviant behaviour
   P_{6c} Ideology stabilises certain rituals

The second essential aspect of ideology that becomes important as the movement grows is that it is used to fulfil a strategic function. More specifically, Melucci outlines that this process takes place in two different ways:

On the one hand, there is an effort to widen the margins within which the movement acts within the political system, in order thus to increase the scope of its possibility to exert influence. On the other hand, ideology tries to widen the movement’s base and to push the groups which were previously outside the conflict to become involved in it (1996, p. 353).

Thus the following proposition and sub-propositions are put forward with regards to the *content and the role* of ideology in the organisational consolidation phase:

P_7. Ideology fulfils a strategic function
   P_{7a} Ideology is used to increase influence within the political system
   P_{7b} Ideology is used to expand the support base within society
2.3.2. Tying Melucci’s Framework Back to the Marketing Literature

Although not plentiful, a number of theories or models do exist in marketing which consider evolution over time. Given the focus on a dimension of time, such theories could possibly provide an alternative framework to Melucci’s framework for explaining ideological change in the SF movement. For example, just as marketing scholars have investigated the diffusion of new consumer products in the marketplace over time, diffusion models (Bass 1969; Rogers, 1976) could equally be applied to understand the diffusion of ideologies. This alternative which considers evolution over time is perhaps the closest thing we have conceptually in marketing to Melucci’s model of ideological change⁴. However, rather than simply being seen as an alternative, this thesis cross references the ideology literature to literature in marketing literature on adoption and diffusion and considers how the two theories can complement each other.

Rogers first introduced his version of diffusion theory in 1962 and defines diffusion as “the process through which an idea perceived as new, spreads via certain communication channels over time among the members of a social system” (2004, p. 13). Ideologies can quite clearly be considered to be a bundle of ideas and as such can be analysed using diffusion theory in much the same way as any other product or other new innovation can be. While diffusion studies focus on the processes by which the idea is accepted by the market, adoption studies on the other hand focus more on the psychological processes an individual goes through in adopting the particular idea or product. In the theory of diffusion of innovations, Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) define five categories of product adopters and the characteristics of each of these groups have since been studied extensively by marketing scholars (c.f. Mahajan, Muller, & Srivastava, 1990; Ram & Jung, 1994). A summary of some of the characteristics of the five categories is presented in Exhibit 6.

⁴ Note that the product life cycle model also looks at change over time but is more about sales and repeat sales rather than the diffusion of innovations (as explained by Rogers, 1976) which is about people and thus of more relevance to the current thesis.
• Innovators — are venturesome and eager to try new ideas, they have multiple information sources and substantial financial resources, are educated and have the ability to understand and apply complex technical knowledge.

• Early Adopters — localites (more integrated into the local social system than innovators), they have a high degree of opinion leadership, are popular and are respected by their peers.

• Early Majority — are deliberate, they adopt new ideas just before the average member of a social system and they have many informal social contacts but are rarely social leaders.

• Late Majority — traditional and adopt new ideas with caution and scepticism, need strong pressure from those who have already adopted an innovation before they adopt the change, lower socio-economic status and often adopt out of economic necessity.

• Laggards — traditionalists who make decisions in terms of what has been done in the past, they fear debt and are suspicious of both the new innovation as well as the innovators themselves. Have no opinion leadership role in society.

Exhibit 6 Characteristics of Adopter Categories
(Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971)

Unlike Rogers' model, the Bass diffusion model (Bass, 1969) accommodates innovators all the way through the diffusion process (Figure 4). This thesis examines linkages between the ideology literature and the diffusion of innovation literature. The problem with using diffusion work, when not in an ad hoc manner, is that it is impossible to predict how the innovation (in this case SF ideology) will finally be adopted and thus whether people are really early adopters or in fact laggards. Given this limitation, the diffusion models are still useful to this thesis as a metaphor but not as strong predictive models.

![Figure 4 The Bass Diffusion Model](Bass, 1969)
A second alternative could be based on the biological model of evolution first introduced to marketing by Alderson (1957), who borrowed terminology from ecological perspectives such as ‘behaviour systems’ and ‘ecological niches’ to study market evolution or other such change. This perspective would suggest that SF’s ideology will evolve and adapt according to the environment at the time (or put in behavioural sciences terms — SF’s ecological niche will keep evolving over time). Although a number of scholars have picked up on Alderson’s ideas on the life systems model over the years, the articles are all descriptive and no explanatory evolutionary model is put forward (Lambkin & Day, 2001; Wood, 2001).

While hardly accepted as theory in marketing as yet, two other possible alternatives exist. It would be feasible to try and explain the changes in SF ideology using natural evolution models such as Blackmore’s memetic model (1999), which is based on Dawkins (1976) selfish gene theory. In such a perspective SF ideology would be a cultural meme which evolves and adapts over time. Thus the current SF ideology would be just the dominant meme at the moment and would almost certainly change over time. A whole new series of questions would have arisen had this approach been selected to study the ideological change of the movement such as ‘is there one SF movement or multiple versions’? Finally, a further alternative to Melucci’s framework could have been an approach based on Kuhnian paradigm shifts (1962) which would understand the evolution (and paradigm shifts) of the concept of ideology to follow the changing intellectual circumstances and possibilities of the time. Melucci’s framework of ideological change provides not only a more relevant framework for studying consumer activist movement ideology than these alternative models of evolution described above, but a more practical framework as well.

When talking about evolution over time, it is difficult to avoid falling into the ‘structure versus agent’ debate. On the one hand, some theorists claim that culture is a structure and thus we are able to come up with valid deterministic theories of social change. Here Geertz’s macro structures of individual and collective action (c.f. 1973) and Marx’s well known structuralist theories (c.f. 1904) are classic examples. The diffusion of innovation model discussed above provides a marketing example of a deterministic theory of social change. Works that deal with complexity theory, systems and other distribution of events are also based on the acknowledgement of structuralism. On the other hand, there are a number of theorists which are anti-structural — in marketing Brown (2001) provides a
good example. In-between these opposed perspectives lie a number of middle ground theorists such as Chaney, whose work on lifestyles (c.f. 1996) includes conformity, groups and shared identities and is guided by the idea of cultural categories as a sort of structure. Melucci too has a balanced approach and as such can be termed a middle ground theorist. Melucci’s theory of social movements acknowledges the role of structure (e.g. he provides a lifecycle model of ideological change) and he provides a somewhat deterministic theory of ideological change. At the same time his theories acknowledge the importance of cultural concepts (e.g. language and symbols) which he embeds in social practice and the power of social movement participants (cultural agents) to have a say in change. His balanced approach is logical and helpful for understanding ideological change in social movements, which further justifies the use of his framework over the existing marketing alternatives discussed above.

The next chapter provides a review of the literature on consumer activist movements.
Chapter 3  Consumer Activist Movements

A review of the marketing literature reveals that the work which attempts to theorise consumer activist movements is inconsistent and incomplete with most of the studies in the area focussed on describing activist leaders and other such characteristics (this is the subject of Section 3.1). The domain of consumer activist movement research is suffering semantic and conceptual difficulties and it is noted in this chapter that the problem appears to be that consumer activist movement, as an analytical construct, has to date been too general to be useful for any serious theory development. If consumer activist movements as an analytical construct are to be of any use to consumer researchers, it needs to be more precise so that it is possible to differentiate between consumer activist movements and other types of collective behaviour in the marketplace such as spontaneous consumer panic, social movements, religious movements and planned consumer revolutions.

Thus, the aim of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, to discuss what it is that allows us to talk about consumer activist movements as sociological specific phenomena. Secondly, to determine where the analytical construct of consumer activist movements sits within this framework and therefore to start to define this concept. This is done by applying sociologist Melucci’s theory of collective action to the consumer context and proposing a definition of consumer activist movements. Based on this definition an analytical framework is proposed and a number of contemporary consumer food movements, including the SF movement, are classified appropriately.

3.1. Review of the Consumer Activist Movement Literature

A search for literature on consumer activist movements reveals a number of somewhat surprising results.

1. The literature on activism and consumer activist movements is sparse.
2. The majority of the literature comes from outside the marketing domain, which is arguably its most natural home.
3. Within the body of literature there is much description with little reference to substantiated theory.
4. The literature is piecemeal and is made up of many stand alone studies. There are few studies which aim to combine the work and no studies which provide an overview of the work in this field to date.

5. Almost all of the work has focussed on the Consumer movement (see key definitions in Section 1.4) which is only one of many different consumer activist movements that exist as this section will later explain.

Thus the aim of this section is to arrange this work by providing a synthesising overview of the consumer activist movement literature. Consumer activist movement theory is suggested as a disciplinary brand name for this research tradition. Consumer activist movement theory refers to a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer activists, consumer activist organisations and consumer activist movements. Within consumer activist movement theory, two main research programs can be identified: 1) consumer advocacy and activists; and 2) consumer activist organisations and movements. These streams of literature are summarised in turn over the next two subsections.

3.1.1. Consumer Advocacy and Activists

There are many forms of consumer advocacy. Some of the more common forms are communication with government or corporate decision makers (lobbying); public relation media acts (influencing press coverage, releasing policy related research and consumer opinion studies); coalition building (and grassroots mobilisations); boycotts (and buycotts); and shareholder activism (socially responsible investments). The most visible effects of consumer advocacy are perhaps at the political level, such as the huge number of laws and regulations that are established to protect consumers (such as the Fair Packaging and Labelling Act 1966, Consumer Product Safety Act 1972 and the Comprehensive Smoking Education Act 1984). Yet other effects of consumer action can be seen at the level of everyday life, such as changes in the availability of products in the marketplace (e.g. the increasing supply of organic eggs and recyclable shopping bags). These changes are driven by an array of consumer activists, non-for-profit advocacy organisations and governmental agencies all of whom have varying agendas. However, they share a common belief that changing consumption practices can lead to individual or societal benefits. The analysis of the collective action occurring within these complex networks that tie consumer activists
together can be accomplished by conceptualising the networks as an analytical construct. This is most appropriately referred to as a consumer activist movement.

Despite this variety of forms of advocacy that are used strategically by movement participants, consumer behaviour researchers have overwhelmingly focussed their efforts on just one particular form of action, consumer boycotts and buycotts. One notable exception here is the small body of work on consumer resistance. For examples are the works by: Penaloza and Price (1993) on consumer resistance from a postmodern perspective; Herrmann (1992) on group action and consumers that exist the marketplace; de Certeau (1984), Holt (1997) and Thompson and Haytko (1997) on consumer resistances that are found in the day to day minutia of product use and signification.

Friedman (1985, 1991, 1996, 1999) has lead consumer boycotts and buycotts research by providing a historical overview of boycotting behaviours. He has provided as well a conceptual framework, a research agenda and descriptive examples of both consumers boycotting and buycotting behaviours. While Friedman's research is largely orientated towards consumer policy and activism, consumer behaviourists have also contributed to this stream of work and include: Kozinets and Handelman (1998) who conducted a netnographic exploration of the meaning of boycotting behaviour; Klein, Smith and John (2003; 2004) who investigated the motivations behind boycotting behaviours; Garrett (1987) who looks at the effectiveness of boycotts; Miller and Sturdivant (1977) who look at an example of union boycotting; and Sen, Gürhan-Canli and Morwitz (2001) who provide a social dilemma perspective on consumer boycotts. Tied into the work on boycotts and buycotts is the body of literature on political consumerism where consumption is seen as a form of consumer voting power (Dickinson, 1991; Holzer, 2006; Micheletti, 2003; Shaw, 2007; Shaw, Newholm, & Dickinson, 2006; Stolle, Hooghe, & Micheletti, 2005).

Alongside the work on consumer advocacy strategies and tactics, a stream of literature on the consumer activists themselves has emerged. Within this research area consumers as activists are explored (Gabriel & Lang, 1995), as are their ideologies (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004) and what it is that makes them different from average consumers (Bourgeois & Barnes, 1976). Likewise characteristics of this consumerist segment have also been profiled (Bourgeois & Barnes, 1979; Elliott, 1975; Hustad & Pessemier, 1973).
3.1.2. Consumer Activist Organisations and Movements

This second stream of literature can be divided up into two different but interrelated parts: (1) the work on individual consumer activist organisations and interest groups and (2) the work on a range of different consumer activist movements including the work on the Consumer movement.

The body of work concerned with consumer activist organisations and interest groups is made up by a small body of literature which describes individual consumer activist organisations and different interest groups. Much of this literature portrays activist organisations which are in opposition to Muniz Jr and O'Guinn's (2001) brand communities as a type of de facto anti-brand community. Literature here includes for example studies on: anti-brand activism against companies such as Nike (Kozinets & Handelman, 2004); the behaviour of anti-advertising groups such as Ad busters (Rumbo, 2002); a range of other types of consumer self-organisations (Nelles, 1983) such as a case study of the formation of The Consumer Research and the Consumer Union in the USA (Hayagreeva, 1998). In an overview of the work on consumer activist organisations, Brobeck (1990) overviewed 943 articles about consumer organisations and concluded that there was insufficient empirical research on the cultural origins of not-for-profit consumer organisations, their advocacy and interrelationships and their linkages with other organisations. Another point to note is that few of these studies have attempted to present classifications of the different types of consumer activist organisations. One exception is Nelles (1983), who differentiates consumer organisations based on their action field (personal and cultural identity, housing and living areas and environment) and their form of action (either 'self-help' — such as cooperatives for example, or 'voice' — such as citizen action groups).

Also within the literature that constitutes this second research program is the work on various consumer activist movements. Consumer activist movements are complex networks that tie together different consumer organisations and interest groups as well as a range of activists. Research of such movements can be accomplished by conceptualising the networks as an analytical construct. Research which has investigated consumer activist movements includes for example, Kozinets (2002) who in his study of Burning Man Festival goers looks at the Anti-Consumerism movement, as do Craig-Lees and Hill (2002), Shama (1996) and Cherrier and Murray (2002) who investigate the Voluntary Simplifier movement. A consumer activist movement which has received scholarly attention is the Natural Health
movement (Thompson, 2004b). It is important to point out at this stage that although such movements can be considered as consumer activist movements (and are considered as so in this thesis), these and other similar movements have been investigated by scholars from a range of disciplines and have often not in fact been conceptualised as consumer activist movements. This thesis proposes that there is an advantage in conceptualising these movements as distinct from other more general social movements and this point is further elaborated on in a later section in this chapter. There are also a large number of interesting consumer activist movements which have not been studied by consumer behaviour researchers to date such as the Temperance, Anti-Drug and Anti-Tobacco movements to name just a few.

While marketing literature on consumer activist movements and consumer activism is generally sparse, an exception to this is the literature on consumerism which is abundant and varied. Consumerism is most often seen as a movement that aims to increase consumer power vis-à-vis sellers of products or services (Kotler, 1972b). Straver (1977) who presents a monograph on consumerism and the international consumer activist movement, differentiates between three levels at which consumerism operates: buyer defence issues (with marketing processes), economic power issues (competitive and market characteristics and structures) and societal structure issues (the macro-economic environment including economic, social/cultural and political variables). Given this broad scope of the issues that consumerism addresses, it is little wonder that there exists an abundance of works from many different social science disciplines. The Consumerism movement has become known by the more popular name the Consumer movement. Exhibit 7 presents an example of the types of issues that the movement addresses as well as a number of the movement characteristics. For each issue or characteristic, an example of an author who has written on the subject is displayed along with their theoretical contribution. It must be emphasised that the purpose of the summary table is to delimit the body of work on the Consumer movement and to illustrate a number of key texts and not to provide a complete list of literature on the subject. For a good outline of academic and non-academic literature on the Consumer movement refer to Brobeck (1990) and Brobeck, Mayer and Hermann (1997).
### Focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement Issues</th>
<th>Examples of Author(s)</th>
<th>Points of Theoretical Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The choice of issues that the Consumer movement address</td>
<td>(Herrmann, 1970)</td>
<td>Describes how the Consumer movement lacks a carefully planned program of action and how issues are often a result of historical accidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What consumerism means to consumers</td>
<td>(Kangun, Cox, Higginbotham, &amp; Burton, 1975)</td>
<td>Describes that consumerism is seen as incorporating issues of health and safety, repairs and service, product quality and information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What consumerism means for marketers</td>
<td>(Kotler, 1972b)</td>
<td>Argues that consumerism is inevitable, enduring, beneficial, pre-marketing and profitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer empowerment</td>
<td>(Davies &amp; Elliott, 2006)</td>
<td>Traces the changing experiences of consumer empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer education</td>
<td>(Kishtwaria, Sharma, Vyas, &amp; Sharma, 2004)</td>
<td>Consumer awareness (consumer legislation, organisations and protection laws)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing and consumerism</td>
<td>(Barksdale &amp; Darden, 1972)</td>
<td>Consumer attitudes toward marketing and consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement Characteristics</td>
<td>Consumer movement history</td>
<td>(Pertschuk, 1982)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes of consumerism</td>
<td>(Day &amp; Aaker, 1970)</td>
<td>Investigates the market and societal problems underlying the upsurge of interest in consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of the Consumer movement</td>
<td>(Shanks, 1983)</td>
<td>Discusses how the Consumer movement could become more effective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer movement participants</td>
<td>(Mayer, 1998)</td>
<td>Outlines women's contributions to the modern Consumer movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific geographical studies</td>
<td>(Kaynak &amp; Wikström, 1985)</td>
<td>Looks at consumerism in less developed countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divisions within the Consumer movement</td>
<td>(Glickman, 2001)</td>
<td>Questions solidarity of the movement by questioning fractures in the movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer movement leaders</td>
<td>(Horowitz, 2004)</td>
<td>Discusses influence of Consumer movement leaders such as Klein, Peterson, Nader and Ehrlic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Exhibit 7 Examples of Key Texts on the Consumer Movement

This section has pulled together the work in marketing on consumer activist movements. Consumer activist movement theory is suggested as an appropriate name for this research. Within this research tradition two main research programs have been identified: 1) consumer advocacy and activists; and 2) consumer activist organisations and movements. While most of the emphasis in the literature has been on studying the Consumer movement, it is acknowledged that this is only one amongst many different consumer activist movements (the following section will elaborate on this point). As well as this narrow focus, a number of other problems were highlighted such the lack of
substantiated theory in this field to date. The field of sociology and the study of social movements is an exciting area of research which looks promising for helping overcome the dearth of theory on consumer activist movements in marketing.

3.2. Conceptualising and Classifying Consumer Activist Movements

As was outlined in the introduction (Section 1.1) the marketing literature attempts to theorise consumer activist movements is inconsistent and incomplete. The body of work concerned with consumer activist movements discussed here includes the following streams of literature: consumer advocacy, including boycotts (c.f. Friedman, 1985; Klein, Smith, & John, 2004; Nelles, 1983) and other forms of consumer resistance (c.f. Penaloza & Price, 1993); consumer activists (c.f. Bourgeois & Barnes, 1976; Bourgeois & Barnes, 1979; Kozinets & Handelman, 2004); consumer activist organisations (c.f. Nelles, 1983; Rumbo, 2002); and the consumer activist movements themselves (c.f. Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002; Thompson, 2004b). One of the biggest problems is that the literature is piecemeal with many stand alone studies. One reason for this lack of cohesion is likely to be that to date there has been no systematic way to discuss the array of varied consumer activist movements that exist. Thus the aim of this section is to provide a logical, simple and systematic way of thinking about the wide range of existing consumer activist movements based on empirical collective phenomena. This will be achieved by (1) defining consumer activist movements; (2) discussing the criterion which can be used for categorising the various consumer activist movements; and (3) producing a taxonomy for classifying different types of consumer activist movements that are fighting for change in today’s marketplace.

3.2.1. Conceptualising Consumer Activist Movements

Consumer activist movements, as an analytical construct, have been too general to be useful for serious theory development. If this construct is to be of any use to consumer researchers, it needs to be more precise so that it is possible to differentiate amongst consumer activist movements and other types of collective actions in the marketplace. Therefore, before attempting to create a taxonomy of consumer activist movements, it is important to first discuss what it is that allows us to talk about consumer activist movements as sociological
specific phenomena. There is a large interdisciplinary literature on collective action (Oliver, 1993; Olson, 1971; Sandler, 1992), much of which has emerged from the field of sociology. The new social movement research tradition has been particularly influential in contemporary collective action discourse. In this area, Melucci (1989, 1996) provides what could be described as the most comprehensive theory of collective action. Melucci proposes that when analysing collective action, it is possible to distinguish between the basic dimensions of collective action which are consensus/conflict, aggregation/solidarity and the maintenance/breaching of the systems limits.

- Many collective phenomena come about through consensus over the rules and procedures governing them. Collective actions involving consensus have no contending interests or conflictual dimensions as they do not challenge legitimacy by identifying an adversary and a contested set of resources or values for example. Conflict implies a common reference system with an identifiable adversary and some sort of competition for a set of contested resources or values.

- Aggregation involves spatio-temporal contiguity, can be broken down to the level of the individual without the loss of their morphological features and are wholly orientated towards the outside rather than towards the group. Solidarity is the ability of actors to recognise others (and to be recognised) as belonging to the same social unit.

- Maintenance of systems limits is an order-maintaining orientation and includes behaviours whose effects remain within the limits of the structural variability of the given system of social relations. Breaching the systems limits is an order-changing orientation in which disruptive behaviours push the system of social relations to significantly alter its structure.

These different dimensions can be plotted as axes along which various forms of collective action can be arranged and identified. Based on the dimensions identified above, Melucci (1996 p. 29/30) defines social movements as:

The mobilisation of a collective actor (i) defined by specific solidarity, (ii) engaged in a conflict with an adversary for the appropriation and control of resources valued by both of them, (iii) whose action entails a breach of the limits of compatibility of the system within which the action itself takes place.

Because the consumer activist movement as an analytical category remains undefined in the marketing literature to date — and given the fact that consumer activist movements meet the

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5 These dimensions are bolded in the original text.
three social movement criteria above — it is suggested that Melucci’s definition of social movements is adopted to define consumer activist movements. However, although all consumer activist movements can be conceptualised as being social movements, it is evident that not all social movements are consumer activist movements. The difference which allows us to talk about two different phenomena is simple: while consumption in some form is inevitably a part of all social movements in one way or another, it serves only as a means to an end and is not the focus of the objectives of social movement participants. This point can be made using the example of a social movement such as the Human Rights movement which sells books and calendars to raise money and create awareness for their fight in defending civil liberties. Although such movements are actively participating directly in the marketplace by encouraging consumption, the marketplace and consumption are not their focus points for enacting social change. One additional criterion must be upheld to be considered as a consumer activist movement — consumption is the focus of the objectives of consumer activist movement participants. Based on such an understanding, Melucci’s definition of a social movement may be extended on to provide an appropriate definition of consumer activist movements by including a fourth criterion: the mobilisation of a collective actor (iv) whose objectives focus on changing consumption.

3.2.2. Classifying Consumer Activist Movements

Now that consumer activist movements have been defined, it is theoretically and practically useful to reflect on what different types of consumer activist movements exist and how these may be classified into some sort of logical structure. It is important to acknowledge the difficulties that the researcher faces when attempting to classify social phenomena such as consumer activist movements. If we consider the notion of consumer activist movements as an analytical category, we realise that it consists of an enormous range of phenomena which differentiate one particular consumer activist movement from the next. Not only are the elements which make up each consumer activist movement unique to each movement, but they are extremely varied within each individual movement and change over time, meaning that consumer activist movements do not fall nicely into precisely defined categories. It is important to emphasise that by selecting which criteria are to be used to define different types of movements, the researcher is inherently involved in the construction of these groups which therefore cannot be viewed as objective representations of reality. As such classifications and taxonomies must be seen to be simply descriptive and classificatory tools which enable the researcher to make analytical distinctions between the phenomena at hand.
The animal classification with its classification of humans and chimps, mammoths and manatees provides a good example to support such a statement. Given the subjective role of the researcher in selecting what elements to include (and not include) and where to classify the phenomena, the act of developing a taxonomy is itself an ideological construction. As such it is important to make explicit the fact that taxonomies are simply conceptual instruments which are by no means meant to be interpreted as a given reality.

Creating a taxonomy requires consideration of the many different types of analytical elements that can characterise any given movement. While the consumer activist movement literature in marketing does not provide any solid theoretical guidance here, the sociological subfield of social movement studies (where over thirty years of theorising in the area has resulted in a rich body of work) does. A review of the literature in the area resulted in the discovery of a considerable number of different ways to classify movements including the following:

(1) *Ideology* — In understanding injustices and possible alternatives activists draw upon a number of shared and highly resonant master frames which are relatively stable configurations of ideas that provide some sort of coherence to a movement (Carroll & Ratner, 1996; Snow & Benford, 1992). There are only a handful of generic frames that are broad enough in interpretive scope, inclusivity, flexibility and cultural resonance to function as master frames (e.g. rights; choice; injustice; environmental justice).

(2) *Structure* — A consumer activist movement’s structure can be characterised as being either centralised (top down pyramidal structure, implying that the movement’s ideologies and leadership are directed by some formal organisation) or de-centralised (bottom up grassroots structure implying that the movement’s ideologies and leadership come about in a more undirected, loosely organised manner (Hjelmar, 1996; Laraña, et al., 1994).

(3) *Ends sought* — Attempts to classify social movements may also be based on the distinction between identity-oriented (also known as new social movements) and strategy-oriented movements (Duyvendak & Giugni, 1995; Melucci, 1980; Touraine, 1981). Identity-orientated movements are established by networks of people with similar identities and interests. These movements are made up of a combination of non-governmental organisations, community based groups and individuals. They tend to incorporate a global perspective as their members display a high degree of planetary interdependence (Melucci, 1995). Aided by communication technologies such as the internet, these global movements link international issues with local concerns (Castells, 2003). As such, they pursue a strategy of ‘globalisation from below’ which is characterised by “grassroots activities and
street-level protests across disperse geographical locations” (Carty, 2002, p. 132). Furthermore, identity-orientated movements tend to have an expressive logic of action, meaning they are movements which are internally orientated and realise their goals, at least in part, in their activities. For example, the de-centralised form of many identity-orientated movements is itself a message and a symbolic challenge to other forms of organisation and leadership, in that it signals an alternative, more democratic ways of governing (Hjelmar, 1995). Note that while identity-orientated movements do tend to have de-centralised movement structures (and strategy-orientated movements tend to be more centralised), this is not always the case. Diani (1992) for example, rejects the idea that anti-institutional styles are a fundamental trait of identity-orientated movements. The expressive logic of action of identity-orientated movements is in direct contrast to strategy-orientated movements which have a more instrumental logic of action meaning they pursue goals in the outside world for which the action is instrumental for goal realisation. Rather than the members consciously practicing in the present the objectives they pursue (as is the case with identity-orientated movements), the identity and activity of strategy-orientated movements is based on the most effective way to reach the movement objectives. Other points where these two different types of movements differ is that the identity movements are more likely to involve civil society (versus the state), have their objectives played out in the cultural realm (versus political realm) and aim for social integration (versus system integration).

(4) **Field of action** — It is possible to distinguish movements according to the field which their action takes place: the life world system (networks of conflictual social relations); organisational system; political system; or at an antagonistic level (which contests the way in which societies resources are produced and the general goals of production and development) (Melucci, 1996).

(5) **Degree of change sought** — A movement may be characterised by the degree of change they seek (Smelser, 1962). When a movement’s goals and objectives require only minimal (partial) change to the status quo, they may be described with adjectives such as norm-orientated, reformist and moderate. At the other end of the scale, when a movement’s goals and objectives seek substantial (total) change of broad social values, they can be described as value-orientated, disruptive and radical.

(6) **Action strategies** — While some movements rely on more moderate communication strategies (e.g. bargaining, petitioning and lobbying, letter writing), others are use more militant strategies which employ a more hostile communication style (e.g. rhetoric, disruptive image events, actions that provoke backlash, unreasonable demands, pressure against targets’ accomplishments, harassment and sabotage) (Derville, 2005).
Action tactics — It is possible to differentiate between two types of action techniques: direct action (immediate actions directed at targets e.g. boycotting products, marches, sit ins and other such actions which attempt to disrupt normal proceedings) and indirect action (which uses institutions and other groups who are not the target group, to help enact social change, e.g. by lobbying government agencies).

Type of members — Finally, one other way to differentiate between movements could be by considering the different sort of members that belong to the movement. The social movement literature partly addresses the topic of types of movement members. McCarthy and Zald (1973) for example, discuss the difference between permanent activists and part-time transitory teams that enlist episodically for demonstrations and other collective actions (cited in Shanks, 1983). Much of the literature in this area though is limited and focusses somewhat simplistically on the motivations of members (c.f. Herberle, 1968). The political science literature (specifically the work on political consumerism) also partly addresses the topic, with Micheletti (2003) for example, differentiating between ‘activist consumers’, ‘responsible consumers’, ‘ethical consumers’ and ‘political consumers’. While insightful, the focus of such work, however, is political participation rather than movement participation. It is the tribal marketing work of Cova and Cova (2002) which appears to provide the most robust classification that is suitable for the consumer movement context.

The first step in devising the taxonomy was to reduce the large list of possible dimensions to a manageable number and avoid the duplications inherent in the discussion above. This was done by carefully scrutinising the overlap that was present in the various dimensions and merging them where appropriate. Closer inspection and trial of the proposed categorical dimensions revealed that many could be merged together to provide three distinct categories that were able to adequately differentiate between diverse consumer activist movements. These were:

(1) The ends sought — identity-orientated movements are more likely to draw on rights/oppositional/injustice/cultural/feminism ideological master frames and make
use of direct action protest techniques. The strategy-orientated movements are more likely to draw on master frames such as choice and make use of indirect types of action.

(2) The degree of change sought — movements pushing for norm-orientated change are likely to be focused on making changes at the ‘life world, organisation or political’ system level and do this by using more moderate strategies. Movements seeking value-orientated changes are likely to be fighting at the antagonistic level and employ more militant type strategies.

(3) The structure of the movement — a centralised movement inherently implies more official members and practitioners, while a de-centralised movement hints that members are more likely to be participants and sympathisers.

It is interesting to note that the three proposed categories here are conceptually close to Melucci’s six different dimensions of collective action that were discussed in Subsection 3.2.1. Although Melucci’s taxonomy was created for differentiating between types of collective behaviour (and not different types of consumer activist movements as is the case here), it nonetheless provides some validation that the dimensions selected are consistent with a wider literature. Furthermore, note that although the movement member categorisation was not selected to differentiate between consumer activist movements, this thesis does employ it to help differentiate between two levels of analysis within one movement — the entire consumer activist movement and the consumer activist organisations within it. As such, Cova and Cova’s classification is revisited in Subsections 4.2.2 and 7.2.1 as well as throughout much of the latter part of this thesis.

The second step was to identify different consumer activist movements and then classify these according to the proposed criteria. Given the range of varied consumer activist movements that exist and the need to offer significant results within the practical limits of a research paper, it was decided to limit to food movements. This industry is global and experiences a wide range of issues that provide a suitable test for the taxonomy. The ten food movements that were classified were the following: Fair Trade (a market-based model of trade that offers marginalised producers fair prices); GE-Free (countering the efforts to use genetically modified foods); Food Information-Labelling (ensuring consumers have adequate product information about the nutritional value of food and increasingly about the origin and production method as well); Food Justice (promotes a strategy of food security where all people have access to nutritionally good and safe food); Food Nutrition (advocating the benefits of eating healthy and balanced diets); Local Food (pushing social
and environmental benefits of eating locally produced foods); Organic (popularising the problems of agricultural methods which use pesticides); Safe Food (concerned primarily with food safety legislation and surveillance); SF (in opposition to fast food it promotes ‘good, clean and fair’ food); and Vegetarian (addresses animal rights, health, environmental and social justice issues). In order to illustrate (1) the process of delimiting the boundaries of each movement and (2) the classification process of each movement in the taxonomy, an example using the SF movement is now provided.

**Demarcating the Boundaries of the SF Movement**

The definition of consumer activist movements (detailed in Subsection 3.2.1) can be used to help with this task. To be a part of the SF movement, not only must there be an awareness of the repercussions of behaviour, but organisations/persons must participate in such behaviours because they are motivated to do so for ethical or political reasons. This requires the identification of a problem (and an adversary) as well as a desire to change the status quo. For example, selling food with a SF label on (because it is profitable to do so), attending a farmers’ market (because it is the closest place to buy food), or cooking from scratch (because it is cheaper), does not automatically mean that an organisation or an individual is part of this movement. If the motivation of labelling products as SF is to raise awareness of good production practices, the motivation of shopping at the farmers’ market is to support local food growers, or the motivation of cooking from scratch is to cook better quality meals, then organisations or individuals participating in these behaviours may be within the boundaries of the SF movement. Another important criterion that must be met for an organisation or an individual to be included in the SF movement is solidarity. This involves the ability of SF members to recognise others (and to be recognised) as belonging to the same movement. There is considerable overlap with a number of the ten food movements and it was this solidarity criterion which proved to be particularly useful in differentiating between them. For example, the SF movement and the Local Food movement both promote more localised food systems as an alternative to the current dominant global food system. Although the two movements identify similar conflicts (and adversaries), similar solutions and go about achieving their objectives in similar ways, what makes the movements distinctive from each other is the unique sense of solidarity found in each movement. The members of SF, for example, share a common sub-culture which is made up of shared feelings and emotional links, symbols and rituals (Subsection 6.4.3 discusses the symbols and rituals of the SF organisation and Subsection 6.6.3 discusses those of the wider SF movement). This is distinctly different from the sub-culture found in the
Local Food movement. Thus the SF movement can be defined as being made up of the following:

- The SF organisation and a range of other networks and associations (e.g. producers of SF products), outlets (e.g. SF restaurants) and groups that offer related services (e.g. SF cooking classes or wine tastings). These other groups may or may not be linked to the SF organisation.
- A whole spectrum of people including those who are involved in institutionalised forms of protest such as the SF organisation, as well as those who are involved in more individualistic forms of protest.

**Deciding what ‘Type’ of Consumer Activist Movement SF Is**

As SF is posited as an alternative lifestyle, the goals of the movement are in part achieved through daily activities (such as cooking and eating food). Furthermore, it is a movement that links global issues (such as the risks to the planet that mass scale industrial monocropping poses) with local concerns (such as the need to preserve local food cultures and cuisines). As such it is possible to classify SF as an identity-orientated movement. However, unlike many other identity based movements, SF is distinctive in that there is one central organisation that has initiated and continues to drive the movement (the SF organisation which originated in Italy). Given the fact that this formal organisation is so influential in creating and promoting ideologies for the wider movement, this movement is classified as a centralised movement. The SF organisation’s objective is to get everyone eating good, clean and fair food and as such, the SF organisation demands much higher standards from the food industry than are currently in place. Such a demand would require substantial and disruptive changes to the status quo in modern agricultural and food distribution systems as well as in broad social values and therefore this movement is be classified as a value-orientated movement.

The ten consumer food movements were classified based on the three resulting dimensions. The results are presented in a taxonomy based on the dimension ‘ends sought’ in Exhibit 8.
Exhibit 8 A Taxonomy of Consumer Food Movements

The ten food movements fell into only four of eight possible categories of movements suggesting (at least with regards to food movements) that four different ‘types’ of consumer activist movements exist. If we consider the different dimensions for each group, we can start to conceptualise each type of consumer activist movement. For example, the ‘identity and value orientated de-centralised’ movements (in this case the food justice, organic food, vegetarianism and local food movements) are antagonistic movements which draw on broad societal consumer goals such as overcoming social and environmental injustices. They are expressive movements which have high symbolic contents including, for example, daily rituals. Their comparatively de-centralised structure implies that involvement in these movements is likely to be not through formal membership as such, but expressed in the casual gatherings of the movement sympathisers and participants.

The primary contribution of this exercise is that it provides a systematically logical and simple way of differentiating between consumer activist movements. The proposed taxonomy is only exploratory at this stage and much more rigorous discussion is required before its value is truly determined in the consumer context. Further research may for example, investigate in more depth, the relationship between types of consumer movements and ideology. Melucci’s theory of collective action has been introduced as a way to differentiate amongst consumer activist movements and other types of collective actions in the marketplace. It is proposed that his definition of social movements is adopted and extended on to provide an appropriate definition of consumer activist movements. If consumer activist movements are conceptualised in this way, it becomes evident that there are many different types of movements and not just the one which is most often discussed in marketing — the Consumer movement. Rather than continue using the current slippery terminology, the recommendation is that this particular movement should continue to be referred to as the Consumer movement and the broader category of movements of which this
is a part, be referred to as consumer activist movements. The rewards of conceptual clarity that such a change offers would make such a change worthwhile.

3.3. Conclusion to the Literature Review

Chapter 2 has investigated the concept of ideology, including its long and complicated intellectual history and its common usages in the social sciences disciplines. Melucci’s framework of ideology was then presented and discussed. A number of points from this chapter need to be brought forward at this stage. These are:

1. That in marketing, the literature on ideology is sparse and incomplete.
2. That although a number of potential models do exist in marketing which contribute to an understanding of ideological change, they were developed for other purposes and don’t provide an adequate basis for studying consumer activist movement ideology. Consequently, it was more useful to turn to the discipline of sociology (which has a much richer literature on ideologies) for guidance.
3. Within the sociological domain of social movement analysis, two different traditions of scholarship have explored the concept of ideology quite differently. New social movement theory was determined to be the paradigm which proved to be most useful to this thesis.
4. That, of the four most prominent new social movement theorists, Melucci’s framework of ideology (which builds on that of Touraine’s), is the most developed. Specifically, the strongest argument for using Melucci’s theory of collective action as a research agenda over other alternative approaches is that it provides a good explanation of the processes by which movement ideology grows and changes over time.

Chapter 3 then looked at consumer activist movements. This helped to conceptualise and classify the case study for this thesis — the SF movement. In this chapter, a number of important contributions were made. These are:

1. An overview of the work on consumer activist movements has been provided.
2. Consumer activist movement theory has been suggested as a name for this research tradition.
3. It has been highlighted that if consumer activist movement as an analytical construct is to be of any use to consumer researchers, it needs to be more precise.
4. The concept ‘consumer activist movement’ has clearly been defined. As this new definition reveals, the movement often discussed in marketing — Consumer movement — is only one of many other types of consumer activist movements. Rather than continue using the current terminology, the recommendation has been made that this particular movement continued to be called the Consumer movement and the general category be called consumer activist movements.

5. Melucci’s theory of collective action has been identified as a possible way to help consumer researchers differentiate amongst consumer activist movements and other types of collective actions in the marketplace.

6. A simple and systematically logical way of differentiating between the many contemporary consumer activist movements has been offered. By clearing up some of the existing conceptual confusion in the body of research, the taxonomy has the potential to lead to a better understanding of the characteristics of specific movements and as well as to how that particular movement fits into the larger context of other existing types of consumer activist movements.

Based on the work done in these two chapters, it becomes evident that the SF movement is an appropriate case to study for this research. For example, SF is different to previous movements investigated by Melucci such as the Peace movement and the Womens’ movement in that is a movement with a centralised structure. This means that the SF movement is a good choice, not only because it provides a nice example of ideological change, but also because the findings of this thesis will be able to help further develop Melucci’s framework of ideology by evaluating it in a different environment.

Now that an understanding of the concepts of ideology and consumer activist movements has been achieved and a framework for assessing ideology and a case study have been selected, the next step is to set up a practical way to look for and assess ideological change in the SF movement.

This is done through the creation of (1) a research question; and (2) research propositions, both which help guide the research process. These are now presented in turn. Firstly, this thesis investigates the following research question:

**How and why have the form, content and role of the ideology of the SF movement changed over time?**
Secondly, this researcher will search for evidence around the following research propositions which have been derived from Melucci’s (1996) work of ideology.

