

MASTER THESIS

Slow Food Riga: a case study on frames of inclusion and exclusion



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Preface and acknowledgements

It is interesting that a some-what spontaneous idea to go to Latvia in 2012 for my thesis has finally worked out. Since I was involved in a food movement in Ecuador for four months, I was wildly interested to actually examine my own action and meanings constructed towards food by being involved in this exact movement. After contacting a PhD student working on food-related research in Latvia as part of the Pure Food Network, I told her I was interested to do research on the Slow Food movement in Latvia. Her first response was: ‘Well Ingrid, I’m not sure if it is so interesting for you. They are very elitist and fairly inexistent’. I did some secondary research, googling Slow Food Riga and found out that the SF founder himself was the head chef of the most expensive restaurant in Riga. To myself, I was thinking, maybe she is right but I cannot just assume that this is the truth from one search on Google. This would make me an awful researcher. However, at first I was very hesitant because, honestly, what was I getting myself into, researching something that was apparently fairly inexistent? After some motivational talks with my two supervisors and very interesting points of views, I understood that this very thought, the so-called inexistence and elitist projection on Slow Food, was an interesting topic of research as well. Only till I started reading into the fascinating world of distinction, Bourdieu, gastroracism, Elias and Fallers’ trickledown effect, I became aware that I was not the only one who delved into this topic of food research. My first confrontation with the criticism on Slow Food was a small anecdote taken from McCord (2005): *According to her, any individual not eating good food as defined by Petrini was automatically part of the problem. The woman rolled her eyes at me and explained that some people just are not cut out to be members of Slow Food.* It is a short introduction to the way SF members, within their discourse and actions can exclude others. Sometimes this happens unconsciously, other times explicitly. This research has provided me the platform to help me identify ‘we and they’ dynamics and to understand that exclusion not only happens by the group that is most likely to exclude, but exclusion can also take place on the side of ‘the excluded’. To help me understand this, with the help of theory, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Noelle Aarts and Laura Bouwman. After our meetings I always came home with more food for thought. They have triggered me to open ‘black boxes’ and stimulated me to think about underlying mechanisms which take place within and between people. A special thanks to Lani and Sunny for supporting me in Latvia, and making me part of the ‘food network’. I would like to thank my big family, which in one year, has added an extra two little human beings. And my friends, too many to mention who have shared a common struggle with the thesis process. Last but not least, Twan, for being my mental support the last couple of months.

Abstract

Summary:

Slow Food is a global social movement that arose in response to the cultural homogenization, taste standardization, and public health problems associated with fast food. It has made an interesting transition to solely focusing on gastronomy to a broader field that encompasses social justice activists and environmentalists. Despite this inclusive transition however, in a number of scientific articles, the movement has been subjected to criticism on its elitism and exclusivity.

Objectives:

The aim of this thesis is to gain insight into the interplay between Slow Food members as well as Non-Slow Food members, focusing on a single case study of Slow Food in Riga. In specific, three different forms of framing (issue frames, identity frames and characterization frames) utilized by both groups will be analyzed. These frames can help identify inclusion and exclusion dynamics and its consequences.

Methods:

Using a conceptual as well as an analytical framework this thesis investigates how Slow Food emerges, what driving factors there are to join Slow Food, and what types of network dynamics can be found in the Slow Food movement. Using Framing as an analytical tool, inclusion and exclusion dynamics have been identified through methods such as semi-structured interviewing and participant observation.

Results:

In Riga framing Slow Food has shown that there is not one single definition of Slow Food in use. The definition for Slow Food is very dependent on who says it, what position they hold in society and amongst peers, and in which context Slow Food is placed. SF members share common values with respect to Slow Food as local and quality, however collide on the frame that 100 % Slow Food is possible. Furthermore, Slow Food is personified by the SF founder to such an extent that he alienates and excludes others. In turn, Non-SF members however have accentuated this exclusivity, and characterize the SF founder based on a number of accusations as well, producing their own forms of exclusion.

Conclusions:

Slow Food Riga does have tendencies towards being exclusive and being a closed community. However it leans more into the direction of being a one-man show due to the position that the SF founder takes in SF Riga. More importantly, is that Non-SF members underline this exclusivity through the frames that they have constructed about Slow Food and the Slow Food movement. Also, the colliding frames with respect to Slow Food within SF Riga show that there is ambiguity about the SF identity and this in turn has a direct effect on how those outside of the SF Riga movement perceive them. Then, the position of Slow Food is strongly determined by the context it is placed in. While it may be popular in Italy or France, it seems that although Latvia is a perfect location for Slow Food, Non-SF members have demonstrated that there is not really necessity for it, due to its 'foreign label'.

Key words: Slow Food, frames, identity, boundary setting, inclusion, exclusion

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‘Do you know Slow Food? Yes, I do...but uhm let’s say it is focused on the... well, more upper class parts of society. It is not very...democratic’

(Non-SF Riga consumer)

1. Introduction

1.1 Conflicting paradigms in our current food system

In their book *Food Wars*, Lang et al (2003), describes three different paradigms which are in conflict with each other since each has a different approach to achieving food security: the productionist paradigm, life science integrated paradigm and the ecologically integrated paradigm.

The first one is the oldest and has been well established in the last 50 years, while the two others are more turned toward the future. *The productionist paradigm* is defined as giving more value to quantity than quality. It dates back to the Green Revolution where an efficient system to produce a high yield at a low price was supported. This way, greater numbers of whole foods became accessible to all incomes and socio-economic classes. The focus is on monoculture farming, which means that a specific crop is intensively farmed, as opposed to having a variety of crops. This type of farming makes it “*easier to plant, harvest, market and identify one variety of crop,*” but it severely reduces biodiversity by decreasing the numbers of species and varieties, as well as the genetic differences between varieties (Wallinga, 2009; Wolfe, 2000). According to Lang et al (2003) our food system is replacing this productionist mind-set with *The Life science integrated paradigm*: an alternative based on GM (Genetic modification) and a biotechnological perspective. Although, the ‘productionist paradigm’ is still very much intact. In this paradigm, food is seen as a drug and genetically modified biotechnology is normal. *The ecologically integrated paradigm* is a second alternative proposed by the authors. In contrary to *The productionist paradigm*, it states that we need this biodiversity for the environment and it is our societal responsibility of managing production with respect to nature. Rather than producing more food, we need to think about how this food is produced. The way of thinking is not new in itself and organic food has always been around. Nature has to be used carefully; land and people have to be considered as one entity. The Slow Food movement, an alternative to the mass-produced and industrialised food system is most likely to follow the ecologically integrated paradigm. As suggested in the following citation, it is clearly concerned with biodiversity and respect for nature: ‘*Slow Food believes that everyone has a fundamental right to the pleasure of good food and consequently the responsibility to protect the heritage of biodiversity, culture and knowledge that make this pleasure possible.*’ (Slow Food, 2013)

Dagevos (2004) states that a moral discussion and certain dichotomy is taking place due to these conflicting paradigms. Lang et al (2003) even state that the conflicting paradigms present an ever-present danger: ‘one scenario is not a period of mutual tolerance between the paradigms but an era of serious conflict, with proponents seeing little common ground’. In reaction to the critical article by Ralf Bodelier (2013) on organic, slow and local food, Henri de Ruyter (2013) suggests that a polarization of thoughts is occurring in the discussion of our food system: elitist, left, idealistic versus rational, no-nonsense approach

to intensive farming. A common criticism is that philosophies like that of Slow Food cannot meet the needs of growing numbers of hungry people in poor nations. However, polarization also takes place on the side of the so-called elites: only organic food is truly sustainable; mass-production is evil and factory farm chickens are considered the ultimate symbol of human cruelty. Both polarizations do not lead to a very fruitful dialogue. While organic and intensive agriculture may complement each other in many ways as well.

1.2 Slow Food movement: an alternative

With the arrival of McDonalds in Rome's Piazza di Spagna, a group of protesters served up dishes of home-made pasta to confused bystanders. Today that protest has grown into the Slow Food movement (Steele, 2008): a non-profit member-supported association founded in 1989 to counter the rise of fast food and fast life, the disappearance of local food traditions and people's declining interest in the food they eat, where it comes from, how it tastes and how our food choices affect the rest of the world (Slow Food, 2013). Initially implied as a protest towards fast-food, Slow Food has set out to develop a more holistic and **inclusive** image that integrates concerns about the environment, tradition, labour, health, animal welfare ... along with real cooking, taste and pleasure (Bittman, 2013). The field of Slow Food is transformed from appealing only to gastronomes to becoming a broader field that encompasses social justice activists and environmentalists (van Bommel et al, 2011). The shift was ratified in 2004 by the first *Terra Madre* ('Mother Earth') event, a world meeting of local 'food communities', that is, farmers, cooks, and academics, who work towards increasing small-scale, traditional, and sustainable food production (Sasatelli et al, 2010).

'For far too long,' he [Carlo Petrini] says, 'the history of food, on the one hand, and gastronomy on the other, have been thought of as two different things.... It's this division that is all wrong. ... Agriculture, food processing, economy (because trade is economy), political economy, nutrition, the pleasure of eating - all this is gastronomy. And our task here is to reclaim this concept of gastronomy in all its multidisciplinary richness.' (Independent, 2004)

Slow Food's current philosophy is promoting 'good, clean and fair' food.

- **GOOD:** a fresh and flavorful seasonal diet that satisfies the senses and is part of the local culture.
- **CLEAN:** food production and consumption that does not harm the environment, animal welfare or human health.
- **FAIR:** accessible prices for consumers and fair conditions and pay for producers. (Slow Food, 2013)

As a global entity, its philosophy has been propagated by 100,000 individuals in 130 countries (Slow Food, 2013). Even though Slow Food is still a relatively small organization with over 100,000 individual members in more than 130 countries, they have made a steady increase in the past years. More than 100 people are employed at Slow Food’s headquarters in Bra and Slow Food has adopted a governing body structure, including an International Executive Committee, President’s Committee, International Council, and Committees of the national associations. Slow Food engaged in large-scale events, such as Terra Madre and Presidia, and engaged directly with political elites (such as the UN) and founded a range of formal organizations such as the University of Gastronomic Sciences and the Foundation for Biodiversity. In 2004 the UN Food and Agriculture Organization has acknowledged the Foundation for Biodiversity as a nonprofit partner for cooperation (‘Slow’ n. 46, 2004). This allowed SF more intense collaboration with NGOs involved in development projects, particularly in Africa and Latin America. Furthermore, Slow Food has started an international catalogue of endangered heritage foods called The Ark of Taste.

Figure 2: Structure of Slow Food International



1.3 Zooming in on the context: Latvia

From numerous repressions to the current food system

Latvia has been through three occupations from 1940-1991 by Soviet and Nazi German forces which in turn had its severe effects on farmers and agricultural production. The collectivization of farms in which land was declared as ‘property of the people’ distorted the whole agricultural system, leaving farmers to keep only 30 hectares of land and giving the rest to people with little or no land. By the end of the 1950s the consolidation of independent homesteads was almost complete, with over 90 percent of the farms turned into the kolhozs (collective farms) (The Baltic Times, 2009b). Another significant effect of repression on farmers is the mass deportation of 1949 in which Latvians, and in particular farmers were deported to Siberia. (Occupation Museum Foundation, 2005). Two main motives of this deportation was

to eliminate the so-called 'kulaks' which are the owners of large independent farms who resisted collectivization and to break the back of armed resistance (Ibid, 2005). When the Soviet system fell apart, feed shortages and rising cost of farm equipment created a decline in agricultural production in Latvia (Rizga, 2009). After regaining the second independence in 1991, agricultural output in Latvia decreased due to the result of land reform and structural changes. However, with time Latvia's agricultural system slowly regained itself, as the agricultural industry's contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) and the export of agricultural products increased in the period since 2000 (Tambovceva et al, 2013). Currently, the Latvian agricultural sector is fully private, and is largely composed of small farms cultivating grain, potatoes, rapeseed, fruits and berries as well as producing milk, pork, poultry, veal and beef. Many farms are owned and operated by a single family that relies on agricultural output for all of its income. There were more than 83 thousand farms in 2011, the majority consisting of small farms (The Baltic Times, 2009b). With Latvia's accession to the EU in 2004, additional funding became available which resulted in diversification and modernization of farming methods and practices as well as in the growth of Latvian agricultural exports (The Baltic Times, 2009b). However, with the accession to EU there is more food diversity due to imported products but it is also threatening small farmers.