**The form of the ideology:**

P1. Members\textsuperscript{SFO\&SFM} are able to articulate a self-identity which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement

P2. There is identification by members\textsuperscript{SFO\&SFM} of an adversary

P3. Members\textsuperscript{SFO\&SFM} are able to articulate shared objectives

(These three analytical elements that make up the ideology of a movement are referred to as identity, opposition and totality respectively).

**The content and the role** of ideology: It is proposed that the constituent elements of the ideology described above (identity, adversary and totality) take on different cultural contents and vary at different moments in the trajectory of the movement.

**In the formative phase,** there are two elements that characterise ideology:

P4. There is a negation of the gap between expectations and reality
   - P4\textsubscript{a} Moments of madness lessen
   - P4\textsubscript{b} More capacity for action results in less production of symbols

P5. There is a theme of rebirth
   - P5\textsubscript{a} Identity is defined with reference to the past
   - P5\textsubscript{b} The symbolic referents, cultural models and language used comes from the past

**In the organisational consolidation phase,** there are two essential aspects of ideology which become important:

P6. Ideology fulfils a function of integration with respect to the movement as a whole
   - P6\textsubscript{a} There is a repeated proposal for values and norms
   - P6\textsubscript{b} Ideology is used to control deviant behaviour
   - P6\textsubscript{c} Ideology stabilises certain rituals

P7. Ideology fulfils a strategic function
   - P7\textsubscript{a} Ideology is used to increase influence within the political system
   - P7\textsubscript{b} Ideology is used to expand the support base within society

These propositions will direct both the data collection and the data analysis processes, which are now discussed in the methodology chapter.
Chapter 4  Methodological Issues

Chronologies highlighting key events in the SF organisation’s history already exist. An example of a typical chronology is the one put out by the publishing wing of the SF organisation, *From Arci Gola to Slow Food: The birth and development of an international association* (SF.Editore, 2006a). Another publication which details the history of the SF movement is the work of Petrini and Padovani (2006). This book, entitled *Slow Food Revolution: A New Culture for Eating and Living* includes testimonies from SF representatives and takes readers on a gastronomic journey through the history of the SF organisation. It provides a comprehensive and insightful history of SF from the perspective of the organisation’s leaders. While the existing histories are centred on describing key organisational events, this thesis investigates the important links that have occurred between these key events as it is this which makes this movement’s history so fascinating.

Therefore the focus will be describing and explaining the changes that have occurred in the ideologies that have driven not only the organisation but the wider SF movement. Two points inherent in this research aim are relevant to the selection of research methodology. Firstly, this aim signifies that both a functional (how) and causal (why) approach to the research has been taken. This approach necessitated that the research design was a combination of both description and explanation. Secondly, the concept of change over time is a central component in this research aim. Given these considerations, historical method provides the best alternative for capturing this sort of research design and a dynamic evolutionary concept such as change (Kumcu, 1987). This chapter starts by introducing historical research in marketing (Section 4.1). The remainder of the chapter (Section 4.2) outlines what constitutes historical method based on Shafer’s (1974) classic guide. Here the reader is guided through each respective stage of the historical research process and an explanation and justification of the selected methods are provided at each stage.

4.1. Historical Research in Marketing

This section outlines the work in marketing on historical method to date and presents a summary of the main perspectives and methods of marketing history.
4.1.1. An Overview of the Field

There is a historical tradition in marketing, the beginnings of which are often traced back to the efforts of Hotchkiss whose classic (1938) work, *Milestones of Marketing*, documents progress in marketing up to that date. Bartels' (1962) work, which documents the development of marketing thought, is also credited as being seminal in founding the historical tradition in marketing. Today's body of historical marketing literature is extremely diverse and therefore it is common (c.f. Jones & Monieson, 1990; Kumcu, 1987) to classify it by dividing it up into three categories. These are 1) the history of marketing thought (c.f. Bartels, 1976; Schwartz, 1963; Sheth, et al., 1988); 2) the history of marketing content (c.f. Hollander, 1986; Low & Fullerton, 1994; Nevett, 1982); and 3) the use of historical analysis as a method (c.f. Firat, 1987; Kumcu, 1987; Savitt, 1980). Jones and Monieson (1990) who summarise these three major categories of research, note that since the 1980s marketing content has accounted for the largest proportion of publications.

The field of marketing history has been relatively fertile in the last 30 years and continues to increase in popularity. Evidence of this trend is found in the advent of the biannual Marketing History Conference, dedicated tracks to this area in a number of other conferences (e.g. ACR 2008) and special issues dedicated to the area in other mainstream marketing journals (e.g. Culture and Consumption's call for historical perspectives in 2008). This growth in historical research has been attributable to a number of factors including the sheer enthusiasm of its academic advocates, growing acceptance of post-positivist research methods (though historical method is not necessarily post-positivist), the interventions of non-business scholars and the maturation of marketing as an academic activity (Brown, Hirschman, & Maclaran, 2001).

Despite this recent relative success of the historical field, a relatively common criticism of the general marketing literature is still that there are very few theories and models in marketing that address change over time. Section 2.3 discussed the work done on diffusion theory (Bass, 1969; Rogers, 1976; Rogers, 2003). As well as this area of theorising about change, there are also a number of prominent lifecycle theories — such as the product life cycle model (Levitt, 1965), the retail life cycle model (Davidson, Bates, & Bass, 1976) and the wheel of retailing theory (Hollander, 1960) — which trace consumer products and retail institutional evolution over time. The problem for the marketing discipline is that many of these theories that do deal with issues of evolution or spread, have
largely been adapted by marketing practitioners as managerial tools used for example to predict the number of purchases for new consumer durable products, or to assess the business case for investments in new technologies. Vigorous and in depth theorising about change over time remains relatively scant in the marketing discipline and is a problem which has previously been identified by others: “It is unfortunately true that while there exists a mushrooming necessity for understanding and explaining change, this necessity has been greeted with limited and simplistic theories which are extant” (Davidson, Bates, & Bass, 2002). Research which addresses this conceptual gap will help the field of historical marketing gain legitimacy as a more mature academic discipline.

Within marketing history, a number of different schools of thought are distinguishable. The three main models of historical inquiry are logical positivism, interpretivism and relativism/constructionism. These models are presented in Exhibit 9 which summarises their philosophical and epistemological dispositions. Perhaps the most fundamental difference which differentiates interpretive (and positivist) history from relativist/constructivist history is that interpretive and positivist history is based on a belief of realism, whereas relativism/constructionism history is not.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Logical Positivism</th>
<th>Interpretative</th>
<th>Relativist (Constructivist)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truth Claims</td>
<td>There is one truth, but researchers are rarely able to access this truth (especially about the social past)</td>
<td>History constructs a truth of the past, it does not retell it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Although truth can be approached (but never proved), historians can make propositions about the past that are reliable to varying degrees</td>
<td>Truth is perspectival — historians make history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanatory Paradigms</td>
<td>Traditional narrative, advocacy and context approaches</td>
<td>Critical approaches such as historical comparison, causation and social change approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence Used</td>
<td>Historical facts (prior to and independent of interpretation)</td>
<td>Contextualise historical materials within theoretical frameworks as the primary means to reveal reality. An ‘evidence/data-theory’ approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical materials (treat as concrete artefacts and interrogate them to ascertain their truthfulness)</td>
<td>The researcher’s perspective is included as an integral part of the research process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods and Techniques Used</td>
<td>Pattern finding, hypothesis testing and prediction, relative validity of laws, correspondence theory (working backwards to access the truth), Cliometrics</td>
<td>Propose relationships between events in the past and try and validate these through empirical research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The study of history is a study of causes. Case study and other critical approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>(Kumcu, 1987)</td>
<td>(Smith &amp; Lux, 1993)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exhibit 9 Models of Marketing History
Adapted from the works of the following scholars: Booth (2005), Munslow (2007), Novick (1988) and Wooliscroft (2004).

4.1.2. Locating the Research

In this subsection, the epistemological stance of the thesis is defined and the thesis’s position on number of important historical issues is made clear. It is acknowledged that in order to be able to appreciate a historical work, it is important to understand the standpoint from which the historian has approached it (Carr, 1961[2001]). Thus the aim of this subsection is
to explain clearly the perspective of this thesis. Interpretivism remains by far the most popular philosophical genre in the field of history to date and it is the epistemological preference of this thesis. This means that history is perceived above all as meaning interpretation and that the process of historical research is considered to be the interaction between the historian and their facts. A more detailed summary of the thesis’ philosophical position with respect to understanding the past has been outlined in the Preface to this thesis.

As is the case in any discipline, there is much heated scholarly debate in the history discipline over a number of concepts that are central to the field (Booth, 2005). For example, historians coming from varying ontological and epistemological backgrounds, relentlessly quarrel over the academic merits and perils of striving for objectivity over subjectivity, of using theoretical or non-theoretical approaches and over the role of structure versus agency in historical analysis. These key concepts and the debate that surrounds them are now considered in turn and the position of this thesis to these is discussed in each case.

Objectivity versus Subjectivity

In his essay That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession, Novick (1988, p. 2) claims that historical objectivity “is not a single idea but rather a sprawling collection of assumptions, attitudes, aspirations and antipathies”. He goes on to describe a number of assumptions on which this concept rests including 1) a commitment to the reality of the past and to truth as correspondence of that reality; 2) a sharp separation between ‘knower and known’; 3) a sharp separation between ‘fact and value’; and above all 4) a sharp separation between ‘history and fiction’. These assumptions provide the framework for the treatment of objectivity in this thesis and these are now discussed in turn.

1. The assumption that objectivity requires a commitment by historians to the reality of the past is upheld in this thesis as it is the ontological position of realism which guides this thesis. Although it is acknowledged that it is impossible for the social historian to fully unveil the reality of the past, it is nevertheless important that they are committed to trying.

2. Objectivity requires that there is a sharp separation between ‘knower and known’. While a perfect distinction between the historian and their evidence is ideal, it is an unrealistic goal given the impossibility for the historian to remove themselves from their culture and their own history when selecting what evidence is worthy for inclusion (Carr, 1961[2001]). Researchers can however attempt to be as objective as possible given these biases and in the guide The Long Interview, McCracken (1988) suggests that this can be
done by conducting what he terms a 'cultural review'. On a similar note, Melucci (1996) suggests that during the research process, the researcher needs to move between the position of the external observer and the viewpoint of the actors. This requires that the researcher has to try and understand both the ideological frames of the movements’ actors and also identify the logic that structures the field itself. Note this is very similar to Pierre Bourdieu’s (1985) approach which uses the concepts of habitus and field to overcome the division between the objective and subjective. The identification of personal biases upfront allows researchers to obtain a clearer understanding of their vision of the world and then the opportunity to ensure that they maintain a critical distance from this vision. This advice has been adhered to and in an attempt to be as objective as possible the researcher has identified their personal biases (see the Preface to this thesis) and has taken these into account while analysing the data.

3. Objectivity requires a sharp separation between fact and value. However rather than believing that researchers should let the facts speak for themselves, this thesis acknowledges that historians choose the facts they present from a vast and imperfect pool of potential historical facts and as such the historian is necessarily selective and determines which facts will speak and which will remain silent (Carr, 1961[2001]). This perspective undermines the legitimacy of the absolute objectivity of facts. Scholars adhering to a more positivistic model of inquiry refuse to acknowledge the impossibility of truly separating the concept of value and fact and are extremely uncomfortable with the term ‘advocate’ and its connotations of biases, subjectivity and partisanship. The perspective adopted in this thesis on this debate is summed up nicely by Booth (2005, p. 111) who claims that “nearly all historians, irrespective of what model they use, engage in advocacy... as any scholar who constructs an argument is, by definition, an advocate”.

4. Underlining the concept of objectivity is the assumption that the difference between history and fiction is essential. Again the interpretivist stance taken in this thesis provides a realistic middle ground approach here. By acknowledging that the truth can be approached but never proved, historians can make propositions about the past that are reliable to varying degrees. Thus while histories are never able to reach the ideal of being truly accurate representations of the past, they are (or should strive to be at least) more than works of fiction.

Theoretical versus Non-Theoretical Approaches
Academic theory (meaning scientifically accepted general principles which are used to explain the phenomena at hand) is “a thorny subject for historians” (Booth, 2005, p. 43) with cases for and against the use of theory in history. Historians from the positivist school for
example, often claim that history is, or should be at least, a discipline which is strictly a-theoretical. Criticisms of the use of theory are based around the argument that theory introduces distortions into historical explanations by predetermining answers. For example, an avid defender of this ‘anti-theorists’ camp, Elton (2002, p. 61), remarks that historians that use theory in their interpretations are “not only insufficiently self-conscious as to their own conceptualisations, but they stretch others concepts to fit their specific evidence, paying little attention to how concepts are built”. On the flip side of the argument is the data-theory approach. Proponents of this approach, such as Sombart (1929), that embrace theoretical frameworks as a means to reveal reality, sometimes go as far as to claim that it is an essential part of the historical process and that no theory equates to no history. The thesis takes this latter position and uses Melucci’s framework of social movement ideology as a way to understand the changes in the SF movement over time. This ‘deductive’ approach fits well with the interpretive belief that using theory to guide historical research allows historians to provide a clearer and more enriched historical account.

Structure versus Agency
If historians do decide to embrace theory in their historical enquires, the next question that arises is which type? A longstanding debate persists about the advantages that structural theories have over theories based on the concept of agency (and vice-versa), for understanding social change. Structural theories such as Marxist accounts of social history (which were based on economic determinism), dominated the field of social history until the 1970s. Such theories however became increasingly criticised for being reductionist and the 1970s witnessed a theoretical ‘cultural’ turn in social history with new approaches to history emerging such as micro-history (Fass, 2003). Such approaches were based around the concept of agency and rejected the determinism inherent in the structural theories. Claiming instead the relative autonomy of culture, these approaches combined the analyses of symbolic systems with more traditional descriptions of context (Burke, 2004). In the structural versus agency debate, this thesis adopts a middle ground position. It is an approach which is capable of grasping social interaction both as structured by rules and resources and as acted out by the agency of subjects (Welskopp, 2003). This position is in line with the theorising of Melucci, who also represents this middle ground approach (see Subsections 1.1 and 2.2).
4.2. Descriptions of the Stages of Historical Method

The philosophical beliefs about history can vary considerably between historians as was detailed in the previous section. Given this diverse range of varying perspectives, it comes as no surprise that there are many methods of history writing. The umbrella term used for this collections of methods is historiography, which means the writing of history (Stanford, 1994). The method selected should naturally be determined by the overarching ontological and epistemological beliefs of the researcher. Given the interpretive stance of this thesis, the methodology used in this thesis is based on a historical research method outlined in Shafer's (1974) classic work A Guide to Historical Method. This method is well suited to the objective of this thesis — to understand the theoretical dimensions of social change over time. The benefits of using this historical method are: 1) it allows the researcher to utilise a data-theory approach (and the potential for this to be based on a mixture of theories of structural and cultural causality); 2) it purports a multi data-source approach which adds rigour to the historical research process; and 3) it allows critical analysis of the data in the process of building the historical argument. It is this combination of factors that make this method the best alternative. This thesis has adapted Shafer's historical method to best suit the research aims and the specificities of the research requirements. Figure 2 in Section 1.3 outlined the historical method employed in this thesis and the remainder of this section provides explanations and justifications of the decisions made in each step of the research process.

4.2.1. Selecting the Topic and Identifying Research Propositions

The first step in the research process is to delimit the topic. To do this, the researcher should start with orientation reading followed by systematic bibliographic work. A synthesis of the background reading undertaken for this thesis has been presented in the literature section. A review of the marketing literature signalled the existence of unfulfilled theoretical assumptions about three important concepts, these being ideology, change over time and consumer activist movements. These theoretical gaps provided the opportunity for the research in this thesis. Combining these three concepts, the following historical research question was decided upon:

How and why have the form, content and role of the ideology of the SF movement changed over time?
After delimiting the topic, Shafer recommends that researchers come up with working (tentative) hypotheses. This deductive approach fits well with the interpretive stance of the thesis and the corresponding belief that a data-theory approach is the best way to do historical research (see Subsection 4.1.2). Thus the next step in the research process was to decide which existing theory was the best alternative to use to help explain the phenomena of social change over time in the selected research area. Melucci’s framework of ideological change in social movements was selected to help guide the research process (justification for the choice of this theory can be found in Subsection 2.2.2). Rather than deriving ‘hypotheses’ as such from Melucci’s work (this term conjures up images of statistical processes such as ‘testing’), more qualitative ‘research propositions’ have been adopted to guide the research process. These research propositions provide a chain of reasoning and it is these that help conceptualise the abstract concept of ideology. The propositions derived from the work of Melucci help operationalise ideology by providing the processes to identify and categorise ideological change. The research propositions were first outlined in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3). Throughout the research process, there is a continuous interaction between these research propositions and the historical evidence collected.

4.2.2. Collecting the Evidence

Historical materials that can be analysed as evidence can take many forms depending on the ontological and epistemological beliefs of the researcher (see Exhibit 9 in Subsection 4.1.1). Given the interpretive stance of the thesis, the historical materials which are selected to build the historical argument are contextualised within Melucci’s theoretical framework as the primary means to reveal reality. As the researcher makes the decisions about what evidence will and will not be included in the analysis, the researcher’s perspective is included as an integral part of this step of the research process.

The focus of the investigation will be on ideologies as they are located in language (linguistic symbols, textual, spoken discourse). Defining the concept of ideology by reference to language, it becomes feasible to study both past and present ideologies and hence allows investigation of the changing role of the ideology of the SF movement over time. Two main data sources are used to collect historical evidence for this thesis and these may be divided into two levels. The first level is historical data collected at the organisational level (the textual production of the SF organisation produced by activists, committees and functionaries such as movement leaders and movement intellectuals at
various levels of the organisation). The research technique used to collect the data from this source is a critical analysis of themes in identified key texts based on the research propositions. The second level of historical data is collected at the individual activist level (the production of speech by the different types of movement members). The research technique used to collect evidence from this data source is semi-structured interviewing, once again based on the research propositions.

In accordance with the ontological and epistemological stance of this thesis, this multi-data source, multi-research technique approach was identified as the best method, amongst other possible alternatives, to search for evidence of ideological change over time in the SF movement. The critical analysis of key organisational texts provided a broad overview of ideological change in the movement, while the interviews allowed more in depth exploration of some of the more hidden aspects of ideology such as identity. To elicit historical data from these two data sources, other alternative techniques could have potentially been used. For example, content analysis or a range of other deconstruction methods could have been employed to analyse the key texts. However as the aim was to consider a broad range of different types of texts and look for information based on the research propositions within these, word counting on the one hand, or the investigation required for deconstruction on the other, discredited these possibilities as appropriate research techniques. Personal interviews have a number of advantages over other methods such as questionnaires in that they allow more flexibility on the part of the researcher, they are able to capture non-verbal communication and they allow the researcher to use probing questions. For an ambiguous topic such as ideology, these considerations were all important, thus necessitating personal interviews.

The purpose of the selected approach was not to contrast organisational ideologies against individual ideologies (as in fact there is a relationship between the two in that the organisational texts are often produced by individuals), but rather the objective was to seek a triangulation of data sources. While it was logical to start with the former of these (as the information found in the organisational texts helped prepare the interviews by educating the researcher about the SF organisation and movement), it was in reality more of an iterative process. The two sources of data used are now explained and these methodological choices are justified.
Data Source 1 — Organisational Level Data (Collected in Printed Materials)

Using SF archival materials to collect evidence of ideological change proved to be a rich and insightful data source. The advantages of employing this particular method (over other alternatives) were multiple. Firstly, it allowed the researcher to capture the time period involved (1989 — present) with the printed materials providing many visual contextual cues thus allowing the researcher to situate herself in that time period. Secondly, text, printed images and organisational slogans allowed the visual comparison of past versus present ideologies. Finally, the SF archival material was readily available. An enormous and diverse range of published material both by and about the SF organisation exists (the former are referred to as ‘internal publications’ and the latter ‘external’ publications). Material published by the SF organisation includes the material printed from the central international SF publishing company (SF Editore) such as wine, food, restaurant guides and SF books; material published by national SF branches such as press releases and member magazines; and material published by local branches including newsletters. In addition to this, members have other media by which they communicate including SF blogs and forums. The material about the SF organisation primarily consists of press reports and academic studies. Given the vastness of the body of SF literature, a complete review was unreasonable. Rather, boundaries were put on literature, confining the search for historical evidence of ideological change to what was deemed the most informative texts and was limited to information published by the SF organisation. The aim of this stage of data collection was completeness, so the data gathering process stopped once the saturation point was reached and new printed materials were not providing any further information. The main materials that were selected and analysed are presented in Exhibit 10. Note, while most of these materials are publicly available, some of them (e.g. the legal SF organisational documents) are not. These documents were obtained at the Meeting of International SF Councillors in 2008, Lugano, Switzerland which the researcher attended as an observer.

The Official SF Magazine — The first edition of the official SF International magazine ‘Slow, herald of taste and culture’ (Slow) was published in 1996 in Italian, English and German and later on in Spanish (2003) and Japanese (2005). Publication of this magazine ceased in 2007. During this period it was published four times a year and was mailed to all Slow Food international members as part of their subscription. The magazine is composed of writings from all over the world and as such Slow is the SF cultural review (SF Editore online, July 2008). All 58 issues published in English in the SF archive were analysed.

Books — Slow Food Editore currently boasts a catalogue of 70 titles, including restaurant and wine guides, food essays and memoirs, reprints of historical food classics and educational texts. Key texts analysed were: The Slow Food Revolution: A Case for Taste (Petrini & Padovani, 2006) and Slow Food Nation: Why Our Food Should Be Good, Clean and Fair (Petrini, 2007).

The SF Companion — This is the booklet provided to all members worldwide when they first join which offers an explanation of the organisation, its ideology and its activities. Two editions (2005 and 2008) were available for analysis.

Important SF Organisational Legal Papers — A range of legal organisational papers were analysed including: the Ark Statute (2002, 2008); the SF Foundation for Biodiversity Statute (2003, 2006); the SF International Statute (2003, 2007); the SF Communications Office’s Strategy (2008), Financial Statements of SF (2007) and a SF Report on Operations at (2007); and minutes of SF USA Board of Directors meetings (from 2006 onwards).

Online SF Materials and Blogs — On the SF websites a vast collection of historical articles was analysed including the collections of Slowweek (started in April 2001 and printed weekly) and Slow Talk (started in 2001). A number of general online blogs exist (e.g. the Terra Madre Blog with old postings dating back to 2006) as well as country specific blogs (e.g. France and the USA).

International SF Press Releases — The SF organisation has released more than 340 press releases in English between the years 2000 and 2008. A pseudo-systematic sampling across time of these was conducted.

Newsletters — A selection of country specific newsletters were analysed from 2006 onwards including: Snail Pace, Australia and New Zealand; L’escargot, France; The Snail, USA; and The Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity’s newsletters.

Exhibit 10 A Summary of the SF Organisation’s Texts Analysed

The justification for the selection of these main materials is fourfold. The key texts represented:

1) A number of different types of printed materials (with each type offering different sorts of information).

2) A number of different countries (essential given the influence of globalisation in changing the SF ideology).

3) The time period involved (hence capturing the time dimension).

4) Texts which were targeted to a range of audiences (both members{SFO and the members{SFM).
In each of these key texts, the researcher searched for evidence of ideological change based on the research propositions (presented in Section 2.3). The principle guiding question asked when judging the usefulness of each potential text was ‘does this help with understanding ideology’?

There are two main limitations inherent in this data source. Although some of the ideological changes have manifested themselves into a visual reality (e.g. ideological slogans in SF magazines), others changes are more complex and their dormant nature means that they are virtually impossible to uncover without having in-depth discussions with the people concerned. The second limitation is that the documentary material about the movement has almost all been published by SF organisation leaders (members^{SFO}) meaning that the ideology of the SF movement has been reduced to the unity of leaders’ ideology (which may differ considerably from the ideologies of other types of movement members (members^{SFM}). Triangulating the evidence of ideological change that is found in the organisational materials with a second source of historical data collected in in-depth interviews with individual SF activists helps overcome both of these limitations.

**Data Source 2 — Individual Activist Level Data (Collected in Interviews)**

The second source of data was collected at the individual level through face-to-face semi-structured interviews with SF movement members (including both members^{SFO} and members^{SFM}). In the interviews with the members^{SFO}, the respondents were asked a series of questions pertaining to their own personal life histories (e.g. their own current beliefs and experiences of ideological change). They were also asked to serve as an ‘expert’ informer on various aspects of the SF movement with a series of questions posed about changes in SF organisational strategies and culture and structure as well how these factors may have affected the changes in the organisation’s ideology. In the interviews with the members^{SFM} (the ‘practitioners’, ‘participants’ and ‘sympathisers’), the focus was on their own personal life histories.

The analysis at this individual level using this type of interview is necessary to obtain a rich insight into the concept of ideological change and is justified on a number of fronts. Firstly, it allowed insights into certain aspects of ideology (such as movement identity) that was not otherwise apparent from organisational texts. Secondly, by exploring activists’ lives
over time, this method provides a longitudinal window on the SF movement activism. These longitudinal insights allowed the researcher to capture the rhythms of social movement growth, the involvement and withdrawal of members and consider how these trends affected the SF ideology. Thirdly, the non rigid and open-ended nature of semi-structured interviews allows for different lines of questioning based on previous historical evidence collected in both the documentary materials and previous interviews. Finally, it is a critical approach to data collection which provides a human and subjective account of change which fits well with the interpretive stance of the thesis.

The selection of interview respondents was guided by theoretical and practical considerations rather than representativeness. The aim of the selection process was to select respondents who would likely have variation in their stories. To this end, a number of criteria were set up upon which different ‘cohorts’ of members were selected. It is important to note that the aim of interviewing different cohorts of members was not to explicitly contrast ideologies between different types of members, different time groups or different countries. Rather the aim was to achieve diversity in respondents so as to ensure rich and more realistic historical data. The first criterion was that different types of SF members (members\textsuperscript{SMF} as well as members\textsuperscript{SMI}) were interviewed. The inextricable link between the composition of the SF movement and changes in its ideologies meant that just speaking to organisation leaders would not have captured this diversity and therefore a range of members was more appropriate. The second criterion was that a range of members who had joined the movement at different stages were also included in the study. This helped to ensure that the time dimension in the research question was addressed. The third criterion was that there was some variety in the nationalities of respondents, helping to ensure the global nature of the SF movement was acknowledged. As with the analysis of the organisational texts, the main aim for the data collection in the interview stage was completeness. Thus once data saturation occurred (and new respondent’s stories added no extra relevant information), the interview process was considered complete. In total 23 respondents were interviewed. Table 1 provides a brief overview of the respondents and includes what ‘type’ of SF member they are, some basic demographic information (gender, age group and nationality) and other relevant general details about that person. To ensure the promised confidentiality, each respondent has been given a purely fictional name which is used throughout the remainder of the thesis. Other information which could lead to the identification of the respondent has also been deleted accordingly.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Pseudo) Name</th>
<th>‘Type of Slow Foodie’</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>General Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glenn</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>Australian/New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is an academic whose research interests include political communication, anti-globalisation protest movements. Founded and leads a SF convivium. “So what sparked my interest in SF was a personal interest in food... and also my personal interest in vegetable gardening, together with a professional interest as an academic” (39m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>Italian/New-Zealander</td>
<td>She is an Italian author, expert in Italian products and culinary traditions. Owns an Italian Cooking School. Founded a SF convivium. “I saw SF as my baby” (48m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>He is a SF convivium leader. Now retired, he was the owner of a local food restaurant. “I was in the Good Food Guide for many years. One of my favourite statements was 'Is this a restaurant or a political statement?' I dearly loved that one... I thought that's very much what I'm doing” (50m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmel</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>She is the Manager for one of SF’s main offices at the International headquarters. “The oldest ones like me, we can help because we still have the main frame because we have seen it [the SF organisation] grow” (30m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agosto</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>He holds a senior level position at the University of Gastronomic Sciences and is on the editorial staff for one of SF’s magazines. “SF is a critical observer of the food system” (1h51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raul</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>He holds a senior level position in the SF Italy organisation. “The first time I was involved in SF was in 1988 for wine classes. This was one of the first things SF did... I saw the growing of the movement” (1h23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>He holds a senior level position in the SF Italy organisation. “We will continue to create networks of worldwide producers of food and then these networks, will go much wider than SF, we are the link, we are the actual blood the fluid that helps these elements meet” (2h3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piero</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>He is on the International SF Board, He is the Managing Director for one of SF’s main offices at the International headquarters. “Since 1999 I spent more than 360 days a year being involved with SF... SF is something that you believe in” (1h46)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 An Overview of the Respondents Interviewed (Continued Overleaf)

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6 The time the quote was made during the interview
7 Many of the quotes from interview respondents were from non-native English speakers and are not grammatically correct. The researcher has decided to leave all quotes in their original form to ensure authenticity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Pseudo) Name</th>
<th>‘Type’ of Slow Foodie</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>General Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elisa</td>
<td>Member℠</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>Australian/ Spanish/ Italian</td>
<td>She is a director of a geographical area at the SF International Headquarters. “There is something about the Piedmont region that sustains that heart and soul of what SF is” (1h16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiorella</td>
<td>Member℠</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>She works at the SF Study Centre. “We manage the content of SF, organise SF events and other food events and meetings” (2008℠)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pam</td>
<td>Member℠ (Practitioner)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>She holds a senior level position with a national organic association and is an active member of the Green political party. “I hardly ever buy things in packets... I try to make things from scratch” (1m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>Member℠ (Practitioner)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>She is a political studies student who organises a campus based environmental group. “I have too many things to worry about in the supermarket. I have to figure out what’s morally best” (1m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>Member℠ (Practitioner)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is an academic teaching global politics of food and a PhD student studying ‘terroir’ (the special characteristics that geography bestowed upon particular varieties of wine). “The really nice thing about it [SF] is that it’s not the hair-shirt type of activism, it’s really grounded in the stomach” (1h18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>Member℠ (Practitioner)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is a community advocate for social justice and an environmentalist. “One of the reasons that I’m trying to work my way out of going to supermarkets is that... A comment made about Ghandi is that we can learn from this person that non-participation in things that we see as evil is a really good non-violent form of protest, so I’m looking for ways of not participating in the parts of the system that I see as bad” (55m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bianca</td>
<td>Member℠ (Practitioner)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>She is the chairperson of a local farmers’ market. “I was raised on a farm which made me aware of what a good vegetable was and wasn’t” (1h37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>Member℠ (Participant)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>Italian/ French/ New-Zealander</td>
<td>He owns and manages a fresh pasta making factory. “I used to dig a lot of gardens for little old ladies. My mother has always had a very big garden. I’ve always known about food without really knowing that I knew about it” (4m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibold</td>
<td>Member℠ (Participant)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>He is a PhD student studying design, wine and the concept of ‘terroir’. “I grew up cooking from the age of four... It’s a passion” (7m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert</td>
<td>Member℠ (Participant)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70+</td>
<td>English/ New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is a retired café owner and psychiatric nurse. A keen home gardener. “If you buy locally your helping the small producer which I think is worth doing” (1hr30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 An Overview of the Respondents Interviewed (Continued Overleaf)

The interviews with respondents Fiorella and Kaye were not video recorded and are consequently referenced in this manner throughout the thesis.
Table 1 An Overview of the Respondents Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Pseudonym) Name</th>
<th>Type of SF Foodie</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>General Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ray</td>
<td>Member^SPM (Participant)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is an academic whose research area includes wine and food tourism. “I think I’ve got a bit of sensation seeking personality. I don’t like jumping off bridges or any of the risk taking stuff, but trying new foods kind of gives me an outlet for that” (7m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doug</td>
<td>Member^SPM (Sympathiser)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>English/New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is an academic whose research interests include gastronomic/culinary tourism. He has twenty years of experience in the hospitality management industry. “I probably live to eat rather than eat to live, given that it was my career for 25 years” (2m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruby</td>
<td>Member^SPM (Sympathiser)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>&lt;30</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>She is a high school French teacher. “[SF’s] an idea that a lot of my friends and I, well a lot of people I know are into” (7m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob</td>
<td>Member^SPM (Sympathiser)</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>He is a high school art teacher who runs evening cooking classes for adults. “If there was a way to have everything organically grown and it was still profitable, yeah I’d be happy to join a movement that pushed that” (1h27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaye</td>
<td>Member^SPM (Sympathiser)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>New-Zealander</td>
<td>She is the national spokesperson for a multinational fast food company “Now I eat it [fast food] once a week because I work next door to the restaurant and at the same time I’m not fat. I subscribe to cuisine and I’m quite a normal person in terms of I go to Farmers’ markets... I go to the butcher for my meat. So I’m quite a normal person but can still eat fast food” (2008)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is seen in Table 1, all the 23 respondents were classified as one of four different ‘types’ of SF members, based on Cova and Cova’s (2002) typology (which was first presented and discussed in Section 1.1). The classification of respondents into one of the four different categories was based on the level of involvement of the person in the SF movement. Involvement in the movement was defined by behavioural elements (belonging to a SF institution of some sort, attending SF events, participating in any other SF practices) and habitual elements (the frequency of participation which was used to distinguish between distinct behavioural patterns and isolated acts). Note that while there is logically a range of involvement levels within each of the four categories, in the ‘member^SPM’ category, those interviewed were at the heavily involved end of the spectrum, as all nine members were either leaders of, or worked for, the SF organisation. In reality there are also likely to be

^ These practices could include participation in forms of activism such as donating money, joining a demonstration, signing a petition, internet campaigning, or alternatively could include participation in the movement through lifestyle related acts such as growing organic vegetables and cooking meals from scratch.
check book members$^{SF}$ who, aside from paying the organisation’s subscription fee, are not involved much in the movement at all. Also important to point out is the fact that all of these nine interviewees were members of the SF organisation (and not other networks, organisations or associations which also make up this group). Thus while every effort was made to include a selection of respondents in this research, these factors are acknowledged as practical limitations of the methodology. The classification of type of members is now detailed in Exhibit 11 where quotes from the interviews exemplify the process.

(1) Members$^{SF}$: Classification as a member$^{SF}$ required that one criterion was met — that the interview respondent was a paid up member of the SF organisation.

The level of involvement varies enormously between members$^{SF}$. Some people simply pay the annual fee and receive the SF reading materials, while others attend or help organise the many events organised worldwide by the SF international, national and local chapters. People working for the SF organisation are all obviously classified as members. Level of involvement may also change over time as the following quote illustrates: “I read a couple of articles on SF... that triggered my interest... then not long after that... a convivium got started and I got involved, just as a member... then I became a public officer and then it took off from there” (Glenn, 36m).

Although most of the membership fee paid upon joining SF goes towards funding the wider international SF organisation in Italy, some members$^{SF}$ may identify more with their national or local SF group than the wider movement: “I think it’s fair to say that most people who are either members or supporters of SF here don’t have much of a connection to SF Italy, they probably feel more like members of [the local] SF [chapter] than anything else” (Glenn, 52m).

(2) Members$^{SM}$ (Practitioners): These are those people who strongly believe in the SF philosophies, but do not belong to the official SF organisation: “I love it (the SF philosophies) in general; I really like the idea of the SF movement” (John 1hr7).

In their day to day practices they are likely to make a conscious effort to embrace SF principles (note that this is referred to by Cova and Cova (2002) as having quasi-daily involvement in tribal activities): “I shop mainly at the supermarket and Taste Nature, I think about provenance, where it comes from, I think about process and I think about if it’s organic... in recent years we’ve been much more self-sufficient, we have a garden” (Sam, 40).

They are quite likely to be active in other similar organisations and activist groups which may work in association with the SF organisation: “I have had contact with SF through Otago Organics which is another organisation I belong to, which is mainly small scale growers... Otago Organics had a harvest festival and we invited all the SF people to come along... so I know some of the members” (Pam, 14m).

The difference between practitioners and members is that although both groups agree with the objectives of the movement, for one reason or another practitioners have not officially subscribed to the SF organisation: “SF is a bit of all things for everyone in some areas and for me it gives me structure to my thoughts and gives guts and pleasure to activism and that’s great and I love that and I don’t need to be a member to have that frame of reference. I just need to know that it exists, to know that it’s there. It just gives me something to hang on to or to push against and that’s great. So I don’t want to belong to something that is costly to belong to, I can’t afford it and many of the people who belong are wealthy consumers, they aren’t really interested in getting their hands dirty” (Sam, 57m).

(3) Members$^{SM}$ (Participants): People in this group have some tendencies towards SF ideology and may occasionally partake in activities and other happenings organised by the SF movement.
Like the previous group, participants may identify with the wider SF movement even though they don’t ‘officially’ belong to the organisation: “I would say some are taking part in the movement without being a member of any of these organisations... so I am probably [a] typical [member]” (Tibold, 6m).

Perhaps the biggest differentiating factor between the participants and practitioners is that participants tended to be less focussed on activism generally than the practitioners: “I’m not a member of anything; I don’t even know what it means being a member. I don’t even know what the [SF] convivium do exactly, what’s their purpose in life?” (Vincent, 11m).

(4) Members\textsuperscript{SF\textsubscript{M}} (Sympathisers): Sympathisers are marginally/virtually integrated into the SF movement. Although they may be sympathetic towards the SF philosophies generally, they are less likely to actively put these philosophies into practice on a daily level: “I have heard of the SF movement, it’s actually growing and I can understand why... we can’t do that because we have two hours to produce a three course meal... we couldn’t do things like lamb shanks because it would take too long to cook so we’re limited to that” (Rob, 59m).

Exhibit 11 An Illustration of the Classification Process

The interviews were semi-structured and interview guides were used. The following extract from McCracken’s work The Long Interview sums up nicely the purpose of the interpretive research guide:

It is a rough travel itinerary with which to negotiate the interview. It does not specify precisely what will happen at every stage of the journey, how long each stopover will be, or where the investigator will be at any given moment, but it does establish a clear sense of direction of the journey and the ground it will eventually cover (1988, p. 37).

Two guides were constructed, with one being for the interviews with members\textsuperscript{SFO} and the other for the interviews the members\textsuperscript{SF\textsubscript{M}}. Following McCracken’s advice, both interview guides consisted of question areas which were based on the research propositions derived from Melucci’s framework of ideological change. A copy of the interview guides are presented below in Exhibit 12 and 13.
Opening: I’d like you to tell me a little bit about how you first became involved with SF...

- How have SF issues changed for you personally over the years?
- How do you understand the movement to have grown over the years (e.g. are there any important influences in the formation of the SF idea that you can identify).
- Are there different stages in the history of SF? Can you identify critical points that changed the movement?
- What phase of development is the movement at currently (e.g. establishment, growth, maturity stage)? Is the movement still growing (overall, internationally and in specific countries)?
- How has the ideology of the movement changed as the movement has grown over the years?
- Who are SF’s opponents? Have these changed?
- Tell me about some of SF’s campaigns (both successful and unsuccessful): How did SF ensure that they emerged out of each of these with the most favourable image possible?
- Stereotype a typical SF person. Is this person different now than 5 years ago? 10 years ago?
- Tell me about some SF customs and traditions. Have these changed over the years?
- Is SF different from other movements (e.g. the Organic movement or the Environmental movement) and if so how?
- Are members expected to behave in a certain way (e.g. are there certain taboos)? Have these expectations changed over the years?
- SF collaborates with a number of different organisations and groups. Have these types of organisations changed as SF’s philosophies have changed?
- What direction do you see the SF movement taking in the future?

Closing: Is there anything else you have thought of?

Exhibit 12 The Interview Guide Used for Members
Opening: What other sorts of food issues are you interested in? What sorts of things do you think about before you put a food item in your shopping basket?

- How have your attitudes about food issues changed over the years?
- Can you identify key events (triggers) that have caused this change?
- What are some of the important influences that may have helped shape your attitudes to food?
- Do you belong to any food organisations or groups?
- Are you aware of the SF organisation/movement?
- What are your perceptions of the SF organisation/movement?
- How would you stereotype a typical SF person? Is this person different now than 5 years ago, 10 years ago? Do you identify / feel connected to this person in any way?
- Do you think that SF is different from other similar movements (e.g. the Organic movement or the Environmental movement) and if so how?
- Have you considered joining the SF organisation?

Closing: Is there anything else you have thought of?

Exhibit 13 The Interview Guide Used for Members

Before the interviews took place, all respondents were presented with an information sheet (Appendix A) and asked to sign a consent form (Appendix B). Twenty-two of the interviews were conducted face to face and the interview with Kaye was conducted over the phone. The interviews were conducted between the months of June and August 2008. The duration of the interviews ranged between 45 minutes and 1 ½ hours. All but one of the face-to-face interviews were recorded on digital video cameras (and the phone interview was recorded on a tape recorder) and all the data was stored in a searchable form. The videos were watched (and re-watched) and key parts and key quotes from the interviews were transcribed. Given that the research was guided (with the researcher looking primarily for evidence around the propositions based on Melucci’s theoretical framework of ideology), this approach is justified. Recognising that the propositions may have limitations, other potentially interesting and relevant material from the interviews was also noted (e.g. notes on the structure of the movement were taken as it became obvious that this was important).

There were two main issues which needed to be addressed. Firstly, as 11 of the interviews were with people that the researcher had met at least once previously, the risk of social desirability was higher in these interviews. Therefore at the start of the interview, the

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10 As aforementioned, the face-to-face interview with Fiorella was not videoed, however detailed notes were recorded by the interviewer.
interviewees were reassured that there were no right or wrong responses which minimised the chance that this would become a problem. As it turned out, it proved advantageous to have known some of the interviewees as these interviews tended to be more relaxed, with interviewees speaking very openly about their food beliefs. Secondly, a limitation of historical interviews which rely on the introspective recall of respondents to answer many of the questions is the issue of the dependability of people’s memories. To overcome this issue, the interview data is critically examined to check for authenticity both internally (within the interview itself) and externally (with other events happening at the time), as is now explained in more detail in the following section.

4.2.3. Integration and Analysis of Data

An important part of the research process is the critical examination of the data. Here it is important that sources are checked for authenticity and historical reliability. This was especially important in the interviews where there was the potential for biases to occur due to a number of reasons. For example, respondents cannot critically reflect on themselves and some respondents are forgetful and have inconsistencies in their stories. Other respondents may not be in a position to comment honestly (e.g. because they work for the organisation and are thus not in a position to criticise) and there is always the possibility that some respondents may be self-serving and try to push a certain message (and/or a political view) in their descriptions. All the interviews were checked for these possible sources of biases by using a number of methods. These included drawing conclusions based on multiple sources of data and using comparative analysis techniques (e.g. making sure there was consistency with other respondents’ stories) to synthesise and interpret the data. The respondents and their ability to comment on particular matters within the movement were also taken into account. For example, Italian respondents who were involved directly in the founding of the SF organisation were considered to be the best sources of information on the thinking that went on behind the founding manifesto of the SF organisation. In this case, these respondents were considered to provide the most authentic insights on this subject. However, on other issues, some of the other respondents provided more reliable information.

After critically examining the data, the researcher must then analyse and interpret it. This process is complex and requires “bricolage, the gathering and piecing together of clues, the following of tracks that lead back to the starting point, the recognition of signs that that are instantly recognisable and the discovery of other signs that were missed the first time
round” (Melucci, 1989, p. 13). Using analytic guidelines based on the research propositions to structure this process (Appendix C), evidence of ideological change was sought in both the archival material and the interviews. Systematic references for both the archival materials and the videos were diligently kept. In the case of the archival materials this was simply a matter of identifying relevant themes and noting these along with the references for these. For the videos, the process was similar, with the researcher noting the information relating to the research propositions and recording the corresponding time code and keeping track of these in an excel spreadsheet. Synthesising the data in this way was the start of the process of historical reasoning. The aim here was to build a historical argument outlining which factors primarily caused the change in ideological focus of the SF movement.

4.2.4. Preparation and Communication of the Historical Argument

The aim at this stage was to communicate the historical argument. A popular structure for presenting historical findings is narrative and it is the structure adopted for the purpose of this thesis. A narrative “is a coherent story comprising a series of sequential and consequential (that is, causal) relationships within a beginning, middle and end structure” (Booth, 2005, p. 62). Within any narrative, four basic elements — character, setting, action and happening, interact to provide the story (Belk, 2006). In the process of writing a historical narrative, the historian divides up the story into relevant sections. This process is referred to as periodisation and may be done in a number of ways such as chronologically, contextually, or topically. Chapter 5 of this thesis outlines the history of the SF organisation and chronological periodisation is necessary to do this. The results of the research propositions P₁-P₃ are scattered throughout the chronological narrative and are then brought together in a summary section. While it is sufficient to present relatively straight forward results in this way, the analytical issues of the more complex research propositions (P₄-P₇) are better understood if separated out by subject matter (Hollander, Rassuli, Jones, & Dix, 2005). As such, topical periodisation was selected for Chapter 6 as the most appropriate way to communicate the chapter’s findings.
4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced:

- The aims of the research.
- The ontological and epistemological perspective adopted.
- The key historical concepts and the treatment of these.
- The research propositions derived from Melucci’s framework of ideological change.
- The sources of data used to collect the historical evidence and the techniques used to elicit the data from these.
- The data analysis techniques employed to synthesis this data.
- The way that that the historical argument has been presented.

At every step of the research process outlined in this chapter, many decisions had to be made to select the best alternative from many different alternatives. By employing a combination of two data sources and two different data collection techniques, the weaknesses of each approach that exists when it is used in isolation was mitigated and the strengths of each approach utilised.

Chapters 5 and 6 communicate the historical argument put forward by the researcher to explain the ideological change evident in the SF movement over time. While a number of these results may be able to be applied to new research settings (e.g. to understand ideological change in other similar consumer activist movements), this will depend very much on the context. Consistent with the interpretive framework adopted in this thesis is the belief that knowledge about the unique is equally important as knowledge about the general. What perhaps make for the most interesting reading in the narrative communicated in the following chapters are neither the general histories nor the unique histories told, but rather it is what is general in the unique history of the SF movement.
Chapter 5  History of the SF Organisation and Insights into the Form of SF Ideology

Firstly, this chapter outlines the history of the SF organisation by presenting a chronological overview of key events and key changes (which is summarised in Exhibit 14). Section 5.1 describes the early origins of the SF organisation pre-1990. This section details the important years leading up to the time the actual SF idea was formally conceptualised and first put into action. Section 5.2 describes the period between the years 1990-1996, which was a period where both the SF idea and organisation really started to gain serious traction. Section 5.3 presents a narrative of the SF organisation between the years 1997 and 2003. These years were an important period of growth in the SF organisation’s history. It was during this time that the new focus of ‘clean’ food, or ‘eco-gastronomy’ — spurred into life by the Ark of Taste initiative in 1996 (see Section 5.2) — was elaborated on and operationalised. Section 5.4 describes the range of activities and changes that took place during the time period 2004-2008. In this period, the notable change in ideology was that the SF organisation expanded its focus and range of activities by adding the notion of ‘fair’ food to its conceptual makeup of ‘good’ and ‘clean’ food. Section 5.5 leaves behind the historical overview and moves forward into the future, presenting a range of evidence on the direction that the organisation will most likely take in upcoming years.

Secondly, this chapter provides evidence that supports the research propositions concerning the form of ideology (the elements that make up an ideology — P1-P3). The evidence uncovered in the research process is interwoven into the narrative of this chapter and is then brought together in a synthesising overview in Section 5.6.

A particular text — written by SF founder and current leader Carlo Petrini and journalist Gigi Padovani (Petrini & Padovani, 2006) and titled *Slow Food Revolution* — was drawn upon extensively in obtaining information for this chapter which needs to be acknowledged at this stage. This book is the main source of historical information about the SF organisation available in English and contains input from a large number of the SF organisation’s founding members. Information from this text has been authenticated by comparing the information with data obtained in the interviews.
**Libera e Benemerita Associazione Amici del Barolo** [Free and Meritorious Association of Friends of Barolo wine], the nucleus of what will become Arci Gola (an oeno-gastronomic ‘Arci’ group), is founded in Bra, Italy

The **Libera e Benemerita Associazione Amici del Barolo** group organise an oeno-gastronomic week in Mira, Italy where many leftist intellectuals, journalists, young restaurateurs and wine producers and activists meet up.

**La Gola** — a monthly periodical devoted to food culture and a source of inspiration for the ‘slow’ ideology is first published in Milan

Arci Gola, the forerunner to SF, is formed

The Arci Gola association is officially formed in the Langhe district of Piedmont, Italy. Carlo Petrini is elected president and they launch a regular insert called *Gambero Rosso* [Red Crayfish] in the monthly leftist newspaper *Il Manifesto* to communicate their views on food.

Members of the Arci Gola group protest against the opening of a McDonald’s at Rome’s famous Piazza di Spagna by handing out bowls of free pasta in front of the store.

Arci Gola organise a conference ‘at the table with the PCI’, where the SF concept is first introduced.

The founding SF manifesto is written and the snail is introduced as the organisation’s symbol on the cover of Arci Gola’s magazine — the *Gambero Rosso*

The First National Congress of Arci Gola is held in Siena.

Arci Gola publishes *Vin d’Italia* [Italian wine] guide

The International SF Movement is founded in Paris with the signing of the SF manifesto

SF Editore publishing house is created and the publication of the *Osterie d’Italia* guide [Guide of the traditional restaurants of Italy] marks this occasion.

First SF International Congress is held in Venice. A Council of 10 is elected and the SF International Statute is established

The second International Congress of Arci Gola is held and the words ‘Slow Food’ are added to the original name, consolidating the two organisations at the international level

SF Germany, the first national SF association outside of Italy is born

SF Switzerland is born

SF Italy National Congress decides to invest in the development of SF internationally

SF launches a new book titled *Il buon pasese* [The good country]

SF organizes the ‘Grand Menu’ initiative at the Vinitaly event, where it runs a series of taste workshops

SF holds the first *Salone del Gusto* [Salon of Taste] in Turin, Italy

SF launches the Ark of Taste project at Salone del Gusto

SF is constituted as a legal entity and the SF International Office is opened in Bra

First edition of *Slow, Herald of Taste and Culture*, the SF International magazine, is printed in Italian, English and German

Second International SF Congress is held in Orvieto, Italy

Cheese, SF’s first international dairy fair, is held in Bra

SF presents the initiative of Producers Markets at the second Salone del Gusto held in Turin

Exhibit 14 A Chronological Overview of Key Events and Changes in the SF Organisation (Continued Overleaf)
1999
- Concept of SF as an eco-gastronomic movement is introduced at the third SF International Congress held in Australia

2000
- Presidium project is launched and the third Salone del Gusto — held in Turin showcases the first Italian presidia
- First Slow Food Awards for the Defence of Biodiversity presented in Bologna
- SF USA is founded

2001
- New SF websites — www.slowfood.it in Italian and www.slowfood.com in English — go online
- “No GM Wine” campaign is launched against the commercialisation in Europe of transgenic vines
- ‘Manifesto in Defence of Raw Milk Cheeses’ is drawn up

2002
- The fourth Salone del Gusto is held in Turin where the first 30 international presidia are presented

2003
- SF Foundation for Biodiversity is founded to support the SF award, presidia and ark of taste projects
- SF France is born
- The fourth SF International Congress is held in Naples

2004
- The first Terra Madre ‘world meeting of food communities’ is held, accompanied by the fifth Salone del Gusto
- The University of Gastronomic Sciences is opened
- SF Japan is born

2006
- SF UK is born
- The second Terra Madre and sixth Salone del Gusto are held

2007
- The fifth International SF Congress is held in Puebla, Mexico

2008
- The third Terra Madre and seventh Salone del Gusto are held

Exhibit 14 A Chronological Overview of Key Events and Changes in the SF Organisation

5.1. Origins of the SF Concept (pre-1990)

The roots of the concept of SF can be traced back to a specific place, person and time. “The environment is Bra [a small town of the Cuneo province in the northwest Italian region of Piedmont] Slow Food has been in Bra since the beginning” (Carmel, 0m25). The person is Carlo Petrini “the main animator of the town” (Carmel, 2m), who along with a number of other friends “passionate about local food and local music would organise folk festivals to celebrate traditions and histories” (Raul, 1hr51). The date is 1980:

The mood in Italy is one of lethargy… the Left, strongly linked to the unions is officially represented by the most powerful Communist party of the Western world, the PCI. But the PCI is on the defensive… the youth of 1968’s generation is a generation caught between utopia and tragedy, as acts of terrorism in the name of “red” ideals have turned increasingly brutal (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.2).
Petrini and his friends from Bra had become interested in wine and in 1980 “they came up with the idea of founding a club — something like the then trendy gastronomical academies, but with the specific goal of spreading the culture of good food even among ordinary people” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.12). This club, which they named the Libera e Benemerita Associazione Amici del Barolo (Free and Meritorious Association of Friends of Barolo wine), was the nucleus of what would later become Arci Gola — the forerunner to the SF organisation.

At this time, the Socialist and Communist parties in Italy supported a nation-wide network called Associazione ricreativa culturale italiana which was known as Arci for short [the Italian recreational and cultural association], which organised an array of cultural events. Based around a common interest in food and wine and once again spurred on by Petrini, an oeno-gastronomic ‘Arci’ group was started in 1983. Initially the main aim of this group, which called itself Arci Gola (gola meaning gastronome in Italian), was to support local producers by increasing the value for local cuisine and products by creating a market for high quality food and wine products. As the group developed, it also began to advocate the right to material and convivial pleasure for everyone and that taste was a serious matter. Both of these strong ideological positions were controversial at the time and the group found themselves falling out of favour from both sides: “From the traditional gastronomes that were suspicious of these left wingers and from their comrades... because they were interested in gastronomy and real left-wingers shouldn't be interested in trivial matters such as pleasure and taste” (Glenn, 58m). In spite of this backlash, the group became quickly known for its gatherings which focussed on “enjoying the traditions of the farmhouse, trading the stories and knowledge of the older generations and eating well” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006. p.55).

In the early eighties the objectives of the Arci Gola group — to promote good quality gastronomy and small local production — were not yet in conflict with industrialised food processing. In fact the group was all for making these elements converge. “At that time, the food-processing industry was not considered an adversary, as it became later” (Capatti, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.18). This conflict was first visible in 1986, when the Arci Gola group — annoyed by the fact that a McDonalds was opening a store at Rome’s famous
Piazza di Spagna — protested against this invasion of American fast food by handing out bowls of free pasta in front of the store (SF.Editore, 2002).

The formal establishment of Arci Gola took place in the summer of 1986. As well as the McDonalds opening in Rome, other significant food-related events that occurred this year included the Chernobyl incident in Ukraine which had devastating effects on the environment and food supply and the death of nineteen people in a small town in the Piedmont region of Northern Italy after drinking wine laced with ethanol. A conference was convened and Pretrini was elected president of the Arci Gola association. As well as celebrating the official inauguration of the group, the conference set a goal for the association to:

Promulgate a new philosophy of taste, in which pleasure and knowledge had equal importance. As usual the praise of conviviality and an insistence on the right to enjoy oneself were the dominant themes, but a new approach was also beginning to take shape: cultivating an awareness of food culture as the first step in the effort to conserve distinctive local food products (Petrini & Padovani, p.47).

In 1987 Arci Gola published its first journal and quickly after began to gain momentum producing articles, books and giving seminars. Thanks to the success of these media, the ideas promoted by the group gained wide attention. People started discussing seriously the relationship between food and the community and Arci Gola’s membership began to increase significantly. Later on that same year Petrini organised a conference which was called ‘At the table with the PCI’ and in his opening speech “he exalted the culture of honesty and authenticity at the table, what he called the ‘SF approach’ of eating well and slowly and he spoke out against the effects of ‘fast-food’ and against the constant rush to make a profit” (Petrini & Padovani, p.58). This was the beginning of the SF revolution and today the Arci Gola group is widely acknowledged as the forerunner to the SF organisation.

The time had come to put this new SF concept into practice. A manifesto containing the SF ideology was written. From reading the original manifesto (for the unabridged original version see Appendix D), it is evident that the target was not exclusively food. Portinari, who wrote the text of the manifesto claims “we wanted to bring back the tango, the umbrella and to celebrate a leisurely daily pace” (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.71). In November 1987 this founding manifesto was presented on the cover of Gambero Rosso (Arci Gola’s regular eight page insert communicating their views on wine and food published in the nationwide leftist magazine Il Manifesto). Accompanying the manifesto
was an announcement that the following year the symbol on the association’s membership card would be a snail.

After the publication of the manifesto, Petrini and friends continued to develop the SF concept over the next couple of years through both conferences (in 1988 the first National Congress of Arci Gola was held in Siena) and publications (in 1988 they published the *Vin d’Italia* wine guide). In 1989 Petrini and his associates decided that the time had come to present their SF concept to the world. A new version of the SF manifesto was written (see Exhibit 15). The newer version was much simpler and shorter than the original facilitating its translation into many languages. The newer version also reflected on the development of the organisation’s ambitions over the last couple of years most importantly by highlighting their wish to create an international organisation. Whereas the main focus of the original version was on the fast life generally, the newer version was more specifically focussed on food. This new manifesto was presented by Petrini and his associates to a meeting in Paris on November 10th, 1989. Here delegates from 15 countries signed the manifesto and the international SF organisation was formally born.

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**The Slow Food international movement officially began when delegates from 15 countries endorsed this manifesto, written by founding member Folco Portinari, on November 9, 1989.**

Our century, which began and has developed under the insignia of industrial civilization, first invented the machine and then took it as its life model.

We are enslaved by speed and have all succumbed to the same insidious virus: Fast Life, which disrupts our habits, pervades the privacy of our homes and forces us to eat Fast Foods.

To be worthy of the name, *Homo Sapiens* should rid himself of speed before it reduces him to a species in danger of extinction.

A firm defense of quiet material pleasure is the only way to oppose the universal folly of Fast Life.

May suitable doses of guaranteed sensual pleasure and slow, long-lasting enjoyment preserve us from the contagion of the multitude who mistake frenzy for efficiency.

Our defense should begin at the table with Slow Food. Let us rediscover the flavors and savors of regional cooking and banish the degrading effects of Fast Food.

In the name of productivity, Fast Life has changed our way of being and threatens our environment and our landscapes. So Slow Food is now the only truly progressive answer.

That is what real culture is all about: developing taste rather than demeaning it. And what better way to set about this than an international exchange of experiences, knowledge, projects?

Slow Food guarantees a better future.

Slow Food is an idea that needs plenty of qualified supporters who can help turn this (slow) motion into an international movement, with the little snail as its symbol.

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Exhibit 15 The Slow Food Manifesto — Final Version

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5.2. Birth and Growth of an International Association (1990-1996)

After the official launching of SF in 1989, Petrini and his colleagues from Bra started expanding both the conceptual makeup of SF and the range of activities conducted by SF. One of the first things they did in 1990 was to create the SF Editore Publishing House. Their first publication was the *Osterie d'Italia guide* [Guide of the traditional restaurants of Italy]. The book started the position that SF would take towards its adversaries as Raul (2h6m) explains: “This is our anti-fast food book. We never published a book to say don’t go to eat fast food... we published a book to say go to eat at that place, go to taste that food... and then probably you will change your mind”. Other publications soon followed such as the *Atlante dei grandi vini di Langa* [Atlas of the great wines of the Langhe] and the first *Guida ai vini del mondo* [Guide to the Wines of the World]. SF’s publishing house was initially the main tool used by the organisation to establish their roots in Italy and to develop their international profile.

After the founding of the international SF organisation in Paris with the signing of the SF manifesto, the second pivotal moment in the development of the organisation was the World Congress of the International SF movement held in late 1990. The significant outcomes of this meeting were the setting up of a Council of Ten and perhaps most importantly, the launching of a SF statute. Petrini and Padovani provided a summary this statute in the following paragraph:

The statute had thirty-two articles and point 2 indicates the main task of the association: ‘SF operates for the safeguard of and the right to please, for the respect of the rhythm of life of the human being and for a harmonious relation between the human being and nature.’ In addition it was established that Slow Food 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’ (2006, p.85).

After this successful World Congress “the value of the term ‘Slow’ as a global marketing tool became clear [and] we realised that we had to consolidate our image and build a truly international movement” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.136). So in 1991 at the Second International Congress of Arci Gola, the words ‘Slow Food’ were added to the original name consolidating the two organisations at the international level. Alongside the task of publishing, this newly formed organisation became more proactive and running events was soon to become their core task. Wine conventions, exhibitions and other such events over
the next few years ensured that they maintained their visibility to the public. Not long after the consolidation of the two associations (Acrigola and SF), Petrini devised a road map for the new organisation for the years ahead. Three different objectives were identified at this time: (1) to make their courses in wine tasting, cooking and nutritional science nationally available; (2) to provide every local chapter of the organisation in Italy with a permanent tasting commission; and (3) to set up a school of advanced gastronomic studies.

In 1992 in Königstein Germany, the first national SF association outside Italy was born. The following year SF also opened a national office in Zurich Switzerland. The qualifying criteria set up by the organisation to open a SF National Association abroad was that the country had to have over 1000 current SF members. Both countries embraced the SF ideology and the SF’s organisational model of setting up Convivia (the name used outside Italy for the local chapters) to run local food and wine events for members. Describing the relative ease with which the SF organisation was able to break into these two countries, Petrini acknowledges that this was the case largely due to the fact that at the time SF’s focus was on promoting the Italian approach to living well: “As a consequence of that, in Germany and in Switzerland, where our wines and our cuisine were much appreciated, we had a fairly easy time of it and the Convivia started coming to life” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.83). Following the success of SF in these two countries, the decision was made at the SF Italy National Congress held in 1994, to invest internationally in the development of SF.

Another important decision made at this time was that SF decided to adopt the objective of improving local products, not just in Italy but in the other countries where SF had a presence as well. This was a significant change, as up until that date, SF’s goals were often seen by its members to be largely about promoting the Italian way of life and Italian products both nationally and abroad. Although Petrini later claimed that this had never been the main interest of SF, he did admit that “many of our first contacts were Italian expatriates. In fact the launch in Paris was really all about the support that was out there for the ‘made in Italy’ brand” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.83). To impel this objective into action, the SF organisation published a book on food production titled *Il buon paese* [The good country] which inspired the setting up of taste workshops. These workshops encouraged people to taste local wines and foods and would become a distinctive trait of many SF events. This same year, SF launched a new initiative which they called the ‘Grand Menu’ at the 1994 Vinitaly event. This event involved five days of taste workshops and turned out to serve as a
sort of trial run for the biennial Salone del Gusto [Salon of Taste] event that SF would become famous for hosting.

Along with this new emphasis on improving the quality of local food, SF started branching out into other areas as well, quickly expanding the SF concept. Raul, a long-time employee of the SF International office in Bra, explains this development (1hr28):

So for the first 10 years [of SF, the goal] was to promote the quality... but working to promote good wine and good food and working also on the osteria and the traditional restaurants where you have this good food and the traditions, we started to know other people — the producers... — [and] we started to see there was a great danger of extinction in the products and in the producers.

With their new awareness of the importance of preserving not only the local products but also the small artisan producers of these — and inspired by the success of the taste workshops since Vinitaly — SF “started to discuss around this and debate, to imagine what we can do in this direction” (Raul 1hr29). The resulting idea was Salone del Gusto and in 1996 this event was inaugurated in Turin, Italy. The motivation behind the event was “to create a fair that responds to the standardization of food created by globalized markets and the consequent penalization of small-scale quality products... by revitalizing local micro-economies” (SF Companion, 2008, p.32). To this end, the five-day event included (and continues to include to this current day) a range of initiatives such as a market which sells specialty foods from dozens of countries, taste workshops and culinary excursions round the Piedmont region. All of the initiatives aim to “give a stage for the food... especially to the small producers... because the big ones, they have stages, they have opportunities” (Raul 1hr29).

In 1996 in conjunction with the Salone del Gusto, SF organised a conference called the Ark of Taste. The idea of creating an ‘Ark’ was built on the biblical metaphor of Noah’s Ark which would save (traditional and rare food) species from the big flood (of industrial foods). Thus the purpose of the Ark project was to:

[C]atalogue, describe and draw public attention to food products from around the world that have real productive and commercial potential and are closely linked to specific communities and cultures — but are, alas, at risk of extinction (SF Companion, 2008, p.27).
Since it ‘set sail’ in 1996, the Ark has continued to catalogue agrifood biodiversity in danger of extinction and so far has taken on board 813 products from a wide range of countries (SF.Editore, 2009).

These launching of these two events — the Salone del Gusto and Ark of Taste — were indicative of the changing direction that the SF ideology was taking:

Looking back you could say that that moment (1996) was the first great change of Slow Food... it was the moment when we started talking about biodiversity. Biodiversity means talking about the environment... so this was the first change (Raul, lhr31).

It wasn’t until years later that the SF organisation would articulate its definition of SF as being ‘good’, ‘clean’ and ‘fair’. ‘Good’ refers to the quality of the products and to the taste of the food, ‘clean’ means that it should be produced in a way that does not harm the environment, animal welfare or our health and ‘fair’ signifies that food producers should receive a just compensation for their work (SF International Website: Our Philosophy, 2008). “So for the first 10 years... [the work of SF] was to promote the quality, to work on the ‘good’ (Raul, lhr28).

In 1996 alongside the fundamental changes in the direction of SF’s thinking, SF was also changing at the organisational level. That year after being formally constituted as a legal entity, SF opened up their first international office in Bra. Another equally important occasion was the publication of SF International’s first official magazine Slow, herald of taste and culture (see Exhibit 10 in Subsection 4.2.2 for more details of this magazine). The release of this magazine was significant as it would serve for the next 11 years as the SF organisation’s primary communication tool with members. Raul in the following quote acknowledges this importance: “So before 1996, the development of SF... without international magazines it was just by words, not so easy... so after 96, with the magazine... this started the development of SF” (1hr27). Given the impact that all of these changes had on changing the course of direction for the SF organisation — both at the philosophical and administrative levels — it becomes evident with hindsight, that 1996 signalled the closing of one chapter of SF’s history.
5.3. Overview of Key Events and Changes (1997-2003)

By the year 1997, it had been 10 years since the founding manifesto of SF first appeared in print and much had changed. The Italian Acrigola SF association had had enormous success in spreading the SF ideology around the country. With the opening of SF national offices in Germany and Switzerland and with the publication of the SF organisation’s official magazine in Italian, German and English, the organisation was making significant headway at the international level as well. The organisation’s leaders could see the need to consolidate these two successful organisations into one and to this end an International SF Congress was called for. This would take place in October, that year in Orvieto, Italy. There were 650 delegates from 35 different countries attending this Congress and they represented SF’s 40,000 members — which really marked that fact that the “international nature of the movement was coming out on its own” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 100). This merging of the two organisations into one (Arci Gola SF and the international SF organisation) was noteworthy as it symbolised that the organisation had made the strategic decision to leave behind the strong Italian identity that had characterised SF up until this time and start promoting more of an international one. Piero (6m) explains: “So of course at the beginning it [SF’s Italian identity] was useful... but now... we are not an Italian movement, we are not interested in being an Italian movement... it’s the right time to change”.

After having launched its Ark of Taste project to protect and preserve traditional foods in 1996 (see Section 5.2), the SF organisation set up a ‘Scientific Commission of the Ark’ which devised a list of product selection criteria in 1997. To draw public attention to these indigenous food products the organisation decided to host a number of events. The first of these was held in Bra and was an international dairy fair which they called ‘Cheese: Milk in all its Shapes and Forms’. The event which attracted over 15,000 people was a huge success and it continues to be organised every second year. The initiation of ‘Producers Markets’ at the Second Salone del Gusto event in 1998, held in conjunction with SF’s famous taste workshop was another way that the organisation gave momentum to the ‘Ark of Taste’ idea. Around this time, SF leaders started developing the organisation’s focus on biodiversity into a more widespread and complex notion of general food environmentalism. This thinking was formalised in 1999 at the SF Australia Congress, when the organisation introduced the concept of SF as an eco-gastronomic organisation, which is explained by Petrini in the following quote:
An environmentalist who is not a gastronomist is sad; a gastronomist who is not an environmentalist is silly. We changed our point of view with the idea of defending good food in a healthy environment. This move ratified our transformation into an eco-gastronomic movement. From this new perspective, we are trying to keep the concept of pleasure alive: we set it in a wider context, which includes the environment where food is created (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 118).

Santo (1h43) also confirms this change: “from a gastronomic club we [SF] turned into an eco-gastronomic club... [where] obviously ‘clean’ is the strongest element”. This change in ideology is also reflected by a change in the type of adversary that the SF organisation chose to oppose. In line with this new positioning as an eco-gastronomic organisation, the emphasis moved away from opposing the culinary aspects of fast food and new adversaries were defined, as Glenn (1hr21) explains: “Its opponents have been much more delineated as the global trans-national food corporations and agricultural monocropping... and in that sense that is now more explicitly identified as what SF is against”.

While events held over the last couple of years such as ‘Cheese’ had spurred the Ark of Taste idea into action, “after practice, there comes theory: The concept of the Ark needed to be better clarified and contextualized” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 109). So after much thought and deliberation, SF leaders came up with the idea of creating ‘presidia’. The term presidium is a military term meaning ‘garrison’ and the verb form ‘to garrison’ means ‘to subsidise’ and ‘to defend’. Thus the aim was to take the endangered foods that had been adopted into the Ark “and make a ‘project’ of each product” (Raul, 1hr33). Implementing a ‘project’ means that the SF organisation will assist with the formation of a consortium of local small scale producers of an endangered product and then help the group promote it in the marketplace. The presidia idea was launched and the first Italian presidia were showcased at the third Salone del Gusto event in 2000 (and the first 30 international presidia would be presented two years later at the fourth Salone del Gusto reinforcing the SF organisation’s commitment to international expansion). The creation of the presidia projects and the resulting involvement of SF in the production world marked a significant change in organisational attitude, as up until that point SF had stayed well clear of any economic involvement. Another significant event took place in 2000 — the first ceremony of the SF awards for the defence of biodiversity was held in Bologna. The goal of this event was to recognise the achievements of those who defend biodiversity including farmers, shepherds or fishermen who were “the heroes of taste and flavour... the guardians of the past who also understand how to safeguard the future” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 121). More than 500
experts from forty nations selected thirteen exemplary persons from all over the world as award recipients. These award ceremonies continued yearly until 2004 and as Fiorella (2008) explains, they “were a big change [in the direction that the SF organisation would move towards in the future] because it turned out to be the father of Terra Madre” — the event which signified the inclusion of the concept ‘fair’ food into SF’s existing conceptual makeup of ‘good’ and ‘clean’ (Terra Madre will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.4).

One more noteworthy event in 2000 was the founding of the SF USA national association with its headquarters set up in New York. The growth of SF USA would be exponential in years to come adding a new flavour to the organisation. In 2001 two new SF websites (www.slowfood.it in Italian and www.slowfood.com in English) appeared. The editorial of the new online daily paper, Sloweb described this occurrence:

It might seem like a contradiction in terms, or a bad start, to juxtapose the concept of Slowness and the Web by presenting information which is updated as often as possible. But we defend this apparent contradiction. You can use even the most advanced technology but still remain faithful to a philosophy of Slowness and carefulness. This is what we aim to do with Sloweb. We want to talk, from anywhere in the world, with the rest of the world, and do so as quickly as possible (Scaffidi, cited in Sardo, 2001).

As the SF ideology started spreading around the world facilitated by the creation of the new international website, back home in Italy, the organisation kept its feet firmly planted on the ground by engaging in two fresh conflicts: (1) The ‘No GM Wine’ campaign which was launched against the commercialization in Europe of transgenic vines; and (2) the campaign against some ‘hygienic’ norms that the organisation leaders believed would jeopardize the production of raw milk cheeses. The former campaign was to become “one of the most controversial battles in which Slow Food engaged” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 106) and is one in which SF has remained extremely active up to the present day (e.g. in 2007 SF joined the European ‘Free From GMO Coalition’). The latter SF campaign resulted in the setting up of the ‘European Alliance for Artisan and Traditional Raw Milk Products organisation’, which published a manifesto in defence of raw milk cheeses. Both of these campaigns typified the organisation’s campaigning stance at the time: “In every anti-establishment situation, SF stood up for the weak in the food business” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 107).
Because the number of campaigns, events and projects organised by SF continued to increase, in 2003 the SF Foundation for Biodiversity was created (through a partnership between the SF organisation and the Region of Tuscany). It provided an independent non-profit entity to take over some of the responsibility for this swell in activity. Specifically, the new foundation would become responsible for supporting the ark of taste, presidia and the SF award projects (SF.Editore, 2008h). While the organisation was busy reshuffling its responsibilities back in Italy, the SF organisation continued to grow internationally and in 2003 a fourth National SF Association was born in France with an office opening up in Montpellier. The most important event however in 2003 was the fourth SF International Congress in Naples, which was held in conjunction with the fourth presentation of the SF awards. The outcomes of the congress included a new statute, a new international executive committee and a new document establishing the copyright for the use of the snail logo. However, as well as these obvious tangible outcomes achieved at the congress, something much more important occurred. Organisation leaders announced to the 600 delegates, 800 guests and 300 jurors of the Biodiversity Award that were attending the congress, the message that “we're going to the Southern hemisphere” (Elisa, 55m35). In an article summarising the Naples Congress, SF leader Petrini elaborates on this change in organisational focus: “The resolve to expand membership to less fortunate countries shows that we wish to be much more than just another international organisation, that we have decided to raise the stakes” (2003, p. 10). The congress in Naples was an historic occasion as it laid out a road map for the future direction that the SF organisation would take. Highlighting the importance of the congress, Petrini explains: “Our identity came out of it fortified, consolidated and further transformed... What we are: different. And what we have to be: united... That is what the intentions expressed at the Congress tell us” (Petrini, 2003, p. 10). While the announcement was made in 2003 that the SF organisation was going to focus on the Southern hemisphere, nothing was operationalised on this front until the following year. The next section (5.4) starts off by describing the first event held to display this commitment — Terra Madre — before moving on to outline other important events and changes that occurred between the years 2004 and 2008.

5.4. Overview of Key Events and Changes (2004-2008)

The year 2004 was a big year in the history of the SF organisation with the high point being the ‘Terra Madre’ [Mother Earth] event — a world meeting of food communities — which
was held in conjunction with the fifth Salone del Gusto in Turin. The Terra Madre event brought together almost 5000 people representing 1,202 food communities from 129 countries (Petrini & Padovani, 2006). The advent of this event signified the SF organisation’s increased awareness of ethical issues surrounding agricultural and gastronomy. This would later be more clearly articulated as ‘fair’ food as Raul (lhr35) explains: “thanks to Terra Madre, where we started working with the farmers especially in the South of the world, we understood... the real concept of ‘fair’ in food today”. It was a succession of ideas and events that lead to the Terra Madre meeting in 2004. As the SF organisation began working with local food producers on a range of environmental projects throughout the late 1990s, the organisation’s leaders came to the understanding that it was not only the food products that they had to save, but the food producers as well. As Rafael Pérez — the President of SF Switzerland — explains: “The products acquired a human face” (2008, Speech)\(^\text{11}\). Santo (lhr27) explains the totality of the problem as understood by the organisation leaders:

> Whoever guaranteed the food on our table, their rights weren’t always recognised worldwide... being a farmer was less important than being a lawyer. But in the future we can live without lawyers, but we cannot live without food.

The small scale producers that attended the Terra Madre event came from all five continents of the world and “walking through the Palazzo del Lavoro [where the Terra Madre event was held], was like leafing through the pages of a National Geographic” (SF.Editore, 2008h). The SF organisation paid the airline tickets for the participants from the Southern hemisphere and hundreds of local volunteers opened up their homes to all those attending the event. The aim of the event was to bring together food producers to discuss common issues and to exchange points of view. The SF organisation labelled the new groups formed at Terra Madre ‘food communities’. The idea was that these people would return home to their countries “fired by a positive feeling of being members of a community of destiny” which would result in “a new form of virtuous globalization that grows from the grassroots, from local identity” (SF.Editore, 2008i, p. 3). The Terra Madre event really consolidated the SF ideology which to the present day is still explained by the SF organisation as being based on three basic principles — ‘good’, ‘clean’ and ‘fair’.

\(^\text{11}\) All references that are presented in this manner are taken from speeches made at the Meeting of Slow Food International Councillors held in June 2008 which the researcher attended as an observer. Note that no page number is available.
Terra Madre was not the only important SF event to occur in 2004. On April 30th, the leader of the SF organisation, Carlo Petrini, officially opened the world’s first University of Gastronomic Sciences in Pollenza, Italy, which he described as “the dream of a lifetime”. The ‘dream’ had begun back in 1998 when Arci Gola SF sponsored the establishment of an organisation consisting of public and private investors to buy and renovate the abandoned royal estate of Pollenzo. The idea was that this estate would eventually house not only a university, but also a restaurant, a wine bank and a hotel. Petrini explains his desire to create such a place: “By the end of the nineties after the success of the first Salone del Gusto, I started looking for a place, a base on which to build the future of our association, which otherwise I feared was built on sand” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 151). The objective of creating a university of gastronomic sciences was to provide an interdisciplinary institution that would teach gastronomy, agro-ecology and cooking techniques through a mixture of classroom lessons and experiences in the field. Capatti, now the president of the University, elaborates on this: “The decision to found a university represented a Copernican revolution: we decided to transform gastronomy into a science that would be at the service of the producers” (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 157). Today, the SF organisation maintains close ties with the university as it still has shares in the company that owns the Pollenza estate and producers connected to the organisation are often involved in teaching the university students for example. The university’s aim of transforming gastronomy into a multidisciplinary science mirrored an important step in the development of the SF organisation’s ideology. The organisation has since adopted the term ‘neo-gastronomy’ (meaning ‘new gastronomy’) to explain their commitment to this multifaceted approach to food which includes giving consideration to a range of production, consumption, sustainability, quality and social justice issues. Raul (lhr49) confirms this change: “we decided to call us new-gastronomy because good, clean and fair is the new gastronomy”. SF members are encouraged to be ‘neo-gastronomes’, which means always considering the relationship between food and the environment. Events such as the Salone del Gusto helped to spread the value of neo-gastronomy amongst both members and the general public.

So with the hosting of Terra Madre in Turin and the opening of the University of Gastronomic Sciences in Pollenza, 2004 turned out to be a particularly successful year for the SF organisation in Italy. Meanwhile, the organisation was making advancements internationally as well. The same year, SF opened a National Association in Japan with offices in Yufuin. By 2005, the SF organisation boosted having approximately 83,000 official members worldwide. In 2006 the SF organisation hosted their second Terra Madre,
which was run in conjunction with the sixth Salone del Gusto event. They also opened up another National Association, this time in the United Kingdom, with the organisation’s national offices situated in Ludlow. All of these achievements were wholeheartedly celebrated in 2006 at the sixth SF Italy National Congress which marked the 20 year anniversary of the birth of the forerunner of the SF organisation — Arci Gola (see Section 5.1).