From Soviet times to Globalization: food consumption

In Soviet times, food diversity in Latvia was extremely limited, very little new varieties of crops were introduced and a homogeneous agriculture was existent. Since food availability was limited, households were forced to be more self-sufficient. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, paved the way for changes in Latvia's food system. Food consumption in the context of economic, social, and political transformation was affected by a number of major changes. First, the productive structure of the food system was reshuffled with the transition to privatized farming followed by the rapid differentiation of collective farms into either professional agribusinesses or small scale subsistence farms (Tisenkopfs et al, 2005). Second, food chains as sets of producing, processing, and distributing enterprises were reorganized to sustain increasing market competition in all kinds of foodstuffs and meet consumer demand (Tisenkopfs et al. 2004). Third, accession to the European Union determined enforcement of strict new sanitary and technological regulations in food production which challenged not only food agribusinesses in terms of technology demands, but also local diets by the tightening of control and availability of many traditional foods. Finally, the appearance and spread of supermarkets in late 1990s altered the system of food access and changed purchasing habits by opening new and altered horizons of consumerism (Ibid, 2004).

A rise in organic production and consumption?

During the de-collectivization process, several activists from the West encouraged local farmers to start organic farms. Farms founded and networks established served as the basis point for the development of organic farm movement and co-ops (Šūmane 2010). Latvia's organic farming movement began in the late 1980s and rapidly grew since accession into the European Union and the following increased public awareness of the associated principles of sustainable living. At the end of 2007, the number of farms engaged in organic farming in Latvia had grown by 0.4% in comparison with the end of 2006 (4120 farms in total) (Ministry of Agriculture Republic of Latvia, 2008). Organic farming comprises all sub-sectors of agriculture – cultivation of grain, vegetable gardening, dairy farming and apiculture. There was especially rapid growth in beef and sheep farming. Currently almost a half of the organic products do not go to the market, but are grown for self-sufficiency. A quantitative study of organic farmers has concluded that 6% of farms produce only for personal consumption. The same research concludes that 90% of organic farmers sell some of their production, yet less than half of them sell all their production (Brila, 2011). Of the remainder, about one third of the marketed products is processed, one third is sold without the indication of its organic origin, and one third is distributed via specialized shops or other specialized channels (such as farmers' markets) (The Baltic Times, 2009b). However, development of Latvia's organic industry has been delayed by strict regulations and a lack of government support. In 2008 the government introduced even tougher controls, which organic farmers must meet in order to qualify for government subsidies (The Baltic Times, 2009a). Latvia currently has the lowest levels of support for organic farming in the EU and development within the sector continues to lag behind Lithuania and Estonia (Ibid, 2009a).

Apparently there is also a fundamental lack of understanding about what organic constitutes in Latvia's rural areas. Marita Bluma, office manager of the Association of Latvian Organic Agriculture (ALOL) mentions that: *"Many people in the countryside are growing organically, but they don't realize that there are conditions and there is a process of certification. They don't recognize that if you don't have the certificate then you can't say you're organic."* Latvia has a long agricultural tradition and many of the country's farmers were using organic practices long before it was a buzzword (The Baltic Times, 2009a) thus the transition to a certification process is extremely new to many Latvian farmers. One farmer states that till this day, trust and personal relationships is still a more important criteria in Latvia than certification: "There is a really small community of farmers here, and the customers know each and every one of them personally. As soon as the quality goes down, people vote with their feet, and since the news spreads really fast around here, I have to make sure that my produce is top-notch every time." (The Baltic Times, 2009b). As mentioned earlier, since the link between urban and rural population is strong, part of products grown never reaches official food retailing, but circulates between relatives and friends supplying these persons with home grown products (Grivins et al, 2013).

On the consumer end, “*Now more and more people are recognizing organic products and asking for them. Especially in Riga people know about eco products and there is demand,*” states Marita Bluma. More stores are opening in Riga which claims to sell organic and ‘natural’ food and other products (Blumberg, 2010). Previous research shows that there is a positive attitude towards sustainable consumption in Latvia but this does not necessarily cause consumers to act upon it, and consume more sustainably (Latvijas Zaļais Punkts. (2006). A survey of inhabitants of Latvia conducted in 2010 suggests that 70% of respondents most often do their everyday shopping in supermarkets. 16% go shopping in small shops, 7% in markets, while 2% produce most of consumed products themselves. Only 1% buy most of their food directly from farmers (DnB, 2010). Popluga & Melece (2009) argues that the share of income spent for food is actually decreasing in Latvia. Food expenditures also correlate with family income and families with a higher income tend to pay more for more qualitative food (Ibid, 2009).

Slow Food Riga

From the Italian origins, Slow Food initiatives have spread out to many other countries, including Latvia. Similar to the way the Slow Food movement was initially started, it is outlined that when the first McDonald’s opened in Riga in 1994, Slow Food Riga was founded in 1996. Currently there are eight McDonald’s in Latvia, all located in Riga (The Baltic Times, 2011).

On the Slow Food Riga website it seems that we are dealing with an intensely heterogeneous group: ‘*They are producers, entrepreneurs and farmers, young people and teachers, gourmets and supporters of the idea, housewives and diplomats, all those to whom it is important what we eat and how it has come to us.*’ (Slow Food Riga, 2013)

In contrast to the organic certification system, there is no SF label but there is an informal checking system by SF Riga (primarily based on trust) to see if members are following the SF philosophy. Above all, for SF approval, products need to be **Latvian, seasonal, traditional and clean.**

SF local chapters around the world organize a number of events ranging from simple dinners and tastings, where the members come together to share the everyday joys of food, to visits to local producers and farms, conferences and discussions, film festivals, taste education courses for children and adults, promoting CSA’s (Community Supported Agriculture) and Earth Markets, and many other events and projects to get to know local foods and producers and to educate others about them. In Riga, SF primarily focuses on taste education at schools, Slow Food Markets and an Earth Market once a year. Besides that, there have also been individual actions such as catering for Air Baltic business class and 4cities4dev project.

Slow Food markets

The produce at the Slow Food Markets need to be 100% fresh and high quality, grown and produced in Latvian farms. Farmers and domestic producers from all regions of Latvia offer a huge variety of food products – self-baked rye bread, smoked meat and fish, different types of Latvian cheese, jams, preserves and so on. Fresh milk as well as fresh pork, beef, chicken or rabbit meat and all the necessary seasonings and spices to prepare these products are also offered at the market. Berges Bazaars used to be a Slow Food market but has now transitioned to the Kalnciema Iela market and the Sky & More market.

Taste education

In 2009 one of Riga's 2nd Gymnasium teachers Gints Žumburs went to Italy to represent Latvia and the school at "Slow Food International". Deputy director Ilona Care and student council vice president Marta Radzina went to the international "Terra Madre" congress in 2010. They took part in different seminars, shared their ideas and enjoyed the cultural diversity there. As part of the European Schools for Health Food program, a Dream canteen has been set up at Riga's 2nd gymnasium, introducing 'good, clean and fair' food to public canteens in schools. *"Our students come from the city and they never get to see where food comes from, they haven't seen mushrooms growing in the forest or learnt how to collect vegetables,"* says school headmaster Gints Zumburs. A challenge for the school is to ensure that products served are local and Latvian. In Latvia, the government subsidizes 20% of the food in the canteen, but it is cheaper to buy imported food than local products (vegetables coming from Poland are currently cheaper than those from Latvia). They must therefore decide whether to offer a wider variety of imported products or a smaller selection of seasonal local food (Slow Food, 2013). Slow Food Riga has an intention to spread the positive experience of Gymnasium 2 to other schools of the capital, organize practical workshops for the students and invite farmers to their classes.

Catering for Air Baltic

Slow Food Riga also arranged an agreement with Air Baltic in the past to cater for business class passengers. A small preview of the cooperation: *'SF founder creates his exclusive menus using organic, seasonal produce, employing traditional recipes and gourmet cooking techniques. Throughout the years he has formed strong ties with Latvia's farmers and growers, whose products he individually selects for his menus. Starting from this week, in honor of Martin's Day, through November 18, Air Baltic will be featuring goose on its flights.'* (Air Baltic, 2010) Business class was chosen due to the incapability of farmers to meet the demand of economy class. The business menu was created according to what is available locally, in line with the SF philosophy.

4cities4dev project

Within the 4Cities4Dev project, Riga City Council City Development Department in cooperation with Slow Food Riga, as a part of the Riga City festival organized the “Street of the Taste Masters”. Slow Food Riga organized this festival as part of the European Union funded project 4CITIES4DEV: "Access to good, clean and fair food: the food communities experience". The aim was to connect farmers, chef cooks, and consumers. One of the highlights of the food festival was the amusing competition for the “ugliest tomato”. Organized by Slow Food Riga, the contest honors the, to the public seemingly ugly tomatoes although they are in fact perfectly edible.

1.4 Problem Statement & Research Aim

1.4.1 Problem statement

In a food system strongly focused on technically driven production and processed foods, Slow Food strives to make **good, clean and fair food** available for all people regardless of factors such as class or income (Andrews, 2008; Petrini, 2006). FAIR for example refers to *accessible prices* for consumers and fair conditions and pay for producers. In fact, they are trying to frame the ideal world. A world which includes a shift toward food that is grown by local, small producers, as well as a way of life that is both agriculturally and environmentally sustainable—essentially, encouraging the development of both farming and food systems and the ecosystems that cultivate them to endure and prosper (Petrini, *Nation* 22-24). Despite its popularity and moral values, Slow Food seems to generate an aura of exclusivity. In a number of scientific articles, Slow Food has been subjected to being elitist and exclusive. Slow Food is created by an elite that is “fetishizing cultural diversity and sentimentalizing struggles for cultural or economic survival” (Donati 2005). Critics for example refer to the **high costs** of practicing the Slow Food philosophy, and the focus on an exclusive and high-end cuisine. Slow Food reinforces class distinctions due to its focus on expensive gastronomic cuisines (Chrzan, 2004; Labelle, 2004; Laudan, 2004). Some argue that this “consumer democracy” remains available only to those with the social and economic capital to join in (Pietrykowski, 2004). Studies on Slow Food, have shown exclusionary rhetoric in their recipes (Mccord, 2005), the use of Latin in Slow Food event and program titles which presumably are meant to invoke hints of tradition and sagacity yet serve mostly as an additional degree of separation between intellectual and cultural elite (Manafó et al, 2007) and mass media (Germov et al, 2010). Then Slow Food has been criticized for its relatively **minimal contributions to worldwide hunger** and other prominent global food security issues (Manafó et al, 2007 & Sasatelli, 2012). The majority of members are detached from and uncritical of the global food supply’s economic and political structures that create economic disparities and limit wider access to quality foods to the majority of the world’s consumers, often even within their own countries (Donati, 2004). Slow Food members have also been criticized for a

fabricated nostalgia, namely by romanticizing the past agricultural system (Germov et al, 2010). Slow Food uses recycled discourses from the past (Appadurai, 1996). Slow Food is seen as nothing new by some: ‘the great novelty proposed by SF is nothing less than a return to primitive society’ (Simonetti, 2012). Rachel Laudan also critiques the movement’s cherishing of traditional and artisanal methods for two reasons. First, it eradicates the reality that food production prior to the twentieth century was “labor intensive, socially repressive, and morally exploitative” (Laudan, 2000). Second, it presumes that food production before industrialization was plentiful, nutritious, fresh, full of quality, and a provider of dignity, a “sunlit past...based...on a fairy tale...of a fall from grace” (Laudan, 2001). Then, even though the Slow Food philosophy has transitioned to eco-gastronomy, its strong **focus on gastronomic pleasures** still remains a topic of critique: due to a cultural tourism aspect in the form of events and festivals, people are failing to see the relevance of Slow Food to their everyday life (Germov et al, 2011). In the end, low-income consumers cannot afford to enjoy the pleasures of food rather than the necessity for it. Simonetti (2012) for example argues that the idealism used by Slow Food is a removal of the concrete and real processes of foodways, and creates a misunderstanding of historical processes that have shaped agribusiness. Also, as Andrews (2008) points out, “It is the pleasure factor which has given rise to confusion in the intersections between class, food and elitism in Slow Food’s distinctive cultural politics”. Although it is the link between pleasure and responsibility that steers Slow Food’s operation, this connection, and its associated values of “Slow” living, gives rise to charges of self-indulgence and exclusivity.

To neutralize the criticism on elitism and exclusivity, Carlo Petrini, the founder of the Slow Food movement calls Slow Food members ‘inclusive elites’: creating an elite while not excluding anyone (McCord, 2005). When it comes to opposing the criticism on high costs, Carlo Petrini argues overall that while “good, clean, and fair” food should not be the exclusive privilege of the middle- and upper-classes, neither should it necessarily be cheap (Petrini, 2001). Instead, he rails against the “demagogy of price,” and argues that part of Slow Food’s mission is to “convince consumers to pay more for better products” (Petrini, 2001a).