By 2007 the organisation’s membership numbers had reached just over 85,000, an increase of only 2000 people from 2005. Not particularly happy with this growth, SF leader Piero (28m30) explains: “We think that 85,000 members around the world are nothing if you compare with the perception and possibilities of the SF message today”. So in 2007, at the fifth International SF Congress which was held in Puebla, Mexico, increasing the organisation’s membership numbers was the top priority of the meeting’s agenda. Petrini (2008) explains: “We must be aware of our limits but at the same time strengthen our movement. We must involve more and more people because even if we organise 10 Terra Madres that will never be enough”. So it was decided in Puebla that the SF organisation would make the changes required to their International Statute (that had been signed in Naples in 2003), to allow them to become “more flexible, especially in developing countries” (Elisa, 57m30). The leaders came up with a new way to make membership work which they termed ‘project’ membership. Paolo di Croce, a member of SF’s executive board, describes this new membership category:

When there is a project in a country, three, four or five people who are working on the project become full traditional SF members and they become the guarantors of the project. Everyone else involved in the project however also become SF members (diCroce, 2008, Speech).

At Puebla, SF leaders also willingly listened to the advice of country representatives such as that of Erika Lesser, a representative from SF USA: “A lower cost membership option is also needed... It is not necessarily that these people can’t afford to pay, because often they can, but because they perceive it as exclusionary” (2008, Speech). Acting on such advice, the decision was made to permit countries (where national associations existed) to approve their own membership’s categories and fees. At the end of 2007, the organisation leaders also decided to stop publishing their official international magazine Slow: “It was not the right image that SF international wants to promote. The magazines had an Italian feel, but the membership has diversified so much. As the international association has become something different, they needed a new instrument to communicate with members” (Fiorella
The new communication tool is an e-newsletter (first issue in April 2008) which is published in eight languages and sent to all members every month “giving news about our Association, what convivia are doing and how Slow Food is understood, experienced and practiced” (SF.Editore, 2008d). While the e-newsletter was initially put together by the Communication Office in Bra, “we would like it to be increasingly written elsewhere, to recount your local experiences of gastronomic, intellectual and emotional pleasure in their many different forms” (SF.Editore, 2008d). While these structural changes mainly affect SF at the organisational level, they do reflect a change in ideology. At that important congress in 2007, the leaders of the SF organisation understood that many people felt some sort of solidarity with their movement and wanted to belong in some way, but without necessarily paying the costly membership fee the organisation had required in the past. The rules for creating National SF Associations were also changed at this meeting and in 2008, the proposals of Australia and Netherlands to open up national offices were approved.

In 2008 the third Terra Madre and seventh Salone del Gusto were held and for the first time — after having grown closer and closer over the years — they became elements of one major event: “This year the third Terra Madre will be an integral part of the seventh Salone del Gusto, philosophically and practically” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 151). The aim of the event was to spread the message that “it is no longer enough to be passionate about food and wine. We have to become neo-gastronomes” (SF.Editore, 2008i, online). A new feature of Terra Madre in 2008 was the presence of young people including university students, cooks and farmers. Another new element was that the SF organisation changed the way they structured the event from the previous two events as Fiorella (2008) who helped organise the event explained:

It is going to be run quite differently. It will be more democratic. The sessions will be run more as workshops than in the past. This open floor, impromptu approach is different to previous years where session speakers have all been invited beforehand. Again, although only a fairly minor structural change, this did reflect a more substantial transformation in the SF organisation’s thinking and it is representative of the trend towards the purposeful decentralisation of the leaders’ control. For the first time in 2008, folk music was included which added to the event’s festivities. Event organisers invited Terra Madre food community participants to bring their instruments along with them to Turin. Santo explains the logic behind this new addition to the event: “Only our actual lives tend to separate food from music... with Terra Madre we want to defend and promote food communities, music, common interests” (53m); and “Globalisation is not only food, there’s
a cultural globalisation” (1hr55). So including music in Terra Madre was a way of allowing members of these food communities to express their identities, “to tell something about themselves, to tell who they are, where they come from” (Raul, 1hr54). It was also significant in that it revealed the far reaching extent of the SF organisation’s ambitions: “We don’t want to only preserve the knowledge of food and the knowledge of culture, but also the knowledge about our cultural traditions” (Raul, 1hr55).

So by 2008, SF had evolved from being an eco-gastronomic organisation into a neo-gastronomic one. The identity of the organisation has changed as members have become “much more aware that we are citizens of the earth in a community with a common destiny” (Petrini, 2003). Likewise, the totality of the organisation has been transformed as the following quote from Santo (1hr27) confirms: “Our goal is no longer to provide services for our members, but to instigate solutions to general problems that arise when it comes to food production worldwide”. As well the expansion of the analytical makeup of the concept of SF over these years, the organisation itself also grew in terms of membership and employees and so too did the scope of the organisation’s activities and events. Glenn (1hr23) illustrates the new multi-facetted nature of the SF concept and the organisation by saying quoting Madison’s metaphor (cited in Petrini & Watson, 2001) that “Slow Food is a bit like the blind man patting the elephant, it depends on which part of the creature you grab hold of what's your perspective of it”. The following section looks forward to the future of the SF organisation.

5.5. Future of the SF Organisation

As this chapter has described so far, the development of the SF organisation and its ideologies has been a fascinating “linear journey” (Petrini, 2008, Speech). Going back to what the SF organisation and its forerunner Arci Gola were writing in its very early days, we see that what they were writing “was not that different from the many other gastronomic associations that were in all of Europe” (Carmel, 27m). While initially the group’s activities were seen by most “as typical of nothing more than a ‘fraternity of Buontemponi’ (fun loving men)... that fraternity was bound to go a long way” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.22). And it did. The SF organisation which was headed by “people that loved doing what they did, passionate people”, evolved from being a gastronomic club that “would organise small wine tastings [and] grew beyond all our expectations into what it is today” (Santo, 1hr18).
The organisation appears to be optimistic about the future and the following quote from SF leader Carlo Petrini, nicely sums this up: “Let growth be accompanied by hope. The same hope I have for the fate of our planet” (SF.Editore, 2008a, p. 4).

It is important to provide at this stage a logical evaluation of what could maybe happen to the SF organisation given the evidence at hand. Currently the SF organisation’s employees are busy working on existing campaigns. For example, Paolo di Croce, explains that one of the organisation’s main objectives at the moment is to produce a book to use to inform the general public why genetically modified organisms (GMO) are not the best option, economically or environmentally: “We need millions of people to back us up to say no to GMO, this is the only way to convince politicians. So people must know why they must say no to GMO” (2008, Speech). Also underway at the moment are a series of initiatives in Italy to improve hospital food. Silvio Barbero, a SF International Councillor explains the organisation’s motivation to continue with this and other similar initiatives in the near future: “We need to show that SF can give solutions on ‘daily food problems’ and not just ‘haute food problems’... we must definitely move in this direction” (2008, Speech).

Meanwhile, as well as working on the existing campaigns, the employees at the SF International Office are also busy sketching out a road map for the next few years ahead: “The next four will be... packed with new projects as a direct consequence of Slow Food’s recent development in areas such as South America, Africa and Asia” (SF.Editore, 2008a, p. 1). As well aiming to create new projects, SF leaders also hope to “have a lot of members... to have more strength to become a real political movement. If you go to speak to the EU and you have one million people, you are stronger... this is the goal” (Piero, 53m). The general feeling amongst SF members and employees is that SF is in a fairly good position to be able to fulfil such ambitions as the following quotes from interview respondents illustrate: “It's a very exciting time for SF generally and the direction in which we're going... I mean... we're just lined up in every way, we fit in every aspect with what is happening on the global context” (Elisa, 39m); and “On the one hand if I'm a little pessimistic with regards to the way the world is going... I'm a little optimistic (that) we can organise an active resistance... to defend a small alliance that will promote and keep alive traditions” (Santo, 2hr1).

While the “future of Slow Food is really really difficult to predict because the way that the organisation works is sort of a mystery” (Agosto, 1hr46), it seems fairly likely that there will be both the continual extension of the SF ideology into other domains and the expansion of the scope of activities that the organisation engages in. “There is an enormous
potential to expand... from our perspective it's important to have a holistic approach, to also be interested in other things” (Piero 48m20). This ties into a concept that is familiar to marketing academics, that of continual innovation and Robertson’s (1967) ever-incomplete curve of adoption (diffusion of innovations will be discussed in more detail in Subsection 7.2.5). Evidence suggests that the organisation’s leaders will continually work at tailoring the ideological concept of SF in the years to come to keep up with changes in the external environment. The SF leaders are however quick to point out that “the main focus must remain on food” Piero (48m50). Justifying this strategic decision Piero (52m) continues to explain: “We always say to producers, if you want to maintain quality you can’t become enormous and we have to be cautious of the fact that we cannot give an answer to everything”.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has presented a narrative of key events, influences and changes that have occurred in the history of the SF organisation from its inception to today. This was followed up by a look at the development of both the SF organisation and the SF concept in the near future.

Looking back it is possible to identify the most important steps in the development of the SF ideology up until 1996 as being: (1) the official formation of the Arci Gola association in 1986; (2) the founding of the International SF Organisation in Paris with the signing of the SF manifesto in 1989; and (3) the first Salon of Taste event where SF launches the Ark of Taste project in 1996. While the former two steps were very important in firstly developing and then changing the organisational focus of the SF association, the latter step lead to a significant change in the direction of the SF ideology by extending the SF concept to include biodiversity. This was the beginning of a new phase for SF, a phase that the organisation would later term as a focus on ‘ecological-gastronomy (eco-gastronomy).

After 1996, the most important steps in the development of the SF ideology were (1) the move from oeno-gastronomy to eco-gastronomy (from ‘good’ to ‘clean’ food) and (2) the move from eco-gastronomy to neo-gastronomy (from ‘clean’ to ‘fair’ food). The first shift in ideology (from ‘eno’ to ‘eco’) was formalised in 1999 at the third SF International
Congress held in Australia. The second shift in ideology (from ‘eco’ to ‘neo’), began in 2000, when the first SF awards were presented, but it was not until the first Terra Madre in 2004 that the concept was clearly articulated.

SF now boasts more than over 100,000 subscribed members which belong to the 1000 local chapters in over 150 countries and has national branches in Italy, Germany, Switzerland, the USA, France, Japan, United Kingdom, Australia and the Netherlands (SF. Editore, 2009). The concept of SF today is also much more complex than ever before and looks set to become even more multifarious in the future, with the organisation broadening its philosophies and activities to other cultural traditions that are threatened by globalisation such as folk music.

By now it is apparent that the elements that make up the ideology of SF (identity, adversary and totality) have changed significantly as the organisation has developed over the years. Evidence supporting the research propositions P1-P3 has been scattered throughout the narrative of the last five subsections. Table 2 synthesises the evidence which supports the existence of the elements of ideology (P1-P3). By including a time dimension in the table, it provides insights into how the SF organisation’s ideology has become a more complex and detailed symbolic system as it has developed over time.

Given that the existence of the independent elements of ideology and the relationships between these was confirmed (and hence P1-P3 are supported), it is now possible in the next chapter to move on and explore the two-stage process of ideological change.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>ENO-GASTRONOMY</th>
<th>ECO-GASTRONOMY</th>
<th>NEO-GASTRONOMY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1980s - mid 1990s | • Italian focussed  
• More characteristics of a club or an association (e.g. exclusive, hierarchal structure)  
• Narrow ideology  
• Bad food/wine  
• Speed (fast life)  
• Fast food  
• Quite oppositional at this stage | • Italian focussed  
• More characteristics of a club or an association (e.g. exclusive, hierarchal structure)  
• Narrow ideology  
• Bad food/wine  
• Speed (fast life)  
• Fast food  
• Quite oppositional at this stage | • Italian focussed  
• More characteristics of a club or an association (e.g. exclusive, hierarchal structure)  
• Narrow ideology  
• Bad food/wine  
• Speed (fast life)  
• Fast food  
• Quite oppositional at this stage |
| Mid 1990s - mid 2000s | • More internationally focussed  
• More characteristics of a formal organisation  
• Flood of industrial foods  
• Standardisation of food created by global markets  
• Agricultural monocropping  
• GMOs (e.g. transgenic vines)  
• Hygienic norms jeopardising small food producers | • More internationally focussed  
• More characteristics of a formal organisation  
• Flood of industrial foods  
• Standardisation of food created by global markets  
• Agricultural monocropping  
• GMOs (e.g. transgenic vines)  
• Hygienic norms jeopardising small food producers | • More internationally focussed  
• More characteristics of a formal organisation  
• Flood of industrial foods  
• Standardisation of food created by global markets  
• Agricultural monocropping  
• GMOs (e.g. transgenic vines)  
• Hygienic norms jeopardising small food producers |
| Mid 2000s - 2009 | • Very internationally focussed (but emphasis is on promoting local identity in a global world)  
• More characteristics of a movement (e.g. inclusive, emphasises networks)  
• Broad ideology  
• Not only fighting all of the above food globalisation issues but also fighting against ‘cultural’ globalisation (e.g. loss of traditional agricultural musical practices)  
• Less oppositional (stands for something rather than against) | • Very internationally focussed (but emphasis is on promoting local identity in a global world)  
• More characteristics of a movement (e.g. inclusive, emphasises networks)  
• Broad ideology  
• Not only fighting all of the above food globalisation issues but also fighting against ‘cultural’ globalisation (e.g. loss of traditional agricultural musical practices)  
• Less oppositional (stands for something rather than against) | • Very internationally focussed (but emphasis is on promoting local identity in a global world)  
• More characteristics of a movement (e.g. inclusive, emphasises networks)  
• Broad ideology  
• Not only fighting all of the above food globalisation issues but also fighting against ‘cultural’ globalisation (e.g. loss of traditional agricultural musical practices)  
• Less oppositional (stands for something rather than against) |

Table 2 A Historical Summary of the Elements of the SF Organisation’s Ideology
Chapter 6  The Changing Content and Role of SF Ideology

The aim in this chapter is to bring the temporal aspect of the SF organisation’s ideology to life. The chapter is broken up into different components based around the research propositions P4-P7 which deal with the content and the role of ideology.

First this chapter discusses the two different phases of ideological development proposed by Melucci (the formative phase and the organisational consolidation phase) and provides a justification for the division of SF ideology into these two distinct time phases (Section 6.1). Next the chapter presents the evidence found for the four cultural contexts (P4-P7) that Melucci suggests characterise the ideology in the formative and consolidation phase. In the formative phase, these are that there is a negation of the gap between expectations and reality (P4, Section 6.2) and that the theme of rebirth exists (P5, Section 6.3). In the consolidation phase these are that ideology fulfils a function of integration (P6, Section 6.4) and that ideology fulfils a strategic function (P7, Section 6.5). Then Section 6.6 moves away from investigating SF ideology at the organisational level and focuses instead on individual activists’ ideologies. Finally the chapter is concluded (Section 6.7).

6.1. The Formative and Consolidation Phase of SF Ideological Development

In Melucci’s (1996) theory of ideology, he highlights a number of elements which make up an ideology (identity, opposition and totality) and explains that these elements take on different cultural contexts at various different moments in the trajectory of collective action. A description of both the elements of ideology and the different phases has been provided previously (i.e. in Subsection 1.1). The aim of this section is to outline and justify the cut off date between the formative and consolidation phases in the SF organisation.

It is important to keep in mind that while it is convenient to divide up a process such as ideological development into phases, it is in reality more of a dynamic evolutionary process. As such any transition of the ideology of the SF organisation from one phase to the next is likely to have occurred over a period of time, rather than suddenly changing for
example as a result of a particular event occurring in the organisations history for example. The following quote from Raul (26m) backs up this point:

I think that if you look at the history of Slow Food now, you can see the moments which have been the most important for the movement, but in general I think that living the moment everything happens in some natural way, it does not change, there's not a big sea of changes, there's not a moment where we decide that from tomorrow something is different, it's just natural evolution of what we're doing from the beginning.

Nevertheless, while a precise cut off date is never going to be absolutely certain, it was possible to identify two possible time periods which best fitted Melucci’s description.

The first possible time period is the late 1980s, around the time when the official SF organisation was founded with the signing of the SF manifesto and the establishment of the SF International Statute (see Section 5.1). Although this time period makes sense as these procedures formalised the SF concept and consolidated the different ideas and activities at an organisational level, this option was not the best alternative. The main issue with making the cut at this date is a problem of demarcation. The focus of this thesis is on the ideological development of the identifiable SF movement. Setting the cut date for the end of the formative phase as sometime in the 1980s, would turn the focus of the research into an investigation of the ideologies of the PCI and other ‘parent’ organisations of SF such as Arci Gola that were involved in the initial development of the SF concept. While such organisations obviously play an important role in the development of the SF ideology (and therefore their ideologies are included in the data where appropriate), the formative phase of the wider movement appears not to be just limited just to these organisations.

Therefore, the second and most appropriate time period to make the cut between the two phases was the late 1990s. It is during these years that an explicit SF ideology could be identified and the SF organisation really came to life. Confirming this, Sam (1hr17) points out that “the biggest change is that it [the SF organisation] has become bigger and more powerful, from sketching out areas of interest, it has been able to fill out some of those much more substantially”. On a similar note, Glenn (1hr26) also says that SF has moved “beyond its early stages” into a kind of new stage where “it has assumed a global consciousness, a global profile, [its] much more politically powerful, membership has grown extraordinary, so its moved from being a primarily Italian movement and now it’s not”.

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A time period alone though was not enough and for practical reasons, a specific cut point needed to be made for the data collection and analysis to occur. Therefore, the period of time in the SF organisation's history which is classified in this thesis as being what Melucci terms the formative phase, dates from the origins of the SF organisation in 1980, through to the year 1996. A number of significant changes occurred in the SF organisation in 1996 which justify the end of the formative phase at this date and the beginning of the next. The reasons which justify 1996 as the end of the formative phase include the following:

- 1996 is the year when the SF organisation was constituted as a legal entity.
- It is also the year when the SF organisation's international office was opened.
- The first issue of *Slow, Herald of Taste and Culture*, the SF organisation's international magazine appeared in 1996, printed in Italian, English and German.
- In 1996, SF held the first Salone del Gusto event (now a regular SF event) in Turin, Italy, where it launched the Ark of Taste project.

The interviews with SF members also highlighted that 1996 was an important year for the organisation which further supported the decision to date the end of the formative phase as this year.

Looking back you could say that that moment (1996) was the first great change of Slow Food. After 1996, we put a lot of work into clean to preserve the environment because it was the moment when we started talking about biodiversity (Raul, 1hr30).

It is interesting to note that when the subject of ideological change was brought up in the interviews, a number of the respondents that worked for the organisation were reluctant to admit that the SF ideology had really changed since its creation in the early 1980s. For example Glenn (1hr9) reports that “it’s a kind of evolution of the founding principles of the organisation, of the principles that were already there. They've been highlighted, teased out more [but] I don't think they've radically re-invented themselves”. In a similar tone, Elisa (18m) says “I would say that the message has now been put into words, to say something that was always there... it can be seen as developmental stages or whatever... but it’s always been there”. Given that the founder of the SF organisation, who remains the current International SF President today makes it quite clear that “I have not changed my philosophy, I want to stress that” (c.f. Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 57), such responses by his staff are hardly surprising. Despite such comments (and even if the personal ideologies
of the SF leader Petrini may not have changed significantly over the years as he claims) there is strong evidence — from both the archival materials and the interviews — which clearly demonstrates that the SF ideology has changed considerably as the organisation has developed over time (note that these changes were summarised in Table 2 in Section 5.6). It appears as though Petrini and other SF staff may be too involved to stand back and realise this change.

Based on the decision to use 1996 as the cut point between the two phases of ideological development, the remainder of the chapter now moves on to consider the cultural contexts that Melucci suggests characterise ideology in the formative and organisational phases of development.

6.2. The Negation of Gap between Expectations and Reality

Melucci suggests that one of the roles of an organisation’s ideology in the formative phase is to negate the gap that exists between expectations and reality (research proposition P₄). The following section explores the two related sub-propositions. Firstly, sub-proposition P₄a — that the formative phase of ideology is characterised by a reduction of moments of madness (Subsection 6.2.1) and secondly, the sub-proposition P₄b — that more capacity for action results in less production of symbols (Subsection 6.2.2).

6.2.1. Moments of Madness

The expression ‘moments of madness’ was originally coined by Zolberg (1972), to describe those moments in history and politics (he gives the example of Paris, May 1968) where anything and everything seems possible. Melucci describes such times as those where “collective enthusiasm looks forward to action, confident of a positive outcome” (1996, p. 350). This suggests that in the early years of a social organisation’s ideological development, a certain feeling of optimism exists which is specific to this nascent phase. It is specific to this period because as the organisation grows and consolidates more at the organisational level, “these utopian components do not disappear completely, but progressively give way to an ideological elaboration which is more directly linked to the specific problems of the movement” (Melucci, 1996, p. 352). This idea appears to make
logical sense: at the beginning an ideology could be simply theoretical, but once an organisation wants to start practically implementing that ideology and the realities of daily organisational life hit, they must discover some way of linking those two levels: “We can’t just be ideological but also practical” (Petrini, 2008, Speech). The organisation may well find that the way that they carry out their ideology’s commitments in fact conflicts with the ideology’s fundamental principles. Thus we are “likely to find within an ideological formation a process of compromise... between its overall world view and its more concrete prescriptive elements” (Eagleton, 1991, p. 48).

In order to explore moments of madness these had to be more precisely defined. They were therefore defined by the researcher as optimistic and confident attitudes which expressed a ‘we can do anything’ mentality. As such, they are described as being a radical view point (‘radical’ in the sense of an unconstrained belief, both in the breadth of things that the organisation can take on and in what they can achieve). Thus according to Melucci, the assumption is that an organisation becomes less radical as it develops due to the necessity of compromise that becoming a more consolidated organisation forces upon it. The search for evidence resulted in mixed results with some of the evidence supporting the proposition and other evidence not supporting it.

At the end of the formative phase SF was more consolidated at an organisational level. Changes in the organisation (discussed in Chapter 5) meant that SF was being run more like a corporate enterprise in that it had a centralised brand and a centralised structure. For example, SF became a registered trademark and a range of rules were set by the organisation (discussed further in Subsection 6.4.2). The following quote taken from the 1987 unabridged version of the founding SF manifesto (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 72), confirms the existence of a compromise occurring within SF’s ideological formation: “If forced by the prevailing barbaric mode of communication to adopt slogans, we’ve got plenty”. As the organisation consolidated, it became a more cohesive, integrated unit and in some ways this did restrict the opportunities for moments of madness to occur.

It is also possible to argue that at the end of the formative phase the concept of SF was somewhat more constrained at an ideological level than it had been in the very early days of its conception (and therefore less radical). For example, in the very beginning the target was not exclusively food but speed generally. Portinari, who wrote the text of the SF manifesto, explains: “We wanted to bring back the tango, the umbrella and to celebrate a
leisurely daily pace” (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006 p.71). As the organisation consolidated the focus became promoting the virtues of slow within the specific context of food.

While the evidence presented so far has provided some support for P_{4}, the story is more complicated than that and a counter-argument can be made that the organisation become more, not less, radical during the formative phase. After the organisation’s initial decision to focus their efforts on food, the range of issues that the organisation became involved with within the domain of food increased considerably throughout the formative period. As was previously described (in Section 5.1), the SF organisation started off as an oeno-gastronomic association. Its ambitions initially were simply to promote good quality products, especially wine and small local producers. As the SF organisation developed, it began to voice its beliefs that all people should have the right to material and convivial pleasure and that taste was a serious matter. Later on the group would include the concept of ‘slow’ and by the end of the formative phase in 1996, the concept ‘clean’ had also been added into their analytical vision of what constituted SF. Thus at the end of the formative phase, it is also possible to conclude that the organisation’s ideologies and objectives had considerably broadened and that the organisation had become more ambitious than ever before. So in this sense, the data suggests that SF ideology had become more, not less, radical at the end of the formative phase than at the outset, contradicting the earlier data.

Moments of madness live largely in an oral culture so in interviews with the members{SFO}, the respondents were first asked about whether or not they believed that the ideology of the SF organisation changed as the organisation grew. They were then asked more specifically about their views on whether SF’s ideologies had become more or less radical over time. Although only three of the SF members answered this question directly, all of them did believe that the SF ideology had become more, not less radical over time. Glenn (1hr23) states clearly: “I think in terms of the drive out of Bra they’ve become more radical over time”. Likewise, Rosa (1hr6) says: “I don't really think the ideas are less radical”. Piero (36m) even mentioned: “If we don't become a little bit more radical... we have no future”.

The case clearly appears to be more complex than Melucci has proposed with a number of factors occurring that he does not appear to have been taken into consideration. For example, he does not account for the fact that changes occur in the external environment
in which the ideologies of the organisation are formed. Two points are made here. Firstly, even if the boundaries that the SF organisation were pushing in 1996 were in some ways less radical than they were in the 1980s, this is not necessarily because of sacrifices made by the SF organisation itself (as Melucci suggests). It may have been that by 1996 many SF concerns had become more widely accepted, more mainstream and therefore in a sense they had become less radical. The second point to be made with regards to changes in the external environment is that it seems logical that the bigger the effect in the external environment, the bigger the counter-effect that the oppositional organisation will need to have. For example, while the Environmental movement dates back to the 1960s, there was (generally speaking) much more awareness of and concern for globalisation and environmental issues in 1996 than when the SF organisation first started in the 1980s. As these trends accelerate it is logical that an organisation undertaking to counter these trends would also change over time and become more oppositional which is exactly what appears to have happened in the case of SF. The following quotation illustrates this point:

Because even the world has changed: There was not the globalisation like we have now. There was not the GM food like now, there was not the industrialisation of food... 20 years ago it was easier to eat better than now... so the world is changing and also the change of the world helped us understand better what we are doing and where we going (Raul, 1hr41).

On a similar note, Carmel (38m) also identified the internal radicalisation of the organisation as a necessity given the increasing intensity of problems in the external environment as illustrated by the following quote:

And then there is real life, the food crisis which is going on, which kind of obliged us to reflect more on what we were doing, on what we are fighting against and what we need to do. Because now we cannot stop ourselves incrementing the reality — we are called to action.

There are other examples of counter-movements which have become more, rather than less, extreme over time. The French Revolution for example, escalated to much more than what was intended at the outset (which was only limited reform), thus becoming more extreme as it developed.

While some support for $P_{4a}$ — during the formative phase of SF ideological development moments of madness lessen — was found, this subsection has also presented a range of evidence which did not support it. Therefore in conclusion, only some support can be given to this sub-proposition.
6.2.2. The Production of Symbols

Melucci (1996, p. 350) suggests that another characteristic evident in the formative phase of the development of an organisation is that "ideology is used to overcome the inadequacy of practice". More specifically, he proposes that "the less capacity for action the still weak and unorganised movement has, the greater will be the production of symbols" (sub-proposition P4b). This subsection discusses this in relation to evidence found in regards to the SF organisation during the research process. A definition of symbols is not provided by Melucci so a common understanding of what constitutes an organisation symbol has been borrowed from the general social movement literature. Thus, the type of symbols searched for in the data collection process included slogans, logos, particular pictures, images or other marks that have been used by the SF organisation to represent (or stand for) the SF concept.

As was the case in the previous subsection, evidence was found which both supported and did not support the sub-proposition. Both sets of evidence are now presented in turn. In the early days of the formative phase of SF a range of symbols existed. These included, for example, the slogan of the forerunner of all the SF associations (the Free and Meritorious Association of Friends of Barolo wine) 'Barolo wine is democratic, or at least it can become so'. The Arci Gola gastronomic league had a range of symbols which represented the ideas that they were promoting at the time. They used their food magazine Gambero Rosso (see Section 5.1) and other organisational materials to display printed symbols such as their logos. The original logo was an image of eggs crowned by the Langhe hills which was later on replaced with an updated one which was an image of a big pot with a man in Renaissance clothes standing next to it (Figure 5).
As SF became more consolidated at an organisational level, the leaders appear to have realised the importance of having strong brand recognition and that this required having fewer (and more consistent) brand images and other symbols. So in 1987 the image of a common snail was chosen as the organisation’s official logo (Figure 6).

This logo first appeared on the cover of Arci Gola’s regular eight-page insert the *Gambero Rosso* where the symbol of the stylised snail served as a backdrop for the SF’s founding manifesto. The magazine announced that the following year the symbol on the association’s membership card would be a snail. The snail was chosen as because it moves slowly and calmly eats its way through life (SF.Editore, 2001). Since 1987 the snail has appeared on all of the organisations publications, at all of SF events and is used at the international, national and the local convivium levels. The result of deciding to use an official logo to represent the SF concept was that the symbols produced were more focussed and concentrated. This argument provides some support for the sub-proposition (P4b) — that organisations produce more symbols in their early day of development than once they become consolidated at an organisational level.
However a there is a good counter-argument to be made. More convincing evidence was found that showed that as the SF organisation developed, the opportunities to create symbols in fact increased (thus not supporting P\textsubscript{4b}). For example during the formative phase, the organisation evolved from a small club relying on a large volunteer basis to a large organisation with paid employees. As well as having the personnel available to create new symbols, other resources which could facilitate the creation of more symbols were also made available. For example, in 1994 a SF publishing house was created. Not only had the amount of time and resources that people had to create such symbols increased throughout the formative phase, so too did the number and range of activities that SF engaged in. Each of these events and activities has its own (and often quite extensive) symbolic makeup. So as the scope of the activities of the SF organisation increased so too did the number of symbols produced. Quite clearly, the SF organisation produces symbols such as logos to support their actions rather than to compensate their lack of activities and actions as Melucci suggested.

On a final note, it is once again important to take into consideration the fact that the external environment also changed as the SF organisation developed. By the end of the formative phase there were more organisations around with overlapping ideals (e.g. the Soil Association) that were in a sense competing for membership and funding. One way organisations like SF differentiate themselves from (and keep ahead of) their competitors, is to constantly update not only their messages but the symbols they use to communicate these. In the following quote Glenn (1hr28) discusses the pressure on the SF organisation to continually stay ahead: “We've got to rebrand ourselves every couple of years to revitalise ourselves”.

A range of conflicting evidence has again been presented in the subsection. While there was no evidence that the overall number of symbols decreased over the formative phase, there was some evidence which suggested that the symbols produced at the end of the formative phase were more focussed than the general symbols produced at the start of the formative phase. However it was quite clear that since SF has consolidated at an organisational level, it has in fact produced more symbols than ever before. Reasons as to why this may be the case have been presented in the above discussion and include: the increase in publishing possibilities; the advent of paid personnel working for the organisation with the time and materials required to create and promote movement symbols; an increase in the number of activities and projects run by the movement; and increasing
pressure from competitors in the external environment to produce more symbols. Thus sub-proposition $P_{4b}$ — that more capacity for action results in less production of symbols — is not supported in the case of SF.

In his theory of ideology, Melucci considers that two elements characterise the formative phase. The first of these is the negation of the gap between expectations and reality. This section has investigated changes in moments of madness and the production of symbols in the formative phase of the SF ideology. However rather than supporting these two sub-propositions, the former was only partially supported and the latter was not supported. The reason for this lack of support appears to be that in the case of SF, there was not the gap between expectations and reality that Melucci suggests characterise movements in the formative phase. As has been explained in this section, the movement did not have very radical expectations at the outset so there was no need for a process of negotiation between what the members wanted and what they were actually able to achieve. Given that there was not a gap between expectations and reality, it is logical that the two sub-propositions were not fully supported. The second element that Melucci considers to characterise this phase is the theme of rebirth which is the topic of the following section.

### 6.3. Theme of Rebirth

Section 6.3 investigates the second of the two cultural contexts that Melucci considers characterise the ideology of an organisation in the formative phase — that there is a theme of rebirth (research proposition $P_5$). In the interviews (with members $^{\text{SFo}}$) respondents were asked to explain how they understood the SF organisation to have grown. This involved describing important influences in the formation of SF (e.g. existing political/social movements and historical figures). However, as only two interview respondents were involved in the very early beginnings of the formation of the SF ideology (Agosto and Santo were both founding members of the SF organisation), it was the secondary data collected in the historical SF reading materials which proved to be the most useful resource here.

The following section breaks the research proposition $P_5$ down into two main sub-propositions based on Melucci’s description of the theme of rebirth presented in the display quote above. The first subsection (6.3.1) presents evidence found relating to the sub-proposition $P_{5a}$ — that identity is defined with reference to the past. The second subsection
(6.3.2) presents the evidence found relating to sub-proposition \( P_{3b} \) — which is that the symbolic referents, cultural models and language used comes from the past.

6.3.1. Defining Identities with Reference to the Past

In the formative phase of ideology, Melucci (1996) suggests that a young organisation will restructure its old social allegiances into a new type of collective framework. Elaborating on this he explains that the way that this new collective actor will deal with the problems (that will inevitably arise when a range of diverse groups and interests are brought together), is to define their collective identity with reference to the past \( (P_{3a}) \). Enough convincing evidence was found to suggest that this does in fact appear to have been the case in the early days of the SF organisation as the following subsections explains.

The SF organisation did not just emerge out of Piedmont. For example, in the early 1980s the predecessor of SF — the Free and Meritorious Association of Friends of Barolo wine — the nucleus of what would later become Arci Gola (see Section 5.1 for more details), organised an oeno-gastronomic week in Mira, a town near Venice. Here, the ‘Friends of Barolo’ group met a couple of other young activists not unlike themselves: “[T]ired of politics, disillusioned by the defeats of the unions and beaten down by the conservative backlash that followed 1968” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 14). These young activists also shared the same passion for good food and wine and had recently opened a wine bar and a cooperative restaurant. During this week, the ‘Friends of Barolo’ met many other leftist intellectuals, journalists, young restaurateurs and wine producers and wine enthusiasts. When the group later travelled to Rome they found another group of former radicals that had recently opened up one of the first Italian ‘wine bars’. Many such individuals were attracted to the ideas and activities of the group and would eventually become SF members. In 1983, when the Arci Gola association was just beginning, the association clearly articulated their aim of bringing together the many different people who shared a common passion:

Arci Gola will bring together organisations and companies scattered all over the nation that will share some cultural premises... We are talking about wine shops and restaurants, public organisations and groups like the Libera e Benemerita Associazione Amici del Barolo of Bra (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 18).

And they did just this. Within a short time the membership of Arci Gola in Italy had increased from just a few hundred to thousands. By 1989 when the official inauguration of
SF took place in Paris, there were participants present from over 18 countries. The journalist attending this event in Paris reported that “the objective is to establish some sort of United Nations for gourmets” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 75).

Bringing together such a diverse range of people (including former radical colleagues from the PCI, old social allegiances from groups like the Friends of Barolo wine producers group, young restaurateurs, public organisations, intellectuals and journalists) into a new type of collective actor was not an easy task. As Melucci proposed is typically the case, it does appear that during these formative years the newly formed organisation did make references to the past to help define their collective identity and to assist with this process. To demonstrate this, two examples of how the SF organisation and its predecessor Arci Gola made references to the past to define their identity are now provided. In the unabridged version of the SF manifesto written in 1987, the Arci Gola SF group give an explanation to the reasoning behind the selection of the new symbol of the association — the snail — in which the reference to the past (specifically to the ancient Greek philosopher Zeno’s 'paradox') is clear:

Besides, thousands of years of experience have taught us that fast-footed Achilles never reaches the turtle, who in fact wins the race: it’s an important lesson, both mathematical and ethical. That sums it up: we are on the side of the turtle, or rather, the side of the common snail, which we have chosen to be the emblem of this project. Under the sign of the snail, we will welcome lovers of food culture and those who still love the enjoyment of easygoing, slow pleasures. The snail is slow (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 72).

Looking at this metaphor drawn upon by SF, we can see how the identity of the new collective actor is defined by alluding to an internationally well known story from the past. By drawing on the familiar race between Achilles and the turtle, SF was able to reaffirm the values it promoted such as slow and in doing so create a new form of solidarity amongst its members under one identifiable emblem — the snail. On a very similar note, the Arci Gola group chose the name *Gambero Rosso* [Red Crayfish] for their monthly food publication after the inn in the famous children’s story Pinocchio written in 1883 and adapted for the cinema by Walt Disney in 1940. The Pinocchio puppet “is the archetype of the bourgeois citizen, but he also has the light streak of the protester” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 54). By referring to an identity such as this from the past (and from the imagination), Arci Gola was able to highlight the non-elitist and creative nature of their newly formed gastronomic organisation.
Melucci (1996) suggests that when organisations define their identity with reference to the past, they often allude to a historically better period, which he has termed 'original purity', or 'golden age'. In the period of its formation, SF did make references back to the good old days as can be seen in the following quote in which the author emphasises how the ideology of SF in those early years looked romantically back to a time foregone: “The Slow Food manifesto [1987] is after all the dream of holding the old kitchen stove in our arms, our chest against its knobs, in a slow embrace” (Porta, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 73).

Examples of the SF organisation looking to the past were also identified in the organisational consolidation phase of the organisation (after 1996) as the following two quotes illustrate: “We now need a renaissance in agriculture, a return to quality” (Petrini, cited in Italia, 2002); and “the feelings of Terra Madre [were similar] to those that arose during the assembly of Sem Terra, the movement that gave strength and a voice to Brazilian farmers” (Terra Madre’s Closing Assembly Speech, cited in Italia, 2006b). However, it is reasonable to say that nowadays, the frequency at which the past is drawn upon by organisation leaders to articulate and define their identity is considerably less than was the case during the organisation’s early years of development. This subsection has provided three examples of how the SF organisation defined their collective identity in its early days with reference to the past, thereby confirming that P\textsubscript{5a} — defining collective identity with reference to the past is a characteristic of the formative phase of ideological development. The following subsection elaborates on this discussion by presenting evidence of cases where SF has drawn a range of symbolic referents, cultural models and vocabulary from the past.

6.3.2. Symbolic Referents, Cultural Models and Language from the Past

This subsection presents a range of evidence related to sub-proposition P\textsubscript{5b} — that an organisation in its formative stage uses symbols, cultural models and language from the past. Melucci suggests that the organisation seeks symbols, cultural models and language from two main sources: (1) their own group’s traditions; and (2) in the traditions of social movements that came before them. These two sources are discussed in turn, before opening up the discussion to include some more general examples of how the newly formed organisation’s demands were often expressed in language and symbols that came from the past.
The roots of the SF organisation can be traced back to the Arci Gola association, which was a member of the national umbrella organisation Arci which was established by the PCI in 1957 (see Section 5.1). Although the Arci Gola group officially claimed their autonomy by breaking away from the wider Arci organisation in 1983, strong ties with their political background naturally remained due to the fact that many of Arci Gola’s members had been former political activists. Reading the early publications of the SF organisation, one is struck by the many examples where SF uses symbols, cultural models and language from their group’s political past. Terms which have strong communist connotations — such as ‘comrades’ and ‘fraternity’ — were regularly used by leaders of the organisation in addressing or discussing their membership. For example in the original SF founding manifesto Porta writes: “Comrades, enough with these sloppy grilled chops” (1987, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 7). In a similar fashion, references were made to historical communist figures, even if sometimes it was somewhat ironically: For example in 1984, portraits of Lenin and Che Guevara decorated the kitchen in a tavern run by a co-op of young activists. Another case which illustrates that the SF organisation drew upon its own past is that when devising a cultural model for the ideology of SF, the SF leaders referred back to the historical archive (containing 156 issues) of La Gola — a periodical published monthly from 1982-1988 devoted to food culture. The editorial board for the La Gola magazine was diverse and included writers, poets and artists, as well as SF founding members Petrini and Santiago. This collection of magazines was “a source of inspiration for the ‘slow’ philosophy” (Porta, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 73).

Just as the organisation sought symbols, cultural models and language in their own group’s traditions, they also sought these in the traditions of other types of organisations and movements that came before them. Although SF cannot be classified by any means as a religious organisation, there are examples of references to the bible, especially so in the formative years of the organisation. The most obvious example of a biblical symbol adopted by the organisation is that of Noah’s Ark which the SF Foundation for Biodiversity has used to represent their project of saving endangered gastronomic products (see Section 5.2 for more details on the Ark of Taste initiative). The following quote from Petrini's speech at Salone del Gustro 1996 illustrates the how the concept of Noah's Ark has been used by the organisation: “Since the flood was imminent... our ark could be the only salvation. The incoming storms threatened to inflict genocide... we had to build an ark... once the flood was over, we would come down from the ark, back to earth, like Noah” (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 93).
Another example of how the SF organisation borrowed cultural models that were in the traditions of movements that came before them can be found with regards to the French Revolution. In 1989 at the inauguration of the SF International Movement in Paris, the event’s participants celebrated the bicentennial of the French Revolution and resulting pioneer chefs which became celebrities of their day\(^2\). In 1989 SF was not only applauding the renowned chefs, but the fact that good quality cuisine had been made available to the masses. This idea is a central tenet of the SF concept and to this day SF fights to ‘liberate’ the traditional Osteria (family run inns or taverns in Italy) from the threat that looms over them of a takeover by fast food culture. Other specific references to the French Revolution are evident, for example in Petrini’s speech at the Inauguration of Terra Madre in 2006: “Look at the French Revolution, which strengthened in everyone the knowledge that while we have some individual rights, time and history call us to collective rights” (Italia, 2006a). Although this speech took place in 2006 which is considered to be after the formative phase of SF’s development, this idea of collective rights — inspired in part by the French Revolution — has been a fundamental element of SF’s conceptual makeup since the beginning, though it was not articulated as explicitly as it is today. In his opening speech at the Meeting of International Councillors in Cadro, Petrini (2008, Speech) explains: “We were born as an organisation that already contained an element of justice. We have always believed that the right for pleasure was a right for everyone”. Also influential in shaping the SF organisation in its very early days of the development was another French movement — that of the student protests and general strikes espousing left wing causes that took place during May 1968. Reading In Campo Rossa [In Red Domain], the bi-weekly periodical published between 1974 and 1985 (founded by Petrini and others who would later go on to establish the SF organisation), the language is clearly typical of that of the French protest movement: “[A]n uncompromising and tough language that stakes out its opposition to businessmen, bureaucrats and the local church in a single J’accuse” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 28).

The discussion now opens up to include some more general examples of how the newly formed SF organisation’s demands were expressed in language and symbols that came from the past. Melucci states that this happens in the formative phase because the only known language and the only images to be entrusted with the new claims belong to the past. In Italy at the time, military service was mandatory and it is evident that the leaders of SF

\(^2\) These chefs after having been ‘liberated’ from the aristocracy and finding themselves out of work, turned their attention to opening up restaurants that were patronized by the new middle class — the bourgeoisie.
employed terminology learned during their time in the army to express the new contemporary social arrangements. Thus war and military terms such as ‘lieutenant’, ‘defensive manoeuvre’, ‘self-destruction’ and ‘enemy’ (c.f. Petrini & Padovani, 2006, pp. 4, 70, 71, 81) can be found scattered throughout the early works of SF. In fact cases of this historically distinctive vocabulary can still be found in the speech of SF organisation leaders today: “This board of councillors shall lead the change from infantry to cavalry (like Frederick II who defeated Austria with cavalry); Without cavalry we will die — maybe of indigestion in our gastronomy” (Petrini, 2008, Speech); and “If there is an enemy to be beaten… it’s no use representing this enemy as the devil. In order to win a battle, you must not underrate your enemy, but instead try to understand his character, his strategies, his culture” (Montanari, 2000). Such examples however do seem to have become increasingly rare as the SF organisation has now moved on and conscientiously positioned itself as not a fighting organisation, but a celebratory one (note that the implications of this are discussed in more detail later on in the thesis in Subsection 7.2.3). The following two quotes emphasise this point: “Our emphasis is not our oppositional status, our emphasis is on what we are for… that’s what defines SF primarily” (Glenn, 1hr20); and “The defence of our heritage… should take the shape of a banquet, not a form of revenge” (Capatti, 2001, p. 3). Therefore as expected, there was less evidence found in the recent SF works of such harsh terminology, than in the earlier SF works.

References drawn upon by SF in its early years also include a variety of historical sources including literature and films. In developing the concept of SF, historical literature proved to be a useful source of inspiration for organisation leaders. For example French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss’s book (1969) *The Raw and the Cooked* identifies the connection between cuisine and culture and “has deeply influenced Petrini’s cultural outlook and is fundamental to the Slow Food philosophy” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 69). In another example, Petrini — complaining about the poor luncheon his group received at an Arci meeting — sets the record straight on the ‘right’ way to cook ribollita by making reference to another historical work: “These are the ingredients Pellegrino Artusi recommends in his seminal 1891 book *La scienza in cucina e l’arte di mangiare bene* [Science in the kitchen and the art of eating well]” (Petrini’s letter to the administration of Arci, 1982, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006). Further instances of SF drawing upon symbolic references from the past in the early days of its formation to explain the aims of their new collective action can be found in the organisation’s founding manifesto. This
details that the aim of SF should be "reinstating the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum\textsuperscript{13}... which is unjustly considered to be obsolete" (1989, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006). In fact, the very idea of writing a manifesto in the first place was influenced by an existing cultural model as Portinari who wrote the original text explains: "a manifesto against fast food had already been written by Charlie Chaplin in his film Modern Times" (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006).

It appears that as the organisation has grown, SF’s leaders have increasingly understood the importance of creating their own language, symbols and cultural models to define their identity, rather than just drawing from the past as is clearly articulated in the following quote: "We could not lock ourselves in a small, ancient world and not look beyond that" (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 93). In fact the organisation now appears to be consciously positioning the ideologies of SF away from the utopian ideals of rebirth: "Slow Food does not want to go back to the ‘good old days’, which probably never existed" (Wurthmann, 2001) and "to relocalize food production is to combine economic value with a sustainable model for agriculture. This isn’t a utopia, but a truly winning idea, the most modern in the world" (Petrini, Closing Speech at Salone del Gustro, cited in Italia, 2008).

Subsection 6.3.3 has presented a range of evidence which supports the second of the two cultural contexts that Melucci considers characterise the ideology of an organisation in the formative phase — that an organisation in its formative stage uses symbols, cultural models and language from the past.

Given the range of diverse examples presented throughout this subsection, it is possible to conclude that proposition P\textsubscript{5} — that the theme of rebirth characterises the formative phase of organisation’s ideology — is supported in the case of SF.

6.4. Ideology Fulfils the Function of Integration

This section investigates the first of the two cultural contexts that Melucci considers characterise the ideology of an organisation in the consolidation phase — that ideology fulfils the function of integration (research proposition P\textsubscript{6}). Melucci postulates that this function of integration is accomplished by: a repeated proposal for values and norms (P\textsubscript{6a});

\textsuperscript{13} Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum [the Salernitan Regimen of Health], is a poem which concerns domestic medical practices, with a focus on good diet, which was composed in the 12th or 13th century.
the control of deviant behaviour \( (P_{eb}) \); and the stabilisation of certain rituals \( (P_{es}) \). Each of the following three subsections deal with the sub-propositions specified above respectively.

6.4.1. A Repeated Proposal for Values and Norms

Given the diversity of members that is often found in an organisation, it is hardly surprising that an enormous range of (often conflicting) interests and demands exist. Ideology "coordinates, articulates and makes coherent these demands, associating them with general principles" and thus "by reformulating the values and norms of the group, discursive frames solidify the collective identity and prevent internal conflicts from damaging unity" (Melucci, 1996, p. 353). This subsection starts off by briefly looking at the different demands and interests of the wide range of SF members. It then discusses how the SF leaders work constantly to produce those discursive frames which aim to keep the organisation as unified as possible. Following this, three examples are provided to show evidence of this occurring.

The once small Italian oeno-gastronomic club has evolved over the last 20 years into a neo-gastronomic organisation which now has more than 100,000 official subscribed members (see Chapter 5). The wider SF movement of which this organisation is a part, also includes many other non-official members \( (\text{members}^{\text{SFM}}) \) and therefore is even more numerous and more diverse than the SF organisation. Carmel (44m25) explains: "There are many different souls co-existing in SF" (Table 1 in Subsection 4.2.2 described the different types of members). Part of diversity comes from the fact that these members come from over 150 different countries (SF. Editore, 2009) and so naturally "in every part of the world, SF has a different face... of course the activities Slow Food Kenya does are not the same as Slow Food New York does" (Carmel, 44m55). However, this range of members’ interests and demands exists principally because the analytical makeup of the concept of SF is so complex and varied. The following quote emphasises this complexity by highlighting the range of people that are attracted to the SF concept: "We have left-wing greenies and right-wing fascists belonging to SF. Here in Dunedin we have some bourgeois matrons and I’m sure we have some anarchists in Spain that belong to SF" (Sam, 59m40). Given such a range of members it is hardly surprising that conflicting interests and demands exist within the movement which can lead to internal fragmentation. In the quote which follows, Sam (56m50) describes how his own personal interests can sometimes conflict with those of other SF members:
What I've seen of it here in New Zealand is less of what I like about Slow Food. It seems to be more of a middle class food club than a political movement... many of the people who belong are wealthy consumers, they aren't really interested in getting their hands dirty... they just want to have access to some elite niche products. And that's all right, but that's not my interest. Although I like niche products, I don't see that as the overriding goal of Slow Food and I have different aims.

The resulting inconsistencies between different interpretations of SF ideologies can cause problems for the organisation's leaders whose role is to portray a coherent and homogenous image of their movement to the outside world and frustrations can arise as shown in the following quotes: “There are some members of some convivium... that might just be about the pleasure of taste... but our message is broader than that!”; and “It’s like Chinese whispers. I say to you SF is this, by the time you get it, SF is that or maybe this or a bit of that, or maybe everything in between” (Elisa, 12m & 13m). There is some recognition amongst movement leaders that different interpretations of ideologies are inevitable and in some cases this process has actually been actively encouraged. For example, Raul (1hr37) was at pains to highlight that “it's not an association that decides everything, that manages everything... we have chapters all around the world, they make everyday their activities and they send us a sort of energy”. On a similar note, the president of SF international, Carlo Petrini, declared in his closing speech at the Meeting of International Councillors in Cadro (2008, Speech) “Terra Madre up till now was an event organised for the world. In the next edition let the world organise Terra Madre for the organisation”. However, at the same meeting Petrini also pointed out that “governing and being democratic at the same time is very difficult” and the difficulty with being “both austere and anarchic at the same time”. Evidence of this difficulty is noticeable in the disparities between what the leaders say (e.g. that the movement members need to be actively included in the ideological formation process) and actually do. For example, Fiorella (2008) confides that there is a “lack of communication from international office though I would say that it was more than just that, I would call it lack of trust, trust of the persons that are here [New Zealand]. They call us trustees, but they do not consider us as trustees”.

Such conflicts have naturally increased as the SF organisation has expanded — both philosophically and in numbers of members. As such, SF organisation leaders have increasingly had to work on “keeping the balance right” (Glenn, 1hr24), or in Melucci’s terms “cover and hide the plurality of orientations and tensions corresponding to the different components of the movement” (Melucci, 1996, p. 355). While sometimes the
movement’s leaders actively encourage different interpretations of SF ideology, the evidence suggests that most of the time SF leaders consciously aim to produce unifying discursive frames as can be seen in the following quote which comes from a speech given by Buckard (2008, Speech) at the Meeting of International Councillors: “Our aim is to educate and train members in the SF philosophy. We have to improve member’s knowledge to be good ambassadors so to do this we have to train them in SF philosophies”. Further confirmation of this leadership function is now demonstrated through the presentation of three different examples, all of which clearly illustrate cases where ideology has been employed to ‘reformulate the values and norms of the group’ by ‘associating them with general principles’.

**Example 1: Democracy**
The general principle of democracy is used by SF leaders in a number of ways. For example a slogan they use is ‘democracy at the table is what we stand for’ (SF.Editore, 2006b). By associating the aims of the organisation with a general principle such as democracy, the leaders of SF are proposing a number of related values to which they hope their members will adhere (the notion that values underpin ideologies has been discussed previously in Subsection 2.2.1). These include values such as *equality*. Evidence of this is found on a brochure which summarises the organisation’s ideology: “The pleasure of the table are for every man, of every land, of everyplace in history or society” (cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 131). Other related values include: *participation* — “ours is a participatory, liveable’ life” (Petrini’s Speech, Closing Assembly of Terra Madre, cited in Italia, 2006b, online); *inclusiveness* — “what we have done over these years is really this kind of being inclusive, in this sense Slow Food is very feminine” (Carmel, 33m45); and *the right of people to self-determination* — “today the proclamation of rights concerns food... meaning the freedom to choose the way we eat” (Nano, 2004).

**Example 2: Diversity and Unity**
The second example illustrates how SF leaders have used two opposing general principles and brought these together in an attempt to summarise the identity of their organisation. These two general principles which are espoused by the organisation are explained by Petrini as “diversity and unity: the importance of the former, the strength of the latter. What we are: different. And what we have to be: united” (2003, p. 10). Elaborating on this, he

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14 This idea of seeing a movement in terms of gender results from an Italian perspective.
proudly proclaims, “I almost felt dizzy seeing how the organisation’s complexity and the diversity personified in its each and every member seemed to breathe as one in the shadow of Vesuvius” (Petrini, 2003, p. 10). This is a good example of a case where SF leaders claim homogeneity within their organisation that in reality does not exist, in an attempt to portray the organisation as coherent (as possible) to the outside world. Associated with each of these two principles, SF leaders have repeatedly put forward a proposal for values and norms that they hope will be adhered to by their organisation’s members. This is quite clearly articulated with regards to diversity in the following statement: “The Western model is losing, because it places money rather than concern for human beings at the centre. But you all are different; you are proud of your diversity” (Petrini, cited in SF.Editore, 2006c, p. 1). On a similar note, it is just as easy to find numerous examples of how a range of values and norms associated with the general principle of unity have been promoted by SF leaders. The two following quotes illustrate this with the reference to solidarity and brotherhood, thus providing a case in point: Solidarity — “Terra Madre means solidarity. The Terra Madre communities, conscious of their common destiny, are always ready to lend each other a hand in moments of need” (SF.Editore, 2008i, p. 9) and Brotherhood — “If the earth is our mother, brotherhood will govern these days of work. There are no differences of race, of idiom, of culture, of creed, of religion. We know that the brotherhood is stronger” (Petrini, cited in SlowFood, 2006a, p. 1).

Example 3: For, not Against
The historical narrative of the SF organisation emanated out of a protest against fast food. The fact that oppositional language and symbols were prevalent in the early days of SF’s development has been already discussed (Subsection 6.3.2). Also noted was the fact that SF leaders have worked hard in recent years to position their organisation as being for something as opposed to (or against) something. The following two quotes provide further evidence of this: [SF is] “Not against... we’re an alternative to fast food” (Raul, 2hr3); and “We’re not anti-globalisation, we’re for virtuous globalisation” (Petrini, quoted by Glenn, 1hr19). Elaborating on this, Raul (2h04) and Glenn (1hr25) continue to delimit the organisation’s positive perspective: “If you want to eat that shit, that’s not a problem for me. I just want to work to give good, clean and fair food to all the people that want good, clean and fair food”; and “We’re interested in celebrating food and we’re interested in celebrating the social and cultural context in which that food is produced. That’s what we’re for. That’s what defines SF primarily”. The production of discursive frames based around this general principle of ‘for, not against’ is another good example of how SF leaders use ideology to co-
ordinate their members (often conflicting) demands. Such a stance, clearly determines the types of activities in which SF members are encouraged to participate, with wine tastings and food fairs for example preferred over the noisy disruptive and often violent protests that characterise other similar anti-globalisation organisations. The SF leaders’ attempt to downplay their oppositional status in recent years appears to have been fairly successful as this message is well understood by not only the members\textsuperscript{SF0} but also by members\textsuperscript{SFM} of the wider SF movement, as the following quotes attest: “It’s more for something than against something, rather than saying don’t do this its saying do this type thing” (Jane, 1hr45); “I don't see it as an adversarial type of movement at all” (Bianca, 1hr55); and “I'm not sure that SF out and out says that fast food is bad and that we protest McDonalds and all that other sort of stuff. They're just saying well there is another way, so they're not confrontational” (Ray, 22m).

This subsection has demonstrated how the leaders of the SF organisation work constantly to produce discursive frames based around general principles in the hope of keeping the organisation as unified as possible. While three general principles have been presented to show evidence of this, there are many more other examples which equally could have substantiated this process (e.g. ‘slowness’, ‘pleasure’ and ‘clean food’). What is not discussed specifically by Melucci, but is nonetheless just as relevant, is the fact that ideological frames can also be used in remedial ideological work not just at the aggregate level to integrate the organisation as a whole, but also at an individual level. For example, discursive frames can be used at moments when activist’s personal beliefs and behaviours are contradictory or when their beliefs and actual events in the world are at odds, allowing activists to maintain some consistency in their thinking. Based on the evidence presented in this subsection, it is possible to conclude that sub-proposition P\textsubscript{6a} — ‘that there is a repeated proposal for values and norms’ — is supported in the case of the SF organisation.

6.4.2. Fixing the Boundaries of Belonging

Another way that ideology fulfils a function of integration, is by establishing group boundaries and criteria for dealing with those members who deviate outside of these (Melucci, 1996). As was discussed in Chapter 2 (Subsection 2.2.2), this core framing task is referred to in the wider sociological literature as ‘diagnostic boundary framing’ (c.f. Snow & Benford, 1988). This subsection explores this particular role of ideology further by
presenting evidence on why and how these boundaries of belonging have been created for both the SF organisation and the wider movement.

In the case of the SF organisation, it is quite clear that boundaries have been set (often by leaders, but also by other members) to clearly delimit who does and does not belong to their group. It is logical that an international organisation as large as SF requires boundaries of some sort, simply for administrative purposes if nothing else. However, it was also apparent that one of the main incentives for the SF organisation to create these boundaries was to incite a sense of belonging amongst members. This is demonstrated by the fact that upon becoming a member\textsuperscript{SFO}, each individual is awarded with a special membership card to carry in their wallet which grants them access to SF events. Doug (29m) — who is a member\textsuperscript{SFM} — discusses the status that comes from having a SF organisation membership card: “If you go around the foodie circles in Dunedin it’s considered a badge of honour”. Such boundaries help to protect the members\textsuperscript{SFO} social connections within this group by clearly differentiating those who are inside the group to those who are outside. This separation between members\textsuperscript{SFO} and members\textsuperscript{SFM}, has the potential to lead to some resentment amongst those who feel excluded from the group. One of the interview respondents articulated: “I just resist some of these movements... it should be access for all not just access for some” (Doug, 35m). While this thesis has not investigated how the members felt about those consumers who do not belong to the SF organisation, Kozinets and Handelman’s (2004) research (discussed in Subsection 2.2.1) showed that members of consumer activist movements saw mainstream consumers as ideological opponents as opposed to the participants’ clients (potential movement members).

Boundaries of belonging are created by: (1) establishing certain criteria for membership and the creation of a common symbolic system; and (2) by punishing those who deviate from these boundaries. These two points are now discussed in turn.

Firstly, establishing the criteria for membership entails the setting up of a number of rules to which all members are expected to obey. In the case of the SF organisation, these include a number of official and unofficial rules. Examples of official rules are those specified in the National and International Statutes of the SF organisation. These rules are detailed and complex and concern a wide range of issues including for example, the way in which the SF logo may be used, the membership fee to be charged in each country and the criteria for setting up a SF National Association. The following extract from the SF
International Statute (Petrini, 2003, p. 10) demonstrates such a rule: “Members of Slow Food are all those who accept this statute and apply for a membership cards, accepting the rules of this Statute and all Appendices and, where applicable, the National Statute”. These official rules are non-negotiable and as interviewee respondent Rosa — a former SF leader — explains: “You accept the rules and you either like it or don't like it, but there are certain things which it is not correct to change because that is rules” (Rosa, 35m). There are also a number of other types of rules which are less official — in the sense that they are not written in a statue per se — but do nonetheless play an important part in outlining the boundaries of belonging. An example of this is the guidelines concerning eating habits which the SF organisation’s leaders have identified for its members15 (Slow Food International Statute, 2003, p.2):

Eat food made from organisms at the lower level of the food chain.
Choose organic products.
Buy locally grown products.
Buy seasonal products.
Buy products with little packaging material (or none).
Avoid consuming food obtained by biological species submitted to excessive exploitation.
Broaden our diet so that it may comprehend a larger variety of food.
Buy groceries using reusable canvas bags rather than disposable plastic ones.
Minimize the waste of food.
Remember the pursuit of pleasure.
Give everyone the right to choose.

As well as setting up a number of rules, boundaries of belonging can be established though the creation of a common symbolic system (e.g. language, dress and rituals) which is understood and shared by the group’s members. This has been the case in the SF organisation, but as this is the topic of the following subsection (6.4.3), no further discussion of this will take place at this stage.

Secondly, the punishment of those who deviate from the organisation’s rules (both the official and unofficial rules) also helps to create the boundaries of belonging, again by clearly showing who does and does not belong to the group. Members who are not prepared to follow the rules set by the organisation often have to leave and are pressured into doing so, either voluntarily or in the most severe cases they are officially expelled by the organisation’s leaders. Expulsion is rare, but the possibility for this to happen does exist if it

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15 Note that these unofficial 'rules' appear to apply to not only members SFO but also to members SFM. This suggests that boundaries of belonging exist at this wider movement level as well.
is required. Policing of the rules is done at one level by the members themselves (e.g. through peer pressure) and at another level by the organisation’s leaders. People may voluntarily leave the SF organisation for a number of reasons, but one of the main causes of interest here, is that members often leave because they lose the emotional connections and strong social ties they once had with the group. This may be because they disagree with certain aspects of the way in which the organisation is run for example, as the following quote exemplifies:

Even if you dislike the rules you still have to respect them... and after four years of doing it, I decided to pull out my support for that, well officially... in New Zealand there is this tendency of agreeing with everything, but if someone doesn’t really say what they think, then things won’t change, so I do remember saying, this is what I think is wrong... I am saying these things now because I am out of the hook (Rosa, 45m).

Members may also lose the sense of belonging they once felt, if the organisation’s ideology changes and the new direction that the ideology takes diverges from or conflicts with their personal interests. The following quote comes from SF leader Petrini’s speech at the Meeting of SF International Councillors (2008, Speech) and nicely illustrates that the people in charge of the SF organisation are aware that changing the ideology risks excluding members:

Our movement is called to make a strategic decision. We are in the river and we could decide to go either way. Back to gastronomy/conviviality — we could say sorry, we were just joking, the forces are stronger than us. Or we could go on and reach the opposite river bank. When you open the doors of the association people come in but people can also go out. We shouldn’t be afraid of this. Let them go out. Young people are willing to fight these issues.

People can be officially punished for deviant behaviours by being excluded from the organisation for a number of reasons. For example, “membership and affiliate status is lost by: expulsion... should the behaviour or activities of the member, of the club, or of the affiliated structures are in clear conflict with the principles or the aims of this statute” (Slow Food International Statute, 2003, p. 3). The decision for such an expulsion is made on the decision of the International President’s Committee or other appropriate national bodies if applicable and while such a rule is open to interpretation, it is commonsense that the severity of the ‘offence’ is taken into account. If a member breaks an unofficial rule — and eats regularly at McDonalds for example — their punishment for doing so is not more than a personal sense of guilt and perhaps the disapproval of their SF peers. Whether this alone is
enough to push them outside the boundaries of belonging is unclear as it is dependent upon situational specific factors. It is clear though, that if a producer puts the SF trademark snail logo on the packaging on their food products without going through the official SF certification process, they will be much more sternly punished.

Once boundaries of belonging have been established, SF leaders reinforce these boundaries by highlighting their group’s successes: “We do amazing things and... we'll start telling those stories in the Amarnac, [which is] similar to an annual report... sent out to all members” (Elisa, 1hr21). Leaders also reinforce the boundaries by using ideology to “facilitate the perception of rewards” (Melucci, 1996, p. 353) of belonging to the organisation as the following quote illustrates: “We give you neither money nor prestige, but a great deal of self-esteem. If you have that, you will move the world” (SF.Editore, 2006c, online).

As has been shown throughout this subsection, there is enough evidence with regards to the SF organisation to support sub-proposition P6b — that ideology fulfils a function of integration by establishing group boundaries and criteria for dealing with those members who deviate outside of these.

6.4.3. Establishing and Stabilising Certain Rituals

A third way that ideology fulfils a function of integration is by the creation of “ritual practices” such as linguistic codes, gestural codes, ceremonies or ways of dressing, which “serve to consolidate its components” (Melucci, 1996, p. 353). Elaborating on this Melucci adds:

Actual ceremonies, governed by codified procedures, represent the synthesis of a shared organisational culture. These rituals, through the quasi-sacred crystallization of the norms of the group, tend to guarantee the continuity and the efficacy of ideology, in spite of the tensions at work within it (Melucci, 1996, p. 353).

This idea of an organisational culture is related to the shared symbolic system discussed in the last subsection which helps to set the boundaries of belonging for the organisation participants. This particular role of ideology is explored in more depth in this subsection by presenting evidence on how ritual practices have been created by the SF organisation in an attempt to bring together their many different components. The subsection starts off with a general discussion on rituals, before moving on to present an example of a SF ceremony —

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Terra Madre — and finishes off with an overview of a number of rituals carried out at different levels of the organisation.

In joining an ideological organisation such as SF, in a way members commit themselves to live a certain type of lifestyle where certain behavioural activities are determined to be acceptable or not by the group (see Subsection 6.4.2). These "activities of the ideologically committed are in many respects an elaborate ritual... For those who are committed, certain activities are meaningful because they have decided that they do express their beliefs" (Manning, 1980, p. 124). The performance of these rituals often appears senseless for those outside the boundaries of the SF movement who do not share the same ideological commitment. For example, people outside the organisation may be unsure of what it is that "induces men and women to wear weird and wonderful costumes, to celebrate dishes with ancient magical names and preparations that evoke tenacious, deep-rooted traditions" (Bensoussan, 2000, online). However SF organisation members have no trouble understanding the significance of these rituals in celebrating "the preservation of typical products... [and] the cultivation of memory and taste education" (Bensoussan, 2000, online). Ritual practices in the organisational context can include linguistic codes, gestural codes, structured events and ways of dressing. There are many examples of different types of linguistic codes existing within the SF organisation and Rosa (54m) highlights one of these: "Carlo Petrini is called by a nickname by his people, he is loved by his people [and] they are all his people". Linguistic codes such as this express the casual emotional tone of the SF organisation's culture. Likewise gestural codes or structured events which exist within the SF organisation can express the belief system of the organisation's members. For example the following quote highlights the value that the group's editorial board placed on a non-hierarchical workplace structure: "Writing for La Gola was a slightly elitist experience: we had our special rituals, such as our endless discussions during the editorial meeting with no editor in chief. Culturally this contributed to the birth of the SF movement" (Portinari, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 70). On a similar note the way in which SF members dress may also enhance the belief system of the organisation's shared culture and as such can also be considered a certain type of ritual. Dressing in clothing that portrays shared cultural symbols such as the SF logo is one way in which members can express the SF organisation's ideology as is shown in the photo below (Figure 7).
Melucci suggests that “actual ceremonies, governed by codified procedures, represent the synthesis of a shared organisational culture” (1996, p. 353). Perhaps nowhere else in the SF organisation is this more evident than at Terra Madre (see Section 5.4 for more information about this event). Participation by members in the many activities that occur during this week of festivities contributes to the construction of the SF organisational culture. Each of these activities — which include for example ‘memory and taste workshops’ and ‘earth markets’ — constitutes a number of different types of rituals. The scene in Figure 8 illustrates the rituals that take place in the interactive exchange process of the selling and buying of products at the event.
Evidence of three different types of SF rituals — linguistic codes, gestural codes and ways of dressing — that take place at the Terra Madre event is now presented in turn. Firstly, a number of different linguistic codes are used at the Terra Madre event. An example is the frequent use of nature metaphors to describe the organisation’s values and activities. The following quote demonstrates the use of such a metaphor:

If we see the two events as a tree, Salone del Gusto is the branches and the fruits, Terra Madre is the roots... The branches and the fruits represent human nature and wisdom, which manifest themselves to us in the form of food. The roots represent the substrata whence life is born, namely the peasants, breeders, shepherds and nomads who produce our daily food... (SF.Editore, 2008i, p. 4).

A pictorial representation can be seen in Figure 9 which shows an advertisement for the 2008 Salone del Gusto SF event.

Secondly, while linguistic codes can play an important role in integrating the different components of the organisation, some members are of the opinion that “it is gestures, more than words that have a symbolic, sacred role” (SF.Editore, 2006c). Gestural codes at the Terra Madre event are plentiful. For example, at Terra Madre’s closing assembly, Petrini explains:

When the Middle Eastern meeting was held, people were a bit stiff to start with, but after a few minutes Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon understood they were all part of the same family and symbolically dipped bread in salt. The great fraternal gesture of dipping bread in salt! (cited in SF.Editore, 2006c, online).
Another example of a codified gesture was the use of a peasant’s horn from the Peruvian Andes to call event participants to a meeting. In fact in 2008 when the decision was made to “build a network of music and sounds from the agricultural and pastoral worlds... [where] groups of nonprofessional musicians from the Terra Madre communities perform” (SF.Editor, 2008i, p. 2), this opened up the opportunity for a whole new range of SF rituals to be created. Thirdly, just as many examples of gestural codes can be identified, rituals can also be spotted in the way that the SF participants dress. Wearing traditional costumes throughout the week event is encouraged by the organisers of Terra Madre and a large number of participants do as the photo of two participants from Russia below illustrates (Figure 10). SF leader Petrini explains the purpose of this particular ritual: “You aren’t wearing your costumes for reasons of folklore: you are wearing them as a mark of your identity” (SF.Editor, 2006c, online).

Figure 10 Photo Showing Russian Traditional Costumes Worn at Terra Madre

As well as Terra Madre, there are scores of other examples of ceremonies which are made up of a plethora of different rituals. At the international level there are other events organised by the SF organisation’s headquarters such as ‘Cheese’, ‘Slow Fish’, ‘Slow Film’ (see Section 5.3). At a more local level, conviviums regularly organise events for their members such as banquets (e.g. the great fest of Bue Grasso [Ox fat] in Carrù, Italy) and other traditional ceremonies (e.g. the night of music and egg collecting, held annually in the Langhe region, Italy). However, it is obvious that SF rituals are not just limited to ceremonies and events that are organised by the leaders. At the individual membership level (both members$^{SP}$/$^{SM}$), a number of daily rituals occur which convey the belief system of the person conducting the practice. Rituals are carried out in every step of the food
consumption process (including the growing, buying, preparing and eating of the food). The rituals that occur at the table — such as the way the table is decorated or the order in which the food is served — provide an obvious case. The following quote backs this up: “The identity of family, a country, and a nation all gravitate around food: at the table rituals and moments of complex cultural exchange take place” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 176). In summary, this subsection has presented a wide range of evidence which supports sub-proposition \( P_6 \) that ritual practices (such as linguistic codes, gestural codes, ceremonies, or ways of dressing) are created by movement members and leaders and serve to consolidate the SF organisation.

Section 6.4 has investigated the first of the two cultural contexts that Melucci considers characterise ideology in the consolidation phase — that ideology fulfils the function of integration. Melucci proposes that this function of integration is accomplished by: (1) a repeated proposal for values and norms; (2) the control of deviant behaviour; and (3) the stabilisation of certain rituals. Evidence was found which supported all three of these sub-propositions. Thus it is possible to conclude that the overriding proposition \( P_6 \) — that ideology fulfils a function of integration in the consolidation phase of the organisation — is supported. It is noticeable that as the SF organisation has grown over the years and became increasingly diversified, the use of ideology to solidify collective identity, establish boundaries and provide a shared organisational culture for the group, has become increasingly important for the SF leaders. Though this challenge has become increasingly difficult over the years as the movement has become more multinational, to date, the results seem to be relatively successful, as the organisation appears to outsiders to be a coherent and unified counter-organisation. The following section presents the results for the second of the two cultural contexts that Melucci considers characterises ideology in the consolidation phase — that ideology fulfils a strategic function in improving the position of the organisation in relation to the environment.

6.5. Ideology Fulfils a Strategic Function

As an organisation grows, Melucci proposes that the second essential aspect of ideology which becomes important is that it can be used to fulfil a strategic function (research proposition \( P_7 \)). This section investigates two sub-propositions with regards to the SF organisation. The first subsection presents evidence concerning sub-proposition \( P_{7a} \) — that
an organisation uses ideology to increase their influence within the political system. The second subsection provides a range of data concerned with sub-proposition \( P_{7b} \) — that an organisation uses ideology to expand their support base.

6.5.1. Increasing Influence within the Political System

As was revealed in Chapter 5, the birth of the SF organisation can be linked back to the PCI. Despite these initial political linkages however, leaders have had to work hard over years to increase the influence that their organisation has within the political system, as Rual (1hr56) attests: “I think that it is more political today. Because at the beginning... there were just a few political aspects in our work. Now a lot of things that we do are in some way political”.

The SF organisation has always had ties to politics: “Petrini and the old guard in Bra, always were and have always been good political operators, very politically savvy and part of the initial success of SF in Italy, was their political connections, with governments, with regional authorities” (Glenn, 1hr17). However there is little doubt that as the organisation has developed over the years, the SF leaders increasingly sought to enlarge the scope of their organisation’s influence within the political system: “We are becoming more and more political, absolutely” (Piero, 39m). This subsection looks at four different means by which the SF organisation has enlarged the scope of their influence within the political system. These are (1) re-positioning the political standpoint of the organisation; (2) becoming increasingly active at an international level; (3) expanding their ideology and thus the range of issues that the organisation is concerned with; and (4) expanding the domain of the political system. Each of these points is now discussed in turn.

The first way that SF leaders have expanded the political boundaries within which their organisation works is by re-positioning the political standpoint of the organisation. This new positioning moved away from the organisation’s Leftist origins and adopted a stance where “we’re not aligned with governments” (Elisa, 42m). This shift is verified by the following quote from SF leader Piero (41m): “All the connections between SF and the Communist Left are over now, because we have a relationship with all the governments. We have ideas and we are happy to work with whoever helps us with these”. Reinforcing this comment, SF founder Petrini (2008, Speech) states: “We must be strong with our own policy, with our own approach. Supporting a political party or another is not what we want. Right and Left don’t mean anything. We can’t follow this”. SF has been successful in managing to bring both left and right political agendas together. This is witnessed for
example, by the fact that the first Terra Madre event run in 2004 was organised by the SF organisation (lead by left leaning Petrini), but the funding came mainly from “the Minister of Agriculture Alemanno [the mayor of Rome], who is one of the most right... in his youth he was of the fascist party” (Peiro, 40m). This political standpoint of not being connected with specific political parties has meant that the SF organisation “can ask support from left, right, centre or whatever” (Peiro, 39m) and thus it has significantly increased the political domain within which the organisation is able to operate. As described in Chapter 5, many of the founders and leaders of the SF organisation have strong historical ties with the PCI and although they may no longer be actively involved in politics, working with a range of other political parties has undoubtedly required substantial ideological compromises to be made along the way. The manipulation of ideology in this way provides a good example of its active use in widening the influence of the SF organisation within the political system.

The second means by which the SF organisation has enlarged the scope of their organisation’s influence within the political system is through becoming increasingly active at an international level. This has meant that “as it has become increasingly globalised, the kinds of connections have become increasingly globalised” Glenn, (1hr18). The fact that the SF organisation now promotes “a very global message” (Peiro, 39m), has allowed it to increase its political strength abroad through the formation of partnerships with a range of different political players. There is considerable evidence of this enlargement of its sphere of political influence. For example the newspaper Italia reported that “yesterday the Salone del Gusto 2004 was honoured to receive the former president of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev, now a committed supporter of the World Political Forum” (SF.Editore, 2004, online). Another example is “the Zero-Hungry programme in Brazil... it was an amazing innovation working with the governmental agencies and other agencies, that kind of thing builds economies of scale, you can have greater political power” (Glenn, 1hr16). The organisation has also worked hard to develop working relationships with regional governmental bodies worldwide. For example in France, SF president Lethier (2008, Speech) declared that “we sign agreements with regional authorities in the regions where SF have presidia”. As well as working alongside national and regional government bodies, the SF organisation has made some very influential contacts with international bodies. For example in 2004 the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) “officially recognized Slow Food as a non-profit organisation with a program similar in perspective, goals and range to that of the FAO” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 117) and the two organisations drew up a collaboration agreement. SF organisation actively tailored its
ideology to ensure that their messages were able to be understood globally. They then used this new ideology to widen their support base internationally. This provides a further example of this particular ideological function.

As the organisation’s ideology has expanded over the years (from ‘oeno’, to ‘eco’, to ‘neo’ gastronomy), the diversity and range of issues that have become of concern to the organisation has increased considerably. An exemplar quote from SF leader Santo (1hr34) confirms this has been the case: “There are breeds of animals that are actually disappearing... we can't actually contemplate tasting the wine and all its beautiful aromas and bouquet while different types of apples have stopped growing. So biodiversity becomes another objective”. Broadening the SF ideology and consequently the range of activities in which they engage, has meant that the SF organisation has had “to look for allies for doing so” (Santo, 1hr34). Thus this is the third way that the organisation has used ideology to enlarge the scope of their influence within the political sphere. In the quote which follows, Petrini (2008, Speech) highlights that expanding the political margins within which the organisation can act will continue to be a focus for the SF organisation in the future: “We must adopt an approach and a political capacity which is not focussed on one single thing”.

Finally, the fourth way that the SF organisation has used ideology to expand the political boundaries within which they can act is by expanding the domain of the system so to speak. There exists a possibility for a wide interpretation of what is considered to be a ‘political system’ and as Raul (57m) wisely points out, we “have to discuss what is politics today”. At the same time as working on exerting influence in the traditional political system, the organisation has also been seeking to increase the scope of its influence within a new type of political arena — one which is rooted in civil society as opposed to the state run institutions and political parties. SF leader Raul (1hr57) explains this ‘non-traditional’ type of politics:

We are not making politics in Rome or in Brussels or in WTO or in the World Bank, but we are talking about the same issues, with different solutions and definitely different approaches. We don't organise the meeting of the world leaders or something like this. We organise the meeting of the farmers. We want to listen from them directly, what are the problems and what are the solutions and try to promote that solution that is totally different than calling the secretary of agriculture in the US and deciding with him to solve the problem of agriculture around the world... In this way we are totally different. If you want we are very base, a little bit like grassroots politics.
In the quote above, Raul is referring to Terra Madre, an event which the SF organisation considers to be “100% political” (1hr56). It is an interesting example, because during the 5 day event, there is little trace of traditional political activity such as the writing up of policy papers to present to parliament, or the passing around of petitions. So while the event is quite obviously political and the SF organisation’s leaders are quite clearly lobbying, such political activities are conducted in quite a different manner from the more traditional common practices. Elisa (42m) explains this: “We have a message but it’s about getting it out subtly and in a way that's not fundamentalist or activist — its passive... we're not throwing it in governments or anyone else's throats... we don't do that”. This turn away from more traditional types of politics has been highlighted as a notable feature of contemporary movements in the literature and is often referred to as ‘political weakness’ (c.f. Melucci, 1996). Melucci (1996, p. 102) elaborates on this term in the quote below:

They largely ignore the political system and generally display disinterest towards the idea of seizing power... these traditional goals have given way to a desire for immediate control over the conditions of existence and to claims of independence from the system.