However, what is actually happening in practice? Are the movement’s inclusive principles really becoming exclusive as members put them into action?

1.4.2 Research Aim

This thesis aims to gain insight into the interplay between Slow Food members as well as Non-Slow Food members, focusing on a single case study of Slow Food in Riga. In specific, three different forms of framing (frames on issue: Slow Food, identity frames and characterization frames) utilized by both groups will be analyzed. These frames can help in identifying boundary setting and frames of inclusion and exclusion by both SF members as well as Non-SF members and its consequences. In the context of issue frames formed, the way Slow Food is framed by both groups will be examined in order to find out to what extent criteria used to construct Slow Food can lead to inclusion or exclusion. Identity frames are analyzed since a Slow Food identity can utilize practices of inclusion and exclusion to define itself, both in regards to itself as a collective and in regards to the individuals who make it up. Last but not least, characterization frames can help understand the way SF members frame Non-SF members and vice versa which could show how 'the other' is characterized and very often, excluded.

1.5 Research Questions & Structure of the thesis

1.5.1 Research Questions

Following from the foregoing problem statement and research aim, the central research question is:

How do Slow Food Riga members as well as Non-Slow Food Riga members frame Slow Food, themselves and others and how do these frames include or exclude others?

In order to answer this question, three sub questions have been formulated:

- 1) Who is involved in and outside the Slow Food Riga network and what are their interests and backgrounds?
- 2) What frames are constructed in the interaction with stakeholders in and outside the Slow Food Riga network?
 - what issue frames on Slow Food do the stakeholders employ?
 - what identity frames do the stakeholders employ?
 - what characterization frames do the stakeholders employ?
- 3) What are the consequences of these frames in terms of inclusion and exclusion of people and/or their ideas?

1.5.2 Structure of thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. In Chapter 1 the context of the research is explained. The chapter further presents the objectives of the research and the research questions. Chapter 2 is an exploration of the theoretical concepts that guide the study. Chapter 3 describes the research approach and the methods used for data collection and analysis. Chapter 4 presents an array of stakeholders involved in Slow Food Riga, and aims to identify the stakeholders and their backgrounds. Chapter 5 and 6 present and analyze the findings of this study with the use of framing; Chapter 5 includes framing Slow Food with the help of issue frames and Chapter 6 continues with framing the Slow Food movement with the help of relational frames (identity and characterization frames) found in the interviews with the respondents. In Chapter 7 and 8 a more thorough analysis & discussion and conclusion as well as recommendations will be presented. Chapter 9 will end the thesis with a reflection on theory and the position as a researcher.

2. Conceptual/Analytical framework

2.1 Slow Food in a Globalizing & Fast-Moving World

Globalization has altered our conceptualizations of state and its capacity to influence domestic and global processes. It can lead to a feeling of lack of control. Take our globalised food system for example; while walking around in a supermarket nowadays, it is difficult for you, the consumer to know for sure whether the packet of salad they buy, is indeed cleaned with fresh water and is in fact sown from our own ground as stated in the label. We have lost our sense of control about the origin, content and processing of the products we buy in our daily life. In 'Shopping our way to Safety', sociologist Andrew Szasz indicates that fear and insecurity about food safety and human health is the main reason behind our desire for organic, slow and local food. Fischler (1988) states, 'quite literally, we know less and less what we are really eating and this increased uncertainty has an effect on consumer identity'. In order to regain this consumer identity, worldwide, in many forms and many localities people have grouped in food movements, with sharply contrasted systems of values and beliefs, but very often against what is defined as global capitalism (Castells 2007). According to Goodman (2004), alternative food networks in North America are directly linked to oppositional social movements within activist circles. The process of globalisation can in fact *create* space for local food initiatives (Busch, 2004; Hendrickson and Heffernan, 2002). The emergence of the Slow Food movement can be understood in light of this increasing sense of uncertainty over the system of food production in specific. Moreover, Baumann (2000) argues that in times of uncertainty, people can become part of more or less fundamentalist communities in order to create certainty in a complex world. Some communities however consciously choose to exclude themselves from the rest of society to form their own identity. Castells refers to this as 'the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded' (Castells, 2004). These groups or communities can be referred to as **closed communities**. Members of a closed community generate norms and values within a community itself, according to their own logics and to a large extent they are thus self-referential. According to van Dam et al (2005), both marginal as well as **elitist groups** can form a closed community. The use of this concept does not directly imply that Slow Food Riga is considered a closed community or elitist but will in fact question it. A closed community can only be understood when a concrete closed community comes into the picture (Ibid, 2005).

2.2 Driving factors for joining Slow Food

2.2.1 Constructing a Slow Food Identity

Identity has become a source of meaning and inspiration for alternative projects of social organization and institution building (Castells, 2007). Referring to the rise of social movements, Castells suggests that the motor behind development within society is the pursuit for identity. Food is often utilized as a means for constructing our identity. As Brillat-Savarin (2000) so beautifully asserts in *The Physiology of Taste*, “*Tell me what kind of food you eat, and I will tell you what kind of man you are*” (p.3).

Slow Food founder, Carlo Petrini insists in *Slow Food Nation* that “food is the primary defining factor of human identity”. While all registered Slow Food members are issued membership to officially confirm their identity as an actual member, the identity itself is something far more complex. Petrini formulates the Slow Food Identity as follows: “*a gastronome: an individual that has a variety of skills which range from a finely tuned sense of taste to knowledge of food production that make him feel that he is in a sense a co-producer of food, a participant in a shared destiny*” (Carlo Petrini). Within the definition of the gastronome, a co-producer is mentioned. The co-producer is an individual who insists on becoming part of the production process of local food economies. Not simply consuming the final product, the co-producer is one that utilizes the Slow Food ideology, politics, and knowledge in order to influence, understand, and support Slow Food approved food productions and thus reject unsustainable and unfair ones (Slow Food, 2013). Thus, in order to attain the Slow Food identity, Slow Food members must utilize the Slow Food philosophy in their discourse and actions. Schopflin (2001) argues that individual identity is constructed through the codified regulations of a group identity. For a group of people to have a collective identity, it is necessary that the group members see themselves as a group. Based on certain characteristics, they perceive themselves to be part of a certain group (Jenkins, 1996; Van Assche, 2004). Every group in turn that identifies itself as a group, is characterized by the discourse that it uses. It is through its discourse that the group members constructs themselves as a group by attributing meaning to themselves and the world around them. The collective identity of a group is therefore constituted by its discourse. (Jenkins, 1996; Van Assche, 2004).

Schopflin (2001) asserts that identity construction may also involve ideas of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’. By stating that the Slow Food philosophy is for example, ‘right’, those who do not have the Slow Food identity are ‘wrong’ and people are excluded based on not having the ‘right’ Slow Food identity.

2.2.2 Sense of belonging

Food plays a role in establishing a sense of belonging. For example, a person can identify themselves with being a “vegetarian” and thus tries to associate with people who have the same views and interests on food consumption. A person identifying with the Slow Food philosophy could be more likely to become a member of it and find those with similar interests. Delanty (2003) believes that a community is more about belonging than about boundaries. Van Dam et al (2005) however states that in practice, belonging to a community often leans towards forming boundaries as well and using expressions such as ‘we’ and ‘they’. ‘They’ referring to those who do not belong to the community. When this exclusion and ‘we’ and ‘they’ feeling is more intense, closed communities can arise.

2.2.3 Pursuit of Interests

For people to undertake collective action ‘against’ elements of the dominant food system, they require a shared meaning on what constitutes the Slow Food identity. This collective identity provides them with a common cause and helps them to reach consensus on the course of action. Essentially, a collective identity is its recruitment strategy since the interests a movement stands for will resonate with particular groups. As Castells (1997) points out, meaning gives sense to action. By attributing meaning to a certain action, people can justify it. Individual group members feel a bond with the other group members not because they have a shared interest, but because they have a shared meaning. This shared meaning allows the individuals to make sense of why they are doing what they are doing. (Melucci, 1996).

2.3 Slow Food Network Dynamics

2.3.1 Bonding and Bridging

An interesting aspect of networks and communities is bridging and bonding. Shirky (2008) refers to the distinction between bonding and bridging capital. Bonding capital is a deepening in the connections of a homogeneous group while bridging capital is an increase of connections in a heterogeneous group (Shirky, 2008). For the individual, network connections (with family, friends, colleagues, neighbors, associates) shape their sense of ‘self’: their social identity and personal narratives (Gilchrist, 2000). It is said that bridging capital tends to be more inclusive while bonding capital is more exclusive which again refers to the matter of exclusivity and closeness within networks. In Figure 2, it is shown that bonding happens within the clusters, while bridging happens between the clusters-reaching out of people outside of the inner circle.

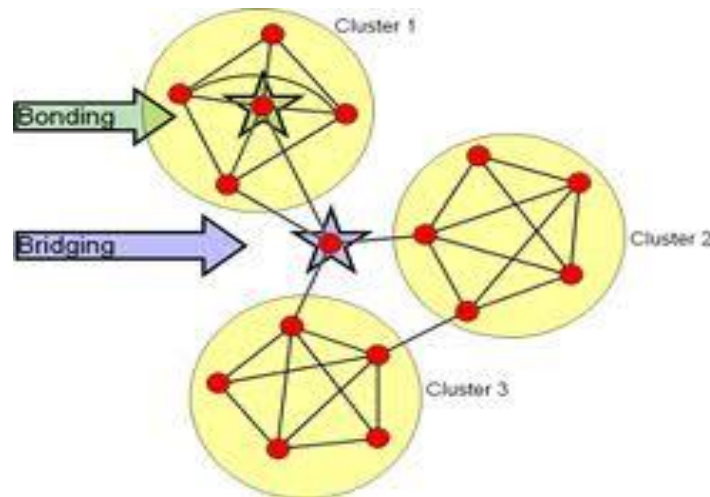


Figure 2: Bonding and Bridging in Networks

Bonding through networking can be seen as a form of empowerment; however it could also lead to cognitive closure and groupthink. Aarts (2012) mentions that ‘the speech community’ could result in a lack of critique towards their own opinions, lack of adaptation to the wider environment and lack of willingness to really change. This has a lot to do with ‘groupthink’ where “*members of any small cohesive group tend to maintain esprit de corps by unconsciously developing a number of shared illusions and related norms that interfere with critical thinking and reality testing*” (Janis, 1982, p.35). Groupthink is more likely to happen when the group is isolated from others and is caused by a situation of homogeneity within the group, strong and direct leadership and a strong internal cohesion. It leads individual members to agree with majority views within the group. Internal solidarity between the members reinforces the shared identity and guarantees it. (Melucci, 1996). The so-called in-group who is performing the strong bonding often has the tendency to think of themselves in human terms as better than others (Elias et al, 1994) and in the face of threat, groups of people may become extremely closed. The more homogeneous a community becomes, the more they perceive the outside world as an enemy, the more a community will become closed (Aarts, 2007). Thus, the closer communities will get, less bridging takes place as well.

Foods chosen and the eating practices enacted help to create social order and boundaries (Caplan, 1997), strengthening bonds (Wright-St Clair et al., 2005) and (re)producing group identities (Valentine, 1999) as well. However ‘*probably some of the largest gains are likely to be realized by actors outside the initial Slow Food networks*’ (Van der Meulen, 2008) stating the importance of bridging as well. While social cohesion and strong bonds are important within a group of people, communities that become too closed, not communicating to wider society and feeling superior to others are not beneficial to the society as a whole.

2.3.2 Boundary Setting & Exclusivity

Borders? I've never seen one, but I've heard they exist in the minds of some people'. (Thor Heyerdahl)

There is ample evidence that alternative food networks as well as the Slow Food movement have the potential to create social exclusivity in urban environments (Allen et al. 2003, Paddock, 2012, Guthman 2002, Hinrichs and Allen 2008), which can be based on multiple factors including race, culture (Slocum, 2007), and class and political ideology (Guthman 2002). Those who do the excluding do not necessarily want to exclude, yet their presence links with wealth, cars, location, leisure time and specific knowledge. Exclusion happens in many little and larger ways that work to make people uncomfortable in a neighbourhood, or financially unable to purchase organic fruit. (Slocum, 2007).

Networks of social interaction are constructed and reinforced through the activities of everyday life and cultural rituals, creating inter-personal ties and affirming community boundaries (Cohen, 1985). People tend to draw social boundaries between themselves and similar groups, in order to distinguish themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Lamont (1992) describes the concept of symbolic boundaries which refer to the conceptual differences that we make to categorize objects, people, and practices. For Slow Food, this could be the criteria which members must uphold to, in order to belong to the Slow Food network. For example, the member must understand the concept of 'Good, Clean and Fair' and the concept of being a 'co-producer'. Boundary work involves the subjective categories used to include and exclude people in conceptual maps or frames, and describes a process where 'individuals define their identity in opposition to that of others by drawing symbolic boundaries'. (Lamont, 1992). Put simply, boundaries are drawn to distinguish oneself, but are also a sign of group membership. Depending on the identity which is adopted, one will feel the same as the people belonging to their own group and different people belonging to another group. In this way, an 'in-group' and an 'out-group' or 'we and they' is created. This differentiation is a source of identification, or, in the differences with others, the identity is determined. (Snauwaert et al, 1999).

2.3.3 The trickle down effect

In this conceptual framework, we have mostly looked at the way communities can become closed and set boundaries between 'we and they'. According to Fallers (1954) however, in a process of development, first it is only relatively small, more elitist groups that form the centre of the movement, then the process goes slowly to other, broader layers of the population. The new development can thus trickle down to broader layers of the population and become more inclusive. In addition, according to sociologist de Swaan (1989), it is often the established groups (elitist and powerful) that bring about changes when it comes to the

development of collective arrangements such as social security, public health and education. This very thought is illustrated so brilliantly in Elias' book, 'The Civilizing Process' on the rising French bourgeoisie. "The rising bourgeoisie fought over power with the aristocracy, and slowly they began to take over the controlled and refined habits of the nobility. It is at first their ideal, too, to live like the aristocracy exclusively on annuities and to gain admittance to the courtly circle." Elias (1983) named this development, 'the civilisation process'. When people want to increase their status, they will try to take over consumption patterns of those superior to them (Davidson, 2001). These needs for increasing status are largely influenced by socially comparing yourself to others. Actually increasing this status might give one a sense of social prosperity and progress.

This trickle-down effect can also be related to food consumption: the tendency of luxury goods to change status over time, from being desired by many but possessed by few (the elite), to becoming widely available and, ultimately, to being believed as social necessities. Classic examples include the history of sugar, coffee, tea, chocolate, televisions and indoor sanitation (van der Veen, 2003). Another example is that of offal, traditionally associated with the poor and later on transforming itself into an respected fashion-food that was present at the dining tables of the English elite during the early modern period (Lloyd, 2012). When looking at Slow Food, consumption of local specialty food products by upper-class people can also turn local foods into 'culture goods' (Bourdieu, 1984), making them more broadly desirable to other classes (Hall, 2012). According to Davidson (2008), over-excessive consumption is still considered more of a status symbol and source of prestige. To the aristocracy and to the so-called elite 'in season' was not an appealing attribute; quite the contrary, 'out of season' fruit and vegetable and exotic varieties represented objects of desire and were sought after around the globe (Miele and Murdoch, 2002). This, however is questionable nowadays. Those on the so-called superior side of the social ladder (the elites) will want to distinguish themselves by taking over new consumption patterns (Davidson, 2001). This will yet again, evolve into new needs. With respect to food consumption, Brooks (2000) refers to the new elite with reference to types of words they use:

*'All the words that were used as lavish compliments by the old gentry: delicate, dainty, respectable, decorous, opulent, luxurious, elegant, splendid, dignified, magnificent, and extravagant. Instead, the new elite prefers a different set of words, which exemplify a different temper and spirit: **authentic, natural, warm, rustic, simple, honest, organic, comfortable, craftsmanlike, unique, sensible, sincere.** (Brooks 2000, p. 83)*

Also, Poulain (2002) suggests that the taste of the upper classes in France has now changed to embrace traditional regional cuisine in restaurants (previously rejected as lacking the artistic complexity of haute cuisine) and reject industrialized standardized food.

If the Slow Food movement is indeed as elitist as critics seem to think it is, the trickledown effect would suggest that Slow Food can eventually trickle down to broader parts of society, including low-income

consumers for example. So the current criticism on high costs of Slow Food for example, will eventually balance itself out and Slow Food will become more accessible, even to low-income consumers.

2.4 Frame Construction in Interaction

Existing studies emphasize how social movements or communities create new fields by mobilizing resources (Mccarthy & Zald, 1987), taking advantage of political opportunities (Tilly, 1978) and framing issues in advantageous ways. In order to identify inclusion and exclusion mechanisms surrounding Slow Food within and outside of the Slow Food Riga movement, framing will be used as an **analytical tool**. Framing is a tool which can make inclusion and exclusion more visible, therefore it is highly beneficial to use in this research.

Of significance in this research is that reality is constructed in, through, and by conversations and discourse (Frake, 1977; Ford, 1999, Te Molder & Potter, 2005). Discourse is a system of knowledge that is continually articulated and reshaped through individual practice but that is also fundamentally shaped by institutional structures, such as the mass media, markets, and other knowledge producers (Cairns et al, 2010). Framing refers to the activity of constructing and representing our frames, our interpretations of the world. Processes of framing are linked up with people's specific sets of values, norms, objectives, interests, convictions and knowledge at a certain moment (Aarts et al, 2005). It enables us to differentiate between different sorts of realities (Goffman, 1974). There are two perspectives which determine the nature of a frame: the cognitive perspective and the interactional perspective (Dewulf et al. 2009). The cognitive perspective suggests that cognitive structures in our memory help us to organize and interpret new experiences (Gray, 2003). The interactional perspective involves interactive frames that refer to alignments that are negotiated in a particular interaction between people while the knowledge frames in the cognitive perspective refer to structures of expectations about people, and objects or events (Dewulf et al. 2009). In this research, the interactional approach will be used for numerous reasons. First of all, the frames are reactions to a certain issue, so they are already an interaction in themselves. Second of all, according to Brummans et al. (2008) the cognitive perspective fails to include ongoing dynamics involved in framing. It is said that we choose specific frames in order to accomplish goals which can vary from constructing a desired identity to realizing a specific interest (Aarts et al, 2011). Such goals have to do with influencing the content, the interaction process and/or the relationship with the actor(s) involved (Dewulf et al, 2009).

In this research there are three specific frame types that will be extracted from the discourse of the respondents: issue frames, identity frames, characterization frames. The choices people make about food turn out to be related to construction of identities, both of themselves and others. Consumers' food

choices are not determined by pure facts, because these are framed by metaphors that are often inherent in patterns of activity, habits, rituals, and daily practices. These metaphors are organized in food cultures (Rozin et al, 1987). Food metaphors allow us to select food items but at the same time to include and exclude other people with which we share or not our food preferences (Korthals, 2009). In other words, you can disconnect from people that do not have the same food frame and therefore boundaries can be set. Slow Food excludes certain foods, and, therefore, the people who enjoy eating them. Thus, Slow Food members may begin to exclude people based on foods (McCord, 2005).

Issue frames are an answer to the question of ‘what is the situation about?’ This refers to how people and institutions represent the issue (issue, problem, dilemma, situation, conflict) in the interaction process or how the parties construct meanings of the issue during the interaction (Dewulf et al. 2009).

Identity frames are an answer to the question of ‘who am I?’ It corresponds to how each actor presents itself during the interaction. “Answers to that question may vary from one stakeholder to another depending on their demographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender and ethnicity), location (e.g., their work place, where they are living and their origin), their role (e.g., as a farmer or a facilitator), the institution with which they work (e.g., a project staff member or a government officer) or their interests (e.g., whether or not they agree with the legislation)” (Gray 2003). This is important because it helps to analyze possible resistances to the process in relation to the actors. A conflict arises inevitably when people’s identities are threatened (Gray, 2003). As mentioned earlier, identity plays a crucial role in social movements and food is often utilized to construct and communicate identities. Individuals frequently try to maintain a positive identity by joining groups that have positively evaluated attributes (Dewulf et al. 2009). As discussed earlier, members of a group try to favor their own group and thus create a group identity (Tajfel, 2010). People are therefore inclined to protect their own identity frame and resist situations where their identity frame is countered. This may result in ignoring information, looking up people with similar ideas and characterizing others (Shmueli, Elliott, & Kaufman, 2006). The latter leads to characterization frames, where their own identity is often positively depicted in relation to the identity of the other.

Characterization frames is an answer to the question of ‘who are they?’ This is about how each party presents the others during the interaction. In a conflict, generally, each party presents the other with positive or negative characteristics. Characterizing the other can also strengthen the own identity of a party or justify certain actions towards the others.

3. Methodology

One of my crazy future ambitions would be to become a culinary reviewer. My first attempt to reviewing food is at one of the prestigious restaurants in Riga, Restorans Vincent, also called the 'Slow Food' restaurant. This is what it says on the website: 'Its reputation has spread far beyond Latvia's borders, with Prince Charles, Elton John, the Emperor of Japan and Heston Blumenthal among a very long list of prominent personalities and famous gourmands who have savoured the restaurant's haute cuisine'. As a student with very little money (and not a celebrity), conveniently and sneakily I waited until my parents arrived to take me out to this restaurant. They agreed but of course we decided to



Restorans Vincents Riga (<http://www.restorans.lv/lv/>)

limit ourselves to one main course (which already costs around 30 euros) and a dessert instead of an entire three course meal. I made a reservation and on the day itself I was called by the restaurant to confirm my reservation. Excited but also aware of all the opinions from my respondents about this restaurant, I was ready to immerse myself in the flamboyant cuisine. While giving my parents a little tour of the Art Nouveau district, we arrived in the embassy district of Riga, where also Restorans Vincents is located. At arrival, we were politely asked by the waiter, one of the 10 waiters which were assisting the chef (who was also walking around, making a talk with each group) whether we would like to sit in or outside. We chose to sit inside. While looking around, I did not fail to realize that the average age was well above 30, I was one of the youngest or actually, better said, the youngest. Most customers were seen with a glass of wine in their hand, and there were at least two groups who looked like they were at a business meeting. When the waiter asked us if we would like an 'aperitif' and a starter we had to decline, thinking about our small budget for the evening. When my mom and I both ordered a tonic instead of wine, we couldn't help but feel a little uncomfortable about it. (Field Notes, June 2013).

A small illustration extracted from my field notes at the Restaurant owned by Chef and Slow Food Riga founder. To collect this data, possible methodologies were defined before starting the research. In this part, it is important to mention that there is a difference between methodology and methods to avoid any misunderstandings. The former refers to the way the researcher understands and produces knowledge while the latter refers to the tools which will be used to gain this knowledge. The focus will lie on an interpretative methodology in this research of SF Riga. This is especially relevant as the aim is to extract information on the ways people perceive, and thus interpret, 'Slow Food'. Interpretive methods are based on the presupposition that we live in a social world characterized by the possibility of multiple interpretations (Yanow, 2000). This is significant because multiple realities are existent. In the article by Law (2011), "actors are continuously constructing and maintaining their realities through their own practices". The roles, identities and interests that actors have are socially constructed and in order to understand these socially

constructed realities the researcher should interact with the actors in their own conditions and circumstances.

3.1 Qualitative research based on case study

This qualitative research is based on fieldwork on the Slow Food movement in Riga. In current literature, several objections are made towards a qualitative single-case study. Objections most frequently mentioned are the low representation of such a study and the direct involvement of the researcher which might result in a bias (Verschuren 2003; Flyvbjerg 2006). However, in his article Flyvbjerg (2006) undermines these objections by stating that with regard to the bias of the researcher the opposite is more likely to be true. He states that most researchers who have been involved in in-depth case-studies have had to revise their initial views and ideas based on the information that was gathered, rather than that their prior knowledge influencing the results of their research. He therefore states that single-case studies are more often based on falsification than on verification. In other words, single-case studies more often serve the purpose of challenging the ideas of a researcher rather than confirming them. Popper used the example “all swans are white” and proposed that just one observation of a single black swan would falsify this proposition (Popper, 1959). Due to its in-depth approach the case-study approach is well suited for identifying possible “black swans”. Initially I thought there was a strict membership and non-membership within the SF Riga network, but in practice this unfolded differently. Who was in the network and outside of it was not always strictly defined. When I approached the list of members which was given to me by the SF co-founder, some respondents said they were not member. The fact that I was focusing on a single-case study made it easier for me to identify this.