While the SF organisation does appear to be trying to expand the boundaries of the traditional political system by engaging in alternative types of politics, there is overwhelming evidence to support the claim that the organisation is still very much interested in expanding their influence within the conventional political system. This has been achieved over the years by the re-positioning of their organisation, by establishing themselves at the international level and by expanding their ideology and the range of issues that they are concerned with. Therefore, sub-proposition \( P_{7a} \) — that ideology is used to widen the margins within which organisation acts within the political system — is supported. The following subsection investigates the second strategic function of ideology proposed by Melucci — that ideology is used to widen the organisation’s base and to push groups previously outside the conflict to become involved.

6.5.2. Expanding the Support Base within Society

In the consolidation phase of development an organisation attempts to improve its position in relation to the environment. One way that SF organisation has attempted to do this is by expanding their influence within the political system (as has been outlined in the preceding subsection). This subsection now examines the second way that Melucci proposes an
organisation can improve their position — by broadening the support base on which it can rely on (sub-proposition P7b). Widening the support base requires “gaining the consensus of components of other organisations and the support of groups not directly involved in the conflict against the initiatives of the adversary” (Melucci, 1996, p. 353). Melucci suggests that there are two ways in which this is done: The first way is by “calling forth loyalty to the general aims of the movement”\(^{16}\) and the second way is by “improving the position of the actor \textit{vis-à-vis} the antagonist in the eyes of a public... by deflecting all negative feedback onto the adversary”\(^{17}\) (Melucci, 1996, p. 354). These two issues are now dealt with in turn.

SF leaders have quite clearly stated their ambitions to expand their organisation’s support base, with discussion taking place for example on “the enlargement project of our association” (Barbero, 2008, Speech). This is also evident in the following quotes: “Our association must open up its doors to everyone in a different way (in poor and rich countries). We must embrace new criteria to welcome these people otherwise we’re nothing” and “we need to make sure our family can grow” (Petrini, 2008, Speech). To fulfil such a goal, obtaining the support of other organisations and groups currently ‘outside’ of the movement is essential. As the following quote illustrates, SF leaders appear to have a clear grasp of this: “Things are happening outside of SF which are along the same parallel... so what we do is try and partner with as many of those doing the same thing... or at least be connected in some way with other organisations that are taking similar paths” (Elisa, 28m).

One means by which the SF organisation has sought to attract outside organisations and groups to its cause has been through the promotion of the SF brand which communicates the general aims of the movement. For example, at the first meeting of the Committee on the Future of Food, “our eco-gastronomic philosophy was officially introduced to the top activists of international environmentalism”. At this meeting, SF leaders “stressed the concept of safeguarding and affirming the right to pleasure”. This idea of “the enjoyment of food as a human right” was new to these people and although “the initial reactions to this were initially cold, in the end, the right to the pleasure of food was proclaimed in the manifesto on the future of food” (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 124).

Evidence of other instances where “there’s obviously been a really conscious effort to build... particular types of relationships around eco-green activism in food” (Sam, 1hr17)

\(^{16}\) As was discussed in Chapter 2 (Subsection 2.2.2) this particular core framing task is referred to as ‘motivational framing’ in the wider sociological literature.

\(^{17}\) Likewise, this particular framing task is referred to as ‘adversarial framing’ and/or ‘injustice framing’.
are plenty. For example, SF is currently involved in an alliance of 32 associations (including NGOs such as Greenpeace, farmers associations, organisations of distributors and corporations). Burdese in his speech at the Meeting of International Councillors explained that these associations "share a manifesto which says no to GMOs based on local system alternatives" (2008, Speech). Another illustration is that the organisation's leaders also attended the Organic World Congress organised by the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements. This was a meeting which served "as a platform for discussion on the four cardinal principles of organic agriculture: health, fairness, ecology and care" (SF/Editore, 2008b, online). A further case in point is the Cantine project, a relationship between Slow Food and top Italian winemakers which "has given rise to an alliance built on quality and encompassing terroir wines in harmony with their environment" (SF/Editore, 2008i, p. 7). All of these collaborations provide good examples of occasions where SF leaders have been successful in drawing in a new group of supporters to help them fight their cause.

However, SF's "strong open policy of alliances" (Petrini, 2008, Speech) is not just centred on eco-gastronomy. Protecting biodiversity from globalisation by celebrating traditional foods and cuisine, for example, has been another part of SF's ideology that has been promoted to widen the support base of the movement by attracting new organisations and groups to the movement. The following quote provides evidence of such collaboration:

At the 2000 Salone del Gusto... Frenchman José Bové and his anti-globalization movement, protesters from Seattle's 1999 World Trade Organisation meeting and Tuscan farmers defending the Zolino bean... all found an unprecedented but constructive synergy (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 119).

Likewise, another aspect of the SF ideology which has been communicated to call forth support for their organisation is the concept of fair food. For example SF and Fairtrade Italia "have united to support a three-year project entitled 'Sustainable agriculture, biodiversity protection and fair trade, together against poverty' co-financed by the European Union" (SF/Editore, 2008g, online). Other different types of groups that the SF organisation has pulled into their domain over the years include university networks, chambers of commerce, businesses and publishing houses.

By expanding the aims of the organisation, leaders have been able to attract the support of a wider number of individuals, groups and organisations which were previously outside of their domain. Glenn (1hr14) explains:
One thing that Petrini's been very good at, very skilled at, is coming up with new ideas, he has a new idea or a new concept every few years, which I think is important in terms of revitalising, Terra Madre was a very important innovation, the kind of clean, green and fair concept was another very important concept and I think he's very conscious of you know trying to revitalise the movement by having a new theme or a new project every few years.

While expansion has helped attract more support for SF over the years, there is the danger that such a process can lead to a number of problems for the organisation, so it is important for the organisation leaders to ensure that that there is a perception of fit between the old and new initiatives.

The effectiveness of these strategies appears to have been successful overall, with most members of the organisation viewing the new activities and the new directions that the SF ideology has moved in as complementing the original ideology. However two interviewee respondents did point out a number of conflicts that they believed had arisen due to this process. For example Jim (1hr25) says that he thought that SF promoted “too many values” and also that “some of its philosophies are a bit mixed. It expresses things in a slightly muddled way. ‘Locality’ and ‘the preservation of foods’ I think there are two very different strands here and I think that they can conflict to some extent”. Glenn (1hr2) also worries that the expansion of the SF ideology sometimes occurs at the expense of its original grounding values: “What I am a little bit concerned about it’s that the SF is forgetting the revolutionary aspects of the word slow — that it is the slowness in SF that makes it unique as well... this is what’s revolutionary about SF”. Just as there is danger in changing the ideology too often, there is also danger in changing the way that the ideology is communicated too often as well. Leaders do appear to be aware of the potential problems of repositioning the SF brand too often as the following quotes from SF leader and interviewee respondent Piero (23m) confirms: “Internally it seems that ‘good, clean and fair’ is old... its [been] three years. But outside it’s not clear that everybody knows what ‘good, clean and fair means’ so I think that we have to continue for a while to maintain this slogan”.

As well as being used to call “forth loyalty to the general aims of the movement” (as has been discussed in this subsection thus far), ideology also helps to differentiate “the image and the contents of the single organisation” (Melucci, 1996, pp. 353, 354). This distinction is necessitated by the fact that there is competition between different organisations for the market of potential supporters. In the case of the SF organisation, many other similar groups exist as the following quotes from two members of SF indicate: “I
think the philosophy comes close to the organic [food] philosophy. They definitely interact a little bit, they cross paths here and there" (Vincent, 25.14); and [the SF movement and the farmers' market movement] “they're very related. There is a deep interest in food and the wish to go back to the origins of the food and who grew it and various ways of growing it and preparing it” (Bianca, 1hr42). On a similar note, Pam (12 m) discusses the process of amalgamation of the different issues that can occur “once you’re involved in two or three or more organisations”. The fact that Pam (12m) expresses for example, that “sometimes it’s hard to separate out all these different things I belong to because… there’s quite a lot of overlap”, can be cause for concern for an organisation such as SF. Given the restricted amount of time and money that people have to help causes such as this, the market of potential supporters on which SF rely is a limited one. Therefore, SF leaders have to actively work to make a distinction between their organisation and other similar ones “otherwise it just becomes another anti-globalisation, environmentally friendly movement” (Glenn, 1hr24). The difference between the SF movement and other similar consumer activist movements such as the Organic movement and the Local Food movement has been outlined in Subsection 3.2.2. SF leaders acknowledge that while there are similarities between various organisations, SF’s ideology is able to clearly set them apart:

A lot of people criticize us that we're becoming a social association, with fair trade... or more of an ecological movement. It’s all true, but our belief is always going to be that food has to be good and the right to pleasure, is not just a wealthy social status issue, but it's a universal right... that's our basic characteristic (Santo, 1hr46).

We must be proud that we have a very specific identity, linking pleasure with the safeguarding of the planet. This identity belongs only to Slow Food. There are already many environmental groups. We must consider our roots, our identity otherwise we won’t be able to win our battles (Petrini, 2008, Speech).

SF leaders especially have to pay particular attention to ensure that they successfully differentiate their organisation’s image and contents from others who espouse very similar ideological messages. For example today a plethora of other ‘slow’ organisations, movements and activities have emerged, ranging from ‘slow city movements, to ‘slow sex’ and everything in between. Elisa (33m) discusses the issue that this causes: “When people hear the word SLOW they think it means Slow Food and it’s not. Slow Food is a registered trademark... we have to be very careful in our messages to make sure that people have a very clear understanding of what Slow Food is”.

As well as using ideology to differentiate themselves on an ideological level to other similar organisations, a counter-organisation such as SF obviously must use their ideology to
position itself against an adversary. The ideology of SF was initially created in opposition to the fast food industry. Glenn (1hr20) elaborates on this.

The genius of Slow Food is that it was opposed to fast food, the genius was coining the term in English from day one, never in Italian, I think they knew that was the way in which they were defining themselves — against fast food — and the way that fast food was associated with an Anglicised or Americanised kind of culture.

Problems with this position however have started to arise as fast food companies have started to respond to the criticisms of activist groups such as SF by increasing the value of their brands by adding new products and services to their existing range. Tibold explains (20m): “What is happening now is that you get values of the slow food organisation found in the fast food culture: fresh vegetables... it's locally produced... they try and give you some information about nutrition”. Evidence of the “merging together” (Tibold 22m) of the image and contents of fast food companies and that of the SF organisation is provided by the following quote from Kaye (2008) the New Zealand national spokesperson for a multinational fast food company: “We’re always looking at different things... we’re about to launch a coffee that is more holistic than Fair Trade... we are looking at a business case for free range eggs... In Germany they compost in their kitchens, so we can learn from that” (this quote provides a good example of changing social norms which will be discussed later in Subsection 7.1). Thus increasingly it appears that ideology must also be used strategically by SF leaders to not only differentiate their organisation on an ideological level from other similar organisations, but also from their traditional opponents.

Consideration is now given to another function of ideology. Melucci proposes that as well as using ideology to sell the aims of the organisation to the public, organisation leaders also use ideology to improve their public image. In the following quote, he explains what this second function of ideology involves:

[This process implies] a complex game, in which discursive messages are sent in an effort to turn social interactions to the actor’s advantage by symbolically undermining the adversary’s position. In particular, one of the fundamental tasks is that of making evident the illegitimacy of the adversary, and the negative nature of its position, in the eyes of both neutral observers and potential supports.

A brief overview of who has been identified as an adversary by the organisation is now given, before moving on to show how SF leaders have tried to control the flow of information that this ‘game’ necessitates. The discussion then turns to provide examples of how SF leaders have framed the relationship between their organisation and its opponents.
Despite the recent work of SF leaders to position their organisation in a positive rather than oppositional manner (see Subsection 6.4.1), in reality SF still currently remains very much an oppositional movement, positioned against a number of adversaries. This is evident by the fact that SF leaders do continue to attempt to improve their organisation’s position in relation to the environment by blaming their adversaries for the current problems occurring in the food system. For example, in the press kit assembled for the Terra Madre event held in 2008, SF leaders clearly aimed to discredit their opposition: “The industrial food system is the leading factor behind global impoverishment... this system crushes producers by forcing increasingly low prices... what’s more, it is bad for the health of people and the planet” (SF.Editore, 2008i, p. 6). There are many such examples and the opposition that SF has clearly demarcated over the years in its publications range from “health regulators” and “big food industries” (c.f. Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 92), to “genetically modified farming” and “the dogma of free trade” (SF.Editore, 2008g, online). The SF literature has also identified the organisation’s adversaries as including “fast food” (c.f. Montanari, 2000, online), “speed and the general rat race” (c.f. Ghigo, cited in Petrini & Watson, 2001, p. 4) and “overconsumption” (c.f. The Founding Manifesto, cited in Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 70).

Leaders use the media to present a positive image of their organisation’s work to the public. Therefore the capability to influence the media and the flow of information that is reported is an important leadership resource. SF leaders appear to be aware of this and vigorously try and make sure their voices are heard whenever the occasion arises. One of the main means by which this is done is through the issuing of press releases on a regular basis. In 2007 for example, 156 such articles were published by national and international newspapers (SF.Editore, 2008e). Another way that the organisation ensures they have strong media coverage is that they warmly welcome media from all over the world to attend their big events. To make sure that their messages are well understood, the organisation prepares extensive press kits for such events which clearly detail their SF ideologies. The success that SF has achieved in terms of presence in the media is embodied in the press archive that the SF publishing house has collated over the years. This archive now contains over 14,000 reviews that have been written about SF and published around the world since the organisation went online in 2000 (SF.Editore, 2008f). The SF organisation also runs a very successful publishing house which publishes prolifically a range of books, food and wine guides and magazines.
Having simply a presence in the media and identifying the adversary is not enough. Leaders must also work carefully to use their organisation's ideology to frame the image of the relationship between them and their opponents that is presented to the public. When a confrontation arises organisation leaders must attempt to emerge from the conflict with the most favourable image possible. This process is referred to in the literature as the dramaturgical role of ideology (c.f. Benford & Hunt, 1992). When the outcome of the conflict with the adversary is positive “the situation will be symbolically articulated as the victory of the good and righteous over arbitrary injustice” (Melucci, 1996, p. 354). However, if the conflict has a negative outcome for the organisation, then organisation leaders work to ensure that “ideology will retell the story as the battle of the weak against the powerful, with special attention to any unfair tactics” (Melucci, 1996, pp. 354, 355).

Reading through SF press releases and other published materials, evidence that leaders rely on such a framing process is apparent. The following extract — taken from a press release issued in 2006 which reports on the closing assembly of the Terra Madre event — provides a good example of how SF leaders have used ideology to try and improve the organisation’s position relative to the environment:

Vandana Shiva... proudly presented to the audience the manifesto on the future of seeds, called ‘the first official document of the Republic Terra Madre Farmers and an alternative to the false democracy of Washington’. Multinational corporations’ behavior with respect to seeds is food fascism, carried out with the complicity of the WTO and the World Bank. Every year in my country 120,000 farmers, indebted to Monsanto and other agricultural holdings, commit suicide. No one cares, because profit has become more important than human life... Terra Madre is a tool for escaping from these food prisons, through valuing biodiversity and respecting all countries; and here begins the agricultural revolution, without hybrids, that will respect nature and labor (SF.Editore, 2006c, online).

We can see in this extract for example, how ideology is used to frame the GMO conflict, with the adversaries (the United States Government, multinational corporations, the World Trade Organisation and the World Bank) quite clearly being blamed for the negative situation. The ‘good and righteous’ position of the SF organisation is also quite clearly established in the extract, with the ideologies of the organisation (e.g. valuing biodiversity and respecting all countries), highlighted as being culturally and morally superior to those of the adversaries. The ‘victory’ in this case is the success of the Terra Madre event with the production of the manifesto on the future of seeds and the contributions that this success has made to the battle to overcome the ‘arbitrary injustice’ of organisations promoting the use of GMOs.
The following extract — printed in the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* (cited in Slow Talk, Petrini, 2002, online) — provides an example of a ‘negative outcome’ and demonstrates how organisation leaders worked to ensure that the adversary was blamed for this unfortunate situation:

Here we have yet another case of over-exploitation of resources. The fish was so abundant as to appear infinite. Hence the fine notion of industrializing the system with ultramodern motor trawlers fitted with refrigerated chambers. As a result, in the space of just a few years, the codfish has virtually vanished from the Newfoundland area. Bad political decisions, greed, unfair competition, infallible fishing techniques — the upshot is that in Newfoundland they haven’t just lost the codfish; they’ve also lost all induced activity with tens of thousands of people now out of work and towns and villages literally abandoned.

In this case, the SF ideology of sustainable consumption is used to ‘tell a story’ of ‘defeat’ in the Newfoundland area (the depleted fishing stocks, the loss of jobs in the fishing industry and the desertion of fishing villages). In this example, the negative consequences of the adversaries’ actions are clearly highlighted (it was the ‘industrialisation of the system with ultramodern motor trawlers’ which lead to ‘another case of over-exploitation of resources’). Emphasis is given to the ‘powerful player’s unfair tactics’ (‘bad political decisions, unfair competition and infallible fishing techniques’). Both these two cases — which have illustrated how ideology is used to outline conflicts in the media — are typical examples of framing processes that SF leaders engage in.

Given that this subsection has shown that SF ideology is indeed used to call ‘forth loyalty to the general aims of the organisation’ and to improve ‘the position of the actor vis-à-vis the antagonist in the eyes of a public’, sub-proposition $P_{7b}$ — that ideology is used to expand the support base of the organisation within society — is supported.

This section has presented the results for the second of the two cultural contexts that Melucci considers characterise the ideology of an organisation in the consolidation phase. Given that both sub-propositions $P_{7a}$ and $P_{7b}$ are supported, it is possible to conclude that ideology does fulfil a strategic function in improving the position of the SF organisation in relation to the environment.
6.6. Understanding the Ideologies of Individual Members

While chapters 6 and 7 have so far focussed on the history of the SF movement’s ideological development as seen through the lens of the official SF organisation, it has been made clear earlier in the thesis (Section 1.4) that the SF movement is not limited to just members$^{SF_{O}}$. The aim of interviewing a range of different types of members from the wider movement was to hear this more diverse voice and understand members$^{SF_{M}}$ role in constructing and consuming SF ideologies.

The purpose of this section is to determine the usefulness of Melucci’s framework for investigating the ideologies of SF movement members at an individual level. Melucci’s framework was initially constructed to help conceptualise ideology at a broad social movement level and it is important to point out that there are big differences between analysing at aggregate and individual levels. As an individual is just one part of the crowd that influences the movement (Surowiecki, 2004), it is logical that it will not be possible to see all things in each individual that can be found at the more aggregate level. However Melucci’s framework should at least offer some initial insights into individual activist ideologies if it is to be of practical use for marketing. The section is divided up into three subsections: ideological formation, current ideologies and ideological change.

6.6.1. The Formation of Ideologies

In the interviews respondents were asked to talk about their food ideologies and how these had changed over time. Following this they were then asked to identify key events (triggers), occasions, people or anything else that they believed may have been influential in both forming these ideologies and in bringing about any subsequent changes. As there is so much diversity in each individual respondents own life story, the data on important influences that helped form personal food ideologies is presented by drawing attention to some of the commonalities uncovered. The following exhibit (Exhibit 16) — which presents a categorisation of the influences identified along with an exemplar quote from the interviews for each — serves this purpose. While the influences were widespread, there was considerable overlap. The most common categories were ‘Professional experiences’ (which was influential for 21 of the total 23 respondents) and the ‘SF movement’ (which was influential for 11 of the total 23 respondents, including all ten of the members$^{SF_{O}}$ and one member$^{SF_{M}}$). Following these, the next most commonly identified influence was overseas
travel with six respondents mentioning this (four of whom were New Zealanders). So although the SF organisation was acknowledged as contributing to the formation of the respondent’s food ideologies, so too were a wide range of other influences.

**Professional Experiences**
So what sparked my interest in SF was... a professional interest as an academic — I had a cultural studies background and had done quite a bit of work on globalisation I was really interested in SF because of the way it connected the local and the global. For me I thought there is no other organisation that does anything like this in the world (Glenn, 39m)

**The SF Organisation**
For me it gives me structure to my thoughts and gives guts and pleasure to activism... It just gives me something to hang on to or to push against and that’s great (Sam, 57m)

**Travel**
A few years ago I was in Italy, Piedmont, and we were staying in an agri-tourism place that was wonderful... and then we came back to Italy and thought we should see what SF was about in this country (Jim, 51m)

**Involvement in Other Groups and Organisations**
I helped out with the Greens, with their election campaign... I found out about food through that... and through Students for Environmental Action... and also through the Environmental Conservation Organisation (Jane 1hr37)

**Childhood Experiences (including where they grew up e.g. on a farm)**
Food has always been an important part of my life when I was a kid... We had traditions: we used to kill a pig every year... we used to steal food from gardens — not because we needed it, but because it was fun... I've never run after food, food has always been around me (Vincent, 8m)

**Other People (included friends, associates and colleges)**
My brother has been involved in the organic movement for as long as I remember... you never find out all this information by yourself and nothing ever takes place in a void, so there were other people that I came across who were also struggling with different issues (John, 48m)

**Media (included films, books, T.V)**
Films such as 'The Neglected Miracle' have been influential (Pam, 3m)

**Religion**
I've been for a long time interested in social justice issues, because of my faith... for a long time there was almost a separation between environmental type things, and social justice type things... and as my awareness grew then I started to make the connections in my own heart and realise that actually my faith was inseparable from food-related issues (John, 45m)

**Changes in Eating Habits (included dieting, having children, becoming vegetarian and health issues e.g. diabetes)**
My strong interest in food came about 12 years ago when I decided to lose some weight, which focussed me more on flavours than on bulk. It was more about spending time preparing food... that became a real focus (Ray, 2m)

Exhibit 16 Influences That Helped Form Personal Food Ideologies
6.6.2. Understanding Current Ideologies

This subsection presents evidence of the existence of the three independent elements of ideology, at the individual activist level (research propositions P1-P3). As the data collected in the interviews was so diverse for each of the 23 individuals, the easiest way to analyse and present the results was to do so by type of membership category. Comparisons can then be made between the current (2008) ideologies of the sympathisers/participants/practitioners and the current ideologies of the SF organisation (and its official members). The key findings are summarised in Table 3. Note that in this table the results for identity and adversary are broken down into the interviewees’ personal ideologies and their perception of SF organisation ideologies. This was because many of the interviewees made a distinction between the ideologies of the SF organisation and their own when discussing identity and adversary (but not for totality). A short commentary on the key findings presented in Table 3 is then provided.

Identity is the first of the three elements that Melucci proposes that it is possible to identify in an ideology. Therefore P1 is that there is a type of self definition of the movement by members which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement. The relevant evidence for each of the four categories of SF members is now presented in turn.

Firstly, all ten interviewees that were classified as members\textsuperscript{SFO} worked for the organisation (with seven of them working fulltime at the head office in Italy and three of them working as part-time volunteers in their countries). Therefore there is little surprise that the self-identity of these interviewees was tied very much into the overall identity of the SF organisation (note that the identity of the organisation as espoused by its members has been discussed throughout Chapters 5 and 6).

Secondly, as is detailed in the descriptive table of the interviewees (see Subsection 4.2.4, Table 1), of the total thirteen members\textsuperscript{SF} that were interviewed, four are what Cova and Cova describe as ‘sympathisers’ which are ‘marginally/partially integrated into the tribe’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Members</strong>^{SF0}</th>
<th><strong>Members</strong>^{SF1}</th>
<th><strong>Members</strong>^{SF2}</th>
<th><strong>Practitioners</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sympathisers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Participants</strong></td>
<td><strong>Not holistic</strong> (limited to food issues and only a part of a wider more holistic movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledge that a broader movement exists than just their organisation</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>Confused</td>
<td>Global and increasingly autonomous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See their organisation (and the wider movement) as: Inclusive/Pragmatic/Coherent/Holistic/Global/Autonomous/A-political/Grassroots</td>
<td>Not pragmatic (are uncertain what practical changes the movement can make)</td>
<td>Italian centric</td>
<td>Is an oppositional movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is not really an oppositional movement</td>
<td>Not mainstream</td>
<td>Stereotypical members are educated, over 30, pompous, middle class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is an oppositional movement</td>
<td>Is an oppositional movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perceptions of the Organisation's Identity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Self Reflection</strong></td>
<td><strong>Organisation's Adversaries</strong></td>
<td><strong>Is an oppositional movement</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>Either see themselves as already belonging, or the potential to belong in the future</td>
<td>Traditional adversaries (e.g. fast food)</td>
<td>Strong sense of solidarity with the movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Only at the fringe of the SF movement</td>
<td>Environmental and newer types of adversaries also recognised</td>
<td>Heavily involved in activism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Newer adversaries (e.g. global transnational food corporations)</td>
<td>Food ideologies play very meaningful role in one's life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adversary</strong></td>
<td><strong>Personal Adversaries</strong></td>
<td><strong>No difference between groups</strong></td>
<td><strong>No difference between groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same as above</td>
<td>Individual responses varied depending on what the totality of the movement meant for them</td>
<td>Individual responses varied depending on what the totality of the movement meant for them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Both</strong></td>
<td><strong>Focus is on 'good, clean and fair' food ('neo-gastronomy')</strong></td>
<td><strong>Focus is on 'good' food ('econo-gastronomy')</strong></td>
<td><strong>No difference between groups</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Focus is on 'good' food ('econo-gastronomy')</strong></td>
<td><strong>Focus is on 'good' food ('econo-gastronomy')</strong></td>
<td>Individual responses varied depending on what the totality of the movement meant for them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Focus is on 'good, clean and fair' food, but especially on 'clean' food ('eco-gastronomy')</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Summary of the Elements of Ideology by Type of Membership
These sympathisers, who are at the fringe of the SF movement personally identify with the SF movement in two main ways. They either see themselves as:

1. already belonging in some sense: “As a foodie myself” (Kaye 2008); and “I may be a passive supporter of SF... I don’t think it’s particularly something I do but it’s an idea that a lot of my friends and I, well a lot of people I know are into” (Ruby 7m)

2. or they are interested in the movement and see the potential to become more involved in the future: “If someone asked me to [join] I wouldn’t say no. I don’t see it as a negative, I see it as a positive thing” (Rob, 1hr26); and “If I was in Europe I would think about joining [the official SF organisation]” (Doug, 27m).

The sympathisers do express some concerns about both the actual SF organisation: “I wouldn’t join the local branch... it may be perceived as this exclusionary group... that you need to have a certain ability, cultural capital, understanding, lifestyle to join” (Doug, 27m) and the wider movement generally: “How a movement can be beneficiary, I’m not sure, I guess apart from the fact that more people are aware of where their food comes from and what goes into it and more protests against the negativities” (Rob, 1hr27). Concerns such as these in part explain why this group of people are only marginally integrated into the SF movement despite their interest in a number of SF issues. When asked to describe a stereotypical member, the sympathisers tended to highlight a somewhat alternative image emphasising the fact that they still do not see SF as particularly mainstream. For example, Rob (1hr13m) describes that they “would look like a French peasant... [or] a number of varsity lecturers that are off side, dress slightly different to what you would call the norm. People that are less concerned with how they look... in the 70s you would have called them hippies”.

Thirdly, four interviewees are classified as what Cova and Cova describe as ‘participants in the tribe’. These people only occasionally participate in informal gatherings (demonstrations, happenings). Overall, the participants are not particularly interested in SF activism per se. Rather as Vincent (26m) explains: “It’s something that you do for enjoyment”. All four participants do however consider themselves to be a part of the SF movement. Tibold (16m) clearly articulates this point when discussing what sort of person a typical SF member would be, when he says “some are taking part in the movement without being a member of any of these organisations... so I am probably typical”. Other comments that arose in the interviews provide further confirmation that this is the case, as the following two quotes illustrate: “For me it’s a movement that I’ve lived all my life” (Vincent, 10m); and “I identity with where they are coming from”; and “That’s the way we do things, we
make pesto, we preserve stuff" (Glenn, lhr37 & 1hr45). The participants see the identity of both the SF organisation and wider movement as somewhat confused: “Here in New Zealand… people are not clear about what they are promoting, what slow food is all about” (Vincent, 17m). This is in part due to a lack of understanding on behalf of the interviewee of what exactly the SF organisation and wider movement were trying to promote: “I don't even know what the convivia do exactly, what’s their purpose in life” (Vincent, 12m). It is also in part because there is sometimes a gap between the values that the organisation and movement are espousing and the beliefs of the interviewees: “I really don’t know what ‘sustainable gastronomy’ is… it’s a naturally evolving part of our culture” (Ray, 11m); and “What is a food tradition in New Zealand?” (Vincent, 20m). Participants perceived the organisation and movement to still be fairly Italian centric: “The impression I get is that it was started by that person in Italy and that the people that have followed it from the start are those sorts of people’ (Ray, 24m) and that members were most likely to be “educated and over 30” (Glenn, 1hr37), “pompous” (Vincent, 12m) and “definitely middle class” (Ray 22m).

Finally, five interviewees are what Cova and Cova describe as ‘practitioners’ or ‘adepts’ in the SF movement. These people are characterised as have quasi-daily involvement in movement activities in some way or another. All five practitioners feel a strong sense of solidarity with the SF movement and the ideologies it espoused: “If you asked me if I was into SF, I'd say yes definitely” (Pam, 30m); and “I love it generally, I really like the idea of the SF movement” (John, 1hr7). Interestingly, Sam (57m) acknowledges that he is satisfied with his role as a memberSEM and did not feel the need to join the official organisation: “I don't need to be a member to have that frame of reference. I just need to know that it exists, to know that it’s there”. All of these five members belong to a number of activist organisations or associations of some sort (such as a sustainability group, a green political party or a Trade-Aid support group). Interestingly, two of these five members highlight the very meaningful role that identifying with an ideology such as SF can play in one’s life: “I started to make the connections in my own heart and realise that actually my faith was inseparable from food-related issues” (John, 45m); and “For the people that adhere to Slow Food, it’s filling that ontological void as well, that sense of what is my life about, what am I here for, what does my life mean” (Sam, 1hr31)? Although these people do definitely feel a part of the SF movement, they see SF as being restricted to food issues and only a small part of the much wider more holistic environmental and social justice movement. Bianca (1hr44) says that she finds SF members can be “quite intense and rather
earnest... they become very single minded about the Slow Food movement. Similar to the members of the SF organisation, these practitioners also see the movement as being “a global phenomenon” (Sam, 1hr) with “autonomy emerging in some places ... to adapt to local conditions” (Sam, 1hr15).

The second of the three analytical elements that Melucci proposes that it is possible to identify opposition in an ideology. This is the identification by members of an adversary (P₂). The adversaries that were identified by members SF₀ are firstly examined, followed by those identified by members SF₉.

As the adversaries of the SF organisation have changed over the years, the adversaries of the individual members that make up the organisation have changed in a similar fashion (see Table 2 in Section 5.6 for a summary of this change). In 2008, the SF organisation’s adversaries include the more traditional opposition (e.g. fast food and speed generally); a wide range of environmental oppositions (e.g. GMOs, agricultural monocropping); and the newer opposition which are thought to be responsible for a range of social injustices in the food system (e.g. global transnational food corporations, media). Rosa, for example, opposes the homogenisation of the taste. This is reflected in the following comment: “What kind of memory can you get from fast food? We are depriving the young generation, it’s almost stealing a part from the brain” (1hr17). She clearly identifies the Convenience Food Industry as an adversary and accuses them of prohibiting the worthwhile societal goal of food diversity. Glenn (1hr23) highlights conflicting principles found between the actor and the adversary: “These global corporations and their practices actually alienate and destroy the food cultures around the world that we seek to preserve and protect”. Likewise, Carmel’s quote (19m) emphasises her frustration with the difference between what she believes is the right way to change society’s ills and the way that the adversary proposes:

[Multinationals] still try and say that the solutions are what they are doing — ignoring the fact that the problem is what they have been doing. Einstein said ‘we cannot resolve the problem with the same kind of thinking we used for creating them’ and this is exactly what is happening.

However, it is important to reiterate (see Subsection 6.4.1) that the organisation’s recent ideological positioning of neo-gastronomy is much less reliant on its oppositional status than in the past. In fact, the organisation now claims that it stands for something, rather than
against something (though reality shows that this is more of an ideal position than an actual position).

There are no commonalities in the data that allowed distinctions to be made between the different types of opposition identified by the sympathisers, participants and practitioners. What the individuals were opposing was tied into what food issues they saw as most important (discussed shortly). All three types of members see the SF organisation and movement as primarily opposing the traditional adversary — fast food (c.f. Rob 1hr; Pam, 15m). The main difference between the responses from the different groups is that while the sympathisers and the participants tend to highlight the more traditional types of opposition — such as “fast-cooking” (Rob, 1hr4), “commercial... and processed foods” (Vincent, 15m) and “contemporary lifestyles” (Doug, 27m) — the practitioners’ responses are much broader and are similar to the opponents recognised by the official SF organisation. Although fast food is still seen as the core opposition, all five practitioners see SF as being “much more than that” (Sam, 1hr2). For example this group mention a wider range of opposition which include “corporate agribusiness [and] the idea of factory farming” (John, 1hr19). The other main difference between the groups is that while the sympathisers and the participants still see SF as very much an oppositional movement (Rob, 1hr), the practitioners do less so: “I do not see it [SF] as an adversarial type of movement” (Bianca, 1hr55) (also Jane, 1hr45; Sam, 1hr3).

The third of the analytical elements that Melucci proposes that it is possible to identify in an ideology is totality. Thus P is that members are able to articulate shared objectives. Note that there is no difference between the totalities that the members mention for themselves and those that they mention for the SF organisation and the wider movement. In other words the individuals see the SF organisation and movement as being primarily about what they are personally most interested in.

In 2008 the totality of SF for members was summarised by the slogan ‘good, clean and fair food’ (see Table 2 in Subsection 5.6). The term which is used to describe what the organisation is about is ‘neo-gastronomy’ which builds on the ideology of ‘eco-gastronomy’ by taking into consideration a range of social justice issues (see Section 5.4). However although this totality appears to be consistent, in reality there exists a considerable amount of diversity. There are quite clearly “divergent streams of Slow Food in different places” (Sam, 1hr14) with different convivium adapting the SF ideology to their local
conditions and members’ interests, as the following quote illustrates: “What I have found is that in SF Otago... [is that there is] more of a focus on home production and cooking and less of an interest on gastronomic and fine dining sorts of things than in other convivium” (Glenn, 46m). Elisa (47m) also emphasises this point: “The ideas are created here [at the SF organisation’s international headquarters] but how you adapt those ideas are up to the individuals”.

There are no notable differences between the sympathisers and the participants with regards to what SF means to them and what they perceive it to mean for the official organisation. While the responses do cover the range of ‘good, clean and fair food’ which is promoted by the SF organisation, the majority of responses given were centred on the concept of ‘good’ food (or eono-gastronomy), with much less frequent mention of environmental issues and social justice issues. Amongst the issues that the sympathisers and participants highlight as most important include

- Social interaction: “Getting people together, that’s the first thing. You cook something and you share it and you talk about it because you enjoy the food” (Vincent, 21m); and “the importance of food to a family setting” (Doug, 9m).
- Gastronomy: “Is it fresh, is it good quality?” (Ray, 1m); the “[A]uthenticity of food, where it has come from. Pasta I’d rather buy dried from Italy than fresh from NZ” (Doug, 2m); and “trying new foods” (Ray, 7m).

These issues better reflect the totality of the SF organisation in its formative period than today.

When asked to describe what SF is all about, the practitioners’ responses also do cover the range of ‘good, clean and fair food’ which is promoted by the SF organisation. Bianca (1hr40) mentions for example that SF is about “preparing food so that you maintain the quality of the product and also the flavours and everything else too and sitting down and enjoying food”. This idea ties into the SF organisations’ concept of ‘good food’ that the movement focussed on in the 1980s – mid 1990s. Josie (1m) and John (45m) both mention social justice food issues which tie into the concept of ‘fair’ food which has become an increasingly important focus for the SF organisation over the last five years. However most notable is the fact that the practitioners are all overwhelmingly focussed on the environmental issues surrounding food (the ‘clean’ aspect). All five interviewees highlight that locality is an important issue as is illustrated in the following exemplar quote: “The idea of it is to say... we’re going to eat the food that is produced in a way that supports the local
economies and the traditional food or the traditional way of preparing food that is a part of it" (John, 1hr6). Likewise four of the five practitioners highlight organic as being an important issue for them and the SF organisation (Sam 40m; Pam, 1m; Jane, 1hr30; John, 48m).

Given that the range of evidence presented in this subsection has demonstrated that members of the SF are able to articulate a self-identity, a range of adversaries and shared objectives, it is possible to conclude that P1, P2 and P3 are supported at the individual membership level.

6.6.3. Understanding Ideological Change

Using Melucci’s framework this subsection addresses P4-P7 by investigating what stages individuals are at in their own personal ideological journeys. The classification of individuals into either the formative and consolidation phase takes into consideration the results for the elements of ideology discussed in Subsection 6.6.2 and the evidence found for the cultural contexts that Melucci proposes characterise the formative and consolidation phases. As the results show a lot of variation exists in the data set in terms of where respondents are at in their ideological journeys, trends are identified based on Cova and Cova’s (2002) movement membership categories rather than on an individual case by case basis. The subsection ends by considering other possible alternative ways to classify individuals’ ideologies and justifies Melucci’s framework as the most appropriate alternative.

Individuals that are in the ‘Formative’ Phase

When breaking down the individual elements of ideology (see Table 3 in Subsection 6.6.2) it appears that the sympathisers and participants are at a similar level of development to where the SF organisation was at when it was in its formative phase (pre-1996). For example, these people see SF as an oppositional movement which is primarily about slowing down and taking the time to cook and eat good tasting and good quality foods.

To investigate this claim further, evidence was sought for each of the two cultural contexts that Melucci proposes characterises the formative phase. The first of these was the negation of gap between expectations and reality (P4). Melucci’s proposes that this is characterised by decreases in the number of moments of madness (P4a) and decreases in the
production of symbols ($P_{ab}$). It was clear in the interviews with the participants and sympathisers that there was a certain feeling of optimism as they talked about SF issues. For example, Rob (1hr18) made a number of statements in which an ‘anything seems possible’ mentality really came through: “It’s a damn good idea, any movement that can kill McDonalds has got to be good”; and “So if we can eliminate what’s bad”. However unlike Melucci suggests, this optimism did not appear to be specific to the formative phase. In fact the opposite appeared to be true with the practitioners and members$_{spo}$ generally found to be more optimistic. Likewise it was clear in the interviews that the radical tendencies expressed by members$_{spo}$ and practitioners are much more pronounced than those expressed by the participants and sympathisers. Evaluating radical tendencies came back to a question of the difference between the means used to achieve SF’s objectives and the end objectives themselves. On one hand, the participants and sympathisers tend to be more concerned with the end results that the SF movement achieved and less concerned about the means used to achieve these results. So for example they may be happy about eating fast food as long as the end result is that these businesses are trying to be good global citizens. The following quote from Kate (2008) illustrates this point: “There always will be a need for people to have quick food and what we’re trying to do is to ensure that this is as healthy as we can get it”. On the other hand, for the members$_{spo}$ and practitioners, certain means (such as eating fast food) were quite clearly not an acceptable way to reach the movement’s end objectives. The following quote from John (1hr3) in which he discusses the trend for companies to show that they are good global citizens, demonstrates such a standpoint:

It’s good in some ways that these changes have come, but the other thing is that I think it creates this great cynicism, because as soon as the corporate comes on board, it’s sort of commoditized, it’s something that a company knows they have to do, so they have their spin doctors which are fantastic talkers about this stuff. And so the people that are really interested in it are suddenly left in this bewildering state, where absolutely every company ensures them that they are the most ethical company in the entire universe so please support us. So although there’s awareness about these things, I don’t know if that equates to a shift in worldview which is what I think is important.