3.2 From proposal to report

From November to January I worked on my proposal. My proposal was finished and dense in information, to the point that I did not have to search for more literature. However, things always change in practice. I came across new information so many times my research questions and objective were re-adjusted to fit the information I was collecting and vice versa. In December I took an excursion to Riga to experience the city and understand the feasibility of my research. From February to April I conducted interviews with SF members (farmers, chefs, consumers) and non-SF members (consumers, chef cooks, civil society). The months May till July were dedicated to the writing process, although during the data collection phase it has been chosen to stimulate the writing process already. ‘Food scholar meetings’ with PhDs working in the same field (alternative food networks, and food security, food discourse) were organized in Riga, Latvia. On a voluntary basis, one person from the group sent their part for review to everyone for feedback. The feedback sessions were planned once in two weeks. Also, writing sessions

(Pomodoros) were stimulated twice a week by Skype with one Phd. These interactions have helped me further in my writing process; motivating to write all the time, any time about anything that was related to my research process. The writing process was temporarily halted due to 3 month internship on voluntary basis, but restarted in November.

3.3 Data Collection

Selecting the respondents

Initially, for my research the idea was to solely focus on SF members. However, at the field site it became interesting to watch the interplay between SF and Non-SF members as this was very beneficial to establish interactional framing and identify frames of inclusion and exclusion as well as boundary setting. For my research topic it became even more important to see understand the what perceptions the Non-SF members had of Slow Food Riga. Selecting a group of Non-SF members was difficult of course, since the group is rather indefinable. Thus, I have established a group of Non-SF members who were similar on different factors: familiarity with Slow Food Riga, an interest in green, sustainable consumption. However, heterogeneity was also important to make it more representative. So it was chosen to select a diverse groups as well: farmers, civil society, chefs, and consumers. Unfortunately the help from the SF founder and co-founder was very minor. The SF co-founder gave me a list of SF members, mostly chefs, who in practice said that they were not a SF member. Most respondents were thus selected through snowball sampling. In a short time, I understood that Latvia is a small and everyone knows everyone. By going to the SF market and other so-called green markets, engaging in an informal food movement in Riga, going to lectures of food sovereignty, having recommendations for people to interview, and going on a food tour through the Central Market, I was able to establish a network of respondents for myself.

Methods

Within qualitative research, there are many different data collection methods that can be employed. Calhoun et al. (2007) underline that attempts to make sense of how people shape and understand their realities, fits with a micro analysis. For such an analysis, the focus is on direct communication with actors, through participant observations and in-depth interviews. Therefore these two methods have been thought most suitable.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a good start for the field research in order to become familiar with the

environment and vice versa. Participant observation “sees interactions, actions and behaviors and the way people interpret these, act on them, and so on, as central” (Mason, 2002). Green & Thorogood (2004) furthermore state that “observational methods allow the researcher to record the mundane and unremarkable (to participants) features of everyday life that interviewees might not feel were worth commenting on and the context within which they occur”. “Participant observation is a route to ‘knowing people’ rather than ‘knowing about them’” (Ibid, 2004).

Due to the language barrier, it was not possible to fully participate and engage in the lives of the respondents and the role of the researcher was mainly that of complete observer of the research sites and interactions to the interview questions.

Spending time at The Central Market

The Central Market, the stomach of Riga to me has been an amazing activity to have done during my research period here. One of the highlights was to join one of the chef cooks on a trip to the Central Market. It was meant to follow them into some of the daily activities. It was very interesting to see which ingredients he bought, at which sellers, and what specific questions he would ask. Also, his view point in which direction the market was going, was fascinating. While taking the ‘alternative food tasting tour’ I gained a lot of knowledge about specific products and this made it more interesting for me to go into interviews because I was able to talk about these little details with respondents. In turn it gave the respondents more comfort as they could see I was sincerely interested in Latvia.



Spending time at ‘Slow Food’ restaurants



I am a bit of a food addict so spending time at restaurants in which the quality of food stands central is not an aggravating task for me to do. Reviewing the menu and analyzing the different products became a routine for me. Also, even though the food stands central, I must say the ambiance (lighting, interior) plays a major role in the entire experience as well. The way the food is served as well determines your experience about the restaurant. After my interview with one of the chef cooks I was ‘invited’ to try some foods there, and this was such a nice experience to sit at the same table as the chef cook

who invented the foods served. I was able to ask him directly what the ingredients are he used and why he has chosen to use them.

Spending time at the Kalcniema Iela market (Food & Crafts)

For me this market was a place I went to numerous times. As a tourist and temporary resident of Riga, it was a place to try out the local foods. At each stall, you were able to try a bit of wild boar meat, or dried fruit.

Kalcniema Iela is in fact a market to which people not only go to buy their products, but also glass earrings, small handmade souvenirs, and even chocolate

cosmetics. It seems to be an experience, a fun location for people to go to, for the sellers as well as the buyers. It is very different than the Central Market; for one it is much smaller and the location is artsy and relaxing. It includes an art gallery, where each month a different artist shows his/her work. Also live music is played so it adds another attribute to the experience. The products sold were relatively more expensive but there were different varieties than the Central Market and the emphasis on Latvian products was clear.



Stalking the Slow Food farmers

On Thursday and Friday there is a so-called Slow Food market taking place in front of the Sky and More mall. It reminds me of being in America. The first time I went alone I shared a small conversation with a SF farmer. I asked her, so why are you located here? She said, 'well this is where the money is, the people who come to Sky and More have the money, so it's good for us'. The next time I went was with my interpreter. I already started noticing that I was becoming

a regular customer and I started recognizing the farmers. My usual routine to start up a conversation was asking about the products first; what do you have, how do you make it? Something new to me at the market were pumpkin pieces and beetroot in birch sap. At the moment of writing this, birch sap is in season now, and to me it tastes somewhat like water, very healthy. One of the SF farmers explains to me how simple and zero costs it is to get it. Drill a small hole in the birch tree, and let the juice drip out. 'All I need is a birch tree, it costs me zero time'. Then there are the cheeses. Mostly Latvian are very young cheeses with dill, sesame seeds, you name it! A couple of pastries can be found, like small dumplings with meat in it called 'pelmenis'. Other products that I



found were meats (wild boar, deer, lamb). Although it was end of April and the beginning of May, very little fresh vegetables and fruits were sold at the market. Mostly blue berries were sold but it was clear that they were frozen in from last year.

Urban gardening & the Direct-buying group



Through a meeting on 'Direct-buying and Food Sovereignty' I came into contact with a group of people committed to an eco-village project on the Lucasvala Island in Riga. The eco-village will be located in a compound where the summer gardens of Riga are found. One afternoon, I joined to help out in the eco-village space, cutting away dry shrubs in the part where they will eventually grow vegetables. I talked to one of the men at the area, and he tells me, this location is his grandmothers. Now it has chosen to turn it into a communal space for people to grow their own vegetables, set up yoga sessions and follow permaculture lessons. This group of people also organizes direct-buying meetings. A list of products, farmers have, is sent out to the entire group and the next week, the products can be picked up.

Semi-structured Interviews

In total, 23 interviews were conducted; 14 Slow Food members (SF Management team, Chefs, Farmers) and 9 Non-Slow Food members (Consumers, Civil Society, Chefs). In interviewing, there are several techniques that can be adopted. Broadly speaking, there is the structured interview, in which the researcher follows a specified set of questions when interviewing and semi structured interviewing. The latter way of interviewing is a bit more loosely designed. In semi-structured interviewing the researcher does set an agenda of the topics that need coverage, but the respondent's answers determine the kinds of information produced about those topics. This makes semi-structured interviews less intrusive than structured interviews as they encourage two-way communication. This type of interview was beneficial for the frame analysis since it was important to look at the interaction and reaction to specific questions.

Questions related to elitism and class distinctions were purposefully avoided in order to illicit accounts of class only *should* they arise by the respondent. Instead, questions about routines in food consumption (food styles) were asked to understand how Slow Food was perceived, how the respondents identified themselves in relation to Slow Food and how they positioned themselves in relation to ‘the other’.

Interviews with most of the respondents were recorded. However, sometimes the location of the interviews was not suitable for formal recording. At the markets for example, the farmers had to interrupt the interview at times, to sell a product. The interviews were transcribed completely during the fieldwork period and details of the setting were written down with this transcription in order to maintain a complete conception of all the individual interviews.

3.4 Data analysis

The analysis of the data started with coding (with the support of the topic list) within the interviews themselves. Afterwards a summary was made of the most important story lines which are exposed and which have been explicated in the various interviews. With this in mind, it was important to find patterns within the storylines but also exceptions (people that have said something differently) to understand the context. The most salient quotes have been put together and analyzed from a micro-perspective. The findings have been analyzed and linked to concepts and theory through the use of, in specific, frame analysis.

3.4.1 Frame analysis

Framing has been chosen as an analytical tool since it can play a dynamic role in understanding the character and course of social movements (Benford et al, 2000) and it highlights the dynamic and contingent aspects of meaning creation, as well as the potential for conflicting interpretations of the same reality (Fairbairn, 2011). Frame analysis is a discourse analysis method that is principally concerned with dissecting how an issue is defined and problematized, and the effect that this has on the broader discussion of the issue. The interviews were analyzed by discovering how Slow Food was framed (Issue Frames of Slow Food), how identities were framed in relation to the SF movement (Identity Frames), and how others were framed in relation to the SF movement (Characterization Frames). Then the consequences of these frames were analyzed with the help of the conceptual framework.

4. Identifying the stakeholders

Slow Food is interesting first of all because of its collective, network based character and its global position. Murdoch and Miele (2003) describe the organization as “*a structured form of resistance (...) a network which serves to condense cultural norms and in so doing facilitate the spread of particular culinary cultures: (...)*” Pietrykowski (2004) argues that with its commercial publications, educational programs, structured tourism, and formally affiliated University of Gastronomic Sciences, Slow Food is not a “social movement” but rather an institution that formalizes the knowledge of various other movements (e.g., anti-GMO/organic/Green movements). In Latvia, Slow Food Riga is suggested to be an association: “*There is an intention to establish Slow Food Latvia but it is difficult to establish NGO’s here in Latvia. They are very strict here. That is why SF is more **an association** really*’ (SF management team 3).



A meeting with members of the Kalniema Iela Market including SF members (photo taken from SF Riga website)

Since Slow Food Riga is not a homogeneous group it is important to identify and describe the most significant stakeholders in order to understand how frames of inclusion and exclusion take place. SF members are the SF management team, SF farmers and SF chef cooks. Consumers within the SF network have been found to be rather invisible by research findings and therefore have not been taken into consideration. It has been chosen to address pseudonyms for the stakeholders involved in this research to attain confidentiality.

This Chapter will aim to answer the following sub question: **Who is involved in and outside the Slow Food Riga network and what are their interests and backgrounds?**

The in-group: Slow Food Riga members

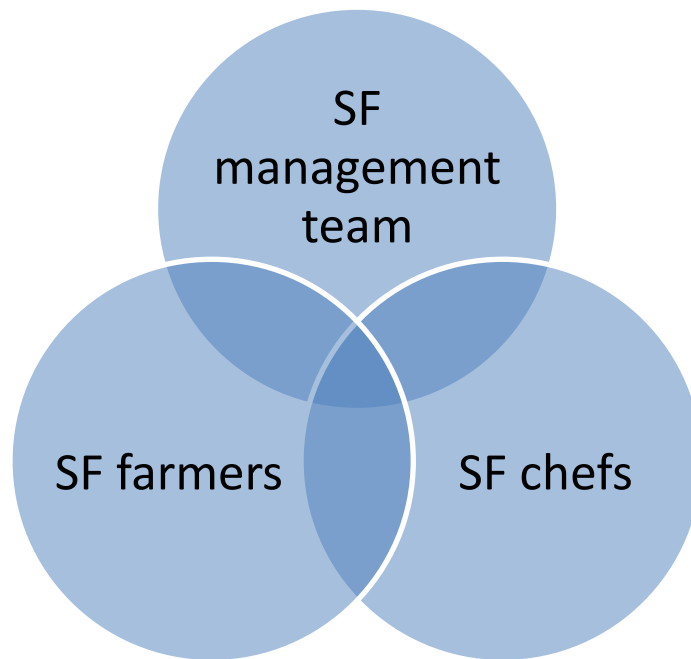


Figure 3: The in-group Slow Food members

The Slow Food Riga management team

The Slow Food Riga management team consists of five members, each with their own background. The management team consists of the founder of SF Riga and the co-founder, two SF farmers, a university teacher in gastronomic sciences. Unfortunately the fifth person has not been interviewed, therefore no background information is given. They meet up every 4 months and an update is given of current and future activities.

It is important to explain the story of SF Riga founder since it helps one understand how Slow Food Riga was started. The SF founder was raised in the UK, in the industrial town of Corby before moving to London to become a chef. His Latvian parents grew up in refugee camps. He spent many years in Toronto, Canada. In Toronto he started to work with Knives and Forks, which is a non-profit organization that promotes the environmental and human benefits of organic agriculture, primarily to people residing in Toronto and surrounding urban areas. It connects chefs and farmers to promote organic agriculture. After the independence, he returned back to Latvia after independence with his mother in 1991. Inspired by his work for Knives and Forks, he went to Slow Food's Terra Madre and was inspired by all the ideas and decided to start the Slow Food movement here in Riga as well. His first accomplishment for Slow Food Riga was setting up a Slow Food market. He worked together with Bergs

Bazaar, a marketplace where Slow Food used to have its weekly market. SF Riga founder also hosts his own cooking television show on Latvian State Television (this is the 10th season for this TV series), where he travels the world and introduces foreign taste experiences to a Latvian audience. His book, 'Eating with ...' was notable for using only the products that were available in Latvia at that time, and is now a collector's item. Above all, he is the owner of the most prestigious restaurant in Latvia, Restorans Vincents.

The SF co-founder studied international relations and economics but decided that this was not the direction she wanted to go into, '*I do not want to work for the government or ministry*'. She went to US and decided there that she wanted to be a chef. Back in Latvia, she asked the SF founder if she would be able to work in his kitchen. For starters she started peeling vegetables in the kitchen. Eventually she got promoted to chef. However currently, with a child, it was more difficult to keep her profession as chef so she became manager of Restorans Vincents and is the co-founder of SF Riga.

SF-management team 1 is a baker, born in Cesis, Latvia. For 17 years he has worked in a bakery but during the economic crisis, things changed. The bakery started to produce less natural breads to make it cheaper and more productive. For him, this was the turning point to stop because his values were not in line with the bakery anymore. Now he has his own bakery, 'Svetes Maize' for 2 years which is an organic bakery. One of his achievements is getting organic flour to be produced in Latvia. He was invited by the SF founder to join the Slow Food network. Thereafter he went to Turin to the Terra Madre event of Slow Food and met with producers and other interested people from 140 countries.

SF management team 2 bought his farm seven years ago but has only have been in the meat business for the last four years. He has his own meat business now, particularly wild meat (lamb, deer, boar) but has now also managed to create his own label, 'Sidrabjers' selling also organic rice (from Germany), pesto (also not 100 % Latvian) and their meats (100 % Latvian).

SF management team 3 is a food and beverages lecturer at the University of Latvia. She currently lives in Straupe where she has set up a Slow Food market close to her home.

Slow Food Riga farmers

Besides the Slow Food management team there are also farmers who are part of the network. Slow Food Riga farmers are diverse in their production; honey, lambsmeat, traditional white cheeses, organic vegetables, apples. But what distinguishes them from conventional farmers is that they say they uphold to the Slow Food standards and have joined due to the belief in the Slow Food philosophy. By being part of the Slow Food network, they are able to sell their products at the markets for free.

Slow Food Riga Chefs

SF Chef 1 has been working in the restaurant business for quite some time. At some point in his career he decided to travel to London to work in the more high-cuisine restaurants in Italy, Austria, United Kingdom and Latvia. He got fed up with this and decided he needed to make a change in his life. After being a 'Terra Madre' delegate for Slow Food, he thought '*this is serious, this is where the world is going to*'. So in 2008 he founded 'Ecocatering' to add meaning to his life. He couldn't live anymore like a chef. For him, 'Ecocatering' is not just a catering business but it is about good food, good produce, and good recipes.

SF Chef 2 is one of the head chefs working in restaurant Vincents, assisting Mārtiņš Rītiņš. Previously he has worked at NOMA in Denmark, a restaurant known for its reinvention and interpretation of the Nordic Cuisine.

It is not clear whether SF Chef 3 is part of the Slow Food network since according to the SF Management Team he is a member of the Slow Food network, although he has clearly indicated himself not to be a member. SF Chef 3 was a pupil in the kitchen of SF founder and worked there as a cook for nine years. Now he is the head chef of the restaurant, 'Restorans Biblioteka Nr. 1'. There he has created 'a modern library of Latvian cuisine, where the most of the high-quality seasonal ingredients are used'. He is also the patron of 'Contemporary Latvian Cuisine' manifest as well as a board member of Latvia's Chefs Club, 'Pavaru Club'. He also has his own TV Show, 'Musdienas Garzas'.

The out-group: Non-Slow Food Riga Members

These Non-SF members have been selected on specific aspects: they were familiar with Slow Food, were concerned with organic, green, local food and practiced it as well. This can be introduced by giving a few fragments from responses by Non-SF members:

*It's important for me to know how this vegetable has grown. **Its better if its local.** Better that it has grown in Latvian nature; where you mostly get vitamins from. From Spain, it wouldn't be good because it has travelled so long to Latvia'. (Non-SF Consumer)*

If I have a choice of vegetable that is filled with pesticides and made in Latvia or vegetable that is organic and made somewhere else, I will choose the latter one'. (Non-SF Civil society 1)

*It should be an obligation of everybody that lives in their own country to work with their **own products.** Buy products from farmers you **know**'. (Non-SF Consumer)*

Also, rather than focusing solely on consumers, it has also been chosen to select chefs, farmers, civil society who are part of another informal food movement in Latvia. This way, a heterogeneous group like Slow Food is sketched outside of Slow Food and it becomes more representative. Their willingness or interest to join SF Riga could be relatively high, which has been specifically chosen to understand the reasons why they choose not to be part of the movement.

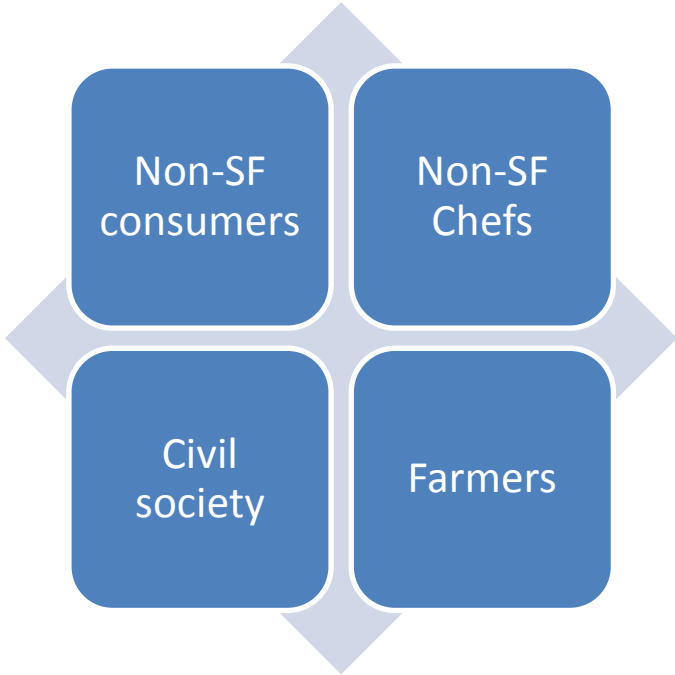


Figure 4: Non SF members

Non-SF Consumers

Most consumers were selected because of their interest in a green lifestyle and reflect upon this, however not all of them are part of a food movement. They were familiar with Slow Food and this was also the reason that they have been chosen as respondents. One of the consumers however is part of a local food movement and coordinates direct-buying from farmers.

Non-SF Chefs

Non-SF Chef 1 is half American, half Latvian. Raised in the U.S and educated at a chef school, at the age of 27 he decided to go back to his roots in Latvia. After working in Restaurant Kitchen in Spikeri district at the Central Market, he decided to continue his career by setting up his own restaurant in Baltis (Sauna) named Tvaiks. He has experience in pop-up kitchens and had recently bought a mobile kitchen to enhance these initiatives. Furthermore he is interested to make the Central Market more attractive to young people and would like to set up a creative space which can include a demonstrative kitchen. The target group is also tourists who would like to take a food tour on the Central Market and then cook with the products they have bought at the Central Market.

Non- SF Chef 2 is head chef of the restaurant of the Tallink Hotel. She is also part of the management team of the 'Pavaru club', whose mission is to promote Latvian cuisine.

Civil society

Civil society 1 is head of the organization Homo Ecos. Homo Ecos is an environmental organization with a mission to create social movement that not only emotionally supports environment friendly ideas but also puts them in practice and lives them out through activities that are beneficial for environment and humans. They have previously collaborated with SF Chef 1 from Ecocatering but not directly with Slow Food.

Civil society 2 is the coordinator of the NO-GMO movement in Latvia. The movement is a social initiative that unites farmers, food producers, grocery stores, catering businesses, schools and kindergartens and other companies and institutions, which **do not** grow, sell or use genetically modified organisms (GMO).

Farmers

One of the non-SF farmers is an apple producer from the coastal town Liepaja in Latvia. He has good contact with the SF founder but he is not an official SF member therefore he is placed in the so-called out-group.

5. Framing Slow Food

Different frames of Slow Food are portrayed in the stories of the respondents. This chapter will include and illustrate how both SF as well as Non-SF members frame Slow Food. SF members construct particular interpretations that show what is important to them, and thus set particular criteria with respect to the SF identity. In this way, it is possible that SF members start to make use of frames of inclusion but also of exclusion. When people are in the process of forming a group, they determine the characteristics they have in common and connect them. These characteristics set the boundaries between ‘us’ (those who share the SF characteristics) and ‘them’ (those who do not share the SF characteristics). On the other hand, Non-SF members may strengthen this exclusion by negative framing of the SF identity, actually acknowledging this exclusion or excluding the ones that exclude them. It has been chosen to divide the responses in different frames because there were clear patterns found which invited to cluster them in this way.



Slow Food Riga stand at Kalnciema Iela

This Chapter will aim to answer the following sub question: **What issue frames on Slow Food do the stakeholders employ?**

5.1 SF Riga Members

Local, Traditional and Latvian

One of the themes found in most of the interviews with the SF members was that Slow Food is framed as **local, traditional, Latvian** food. It is the responsibility of SF to promote local, instead of global, in this case foreign products. The focus on local, traditional, Latvian food is strongly in line with the Slow Food philosophy which is based on a belief that everyone has a fundamental right to pleasure and consequently the responsibility to protect the **heritage of food, tradition and culture** that make this pleasure possible. Supporters of the Slow Food movement are concerned that fast food for example will displace “local osterie and trattorie, the kinds of places that serve local dishes and which have traditionally been

frequented by people of all classes” (Miele and Murdoch 2002). Slow Food seeks to localize food systems and to encourage contact between food producers and consumers, seeking to re-spatialize food systems perceived to have become ‘placeless’ and ‘without an identity’.

We can find three patterns in the way SF members define local in relation to Slow Food:

- 1) Local is inclusive for Latvians and creates a national, collective identity
- 2) Local is defined as revaluing traditional and Latvian foods
- 3) Local is a fight against the global

First of all, framing Slow Food as local makes it inclusive for Latvians. It creates a collective identity, because what is local food, belongs to ‘us’. In her article, De Soucey (2010) examines the ways in which gastrationalism is a form of claims making and a project of **collective identity**. It presumes that attacks (symbolic or otherwise) against a nation’s food practices are assaults on heritage and culture, not just on the food item itself. In the following quote, the SF farmer states that, **Latvian people understand ‘local’** more than for example ‘organic’ and possibly even Slow food. So by eating locally, any individual can belong to the Slow Food movement, in fact a Local identity is in synch with a Slow Food identity.

*‘Slow Food to me? **Local**, seasonal. From the garden. Organic concept is rather exploited in my opinion. It has little value for people. **‘Our’, ‘local’...then people start to understand it.** Because organic, what does it really mean?’ (SF farmer)*

Another point made concerning Slow Food being framed as local is the strong urgency to bring back Latvian food, and **revaluing local, traditional Latvian food**. This is again very much in line with the Slow Food philosophy introduced in Italy, since Slow Food as well wants to bring back the local, traditional foods. For Slow Food, “*preserving the roots of local tradition becomes a way of fighting - or at least resisting - this wave.*” (Slow Food Manifesto. 1987) Due to Soviet times, many traditions have disappeared or been oppressed so Slow Food tries to use this historical context to make people understand the significance and need for a comeback of local foods. Therefore, this is reason why Latvia is an interesting location to establish Slow Food.