Thus rather than the formative phase being characterised by a negation in the gap between expectations and realities, at an individual membership level this gap appears to widen as the individuals learn more about SF issues and become more involved in the wider movement.

It was not possible to see any significant reductions over time in the number of symbols produced by an individual member. However it did appear that overall those people who were in the formative phase of ideological development did produce more
symbols that those who were not in this phase, thus providing some support for $P_{4b}$. Although the sympathisers and the participants are interested in a range of SF food issues, only one of the eight individuals belongs to any food, environmental or social justice related groups or associations other than those directly related to their professional work (Ruby belongs to the New Zealand Green political party but is not an active member). Although these individuals are clearly interested in SF issues and are therefore a part of the wider SF movement, they have not settled down and committed to a particular organisation or group. Rather it seems that they are in a sense symbol searching, attending food events every now and then and occasionally going to the farmers’ market for example. Rather than holding deep-seated beliefs about various food issues as the practitioners and members do, they appear to be more easily influenced by the latest trends. For example, Doug (3m) discusses that it was the “notion of naming” trend in the restaurant industry that grabbed his attention about 15 years ago and as he came to understand “the importance that names have on dishes at work”, this heightened his interest in SF issues such as food provenance.

The second cultural context that Melucci proposes characterise the formative phase is the theme of rebirth ($P_5$). This can be expressed by as a backwards looking identity where identity is defined with reference to the past ($P_{5a}$) and symbols and cultural models are sought in the traditions of the group and social movements that already exist ($P_{5b}$). The only interviewee that demonstrated a backwards looking identity was Rob, with his comments about what SF means to him: “It is the way that you produce your food, the way it used to be, so cooking your food over the fire, coming home and it smells in the house that sort of thing” and what he considers to be a stereotypical SF member: “They would look like a French peasant” (1hr13). There are no clear examples of sympathisers or participants seeking symbols and cultural models in the traditions of the group and social movement that already exist.

While the evidence did not support $P_{4a}$ (that moments of madness lessen), there was some evidence which supported $P_{4b}$ (that the production of symbols decreases). Given that $P_4$ was not supported at the organisation level, these findings are not surprising. The reason that this proposition was not supported appears to be similar to that provided to explain why this same proposition was not upheld at the organisational level. When individuals first become involved in the wider SF movement they are not particularly radical in that they do not have big expectations for themselves and the movement. Given that they do not demand much, there is not a disjunction between their expectations and the realities that they face.
when they try and implement their SF ideologies. The evidence also did not support P₅ (that there is a theme of rebirth in the formative phase of ideological development). This proposition seems to make less sense at the individual level than at the organisational level. The SF movement is already formed as a legitimate movement and as such it is able to provide individuals that are new to the movement with a sense of identity (meaning that there is no need for newcomers to draw on other historical movements or cultural models). Although the above results are mixed, given the fact that the current ideologies of sympathisers and participants are similar to those of the SF organisation pre-1996, it is possible to say that these people are more likely than not in the formative phase of development in their SF ideological journey.

**Individuals that are in the ‘Consolidation’ Phase**

All of the practitioners and membersSF are classified as being in the consolidation phase. Again, the justification for this is based on Melucci’s framework of movement ideological development. Table 3 (in Subsection 6.6.2) demonstrated that the practitioners’ current ideologies are at a similar level of development to that of the SF organisation’s today. For example, it showed that they were mostly focussed on SF issues related to ‘clean’ food. They also felt a strong sense of solidarity with the movement and their food ideologies played a very important role in their daily life and eating behaviours.

Extending on this, evidence was sought based around Melucci’s propositions for the consolidation phase. The first of these is that ideology fulfils a function of integration (P₆) and that this is done by (P₆a) reformulating the values and norms associating them with general principles, (P₆b) fixing the boundaries of belonging and (P₆c) establishing and stabilising certain rituals. There is evidence to suggest that ideology is used by both participants and membersSF for such integrative purposes. Unlike the sympathisers and participants who are non-committal in the fact that they have not settled on any particular organisation or group, all of the practitioners and membersSF are much more involved in activism generally and do belong to at least one activist group (for the practitioners this was another related organisation such as a sustainability group). By committing to a formalised group, these individuals are in a sense consolidating their ideologies. They have made the decision to adhere to the general principles of that group and to act within the boundaries that the group sets. A range of food rituals were also evident and the procurement of food provides a good example, with rituals here ranging from shopping “at markets, Taste Nature
[an organic shop], a green grocer, or from a local supermarket" (John, 43m), to being “much more self-sufficient, we have a garden” (Sam, 41m).

The second proposition for the consolidation phase is that ideology fulfils a strategic function by improving the position of the movement, or in this case the individual (P7). This is done by gaining support for the cause (P7a) and by improving the position of the actor vis-à-vis the environment in the eyes of the public (P7b). There is evidence that all of the participants and the members\textsuperscript{SFO} actively aimed to gain support for their food beliefs. This was most often done by talking with others as John (58m) explains: “Now I think I’ve got to the stage that I’m comfortable enough in what I believe... that I am actively trying to encourage friends in that direction as well”. This quote also demonstrates an important difference between those individuals in the formative phase of ideological development and those in the latter phase. By saying that he has got to a stage where he now feels comfortable enough in what he believes, John shows that he has moved beyond the symbol and information searching phase and has consolidated his ideologies by settling on a number of general principles which guide his daily food behaviours. With regards to improving the position of the actor vis-à-vis the environment in the eyes of the public, all practitioners and SF members do in some way assign the blame for the negative situation on the initiatives of the adversary whoever they see this as being. For example Carmela (18m) comments that “all the things that we were fearing about this model of development are happening now... the strong powers of multinationals... still try and say that the solutions are what they are doing, ignoring the fact that the problem is what they have been doing”. Likewise, ideology is used positively to turn to the actor’s advantage the unbalance of the power relationship. The fact that all of the participants and SF members interviewed choose not to buy certain foods or brands of food, or not shop at certain places because of their food beliefs, illustrates that ideology is used strategically in this sense by placing the power in the hands of the consumer rather than the multinational food companies.

Therefore, P6 and P7 are supported given that there is evidence which suggests that ideology is used by both participants and members\textsuperscript{SFO} for integrative and strategic purposes. Given that practitioners’ current ideologies are at a similar level of development to that of the SF organisation’s today, it appears that the practitioners and members\textsuperscript{SFO} are in a consolidation phase of ideological development.
Alternative Ways to Investigate Ideological Change

There are a number of possible alternative ways which could have been used to investigate what phase individual member are in. These include: (1) the length of time that the person has been interested in food issues; (2) the level of development of the SF movement in the member’s country; and (3) when the individual actually joined the SF movement. These alternatives are now discussed in turn.

Firstly, it is possible to differentiate between individual’s ideologies based on how long the person has been interested in food issues. While some of respondents have only just recently started thinking about food issues (e.g. six of the 23 respondents had been interested in food issues for less than five years), the other respondents were quite advanced in their personal food beliefs and attitudes, having taken an interest in food for many years. For example, Santo points to the difference he perceives as existing between the ideological development of the founding leaders of the SF organisation and that of the more general movement membership base:

Our growth level is that of maturity. Basically this maturity level has been reached by the directors behind the movement, but not necessarily the members of the association. We need to distinguish between the two because the directors have reached that level of maturity... the cultural level of the directors is very advanced and mature, while the infancy stage is the level of the members of the associations (1hr57).

It is interesting to note that a sort of informal evolutionary process occurs within the SF organisation which is explained in the following passage:

Upon enrolling, one was first a ‘learned member’ of the association; gradually one became what was jokingly called a ‘neo-fork’ or an ‘arch-gourmand’, and eventually, in parallel to the development of the organisation as a whole, one came to embrace the entire philosophy of the eco-gastronomist (Petrini & Padovani, 2006, p. 136).

Secondly, tied into the length of time an individual has been interested in SF issues is the fact that where they are at in their ideological journey could also been seen as being dependent on the general development of the SF movement in the member’s country. In the following quote, Rosa explains the difference between the level of development in Italy and New Zealand which provides a nice example of such differences.

They are doing so many things in the Northern hemisphere that are far ahead of what is happening in the Southern hemisphere... I think it will take another five years in New Zealand to digest the basic concept of Slow Food... Even now when I read
magazine articles they still talk about slow cooking, taking time to prepare your food. I mean how far is Terra Madre away from this! We have to go all the way, all the steps along the staircase to that (1hr6).

A second example to further substantiate this point was found in the work of Petrini and Padovani (2006, p. 142): "If in Germany there are no Presidia yet, it is because the events organized by Slow Food Germany are in many ways similar to the one promoted by Arci Gola in Italy during its initial phase."

Thirdly, another alternative way to classify people's ideologies as being in the formative or consolidation phase is to consider when the interviewees actually joined the SF movement. The term 'joined' is used liberally here. It is not restricted to describe the moment when the members^{SF} paid their subscription fee but rather is used in a wider sense and includes members^{SM} as well. While the individual histories of each respondent were unique, it was possible to uncover commonalities and to make some generalisations from the data collected. When dividing up the interviewees based on Cova and Cova's (2002) typology of different types of tribal members, it becomes clear that the fifteen respondents who fell into the member^{SF} or the practitioner categories are more likely than others types of members to have been involved in the earlier formative stages of the SF movement. For example, six of the ten members^{SF} were involved with the SF organisation since its very early days and although the other four had joined the SF organisation after 1996, they all acknowledged that they had "been involved with food for a very long time" (Jim, 48m). Likewise the eight respondents who are labelled as being participants or sympathisers are more likely to have been influenced by the ideologies of the SF movement in the consolidation phase (when the ideologies of the movement become more mainstream). For example, Ruby a member^{SM} (sympathiser) admits that she has become interested in SF issues in recent years as the popularity of the movement has spread: "Well a lot of people I know are into it [SF]" (7m). Ray a member^{SM} (participant), only relatively recently became involved in the movement which also provides a case in point: "My strong interest in food came about 12 years ago when I decided to lose some weight, which focussed me more on flavours than on bulk. It was more about spending time preparing food" (Ray 2m). There are exceptions of course and an example of this is John, who is categorised as a participant in the SF movement. John is a student and a community advocate in his twenties and only recently 'joined' the movement, having become interested in food issues only within the last year or two. However John clearly is quite radical in his thinking and behaviours concerning SF issues. In 2008 for example, he embarked on a project where he lived for $1
a day for a month, to increase awareness of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals project and a range of social justice and environmental problems in the current food system. He also collects food from supermarket rubbish bins to try to reduce food wastage explaining this as “an act of resistance that says I'm not convinced that I like the way the system works currently” (55m). Another exception is Gilbert, a member a (participant) who was a member of the Soil Association back in the 1970s “when this was lunatic fringe stuff” (1h33).

Each one of these three possible alternatives do provide some initial insights into where an individual is at in terms of their own personal ideological development. However none of these alternatives provide a very reliable indication. Thus while Melucci’s framework is clearly not as useful for understanding ideological change at the individual level as it is at the collective level, it does nevertheless provide some insights and is the best alternative framework currently available for observing this phenomenon.

This section has looked at SF ideology at the individual membership level. Subsection 6.6.1 showed there were a range of influences that contributed to the formation of individual members’ SF ideologies. Subsection 6.6.2 presented the evidence found at the individual membership level for the three elements (identity, adversary and totality) that make up an ideology and concluded that this was sufficient to support P_1, P_2 and P_3. Subsection 6.6.3 concluded that it is possible to say that the sympathisers and the participants tend to be in an earlier (more formative) stage in their ideological journeys than the practitioners and members (who are in more of a consolidation phase). The following section concludes the chapter.

6.7. Conclusion

Chapter 6 has discussed the formative and organisation consolidation phases of the SF organisation. Section 6.1 justified the decision to specify what Melucci terms the formative phase of the organisation as the period of time which dates from the origins of the SF organisation in the late 1970s-early 1980s, through to the year 1996. Likewise, it justified the consolidation phase as dating from 1997 onwards which is the period of time where the SF organisation (and SF ideologies more generally) became more mainstream.
In Sections 6.2-6.5, research propositions were derived from the work of Melucci to help operationalise ideology by providing the processes to identify and categorise ideological change. Firstly, the evidence found for the two cultural contexts that Melucci suggests characterise the ideology in the formative phase was presented. These were the negation of the gap between expectations and reality (Section 6.2) and the theme of rebirth (Section 6.3). Based on the evidence gathered in the data collection process, \( P_4 \) (that there is a negation of the gap between expectations and reality) was not supported, while \( P_5 \) (that there is a theme of rebirth present) was supported. Next was a presentation of the evidence found for the two cultural contexts that Melucci suggests characterise the ideology in the consolidation phase. These were that ideology fulfils a function of internal integration (Section 6.4) and that ideology fulfils a strategic function to improve its position vis-à-vis the environment (Section 6.5). Based on the evidence presented in this chapter, both of these propositions — that ideology fulfils a function of integration (\( P_6 \)) and ideology fulfils a strategic function (\( P_7 \)) — were supported.

While the first five sections in Chapter 6 have shown that Melucci’s framework is useful for understanding ideology at the organisation level, the point has been made right from the start that the SF movement is much more than just the SF organisation. Therefore, to really determine if the framework is useful for understanding ideology at this broader movement level, it was important to find out if it can be used to understand the ideologies of other sorts of SF members. Therefore, Section 6.6 looked at ideological development at the level of individual members. This section showed that although Melucci’s framework was initially theorised at an aggregate level, it can provide some insights into the makeup of ideology and the development of ideology over time at an individual level as well. However it is obviously less suited for this purpose than for analysis at an organisational or movement level.

The findings presented in this chapter are summarised in Table 5. A more detailed discussion on what these results mean with regards to the usefulness of Melucci’s framework for understanding a consumer activist movement’s ideology is presented in Chapter 7.
The form of the ideology

P1. Members are able to articulate a self-identity which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement

Supported 5.1. / 6.1. Supported 6.6.2.

P2. There is identification by members of an adversary

Supported 5.1. / 6.1. Supported 6.6.2.

P3. Members are able to articulate shared objectives

Supported 5.1. / 6.1. Supported 6.6.2.

The content and the role of ideology: It is proposed that the constituent elements of the ideology described above (identity, adversary and totality) take on different cultural contents and vary at different moments in the trajectory of the movement

In the formative phase, there are two elements that characterise ideology:

P4. There is a negation of the gap between expectations and reality

Not Supported Some Support

P4a. Moments of madness lessen

Some 6.2.1. Not 6.6.3.

P4b. More capacity for action results in less production of symbols

Not 6.2.2. Supported 6.6.3.

P5. There is a theme of rebirth

Supported Not Supported 6.6.3.

P5a. Identity is defined with reference to the past

Supported 6.3.1 Supported 6.6.3.

P5b. The symbolic referents, cultural models and language used comes from the past

Supported 6.3.2 Supported 6.6.3.

In the organisational consolidation phase, there are two essential aspects of ideology which become important:

P6. Ideology fulfils a function of integration with respect to the movement as a whole

Supported Supported

P6a. There is a repeated proposal for values and norms

Supported 6.4.1. Supported 6.6.3.

P6b. Ideology is used to control deviant behaviour

Supported 6.4.2. Supported 6.6.3.

P6c. Ideology stabilises certain rituals

Supported 6.4.3. Supported 6.6.3.

P7. Ideology fulfils a strategic function

Supported

P7a. Ideology is used to increase influence within the political system

Supported 6.5.1. Supported 6.6.3.

P7b. Ideology is used to expand the support base within society

Supported 6.5.2. Supported 6.6.3.

Table 4 Summary of Findings for the Research Propositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research propositions</th>
<th>Findings: Organisation</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Findings: Individuals</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The form of the ideology</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>5.1. / 6.1.</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>6.6.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1. Members are able to articulate a self-identity which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement</td>
<td>Supported 5.1. / 6.1.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.2.</td>
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<td>P2. There is identification by members of an adversary</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>5.1. / 6.1.</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>6.6.2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P3. Members are able to articulate shared objectives</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>5.1. / 6.1.</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>6.6.2.</td>
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<td>The content and the role of ideology:</td>
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<td>In the formative phase, there are two elements that</td>
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<td>characterise ideology:</td>
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<td>P4. There is a negation of the gap between</td>
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<tr>
<td>expectations and reality</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>5.1. / 6.1.</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>6.6.2.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P4b. More capacity for action results in less production</td>
<td>Not</td>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>of symbols</td>
<td>Supported</td>
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<tr>
<td>P5. There is a theme of rebirth</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P5a. Identity is defined with reference to the past</td>
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<td>6.3.1</td>
<td>Not Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P5b. The symbolic referents, cultural models and</td>
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<td>6.3.2.</td>
<td>Not 6.6.3.</td>
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<td>language used comes from the past</td>
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<td>In the organisational consolidation phase, there are</td>
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<td>two essential aspects of ideology which become important:</td>
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<td>P6. Ideology fulfils a function of integration with</td>
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<td>respect to the movement as a whole</td>
<td>Supported</td>
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<tr>
<td>P6a. There is a repeated proposal for values and norms</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>6.4.1.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>P6b. Ideology is used to control deviant behaviour</td>
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<td>6.4.2.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<td>P6c. Ideology stabilises certain rituals</td>
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<td>6.4.3.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<td>P7. Ideology fulfils a strategic function</td>
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<td>P7a. Ideology is used to increase influence within the</td>
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<td>6.5.1.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<td>political system</td>
<td>Supported</td>
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<tr>
<td>P7b. Ideology is used to expand the support base within</td>
<td>Supported</td>
<td>6.5.2.</td>
<td>Supported 6.6.3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>society</td>
<td>Supported</td>
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Table 4 Summary of Findings for the Research Propositions
Chapter 7  Discussion

One of the key findings of this thesis is that Melucci’s framework of ideology is suitable for observing and evaluating ideology in the context of contemporary consumer activist movements. This chapter considers the implications of this finding in light of the marketing literature overviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. This is done by considering the relationship between a number of important marketing concepts/theories/literatures and Melucci’s framework of ideological development. A summary of the discussion in this chapter is presented in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marketing Concept/Theory/Literature</th>
<th>How it Intercepts with Melucci’s Framework</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Can be Informed by Melucci</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consumer activist movements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consumer research</td>
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<td>Diffusion</td>
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<td>Collective behaviour</td>
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<td>(Tribal ideologies)</td>
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<td>(Tribal membership roles)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Branding</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Positioning</td>
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<td>Co-production</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Product-market growth strategies</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological-construction of texts (e.g. mytho-ideologies)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Summary of How Marketing Concepts/Theories/Literatures Intercept with Melucci’s Framework

7.1. How Melucci’s Framework Informs Marketing Theory

This section summarises the advantages of using Melucci’s framework as a means for investigating movement ideology. Specific areas of marketing literature that can directly benefit from these new understandings are highlighted.
This thesis has demonstrated that Melucci’s framework of ideology is particularly useful for:
1. conceptualising the form of an ideology
2. understanding how an ideology changes over time
3. bringing together the different levels of a movement

Firstly, Melucci’s framework helps to conceptualise ideology by providing an explanation of the form of ideology. Based on Touraine’s (1981) theory, this framework proposes that ideology is made up of three analytical elements that it is always possible to identify: self-identity, opposition and totality. The results presented in Chapter 5 and 6 of this thesis confirm the presence of all of these elements of ideology at both the organisation and individual level of the SF movement. The implication of this is that now there is an appropriate definition for the concept of ideology that can be used in the consumer activist movement context. This will allow marketers to differentiate ideology from (and compare ideology to) other similar concepts and theories that they are more familiar with such as values, ideas and the dominant social paradigm. This will clear up much of the semantic confusion in the field which has existed to date (see Subsection 2.2.1).

Secondly, Melucci’s framework also provides an explanation of how the content and the role of ideologies change over time. It proposes that in the formative phase, the two elements that characterise ideology are the negation of the gap between expectations and reality and the theme of rebirth. As the movement grows two essential aspects of ideology become important: it fulfils a function of integration with respect to the movement as a whole and it fulfils a strategic function in relation to the environment. At both the organisation and individual member level, the results from this thesis show that the propositions derived from Melucci’s framework were mostly supported in the case of SF. This framework, while not infallible, is nevertheless extremely useful for marketers in that it helps to operationalise ideology by providing a process to identify and categorise ideological change. This could be particularly significant for consumer researchers working in the field of consumer culture theory on consumer activism and consumer activist movements. For example, Kozinets and Handelman’s (2004) study (overviewed in Subsection 2.2.1) suggested that Touraine’s European-based theory of ideology and other similar new social movement theories are possibly not able to capture the evanangelical overtones expressed by American consumer activist movement participants. Building on Touraine’s work on ideology, Melucci’s framework acknowledges the importance of investigating ideology across time and did in fact reveal a link in the SF data between religious identities and the
ideologies of consumer activist movement participants. Even though the current research did not specifically ask about religion, references to the bible did emerge in the data especially in the formative years of the organisation (see Subsection 6.3.2). If the research had focussed on just current ideologies, this link could possibly have been missed. This example thus emphasises the importance of studying ideology across time. Melucci’s framework also provides significant insights into what happens to an innovation, such as an ideology, as it diffuses over time and thus it can nicely complement the more traditional diffusion of innovation models. For example, over time “the mobilized social group, the adversary, and the collective goals are redefined in a more pertinent manner [and] ideology becomes a more complex and detailed symbolic system” (Melucci, 1996, p. 352). Furthermore, the framework recognises that it is not only the ‘innovation’ itself changing as it diffuses over time, but that the purpose for which it is used is also changing. For example, Melucci’s suggests that ideology is used much more strategically by leaders once the movement has become more consolidated at an organisational level than in its early days.

Having a process by which to identify and categorise ideological change will also provide a new perspective for researchers in marketing, particularly for those working on consumer activist movements, consumer research and diffusion of innovations. As was noted in the literature review (Subsection 2.2.1), all of these areas to date have focussed on the operationalisation of ideology without really understanding what ideology is and how it changes over time. This new understanding will allow more comprehensive analysis and more effective strategies to be implemented. For example, Melucci’s framework provides insights into activists’ identity, adversaries and totalities and thereby helps to understand how consumers’ ideologies determine acts of resistance such as boycotting behaviours. A second example is that Melucci’s framework can be used to help understand how ideologies are developed (especially at a collective level) and therefore can be of assistance to researchers working in the area of ethical decision making. A third example is that Melucci’s framework explains how ideology is used to fulfil a function of integration with respect to a group by setting up values and norms, boundaries and rituals. Thus Melucci’s theorising in this area could contribute to research in marketing that deals with consumer identity projects and marketplace cultures (especially with regards to tribal ideologies).

Thirdly, Melucci’s framework helps to tie different levels of movement analysis together. The results of this thesis have shown that ideology can be used to explore the relationship between an official organisation such as SF and individual movement members
who do not belong to this organisation but are an important part of the wider consumer activist movement. Such relationships have already been investigated in Subsection 6.6.2 (see Table 3). Another example of how it is possible to compare the ideologies of members$^{SF_{O}}$ with those of members$^{SF_{M}}$ using Melucci’s framework is now provided. Melucci’s framework explains that it is always possible to discover in the ideology of any organisation (or any individual member of a movement), a definition of the totality of the movement. Something that became clear in the research process was the difference in the radicalism with which these totalities were expressed by different sorts of movement members. Radicalism in this sense refers to how extreme a member’s stance is with regards to the social norm$^{18}$. As Figure 11 shows below, the wider the distance is between the social norm and the SF belief, the more radical the person is considered to be$^{19}$.

![Figure 11 Differences in Ideological Radicalism](image)

For example, when sympathisers and participants talked about what the movement means for them, they tended not to express particularly radical views. For example, Vincent (11m) saw SF as being about “the joy of preparing, eating and sharing”. On the other hand, the specific aims and objectives as described by the practitioners tended to be even more radical than those expressed by the SF organisation. For example, Sam, (1h31) went as far as to say that the totality of the problems entailed “hitting the upper limits and running out of energy and causing massive loss of biodiversity and causing climate change”. This perhaps goes someway in explaining why people join the official organisation or not: the sympathisers and participants do not join because they see the organisation as being too radical while the practitioners do not join as they perceive the organisation to not be radical enough. This point is illustrated in the statement below, where John (1h1) is describing the problems facing SF and why he has not joined the organisation:

It is becoming trendy for the wealthy middle classes to add to their consumer choice the fact that they buy a fair-trade product. And as soon as it has entered the world of consumer choice in that way… it doesn't have quite the same subversive quality to it. It doesn't have quite the same element that says ‘look the way we are doing things in general is wrong; we need to do things differently’. The whole environmental thing

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$^{18}$ Social norms are not fixed. Change in social norms has been illustrated in Subsection 6.2.1.

$^{19}$ Note the difference in how the term ‘radical’ is used here, to how it was used in Subsection 6.2.1 (where it was used to describe an ‘unconstrained belief’ in what the SF organisation could achieve).
has been kind of co-opted by consumer choice — so it just becomes another brand — and in some ways that is counter-productive to what it's actually intended to do. It's intended to say 'let's do things differently because we're damaging the world so badly that we can't simply have consumer choice as the almighty god as the way that we drive the economy'... and it's ceased to challenge that and that's one of the reasons that I think it's become so mainstream.

Sherif & Hovland's (1961) work on social judgement theory looks at how individuals judge what social attitudes are acceptable or not and could go some way in helping to explain the differences in radicalism amongst SF members. There is also a literature in marketing that discusses consumers' need for uniqueness that explains why some people lose interest in stimuli when it becomes more mainstream (c.f. Simonson & Nowlis, 2000; Tian, Bearden, & Hunter, 2001). This literature could help understand why some people (particularly the practitioners) are not interested in joining the SF movement. Though an investigation of SF members’ individual judgment processes and their need for uniqueness tendencies falls outside the boundaries of this thesis, research which links social judgement and need for uniqueness theories to theorising on ideology is worthy of future research. The implications of being able to link the organisation and individuals in the movement are important. Analysing movements such as SF at an aggregate level to date has been riddled with difficulties because of their abstract and intangible nature. Investigating the ideologies of the organisation as well as the ideologies of other types of members by using Melucci’s framework is a good way to overcome these difficulties.

7.2. How Marketing Theory can Inform Melucci’s Framework

Melucci’s framework as it currently stands does provide a valuable means for investigating movement ideology. However, there are a number of marketing concepts which — when used in conjunction with this framework — can complement it, further enhancing its overall value. Concepts/theories/literatures in marketing which are able to inform and build on Melucci’s framework, thus providing an even more comprehensive tool for the analysis of ideology include:

- tribal marketing
- branding
- positioning
- co-production
• diffusion
• motivation and values
• product-market growth strategies

The section discusses these points and their application to the SF context.

7.2.1. Tribal Marketing

Cova and Cova's (2002) work on tribal marketing (particularly their typology of tribal membership roles) is helpful in understanding the membership base of a consumer activist movement such as SF. As has been shown throughout this thesis (see Table 1, Subsection 4.2.2), it was possible to divide the SF movement membership into four distinct categories based on level of involvement. This clearly demonstrates that there is a much wider range of members who belong to a consumer activist movement than just those who subscribe to official organisations. When using Cova and Cova's (2002) typology as a tool for understanding movement members, it is important to be aware of the diversity of members within each category as well the differences between categories. For example within the category members$^{SF}$ the level of involvement varies considerably. On the one hand there were people who simply pay the annual fee and received the reading materials about SF published by the organisation. On the other hand there were also people who were much more involved and attended (or hosted) SF events on a regular basis. On a similar note members$^{SF}$ also vary considerably with regards to how radical their SF ideologies and behaviours are. The differences in ideological radicalism (of members$^{SF}$) are pictorially displayed in Figure 12. The bell shaped curve indicates that within the organisation there is likely to be a normal distribution of members in terms of their radicalism, with some members being not very radical at all in their SF beliefs, some members very radical and most members somewhere in between.

![Image of bell shaped curve](image.png)

Figure 12 The Range of Ideological Radicalism of Members$^{SF}$
During the research process, it became evident that the dynamic nature of movement membership was an important issue that also needed to be addressed. Firstly, it was clear from the data that the level of involvement of an individual member can change as is illustrated by the following quote from Glenn, a member\textsuperscript{SFO} who now leads a local SF group: “I read a couple of articles on Slow Food... that triggered my interest... then not long after that... a convivium got started and I got involved, just as a member... then I became a public officer and then it took off from there”. Although moving from being a sympathiser to a participant or a member\textsuperscript{SFO} would appear to be the most likely way to progress, the progression between categories does not necessarily have to be a linear process — people could potentially skip a stage (e.g. a sympathiser on the fringes of the movement might decide to sign up to become a member\textsuperscript{SFO} without ever having attended any SF events, or without necessarily practising a SF lifestyle). Although there were none in this research, it is obvious that there could also be individuals who move in the other direction (e.g. if their subscription fee lapsed and was not renewed they would move from being a member\textsuperscript{SFO} into one of the three member\textsuperscript{SFM} categories).

Secondly, just as individual members’ roles changed over time, the secondary data from the SF archival material also confirmed that the overall makeup of the SF movement membership base has also changed over time. The SF movement started off with an official organisation and a small group of adherents and devotees. Over time as the movement developed and the ideologies and the goals of the movement became more widely known, increasing numbers of practitioners, participants and sympathisers were attracted to the movement. While this was the case with SF, it is logical that the cycle of other movements may follow just the opposite path. Some movements start out as popular movements which attract lots of sympathisers but very few people who actually officially subscribe to an official organisation. As these movements develop and become more institutionalised, occasions for members to participate may increase. The Vegetarianism movement could be an example of a movement which has developed in this manner.

As well as providing an overview of the development of the movement, the classification exercise also provided valuable insights into the current movement structure. As was discussed in Subsection 3.2.2 (Exhibit 8), SF can be characterised as being a centralised movement with a top down pyramidal structure where the movement’s ideologies and leadership are directed by the formal SF organisation. This is in contrast to a more de-centralised movement with a bottom up grassroots structure where the movement’s
ideologies and leadership come about in a more undirected, loosely organised manner, as is for example perhaps the case in the Food Justice movement.

Thus looking at consumer activist movements through the lens of Cova and Cova’s (2002) categorisation allows researchers a wider and more holistic view of movement membership and a practical way of dealing with its diversity, especially if a time dimension is considered in conjunction with this typology. Used in conjunction with Melucci’s framework, the typology helps to bring two levels of movement analysis together — the movement level and the organisation level — by demonstrating that there is clearly a much wider range of members who belong to a movement than just those who subscribe to official organisations. Furthermore, movement member categorisation also allows for a more detailed analysis and profiling of the movement members. Once researchers have an understanding of makeup of the membership of a particular movement, they can then compare and contrast the different membership categories with regards to ideology using a wide range of data as has been done throughout this thesis.

7.2.2. Branding

Melucci’s framework proposes that ideology is used strategically by organisations to expand their support base and to differentiate their organisation from other similar organisations competing for a limited market of supporters. Using ideology strategically in this sense is very similar to how any other organisation uses its brand. Likewise, it is evident that when Melucci discusses the strategic use of ideology to call forth loyalty to the general aims of the organisation, that he is again describing something very similar to the use of a brand. However as was explained in Chapter 2 (Subsection 2.2.1), while there are very strong parallels between the concept of a movement ideology and its brand, the two concepts are not the same. The following points explain the differences between ideology and brands:

- Ideology has a much wider frame than a brand.
- Brands are manifestations of an ideology and branding is the communication of an ideology.
- Ideology can be, but is not necessarily branded.

As the SF ideology has developed over the years, the brand aspects have also been altered to reflect these changes. Managing the brand (or more realistically co-managing the brand, see Subsection 2.2.1) is an important leadership role in any organisation — including
an organisation such as SF. One way which brand managers typically increase the value of their brand, is to extend the range of the products or services that they are offering. Within the SF organisation, evidence of this can be seen in the extension of the neo-gastronomy concept into new domains such as folk music and other cultural crafts (see Section 5.4). Another strategy which is commonly used by brand managers to maintain current interest and attract new interest in a brand is repositioning the brand. As the makeup of the SF ideology has expanded to include the concepts of ‘eco-gastronomy’ in the late 1990s and ‘neo-gastronomy’ some ten years later (see Chapter 5), the brand aspects have also been altered to reflect these changes.

It is clear that the SF organisation leaders have been working hard on building and revitalising the well established brand name ‘Slow Food’ and the research in this thesis has shown that their efforts have generally been quite successful. The organisation’s ideology has been communicated through a range of simple and effective messages and logos such as ‘good, clean and fair food’ (many of which have been discussed throughout Chapters 5 and 6). The interview data did reveal (however) that there were a number of problems with the communication of the SF ideology. For example Subsection 6.5.2 showed that a number of interviewees were concerned about the potential problems of repositioning the SF brand too often. The following quote by Glenn (1hr2) illustrates this point: “What I am a little bit concerned about is that the SF is forgetting the revolutionary aspects of the word slow — that it is the slowness in SF that makes it unique as well... this is what's revolutionary about SF”. Existing marketing literature on extending and repositioning brands (c.f. Aaker & Keller, 1990) could offer assistance in this regard. Hart and Murphy (1998, p. 4), for example, address this issue when they explain: “Brand owners must constantly ensure that the qualities and values of their brands are maintained”.

On a similar note, there is other substantiated theory on branding in marketing which has the potential to assist SF leaders ensure the successful communication of their ideologies. For example, a common problem for many organisations is that various stakeholders have different points of contact with the organisation and therefore there is the potential for different (and sometimes conflicting) messages to be received (de Chernatony, 1999). There was some evidence that this did appear to be a problem for SF. Jim (in Subsection 6.5.2), for example, pointed out that people were receiving mixed messages from the SF organisation which on the one hand was encouraging them to consume local foods and on the other hand was promoting global niche markets for endangered food products.
Existing work in marketing on brand identity (c.f. Kapferer, 1997) and brand presentation (c.f. Haynes, Lackman, & Guskey, 1999) discuss the process for managing brands so that a coherent brand is presented to all stakeholders concerned. Insights from such work could be particularly useful when attempting to brand a complex and multifarious ideology such as SF.

The authenticity of brands is another area of research that is related to the context of communicating ideologies. To be authentic “brands must be perceived as invented and disseminated by parties without an instrumental economic agenda, by people who are intrinsically motivated by their inherent value” (Holt, 2002, p. 83). As discussed in Section 5.3, the SF organisation has recently become involved in commercial activities through their involvement with presidium projects (where they assist with the formation of a consortium of local small scale producers of an endangered product and then help the group promote it in the marketplace). SF leaders need to ensure that as they become more involved with such commercial activities that the organisation’s brand (and consequently their ideology) is not seen to be as inauthentic, driven by the commercial intent of their members.

Furthermore, extensive work has been done in the area of brand management which has provided a wide range of branding techniques many of which could be adopted for branding ideologies (Holt, 2002 overviews a number of techniques which have been particularly successful in representing brands as relevant and authentic cultural resources). However Chapter 5 clearly showed that the SF ideology was much wider and more complex than just ‘good, clean and fair food’. So while it is fruitful to borrow branding theory and apply it the context of consumer activist movements such as SF, it is important to keep in mind that the strategic use of ideology is much more than brand management and that ideological leaders are much more than brand managers. Theoretically, the link between brands, movement and ideologies is an exciting area for future research. The work on branding concepts such as brand personality and brand biographies, as well as the work on the appropriation of brands and the idea of managerial brand promises, are all areas that obviously overlap with ideology and have the potential to fit nicely with Melucci’s framework.
7.2.3. Positioning

Tied into any discussion on branding is a discussion of the positioning of that brand. It is apparent that much of what Melucci is describing when he discusses the strategic use of ideology is, in marketing terms, the ‘positioning’ of the brand (c.f. Bhat & Reddy, 1998; Vriens & Hofstede, 2000). It is important to note that while brands are images that are based upon a perception (and therefore can be repositioned), ideologies are not an image and while they can change over time they cannot be repositioned per se. Evidence was provided in Subsection 6.4.2 which showed that ideology must be used strategically to differentiate the image and the contents of an organisation from not only other similar organisations competing for potential supporters, but also from their adversaries. Subsection 6.4.2 also explained that fast food companies are making a number of changes which make it harder for the SF organisation to criticise them. When this happens, the situation becomes slightly muddled because the adversary is seen to be promoting the same values as those that are espoused by the SF movement. The following quote illustrates such a case:

It’s interesting because watching the latest Coco-Cola add... they’re using this notion of food in an interesting way, in that it’s a global advert and they start putting a table together on the street or wherever and they start putting this table together which goes all around the globe and its one big table that they’re eating at. And it’s a Coco-Cola ad yet it’s all about food and conviviality and socialising and about food and around a table (Doug, 24m).

Figure 13 provides a pictorial example of McDonalds evolving from a global brand which is not particularly environmentally focussed, to a brand which is more locally and environmentally focussed. Evidence of this change can be seen in the selection of menu items (such as the New Zealand Angus beef burgers) and the messages that McDonalds promote in their advertising (e.g. “we only use select, top grade potatoes such as the Russet Burbank grown in prime farming regions like Canterbury”) (McDonalds, 2009). The consequence of this is that McDonalds’ brand is moving closer to that of the SF organisation.
The problem lies in the fact that the SF brand is created and positioned in opposition to an enemy — fast food. If the fast food industries’ image becomes too similar to theirs, SF will no longer be distinctive. Tying back to the marketing literature, it becomes evident that this should not pose too much of a crisis for the SF organisation however if we consider the ‘wheel of branding’ argument in a systems perspective (Wooliscroft & Lawson, 2003). According to this logic, as innovative fast food companies move up the retailing ladder — by extending their range and becoming more like SF — this will create an empty niche in the marketplace and opportunities will arise for new types of cheap fast food to fill their gap. These new fast food retailers thus become the new opposition for the SF organisation. The following quote written in the preface of the 2005 edition of Osterie d’Italia, emphasises how SF has changed its positioning in regards to its oppositional status over the years and as such it provides a nice illustration of this systems perspective.

15 years later... we are still here to preach against homogenisation and bad taste at the table. To be honest, our adversaries have changed a bit since then. Nouvelle
cuisine is dead and buried... the other enemy, American-style fast food, is now on
life support and marginalized even at its home, where it is accused of being the root
of all nutritional evil. Still if an enemy dies, another comes to take his place (Gho,

Note that this ‘wheel of branding’ argument only works, however, if the gap created is still
in opposition to SF. If SF leaders continue to position the organisation as oppositional, they
run the risk of no longer being needed should that opposition disappear one day. There is
evidence that the leaders of the SF organisation have recognised this risk and consequently
have actively worked at repositioning the SF brand in recent years. One example of this is
the recent repositioning of the SF brand into the area of ‘neo-gastronomy’. This new
positioning is much less reliant on an oppositional status. Relying less and less on their
traditional oppositional status means that even if no new competitors fill the empty niche
created in the bottom quadrant of Figure 13 (e.g. because society no longer demands this
type of food), the SF organisation need not worry as they can now claim to stand for
something, rather than against something. Such semantics are confusing, as one could argue
that it is not possible to stand for something without being against something. Despite this,
the transition from an oppositional movement to a mainstream movement does appear to be
possible and Labour political parties provides an example of such a transition. Such a
transition however raises a number of complicated issues. A consumer activist movement is
by definition ‘engaged in a conflict with an adversary’ (see Section 1.4, Key Definitions).
Thus should SF really lose its oppositional status altogether, it would no longer be able to be
conceptualised as a consumer activist movement. While the SF leaders are promoting the
new positioning as non-oppositional, in reality the data clearly show that for now, both the
organisation and the wider movement remain very much an oppositional consumer activist
movement.