*‘But it’s very difficult, because during the fifty years of Soviet rule a whole generation disappeared, traditions disappeared. We have to start to **bring it back**, because if you look at restaurant menus here, almost all of their products come from places like Poland, Thailand, and Holland. Very little is actually **local**’ (SF founder) (Air Baltic, 2010)*

*‘Latvians have own kitchen since long ago but now it **all comes back**’. (SF farmer)*

During an interview with Air Baltic concerning Slow Food catering for business class, the Slow Food founder uses a story about spelt to state the importance of revaluing traditional products:

'Slow Food also tries to preserve different engendered species. Every day, many species of plants disappear. We know that birds are disappearing and animals are disappearing, and soon, in fifty years time, there will be very little left of what are grandparents knew, what went on their table. One example is spelt—plē kšņ u kvieši in Latvian. It's the oldest grain in the book, and was found in the pharaohs' pyramids. You can't mass produce it and it's very stubborn, but it's very healthy. You can't grow full heads of it, so it's not commercially practical. But this is a grain that also grows long and tall, so it's also used for thatch roofs. But if spelt disappears, thatched roofs will disappear as well. There are only two farms left in Latvia that grow spelt'. (Air Baltic, 2010)

Then, SF members also **put local food in sharp contrast to global or foreign, imported foods**. In order to better understand how this patriotism is playing a role generally in Latvian society, there will be a small switch to my field notes. This could also help one understand how this could unfolds in positions towards local foods in contrast to global foods.

A sense of patriotism

Latvia has gone through a numerous amount of occupations and only recently in 1991 they have gained their independence. Since independence *'Latvians went out and saw things. Still there is an underlying current of racism. Russians actually see Latvians as neo-Nazis (Non-SF Chef)*. As an outsider I was at times surprised by this sense of patriotism. Since I had a few Latvian friends of my age, I was quite interested to understand their perspectives on independence and the fall of the Soviet Union. One time, for dinner, I was invited to a friend's place. Before the dinner, she had already warned me that one of her friends was coming over who was not really a 'fan' of foreigners and she was working for the nationalist party. Coming from a relatively tolerant and multi-cultural society as the Netherlands and living abroad my whole life, I was very surprised by this. My friend in fact, often invited foreigners to her house through the network 'Couchsurfing'. Finally, the girl came and during dinner we were talking about International Woman's day as it was tomorrow. The girl interrupted me stating that *'No Ingrid, this is something from U.S.S.R, we in Latvia celebrate mother's day, this is our women's day and Valentine's day is American'*. (Field Notes March 2013)

This sense of pride and opposition towards Russia was very much felt during my entire time in Latvia. Another example was when I went for a small walk to the Victory Park. Shortly, it became clear to me that the entire Russian population in Latvia was present here. Many wore red t-shirts with 'Russia' on it. One of my friends who is Russian was also present. I hesitated to ask her whether Latvians were celebrating this day, since, well they were oppressed by the Soviet Union straight after. She was very firm in her opinion and said it was a day of happiness. The Second World War was over and it was a day of Victory. Since I became much more interested in this day and what it meant for Latvians themselves, I asked a Latvian friend of mine about this day. He reacted strongly, stating that *'this is not a Latvian national holiday. It is a Russian one'*. (Field Notes May 2013)

In 2004, Latvia became part of the EU and in 2014 it will change its currency LATS to EURO. There are

many discussions about it, and I spoke to some people about it. One of my respondents says *'I like LATS, because we can just print them ourselves and we are not dependent on others. I'm really sad about the LATs. People didn't choose it, people chose for them'* (Non-SF Consumer). And *All the politics and economies should be local* (Non-SF Consumer). Apparently he is even involved in an anti-globalist movement which organized a seminar against the euro (Field notes March 2013)

'It's better if its local. Better that it has grown in Latvian nature.' (SF farmer)



'Our strawberries and apples tastes cannot be compared to another because we have explicit seasons and clean, green land.' (SF farmer)



One SF farmer in particular, uses local food in sharp contrast to 'global'. He is stating that it is almost wrong to eat foreign products and therefore excluding those who do. Also foreign food is not seen as normal, while local foods are.

*'In my opinion is that **outside the borders** there is nowhere to eat normally.'* (SF farmer)

Then in the following fragment, the SF farmer is rejecting foreign foods and anything foreign is 'not normal'. 'They', in this case foreign foods are seen as something bad, 'not for our organism'. Local, traditional foods are also seen as tastier, better. Thus a clear boundary is constructed between local foods versus foreign foods and this can show that identity can be expressed through processes of inclusion and exclusion (Elias & Scotson, 1965/1994).

*I am **very traditional** kind of person, I like tasty food, but all apart from that..especially what is made with **foreign** products, that's not for our organism'. (SF farmer)*

Where is the multiculturalism?

To this day, Latvia to me does not seem to have a very multicultural society. Of course, due to their entrance in the EU, there has been an influx of tourists and people from neighboring countries. Still, to me, coming from the Netherlands where there is an abundance of ethnic groups, it is a very 'white country'. I have a French housemate, and he is originally from Cameroon. He and 4 others are the only 'black people' I have seen in all my 5 months in Latvia. Sometimes he would tell me, that he very often gets strange looks on the streets, and I must say it does not surprise me. He is pretty extraordinary and special in Latvia. Imagine that this already happens in Riga, I wonder how it plays out in the countryside. In terms of food, it is understandable that most of the foreign food comes from neighboring countries. I sense the Nordic influence, and I have been to one Uzbekistan restaurant. However, in contrast to the Netherlands, there are very little Chinese, Indian or African restaurants for example. (Field Notes, June 2013)

Latvia has gone through a lot of oppressions and we cannot ignore that along the way they have lost their national identity. However, from the responses towards Slow Food and then in specific stating that Slow Food is local, traditional and Latvian, we can sense a lot of patriotism and a national collective identity is being established. This sense of patriotism is important for Slow Food Riga, since Slow Food as well aims to focus on Latvian, clean and traditional versus fast food, a prime example of something foreign, American. In this way SF members are framing Slow Food as a platform for the Latvian gastronomic identity, a very inclusive frame. As seen in the responses however, this patriotism can also lead to exclusion since if 'Latvian food is good, foreign food is bad'.

Focus on Quality, Taste, Health, Clean over Quantity

In a current food system, where a productionist paradigm remains to take the leading role and producing more and more is a goal in itself, Slow Food Riga, like the headquarters in Italy feel it is their responsibility to value quality over quantity. For the Slow Food movement, 'pleasure is totally incompatible with productivity, since the time spent in its pursuit is subtracted from production'. (Petrini, 2005).

Quality to SF members is based on two aspects: quality is good and tasty food (in contrast to Fast-food) and quality stands for clean, not using pesticides or chemicals.

First of all, taste has been mentioned as an important aspect of quality food. '*Qualitative in my opinion includes tasty*'. (SF Farmer). '*Health, Quality, Taste, and Price (is the last one) are the most important factors for me when making food choices*'. (SF Management Team 1) For SF Riga members, quality food is good and tasty in contrast to fast-food. For the Slow Food movement in general, taste is a means of reconstructing "the individual and collective heritage" and resisting McDonaldization (Petrini, 2001). In other words, promoting good taste is a means of going against fast-food. Petrini (2004) states that the standardization of products go against the taste and quality of food: **If fast food stands for uniformity, Slow Food will protect and promote each gourmet quality product.**

Hence, putting Slow Food in sharp contrast to Fast-food is very useful since Slow Food strictly distinguishes itself from other 'food styles'. In the following fragment, it can be seen how SF Riga members define good taste by putting it in contrast to the taste of Fast-food:

*'I would give him to **taste** the difference between fast food and well-made food. Second I would explain why the fast food tastes not so good as the Slow Food*'. (SF farmer)

In this fragment the SF farmer makes a strong distinction between the taste of Good food (Slow Food) and Bad Food (Fast Food). He thus frames fast-food in a rather negative light and may create a more superior identity for Slow Food in contrast to those who eat fast food. The French anthropologist, Claude Levi Strauss (1969) states that reasoning in binary terms or dichotomous relationships is a natural process of thinking. In the next fragment, fast-food is also negatively framed as not tasty, 'it smells', and 'it is laboratory food'. And the fragment afterwards, frames fast-food as 'not edible'. By using these negative frames on fast-food, Slow Food in turn is very positively framed.

*"Organic fries will get moldy in a few days; McDonald's fries six months later still look the same. And the taste and smells, what they put on, is made by the same person who made Chanel perfume. **It is laboratory food.**"* (SF founder)

***Not edible.** Just if you take a look what's inside and how they make that. Better pass by'. (SF farmer)*

Second of all, SF Riga members also define quality as 'clean products', without the use of any pesticides. Petrini (2005) states, 'what we need is to de-industrialize agriculture'. In other words, it is necessary to eliminate pesticides and chemical fertilizers to renounce industrial agriculture, and to limit ourselves to native species and varieties (Sasatelli, 2012).

Clean production to SF members is framed as not using chemicals from a health perspective and it is also framed as a normal part of agricultural production in Latvia.

From the health aspect, the SF farmer brings it closer to home, implying that she would never poison her grandchildren with the chemicals. Thus, for this SF farmer, Slow Food is about responsibility, not always in terms of being responsible for the world, but also for those close to you.

*I don't allow any **chemicals** in my garden – it's like a rule for me - because my grandchilids eat this food. (SF Farmer)*

In the following quotes, the SF farmers states that not using chemicals is considered normal, it is common sense to him. Actually, it is more abnormal for him to use chemicals. In the fragments, it becomes clear that the SF farmer puts a lot of value to clean food. In his discourse, it can be interpreted that he is upset with the dominant food system of using pesticides on food. A sense of nostalgia to the past is constructed by the SF farmer, by explaining that before it was possible but 'now this is not possible anymore'. He states that even 'normal farmers', are now beginning to use pesticides. Being part of the Slow Food movement, reflects his dissatisfaction with the dominant food system.

*'Now, normal farmers are more and more saying 'where can I get chemicals to grow bigger?' Using chemicals for grains is normal, but for animals (lambs), **it is normal to grow organic**. Lambs just walk around freely, so it is very easy to keep them organic'. (SF management team 2)*

*'In my childhood, I lived close to the Central Market. The summer gardens/ 'mazdarzins' we had were 30 km from Riga, island 'Lucavsalas' in the Daugava river. It was the first in Riga. With my grandma I would go by ship to the island, now this is not possible anymore. We would get some products from the summer garden and sell the products at the market. My grandma was not rich. The products were of course, **normally produced**, with no chemicals. Basically, **chemicals were for flowers**, we would never think about putting it on food. **Carrots, peas, they can just grow without chemicals**'. (SF management team 2)*

For SF members it becomes clear that quality food products are an important criteria for them. Quality by SF members is defined based on good taste and products being clean. Slow Food products are tastier than

fast-food and clean products should be a responsibility from a health perspective and a normal part of agricultural production.

Following the Slow Food philosophy 100 % is not possible

In order to become part of the SF identity, it is important to follow the SF philosophy. However, the SF philosophy can also bring with it restrictions which not everyone can submit to. The following quotes show that the SF founder and SF management team want a 100 % Slow Food criteria at markets, and demand this also from themselves and members. They also state that Slow Food is affordable, thus it is not exclusive and can be followed in daily life. However, responses from other SF members have showed that they do not agree that Slow Food is affordable for everyone and that it is possible to follow the SF philosophy in all aspects of life.

First of all, the following fragments show how the SF founder and co-founder require a 100 % Slow Food criteria to be more credible and more in line with the rules from Italy.

*'The owners of the Bergs Bazars wanted it to be popular but we wanted a **100% Slow Food criteria**. They wanted fish. We know that the fish cannot be **100% sustainable**. For example, sturgeon is grown in a farm and created in a natural environment, they are not killed but milked for caviar'* (SF co-founder)

*'Five years ago I started Bergs Bazars. I had a **100 percent organic market** in the old city, but then City Hall changed and we were asked to move out. When Bergs Bazars started, the philosophy of market owners was to have lots of variety, but I said no, we should **stick with the 'Slow Food' philosophy and the rules from Italy**, which I translated into the Latvian language'. (SF founder).*

In the following quote, the SF founder shows how he thinks one should go all the way, 100 % Slow Food to be called credible:

*'Recently, in a TV program, I have heard a household tenant admitting having used chemicals though solely as much as the EU-permitted norms allow, and that this is all right. So I want to ask – is it all right to smoke three cigarettes a day? **Where are the limits?** I guess – there is no middle path. It is either wrong or right'. (Slow Food Riga, Year Unknown)*

The SF founder and co-founder also state that Slow Food does not necessarily have to be expensive and try to counter the high costs of Slow Food, aiming to show that this does not have to be a barrier to following the Slow Food philosophy for 100 %.