Melucci’s framework seems to suggest that movements are set up (or positioned)
against an adversary. This implies that if this adversary goes away so does the need for the
movement. However the reality is that leaders actively seek to re-position their movement
to ensure it does not become irrelevant and die out. In the case of SF, this was done initially
by changing the adversaries that the organisation was fighting against and in more recent
years this has been done by re-positioning the SF brand away from an oppositional status
towards a more positive one. As Melucci’s framework of ideology has not dealt with such
issues, the concept of positioning can provide strength and rigour to his framework.
7.2.4. Co-Production Processes and the Formation of Ideologies

Another area of marketing that can inform Melucci’s framework is the body of work on co-production. Subsection 6.6.1 (Exhibit 16) showed that although the SF organisation was acknowledged by interviewees as contributing to the formation of the respondent’s food ideologies, so too were a wide range of other influences. The review of the literature on co-production (Section 2.2) concluded that it was necessary to acknowledge the ongoing active and productive relationship that exists between the movement membership and the SF leaders. In the following quote from Jane (1hr48), it is apparent that members are not just passive consumers, but rather engage actively in the production of the ideology of SF: “The SF movement to be seems to be quite holistic but that’s just because I’ve just chucked all my ideas onto it”.

On a similar note, the findings (see Table 3 in Subsection 6.6.2) highlighted that people had quite different interpretations of what the ideology of SF was all about. It was obvious that people picked up on parts of the ideology that were the most relevant to their personal interests. Again this illustrates clearly that an interpretative process of some sort occurs. It is possible then to apply what we know in the marketing field of service dominant logic on co-production to the context of ideology. For example, it is possible to theorise that members actively co-produce the movement ideologies and are therefore co-owners of the organisations ‘brand’. The implications of this in the case of the SF organisation, is that SF leaders do not own, nor are in complete control of the SF brand. Their role is no longer about controlling but becomes about coordinating. In other words, their role should not be one of brand guardians (or custodians) but be one of brand hosts (Schroeder, 2008).

Subsection 6.4.1 discussed a number of tensions which arose in the organisation and the wider movement due to structure and issues of control. Looking at these conflicts through the lens of co-production, it is evident that such tensions arise due to the fact that the process of co-production inevitably results in less power for SF leaders. As was explained in Section 3.2.2, SF is an interesting case study as it is an identity-orientated movement that has a fairly centralised structure (as opposed to the more de-centralised network structure that tends to characterise these types of movements). Rosa for example says: “It is definitely a centralised control structure” (35m); and “Slow Food was born... with Carlo Petrini and has been directed by him ever since, so it descends from one and one person only” (40m). The following quote also confirms the existence of a top down structure:
One thing you have to understand about Slow Food is that very much it is being driven by Petrini. Of course there were a number of people involved in its formation and subsequent life, but he really has driven the movement and has always had a lot of power and I think that the new developments of Slow Food, the new directions of Slow Food, in many instances, in most instance, in all instances, have derived from him and so I think that his personal influence needs to be underlined (Glenn, 1hr8).

Although the organisation has been recently trying to push the general message that “we are not a centralised organisation” (c.f. Petrini, 2008, Speech) but “a grassroots organisation” (c.f. Elisa, 1hr11), the SF movement generally and the SF organisation in particular has in reality a fairly centralised hierarchical structure. This increases the possibility for conflicts to arise (the discussion in Subsection 6.4.2 on boundaries of belonging and the punishment of deviant behaviours elaborated on such conflicts).

This centralised structure does allow SF leaders to maintain a coherent identity and to be relatively effective in terms of the activities and campaigns that they run. However this style of hierarchical leadership does cause tensions amongst members as some people see this sort of form of organisation as conflicting with their own personal values about how society should be run (with power dispersed more evenly amongst members for example). There is some evidence which suggests that this structure is in the process of changing. Petrini himself (2008, Speech) for example said to the body of international councillors at the last world meeting: “Let’s open up our association and strengthen it. If in a few years time we have a leaner organisation but more impact on the world let’s do it”. In the same speech he also said: “Next year is the 20th anniversary of SF. These 20 years have been the best of my life. I feel the need to let others have the best years of their life”. This implies that a change in leadership is likely to happen in the near future. As Glenn (1hr10) states: “It will be very interesting to see how it develops further without him at the helm”. In particular, it will be interesting to watch the effect that this will have on the development of the ideologies of the SF movement.

However while there are some signs that the movement’s leaders are beginning to more actively encourage different interpretations of SF ideology, the bulk of the evidence suggests that this is not the case. This point is exemplified in the following quote (presented previously in Subsection 6.4.1) which comes from a speech given by Buckard (2008, Speech) at the Meeting of International Councillors: “Our aim is to educate and train members in the SF philosophy. We have to improve member’s knowledge to be good ambassadors so to do this we have to train them in SF philosophies”. The postmodern
branding paradigm in marketing suggests that "brands will be more valuable if they are offered not as cultural blueprints but as cultural resources, as useful ingredients to produce the self as one chooses" (Holt, 2002, p. 83). Integrating this sort of thinking into Melucci's framework will strengthen it increasing the potential for consumer behaviour researchers and consultants to assist organisations such as SF resolve the sorts of problems discussed above.

7.2.5. Diffusion of Innovations

The results of this thesis have shown that different people were influenced by the ideologies of the movement at different stages (see Subsection 6.6.3). While a number of alternative explanations were provided for this, tying back to the literature in marketing on diffusion of innovations (discussed in Subsection 2.3) and combining this knowledge with the insights gained from Melucci's framework can help to better understand this phenomenon. The diffusion literature reports that personality is a big factor in determining when a certain person is likely to adopt a new innovation (c.f. Ram & Jung, 1994). Although personality traits such as innovativeness were not measured directly by means of a scale or other equivalent, such information did come through in the interviews when the respondents discussed their personal food histories and current ideological beliefs. The relationship between innovativeness and ideologies was explored further and based on Bass' (1969) categories of innovativeness all the interviewees were classified as either innovators or imitators. Glenn provides a typical example of how someone was classified as an "innovator" and thereby demonstrates the classification process conducted. Personality traits that Glenn exhibited that have been shown in the literature to correlate with innovativeness included, for example: a high degree of interest in food issues: "I was interested in different kinds of food... in vegetable gardening [and had] a professional interest generally [in the politics of food] as an academic" (39m); high information search: "I thought this [SF] would be a fascinating subject for a book... we had a sabbatical coming up and so we spent four months living in Bologne... we went to Bra to interview people" (40m); high involvement in food issues: "I got involved [with SF] just as a member... for a year or two... then I was public officer and then it took off from there" (36m); and high leadership qualities: "In 2004 we moved to New Zealand and... when we moved here we realised that there was no convivium so we said well we should start a chapter up so we did" (42m). Glenn, an Australian citizen, became a member of SF in 2001, which were early days in the development of the movement in Australia (the differences of SF development in different countries was discussed in Subsection 6.6.3).
The result of this exercise was that the members $^{SFO}$ were more likely to be classified as innovators, while the members $^{SFM}$ were more likely to be classified as imitators adopting the SF ideology as it became more mainstream (Figure 14).

![Diagram showing the Diffusion of the SF Organisation's Ideology](image)

Figure 14 The Diffusion of the SF Organisation’s Ideology
Adapted from Bass, 1969

While Rogers’ (1976) model could have alternatively been used, it does not accommodate for innovators all the way through the diffusion process like Bass’ (1969) model does. Thus the Bass model works better for explaining exceptions to the rule. John (a member $^{SFM}$, practitioner) is such an exception. Like Glenn, he has many of the characteristics typical of an innovator (such as a high degree of interest in food issues, high information search, high involvement in food issues and high leadership qualities). Where John differs from Glenn is that he has only recently ‘joined’ the SF movement. If Rogers’ adopter categories were used to categorise innovativeness, John would fall into either ‘the early majority’ or the ‘late majority’ category (because only founding SF organisation leaders and members involved in the early days of the SF organisation would be able to be classified as innovators). John’s case shows that it is possible for newcomers to the movement to still be considered as innovators (they are just late to the marketplace) and therefore demonstrates the advantage of using Bass’ model over Rogers’ in understanding the diffusion of ideology.

Caution, however, must be taken when applying diffusion models to a case like SF. For example the diffusion curve is difficult to use until the innovation has finished diffusing making it a better explanation tool than a predicting one. Another downfall with the typical
diffusion of innovations models that are often used in marketing studies is that they assume that the innovation being diffused over time remains constant. However in the case of the SF ideology, it is quite clear that this particular innovation changes considerably throughout the diffusion process due to co-production processes (discussed earlier in this subsection). The marketing literature does not generally deal well with explaining how changes in the innovation affect the diffusion process. For example, no-one has yet asked the question, ‘what does co-production mean for innovation?’ One theory that does address changes in innovation is Robertson’s (1967) classification of innovations based on behavioural change. It is possible for the changes in the SF ideology to be mapped back to this taxonomy. Roberston (1967) suggests that there are three main types of innovations: Continuous (these are innovations which have the least disrupting influence on established patterns of consumer behaviour); Dynamically Continuous (more disrupting effects on consumers’ lives than the former innovations, but change in behaviour is still modest); and Discontinuous (where innovations are radically new and significantly alter consumers’ behavioural patterns and often involve extensive technological breakthrough). As described by Roberston, SF would be classified as a ‘Continuous’ innovation (as SF ideology is more of an alteration to existing ideologies rather than the establishment of a new ideology altogether) and while adopting the SF ideology may mean making changes to the way that food is purchased or consumed (e.g. switching to free range eggs, or switching to shopping at a farmers’ market), these changes are not extremely disruptive. Understanding this has the potential to provide useful insights into the diffusion and adoption processes for SF and further research which conceptualises the links between social movements and innovations is warranted. Thus just as Melucci’s work can add to the previous work done to date in marketing on the diffusion process, the innovation work can also inform Melucci’s framework.

7.2.6. Lifecycles

The lifecycle of a movement or an organisation is clearly related to changes in the ideology. Thus to understand the ideology, it is important to have some understanding of the trajectory of the movement or the organisation. One possible way to do this is to look at when the members joined the SF movement and from this data draw inferences about where the movement is in terms of development. Rogers’ diffusion of innovation curve can represent the life course of a social movement such as SF, with the ‘innovators’ joining at the outset, followed by ‘early adopters’ and so forth. Although as Raul (1hr42) rightly points out, “It’s impossible to know exactly where we are for sure… I don’t want to say that we are at 50%
of our work, 80%, 20%, this is impossible to know”, the findings from the research do nevertheless provide some clues as to how far along the curve the movement is currently. The movement has clearly become more mainstream in recent years, attracting not just ‘innovators’ and ‘early adopters’ but ‘early majority’ as well. Back in the 1980s, SF started off with just with an official organisation and a small group of adherents and devotees. As was discussed in Chapter 5, as the makeup of the SF concept has developed over time, the ideologies and the goals of the movement have become more widespread and the movement has expanded its support base by appealing to a more mainstream public. This point is backed up by the following quote: “The situation has now changed... not so long ago these ideas were out of the mainstream, but they can now provide a significant opportunity for Slow Food to gain support and involve many people around the world” (SF.Editore, 2008c, online). On a similar note, Peiro explains:

And what is really changed I think in the last 10-15 years, is the perception of people about us, but especially about the food problems and food issues. In the sense that I always say that when we went to the world with our problems we were just Italians with bad English saying yes something very interesting but not very complete. Today it is completed. Everywhere we go we find people that are interested, consumers, politicians, newspapers. So it has really changed (11m).

Although the effects of the SF movement are more visibly permeating the everyday food behaviours of a growing number of consumers worldwide, it is obvious that the ideologies of the SF movement have yet to be adopted by ‘a late majority’ or a ‘laggard’ population. Thus in lifecycle terms, we could conclude that the movement is still in a growth period and has almost certainly not yet reached maturity.

Another possible way to study where the movement is at would be to use lifecycle models from the resource mobilisation school of social movement theory (note that new social movement theorists have not dealt with this issue in any depth). Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), Tilly (2004) and Smelser (1962) have all described different stages social movements pass through. For example, Smelser suggests that social movement development stages include:

- Agitation/Incipiency
- Formal/Coalescence
- Institutionalisation/Bureaucracy
- Fragmentation
- Demise
Kotler (1972b) has adopted this framework and linked these stages with the Consumerism movement — an adoption which has been widely accepted in marketing (Craig Lees, 1991).

Regardless of the framework selected to study the lifecycle of the movement in order to understand ideology, it is clear that further investigation into the relationship between the lifecycle of the movement and ideology is warranted. For example, one of Melucci’s key tenets is that ideology develops over time and he proposes two main phases — a formative and a consolidation phase. There is a lot of work in marketing on lifecycles which suggests that the lifecycle of a product (or in this case an ideology) may be more complex than the frameworks proposed both by the resource mobilisation school of thought and by Melucci. Perhaps such frameworks are stuck in the same metaphor that the product lifecycle was 30 or so years ago in marketing (e.g. birth, grow, live, die) and Melucci’s two phases for example, do not capture the real richness of the true diffusion process over time. For example it is now a widely accepted idea that it is possible to ‘restart’ again and again and applying this sort of theorising to the context of ideology could inform and strengthen Melucci’s framework of ideological development.

7.2.7. Motivation, Values and Ideologies

Another area in marketing which has the potential to be able to contribute to our understanding of ideology is the work done in consumer research on motivations and values. Although consumer behaviour research has looked at motivations, values and ideologies (see Subsection 2.2.1), no attempt to date has been made to integrate these concepts.

This thesis has shown that such a link does exist. For example, it has demonstrated that as is the case with motivations and values, simply linking ideology to observed behaviour is tenuous. While we may be able to rule out some ideologies if we see certain behaviours (e.g. we can assume that someone is not a vegan if we see them eating meat), we can’t always just observe behaviours and predict someone’s ideology. This is due to the fact that multiple motivations can result in similar behaviours. For example, the research showed that many people live SF lifestyles but they often do so for completely different reasons. While some people choose to live a SF lifestyle because they are concerned about world problems, others may do so not by choice, but by necessity (producing their own vegetables and cooking at home is all they can afford) and others live this way because it is trendy to be seen doing so. When discussing motivation in this way it makes sense to refer back to
categorisations such as McGuire's (1974) collection of identification theories of human motivation, or Maslow's (1943) theory of motivation. To demonstrate an example of a possible relationship between ideology and motivation, Maslow's (1943) theory is elaborated on below. This theory proposes that motives can be classified into five categories which are arranged in ascending order. It is possible to adapt Maslow's motive hierarchy diagram (see Figure 15) by substituting the psychological development (currently situated along the horizontal access) with the concept of ideological development to show how different motives dominate as an ideology develops. This then could be used to describe how people's motives for participating in a SF lifestyle change as their personal food ideologies evolve over time. It also starts to explain for example some of the differences between those people that grow their own vegetables to simply eat (physiological motives), because they are worried about food security (safety motives), because they enjoy being part of the local gardening club (belongingness and love motives) and because they are concerned about the environmental effects of food miles (self-actualisation motives). While it is not possible to just observe behaviours and predict someone's ideology, if we can observe ideology (which is the aim of this thesis), then we can find patterns of behaviours which do make sense.

As this thesis has illustrated, motivations, values and ideologies do inform each other in one way or another. For example, all three concepts appear to have a developmental aspect, which express an increasing level of complexity over time. Therefore, we can use what we already know in marketing on motivations to help us better understand the concept of ideology, which to date we know much less about. For example, recent work in marketing suggests that consumers have a number of different motivations for supporting underdog brands including empathy, ensuring the maintenance of equal opportunity in competition, and as a way to provide personal inspiration (McGinnis & Gentry, 2009). This literature could be used to help explain why people support oppositional (or 'underdog') ideologies such as SF. However, this must be done with caution as the exact relationship between the concepts of ideology and motivation has not been thoroughly explored. There is the potential for future research which explores things with both a motivational lens as well as an ideological lens. Such research will considerably strengthen Melucci's framework on ideology development.
7.2.8. Product-Market Growth Strategies

The results of this thesis have clearly shown that both the SF organisation and the wider SF movement have significantly grown over time not only in terms of membership numbers, but also in terms of the influence that they have over political (and other social) decisions (see Chapters 5 and 6). A number of factors have contributed to this growth and include (1) the expansion of the support base of the movement and (2) the expansion of the ideology. While Melucci's framework adequately deals with the first of these factors by explaining how ideology is used strategically by movements to increase both the influence that they have within the political system and the movement's support base (see Section 6.5), it does not provide any explanation for the expansion of the SF ideology that has occurred over the years. Tying back to the literature in marketing on growth strategies can provide useful insights into this phenomenon. The brilliantly simple Ansoff Product-Market Growth Matrix (Ansoff, 1957) is a marketing tool used to evaluate the range of possible strategies for diversification for a firm. The strategies for growth available to a firm include four possible product-market combinations as is illustrated in Figure 16 which portrays the four strategies in a classic 2x2 matrix.
This tool can be used to help understand the growth witnessed in SF over the years. What Melucci describes in his framework of ideology is a ‘market development’ strategy. He explains how movements use their present product (ideology) to move into new markets and attract support for the movement. In the case of SF, these new markets include:

- New geographical markets (first Europe, followed by Australasia, the United States, Japan and then the rest of the world).
- New political markets (forming working relationships with a range of local, national and international bodies).
- New markets within society (working collaboratively with other likeminded organisations).

While market development is part of the growth strategy that the SF organisation has employed over the years, it has not been limited solely to this. As Chapter 5 revealed, as well as creating new markets for their products, the SF organisation leaders have also actively engaged in creating new products to take to these markets (note in this case the ‘product’ is the SF ideology), which is in fact a ‘diversification’ growth strategy. As well as creating new markets (new members) this strategy has also involved developing new ideologies through the creation of:

- New identities
- New adversaries
- New totalities

Using the Ansoff Matrix to analyse the growth of the SF organisation and movement has again demonstrated another marketing tool which can be used to help inform and strengthen Melucci’s framework of ideology.
7.3. Parallels between Melucci’s Framework and the Marketing Literature

It is useful to find parallels between Melucci’s work on ideology and the marketing literature where possible. By integrating Melucci’s work into the marketing domain, it facilitates understanding of the complex concept of ideology by allowing the use of more familiar concepts and terminology. One good example of where Melucci’s work on ideologies parallels literature that has already been used in marketing is the description of ‘symbolic scenarios’ that Melucci provides. He suggests that these are used by movement leaders to ensure a positive image and support for their cause (see Subsection 6.5.2). There are strong parallels between this idea and the research in marketing which has looked at the ideological-construction of texts generally and mythologies particularly (see Subsection 2.2.1). As was explained in the literature review, advertisers target certain markets with their ideological messages and that to ensure that these messages are well received, a process of ideological tailoring occurs by leveraging cultural myths which have meaning for the target market. These representations, which are referred to as mytho-ideologies (Thompson, 2004a), are clearly related to the symbolic scenarios that are described by Melucci, which are used by the organisation’s leaders to ensure a favourable image and support for their cause. Making reference to the similarities between these concepts has demonstrated that the new social movement paradigm — which emphasises the importance of the cultural sphere in contemporary society — coincides nicely with the new wave of interest in cultural analysis in marketing in areas of research such as consumer culture theory.

7.4. Summary

It is evident that Melucci’s framework as it stands currently can be integrated nicely into existing work in marketing and used to help understand a number of phenomena including: conceptualising the form of an ideology; understanding how an ideology changes over time; bringing together the different levels of a movement; and extending on existing marketing concepts and theories by applying them to a new context. A number of potential areas of research where Melucci’s framework could inform marketing theory have been identified in this chapter. This chapter has also highlighted a range of concepts and theories which could be integrated into Melucci’s work. Work in marketing on diffusion for example, has been highlighted as having the potential to add strength and vigour to Melucci’s framework,
which with only two simple stages, does perhaps not go far enough in capturing the
dynamics of ideological change (which may in reality be re-formed over and over again as
the movement develops). An overall assessment of the usefulness of Melucci's framework
based on the findings of this thesis is now presented in the concluding chapter.


Chapter 8  Conclusion

This concluding chapter will discuss the key findings (Section 8.1), contributions (Section 8.2) and limitations (Section 8.3) of this thesis, as well as the possibilities for further research (Section 8.4).

8.1. Key Findings

This section summarises the key findings of the research. The first subsection presents the findings concerning the SF movement. The second subsection presents the findings concerning Melucci’s framework. The third subsection presents the findings for the range of marketing concepts which intercept with this framework.

8.1.1. How and Why the Ideologies of the SF Movement have Changed Over time

How and why the content of the SF organisation’s ideology has changed was discussed in Chapter 5 and a summary of these findings was presented in Subsection 5.6 (Table 3). This table shows for example, that the identity of the movement has moved from an Italian focus to an international one and that the totality of the movement had moved from the initial focus on ‘good’ food, to a focus on ‘clean’ and in more recent years, ‘fair’ food as well. These transformations were often in a response to changes in the external environment. The findings with regards to how and why the role of the ideology changed over time were presented in Chapter 6. In brief, as the movement develops, ideology is being used more and more for integrative and strategic purposes with the aim of expanding the reach and influence of the movement.

8.1.2. The Usefulness of Melucci’s Framework for Observing and Evaluating Consumer Activist Movement Ideology

Overall, Melucci provides a valuable framework for consumer behaviour researchers to use when investigating the concept of movement ideology. This argument is justified by the findings of this research which were summarised in Table 4 (in Section 6.7). While Melucci’s work has been used to guide the research process and help guide interpretations of
the evidence, it is important to re-emphasise that his ideas on ideological change have been used in this research as more of an organising concept, which is quite distinct from a fully fledged theory. Thus while they have been used to organise and guide the research process, it was not expected that these propositions would ever be wholly confirmed when pitted against historical evidence. This was indeed the case. While six of the seven propositions were supported at the aggregate organisational level, one of the propositions was not.

This negative finding is interesting and worth elaborating on at this stage. Melucci’s framework was theorised and empirically tested for social movements (neo-religious, womens’, peace and environmental) that are different to the SF movement analysed in this thesis. The taxonomy provided in Chapter 3 (Exhibit 9) can be used to understand the differences. While Melucci’s case studies and the SF movement are identity-orientated movements concerned with value-orientated change, those analysed by Melucci are all decentralised movements while SF is a centralised movement. It is logical that the type of structure could influence how a movement’s ideologies evolve overtime, which may explain why P4 was not supported in this thesis. For example, in the case of SF, organisation leaders are largely responsible for initiating and promoting the changes in the direction that the SF ideology has taken over the years. Given the small number (and the geographical concentration) of people involved in the very early days of the SF movement, it was relatively easy for leaders to set clear movement objectives and to exert some degree of control over the expectations of the members for the movement. As such, SF was not characterised by the ‘gap between expectations and reality’ that Melucci proposes. It was only as the movement developed and the number of members started to significantly increase (and have a greater role in the creation of the ideology) that the movement objectives started to become more diverse and in a sense more radical. This finding helps to fine-tune Melucci’s framework of ideology by highlighting that the usefulness of Melucci’s framework may depend on the type of movement. Based on this, it is recommended that Melucci’s framework should be adopted as an organising concept as opposed to an infallible theory. Further research which assesses the usefulness of Melucci’s framework for all of the different types of consumer activist movements identified in the taxonomy is required. At the individual member level, five of the seven propositions were supported, one was not and one had some support, indicating that Melucci’s framework is less relevant for this level of analysis than at the aggregate level.
8.1.3. Marketing Concepts/Theories/Literatures which Intercept with Melucci's Ideological Framework

These are:
- Consumer activist movements
- Consumer research (tribal ideologies and tribal membership roles)
- Branding
- Positioning
- Co-production
- Diffusion
- Motivation
- Product-market growth strategies
- Ideological-construction of texts (e.g. mytho-ideologies)

All of these concepts/theories/literatures and their link with Melucci's framework of ideology, have been discussed in Chapter 7.

8.2. The Contribution of this Thesis

This thesis makes both theoretical (8.2.1.) and practical (8.2.2.) contributions.

8.2.1. Theoretical Contributions

There are a number of major contributions that this thesis makes to marketing theory.
1. The research considers ideology and how it can be used in a marketing context. This includes an understanding of how it is co-produced, how it changes over time and how it is used strategically by a consumer activist movement to reach their objectives. This new understanding will help to clarify some of the semantic and conceptual difficulties that are present not only in the consumer activist movement body of work but also in other disciplinary areas such as social marketing and political marketing.

2. The research proposes that Melucci's framework for observing and evaluating ideology is suitable for use in marketing (especially in areas such as consumer activist movements, consumer research and diffusion). In particular, this framework is useful for:
   - Conceptualising the form of an ideology
• Understanding how an ideology changes over time
• Bringing together the different levels of analysis within a movement (whole movement and movement organisations)

The research also highlights a number of marketing theories/concepts/literatures which can build on and strengthen Melucci’s framework of ideology including: tribal marketing; branding; positioning; co-production; diffusion; motivation and values; and product-market growth strategies.

3. The research summarises the work done in marketing to date on consumer activist movements and suggests that this be referred to as ‘consumer activist movement theory’.

• Within this research tradition two main research programs are identified: 1) consumer advocacy and activists and 2) consumer activist organisations and consumer activist movements.
• The research defines consumer activist movements as sociological specific phenomena and differentiates them from other types of collective actions that occur in the marketplace. This is done by adopting and extending on Melucci’s (1996) definition of a social movement to provide an appropriate definition of consumer activist movements.
• The research identifies a systematically logical and simple way of differentiating between various types of consumer activist movements. A taxonomy is proposed based on three distinct dimensions (ends sought/ degree of change sought/ structure of the movement) and ten different food consumer activist movements are classified.
• The research proposes that Cova and Cova’s (2002) typology of tribal membership roles is an appropriate classification for differentiating between various types of consumer activist movement members. The thesis demonstrates that the SF movement membership base is able to be divided up into four distinct categories (member, participant, practitioner, sympathiser) based on their level of involvement. This movement member categorisation clearly shows that there is a much wider range of members who belong to a consumer activist movement than just those who subscribe to official organisations. Furthermore, movement member categorisation also allows for a more detailed analysis and profiling of the movement members, as well as offers insights into the overall structure of the movement and how this may develop over time.
4. The research provides a comprehensive historical narrative of a consumer activist movement, which includes insights into changes in food activists’ thoughts and behaviours, wants and needs. For example, the research has shown how the overall emphasis of the SF movement has shifted from a focus on ‘recreational-gastronomy’, to ‘eco-gastronomy’, to ‘neo-gastronomy’. Given the importance of food-related issues today in the marketplace (e.g. demand for better quality authentic food, rising concerns about food safety, environmental issues relating to food production and food miles and concerns about animal welfare), this historical narrative in itself is a significant contribution.

8.2.2. Activist Contributions

“Reflection on the analysis of social movements, however, is not warranted for the sake of scholarship only” (Melucci, 1996, p. 2).

Just as managers of companies assess their products and brands, leaders of activist movements can too. This thesis has shown that consumer activism can provide researchers with a particular lens through which to look at the marketplace which is refreshing and worthwhile. Therefore, as well as making important theoretical contributions, this thesis also offers practical implications for consumer activist movements which can help them with the work that they do.

This research demonstrates a useful way of assessing movement membership. Leaders can apply this knowledge in a number of ways to help achieve the change in society that they are fighting for. For example, if the SF organisation leaders had a good understanding of the membership base of the wider SF movement (members$_{SFM}$), they could use this information to identify people who already generally support their cause and target these segments accordingly in the organisation’s recruitment initiatives.

Most importantly, this research has emphasised the importance of ideology as a leadership resource. A significant contribution that this thesis has made to consumer activist movements is providing the knowledge of how to assess ideology. Whether the goal be integrating the movement or widening their support base, leaders can now apply this knowledge in a number of ways. For example, by reflecting on the trajectory of the movement and how their ideology may have changed over time, leaders can consider how
these changes in positioning have affected their brand image. If they do this, it is likely to become clearer to the activists as to whether the ideology promoted by the movement today accounts adequately for the phenomena it purports to explain.

8.3. Limitations

The following section explains the limitations of this research and outlines the attempts made by the researcher to overcome them.

Firstly, a number of reasons have been highlighted (in Subsection 4.1.2) which make it impossible for the social historian to fully unveil the reality of the past. Acknowledging that the truth can be approached but never proved, this research has strived to provide the most objective and accurate representation of the history of the SF movement possible.

Secondly, several common criticisms are levelled at qualitative case research. One of the most frequent is the criticism that this sort of research does not create broad empirical generalisations. However, as was previously mentioned in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), consistent with the interpretive framework adopted in this thesis is the belief that knowledge about the unique is equally important as knowledge about the general. Thus the narrative of the unique history of the SF movement provided in this research is considered to be a significant finding. Also though, this research does go further than this by acknowledging that what is general in the unique history of the SF movement is also extremely insightful for marketing theory. Therefore care was taken to ensure that the majority of the key findings do have much broader implications. For example, the research proposes a suitable framework which can be employed to observe and evaluate the ideology of a wide range of consumer activist movements. Although results are only based on one movement with one formal organisation (and thus can’t be assumed to be completely generalisable), it is reasonable to expect that many key findings can be carried over to other consumer activist movements, especially to those that are classified in the taxonomy created in Subsection 3.2.2 (Exhibit 8) as being similar to the SF movement. Keeping in mind that Melucci’s framework was originally theorised (and has been empirically tested in this research) for assessing oppositional ideologies, its use should initially be limited to those consumer activist movements that are counter-culture in the sense that they oppose a dominant ideology.
Thirdly, another criticism of qualitative research is that the expert panels used are not representative. The selection of interview respondents has been justified (in Subsection 4.2.2) as being guided by theoretical considerations (such as ensuring a variety of different types of SF members) rather than representativeness *per se*. So while the research did not involve a large sample that was representative of the overall SF membership, the researcher did obtain access to an impressive range of people for this research. This included six of the top leaders of the international SF organisation based in Italy as well as a range of other members coming from seven different countries. Although an interview with the SF founder and current leader Carlo Petrini was not possible, this limitation was overcome by attending a SF conference in Switzerland at which he spoke at length and by reading a large body of SF material that he had personally written.

Fourthly, a potential limitation is that while Melucci’s theories are concerned primarily with the overall movement as the level of analysis, the focus of this research has mainly been on the ideology of a single organisation. The reasons for choosing to focus on this particular analytical level and to use this as a lens through which to understand the wider movement have been justified (Chapter 4). The research also included interviews with a range of members SFM. The findings of the research do indicate that in the case of the SF movement, the organisation was a critical point of analysis which was able to provide significant insights into the wider movement. Given the central role that this particular organisation has played in both initiating and promoting the overall movement, this is not surprising. However when applying Melucci’s framework to other contexts, researchers must be aware of the different levels of analysis and the possibilities for related tensions to arise.

Finally, another potential limitation is that the decision was made to divide the SF ideology up into two specific phases to be able to look for evidence based around the research propositions which were derived from Melucci’s framework. Section 6.1 explained and justified the selection of 1996 as the transition date where the SF ideology was considered to have moved from a formative phase into a consolidation phase. The division made between the two phases of ideology was (and can only ever be) uncertain as no ‘correct’ date exists as such. The difficulty lies in the fact that ideological change takes place over time, making it impossible to precisely divide it up into two distinct phases for analysis. Thus it may be that if the cut off was made at a different date, the results for the thesis would be different. For instance, if the cut off date was sometime in the late 1980s
(which would have focussed the formative phase more on the ideologies of the PCI and Agrigola), a negation of the gap between expectations and reality \((P_4)\) may in fact have been supported. Further research is required to understand what the effect of moving the cut off date around would be in the case of the SF movement. While this limitation is acknowledged, the need to apply Melucci’s theoretical framework in a practical manner for this thesis, required the selection of a specific (and static) date and the selected date has been appropriately justified.

8.4. Further Research

Three broad unanswered questions are considered worthy of further research.

- Can Melucci’s framework for evaluating ideology be extended into contexts other than social movements (e.g. can it be used for understanding the ideologies of political parties)?

The question of whether Melucci’s framework can be extended into contexts other than social and consumer activist movements is an important one. The ability to understand ideology has significant implications for marketers in a number of different contexts. Outside of consumer activist movements, perhaps the most obvious relevant context is political parties. Political parties are almost always a part of a wider social movement of some sort (e.g. Green political parties are a part of the wider environmental social movement and workers political parties such as Labour and the Democrats’ are a part of the wider labour social movement). What differentiates political parties is that their activities and focus is at a governmental level rather than at the level of civil society. Given the interest in recent years in political marketing, having a framework which provides a systematic way of tracking change in political brands for example, would be of great benefit.

- Can Melucci’s other social movement theories help inform the consumer activist movement theory literature in marketing?

Investigating whether any of Melucci’s other well established social movement theories can help inform the consumer activist movement theory literature in marketing is also worthwhile. Melucci provides a vast array of theories on how actors construct collective
action and unity in social movements including (but not limited to): how antagonistic conflict is born; internal and external movement processes; movement leadership; organisation; movement resistance; forms of action including direct action and conflictual participation; the role of knowledge in movements; the form movements take; the change movements produce; and movements' political involvement. Given that this research has identified that consumer activist movements are a special type of social movement (see Subsection 3.2.1) the likelihood of being able to transfer much of Melucci's theorising into this marketing domain is promising.

- What else does the theoretical lens of the new social movement paradigm have to offer collective action research in marketing in terms of substantiated theory?

This research has opened the door for marketing scholars to the sociological field of new social movement theory which consists of a rich and well developed body of work on not only social movements but collective behaviour generally. This new theoretical lens has much to offer the marketing discipline in terms of substantiated theory which could inform areas of research in marketing which deal with collective behaviour. For example, the collective action theories in the new social movement literature could help researchers in the area of tribal marketing to understand: tribal leadership; tribal organisation; factors that affect the formation of tribes; how tribes construct their collective action; different forms of tribal collective action; why tribal members partake in collective action; the political orientations of tribes; how to identify the tribe; and tribal innovation.

All three areas of further research outlined above offer a range of exciting possibilities for marketing scholars. Given that investigating the concept of ideology has proven to be such an extremely rewarding academic experience, this researcher will continue to pursue the first of these three lines of research.
References


Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?
This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD in Marketing. The major aim of the project is to gain an understanding of the ideas of the Slow Food movement and its members and how these may have changed over time.

What Type of Participants are being sought?
The participants being sought for this project are members of the official Slow Food organisation as well as other people who may not be subscribed members but adhere to Slow Food principles and practice.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?
Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to take part in a one-on-one interview with the researcher. The interviews will be typically be under one hour in duration. The interview will be video recorded.
Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?
You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?
In the interview, the researcher will ask a number of questions about yourself such as your involvement with the Slow Food movement and your behaviours concerning food.

This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

The data collected will remain confidential and will only be seen by the researcher (Miranda Mirosa) and her two supervisors (Prof Lawson and Dr Wooliscroft).

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University library but your anonymity is assured.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.
The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed. Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

What if Participants have any Questions?
Miranda Mirosa or Rob Lawson
Department of Marketing Department of Marketing
mmirosa@business.otago.ac.nz rlawson@business.otago.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

Appendix A: Information Sheet for Participants
Exploring the Ideas of the Slow Food Movement
CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

Personal identifying information [video-tapes] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;

This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity;

I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed;

I am aware that a third party (i.e. transcriber) may have access to the data;

I am aware that every effort will be made to preserve the anonymity of the participant.

I agree to take part in this project.

.......................................................................................................................... (Signature of participant)

.......................................................................................................................... (Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

Appendix B: Consent Form for Participants
## Analytical Guidelines

- Movement history: important change (e.g. key events)
- Movement membership (including information about key people in movement)
- Articulation of a self-identity which determines the limits of collective identity and the legitimacy of the movement
- Identification of an adversary
- Articulation of shared objectives
- A negation of gap between expectations and reality: (1) moments of madness; and (2) production of symbols
- Theme of 'rebirth' – a ‘regressive utopia’: (1) identity defined with reference to the past; and (2) symbolic referents, cultural models and language from the past
- Ideology fulfilling a function of integration: (1) the reformulation of the values and norms of the group; (2) the fixing of the boundaries of belonging by controlling deviant behaviour; and (3) the establishment of certain rituals
- Ideology fulfilling a strategic function: (1) ideology used to increase influence within the political system; and (2) ideology used to expand the support base within society

Appendix C: Analytic Guidelines Based on the Research Propositions
The SF Manifesto

The culture of our time rests on a false interpretation of industrial civilization: in the name of dynamism and acceleration, man invents machines to find relief from work but at the same time adopts the machine as a model of how to live life. This leads to self-destruction; Homo sapiens is now so consumed by the cycle of production, consumption and over-consumption that he has been reduced to the status of an endangered species. Since the dawn of the century, many manifestos have been churned out and declaimed, with speed being the main ideology. The fast life has been systematically proposed for or actually imposed on every kind of form and every attitude, as if in a risky attempt to culturally and genetically remodel the human animal. Suitable to this kind of existence, whether we are talking in the commercial arena or the emotional sphere, are intimidation slogans rather than rational critical considerations. At the end of the century, we cannot say things have changed much, far from it, since the fast life finally now subsists on fast food.

More than two centuries after Edward Jenner’s discovery of vaccination, vaccines have become the only reliable weapon against endemic and epidemic diseases. Why don’t we therefore follow and support science in its methodological lesson? We therefore propose to replace the dynamic lifestyle with a relaxed one. Against those, and they are the majority, who can’t see the difference between efficiency and frenzy, we propose a healthy dose of sensual pleasure to be followed up with prolonged enjoyment. Starting from today, fast food is to be avoided and replaced with slow food, that is to say by centres of enjoyed pleasure. In other terms, the table should be given back to taste and to the pleasure of the gourmand.

This then is the proposition for a progressive and progressionist recovery of the human being, both as an individual and as a species while he awaits a restoration of environmental balance, in order to make life liveable again from the standpoint of his basic desires. This implies eating slowly and reinstating the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum (the Salernitan Regimen of Health, composed at the famous medieval medical school of Salerno in the twelfth or thirteenth century) which is unjustly considered to be obsolete, setting aside time for its highest purpose, namely, pleasure (and not intensive production, as the owners of machines and the proponents of things fast would have us believe). The alternative, a hyper-efficient lifestyle, is just stupid and sad: one need only observe to see that.

If forced by the prevailing barbaric mode of communication to adopt slogans, we’ve got plenty. “You won’t grow old at the dinner table,” for instance, a slogan that contains wisdom and common sense that has been proven over centuries. Alternately: “Slow Food is allegria [cheerfulness]; Fast Food is isteria [hysteria].” Yes Slow Food is cheerful!

Besides, thousands of years of experience have taught us that fast-footed Achilles never reaches the turtle, who in fact wins the race: it’s an important lesson, both mathematical and ethical. That sums it up: we are on the side of the turtle, or rather, the side of the common snail, which we have chosen to be the emblem of this project. Under the sign of the snail, we will welcome lovers of food culture and those who still love the enjoyment of easygoing, slow pleasures. The snail is slow.

1 Filippo Tommaso Marinetti published the futurist manifesto in the French newspaper Le Figaro on February 20, 1909. In addition to glorifying war and expressing contempt for women, the futurist manifesto declared the Futurists’ objective: “We want to chant the love of danger, the habit of energy and fearlessness. We declare that the splendour of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed”.

2 The English doctor Edward Jenner introduced the vaccine against smallpox in 1796.

Appendix D: The SF Manifesto, Unabridged Version, Written by Portinari 1987

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