'Yes it is possible to buy affordable seasonal vegetables'. (SF co-founder)

'We do go to markets and offer food at lesser prices'. (SF founder)

Clearly it is very important and noble for Slow Food Riga to stick to the Slow Food philosophy and the rules from Italy. However, it seems that not everyone within Slow Food Riga can uphold the 100 % philosophy which has been introduced by Italy. A few SF members themselves describe how even for them it is not possible to follow through with the SF philosophy for 100 %. Their frames are conflicting with that of the frames of the SF founder and co-founder and can lead to an internal struggle towards a collective SF identity. Barriers to following the SF philosophy have been high costs, work and the fast-life to implementing the SF philosophy in all aspects of life.

First of all, the high costs of Slow Food are mentioned in contrast to it being 'affordable' as the SF founder and co-founder have stated:

*'I try to bring this philosophy home, but I can't. **I can't make it always.** I love to pick good chicken, but I can't. Sometimes the only possibility is to take it from a big factory'. (SF Chef 2)*

*'Yes, of course, it started 5-6 years ago, after that I am member yes. Not really in life, because it is just a **little too expensive for me.** (SF Chef 2)*

Work is also seen as a barrier to follow the Slow Food philosophy 100 % as seen in the following quote. It is rather contradicting of course, since being a Chef requires you to know what good food is, however it seems that the restaurant business does not always allow you to take the principles learned back home.

'I hardly cook at home. That's what you get when you are in the restaurant business'. (SF Chef 1)

In the following quotes, both SF Farmers feel that it is 'wrong' or 'unfortunate' that they are not able to practice the SF philosophy 100 %. It almost seems as though the farmers are defending their point of views that in fact they feel they should be doing it 100 %. They feel guilty about not being able to follow 100 %, which is actually required from someone with a Slow Food identity. Thus, this does show that the implicit rules that a Slow Food identity creates is not for everyone, and that sometimes it can be rather restrictive.

'Can't make it slow and that is wrong. Always and everywhere is rush, family, I also have a small child at home'. (SF farmer)

'Of course, I try not to buy Spilve cucumbers that are grown somewhere in Turkey. No, but unfortunately I can't make it 100 %' (SF farmer)

However one SF farmer explicitly mentions that she is not ashamed that sometimes she eats fast-food and using pesticides in Slow Food production is sometimes necessary. Thus if upholding 100 % SF is part of the SF identity, she would actually be excluded from this identity. This way of thinking is not necessarily what you would expect from someone with a so-called SF identity.

*"When I drive and am very sleepy, I get out of car and drink CocaCola, because I know it works, and is kind of tasty too. I think it is important to have **balance** in that all. We can't just choose one direction and not go nor right nor left from that. The most important is that life is beautiful and pleasant. And I am not the kind of person that if I am member of "Slow food" and I am for the good food without chemicals, that does not mean I can't drink CocaCola". (SF Farmer)*

*'I know that for example there are years when you just can't grow some things without chemicals. Then you have to decide if you want to lose all your harvest and write the year income in minuses. So it all has to be thought about and in balance. Because you cannot lose your harvest just because as in last year for example there is Colorado bug and the summer was very wet - it was not possible to grow potatoes without dusting. So the question is not to eat potatoes at all this year or.. let's be real and honest. **If you choose to lose your harvest, so you should ask yourself: why work at all?**' (SF farmer)*

The same SF farmer also states, that Latvians just aren't like Italians, and cannot follow the Slow Food philosophy completely, thus again stating that it is not 100 % possible to follow Slow Food.

*To be honest the life rhythm we have here is not "Slow Food", it isn't. It is not Italy or France where you go to lunch for 3 hours, close your shop and go to have a rest. Here it does not happen like that, here we work day and night, from the morning till the evening. And **we definitely do not have the lifestyle of "Slow Food", that I can say for sure.** (SF Farmer)*

It has become clear that frames with respect to Slow Food are colliding between SF members. The SF and co-founder are more strict in terms of following the Slow Food philosophy 100 % and there is more belief in the Slow Food philosophy, while other SF members are not convinced that they can make it 100 %. These colliding frames have a direct influence on the Slow Food identity.

Summary

In their frames on Slow Food, SF members have shown what is important to them. For all SF members it seems that Slow Food needs to be local, Latvian and traditional and quality products. Three different definitions have been given to local food: Local is inclusive for Latvians and creates a national, collective identity, Local is defined to revalue traditional and Latvian foods and Local is against the global. Another frame of Slow Food which is important to all SF members is that Slow Food stands for quality products. Quality has been defined by SF members by stating that taste defines quality and quality stands for clean products. However, the collective SF identity and shared meaning towards food is also shattered since there are colliding frames. Within SF Riga itself, not all members are able to follow Slow Food 100 %, while the SF founder and co-founder state that this is truly important for them. Some SF members are ashamed of not following the philosophy while one SF farmer in particular states that we have to keep things in balance, and it is too extreme to go 100 % Slow Food.

5.2 Non-SF Riga Members

Non-SF Riga members have very little to lose in terms of their identities and own positions by their opinions, as they can liberally state what they think of Slow Food since they are not in any way connected to it. Therefore there were a lot of issues brought up by Non-SF members about Slow Food which cover more negative framing. In the following, we will find that Non-SF members define Slow Food as nothing new, Quality comes at a price, and similar to some SF members, Slow Food is not possible to follow 100 % in daily life.

Slow Food: what's new?

A point of critique made by scholars is that Slow Food constructs a **fabricated nostalgia**. 'The great novelty proposed by SF is nothing less than a return to primitive society' (Simonetti, 2012). This so-called 'primitive society', although quite negatively framed, is still very much existent in Latvia according to Non-SF members. Non-SF members construct Slow Food as nothing new. This type of framing has been seen in a number of patterns found in the responses of Non-SF members. First of all, Slow Food is seen as a 'foreign label' to a normal way of eating in Latvia. Also, Slow Food is seen as 'a way of thinking', rather than a proper organisation which you have to be a member of. Then, it has also been mentioned that there are already locally established food movements.

'Fast-food is more new to us than Slow Food'. (Non-SF Consumer)

'In terms of SF; I think a lot of Latvians are thinking..we've been doing this from day 1; what are you talking about?' (Non-SF Chef)

Latvia has a long agricultural tradition and many of the country's farmers were using organic practices long before it was a buzzword (The Baltic Times, 2009). To understand Latvian's connection to the countryside, we will switch to my field notes from a personal experience in the countryside, with a focus on an important Latvian tradition, the midsummer celebration (Jani).

Latvians and the countryside

My Latvian friend invited me to a 'name day' celebration and I was completely confused what on earth this could be. After some research, I came to understand that name day is very relatable to what to us, are birthdays. It is a part of tradition, a celebration in Latvia. My Latvian name is Ingrida, and my name day is 6 June. Jani, the



most common name for Latvian males is today, the 23rd of June, the shortest night and longest day of the year. Tomorrow it is Liga's day, the most popular name for Latvian ladies. Before Jani's day, there was a lot of excitement amongst my Latvian friends. 'Ingrida, what are you doing for the Jani celebration? You really have to go the countryside, its tradition. Celebrating Jani in Riga, that's for tourists'. I decided it was time for me to immerse myself in the biggest celebration of Latvian culture. My friend invited me to a friend of the families who are a farmer's family. Not unimportant to mention is that their entire family has a hearing disability. Both parents are deaf, the children are able to understand some conversation with a hearing device. During the Soviet Union, the family lost their farm (the father's parents). After a lot of hassle, finally it is back in their family's name; and the farm can now be passed on to further generations. I wanted to know more, but my friend told me I could better not ask, it was a very sensitive topic for the family which has caused them a lot of grief. The farm is close to the city Ogre and the milk is produced for companies with 15 cows, other crops (potatoes, strawberries) are for the family themselves. My friend tells me it will be a calm, quiet eve celebrating together with talks, walks in meadow after flowers and making flower crowns and jumping over the bonfire. They have a big field of meadow and a farm with cows, chickens. The woman of the household makes the food, real cow's milk and cheese, fresh pierogi's with meat, and of course the shashliks for the BBQ. Jani, the son, gets a large crown made of oak leaves on Jani day. Liga, (left of the son in the picture) is the mother and has her own flower crown. In the picture we can see that they both hold onto a Coca Cola bottle, with their names on it (Liga and Jani). An interesting illustration of globalization on this traditional day. (Field Notes June 2013).

The Non-SF consumer in the following quote states that Slow Food is simply a label given to a practice that has been existing in Latvia for many years. When describing Slow Food, many Non-SF members mention that the relationship with traditions, local food and the connection to the countryside is a normal part of life for Latvians. The following quotes give a short preview of exactly this:

I think that the name is new but someone has already been doing that for years. For example, in the countryside, there is hardly no McDonalds. (Non-SF Consumer)

Then, some Non-SF members see Slow Food as a normal way of thinking and it seems that for them, there is very little added value to become a SF member:

I think it is just a way of thinking and you can't be a member of a way of thinking' (Non-SF Consumer)

I don't feel a need to become a Slow Food member. I don't think I would gain anything from that. I support it in my mind'. (Non-SF Consumer)

Non-SF members also state that SF is nothing new by stating that there are other informal food movements going on in Latvia, in particular a consumer driven direct-buying movement. Similar to Slow Food, the idea is that the rural is more connected to the urban, and farmers come to the city.



Picture taken from Tiskenkopfs, 2013

We have one particular farmer, he is coming to our street. I get to know this through neighbours. He is coming with small bus and there is everything from milk products like farmer cheese, milk etc'. (Non-SF Consumer)

'We are now organising a group of people in my town to buy products directly from farmers, otherwise it is not possible to buy farmers products'.(Non-SF Civil society 1)

Non-SF members state that Slow Food is nothing new. For them it is simply a label and 'just a way of thinking'. Also it has been mentioned that there are also other informal food movements established in Latvia which may be more part of the Latvian culture rather than Slow Food, which has its roots in Italy.

Quality comes at a price

While the SF founder and co-founder state that Slow Food is affordable, Non-SF members do not agree with this statement. To Non-SF members, who could actually be quite willing to engage in Slow Food,

high costs remain to be an issue and a barrier for accessing Slow Food. In the end, to them, the quality Slow Food products come at a price.

The following Non-SF Chef associates Slow Food with 'haute cuisine', implying an elitist image of Slow Food. In this statement, there is also an undertone of negative blaming as well. The Non-SF Chef blames SF Riga for not thinking about low-income consumers and not taking the majority of Latvian society into account. We can suggest then, that this exact thought signifies that Slow Food, to this particular Non-SF member is far from inclusive.

“Latvia is just not a ‘haute cuisine’ kind of place. I mean the majority of the population here is earning 400-500 Lats per month. (Non-SF Chef 1)

In the following quote, a Non-SF member, states the high costs of Slow Food, but also implies that it is for people who have the luxury of having a lot of time. Simonetti (2012) points out that having “personal, trust and long-lasting relations with producers and supplies, as well as spending one’s time at the table... are costly and time-consuming activities: therefore they are positional (or luxury) goods, reserved to people possessing money and leisure”.

*‘Slow Food is a good thing but more suitable for people who do not know where to put their **money and time**’. (Non-SF farmer)*

A Non-SF consumer refers to the high prices of green/Slow Food products. She states that she understands that quality comes at a price, but still, the prices are too high. Even though the SF founder and co-founder mention that it is affordable, it is explicitly stated in the following that it is unreachable for low-income consumers to become part of this so-called SF identity, due to the prices.

*‘Little I wanted to speak a bit negative about small/farmer markets. For example Kalnciema market, I’m a little bit not sure about prices. I understand it is clean and green products requires for special taste but still it is **high**. In general of course I haven’t seen apples or anything in winter time so I am not talking about cheating. But me as a consumer I am average but of course. **For low income it is impossible**’. (Non-SF Consumer)*

*‘Not everyone is able, just by **financial**’. (Non-SF Consumer)*

Also, the Non-SF Chef agrees that Slow Food is a good thing, but it is simply not accessible to everyone due to the high costs of quality products.

*‘Slow Food to me; ‘done sustainable, done right’. Cool, support it, but **not everyone can pay for it**’ (Non-SF Chef).*

“Slow Food does not recognize that such a way of life cannot be affordable below a given level of income, and as such it cannot therefore be a basis for a ‘new model of development,’ (Simonetti, 2012). In the frames put forth by Non-SF members, quality comes at a price and it is not affordable for everyone. These frames reinforce the aspect of Slow Food that has been most criticized by scholars, namely that in practice it tends to cater to the upper and middle classes and consequently the enjoyment of food it seeks to promote is not accessible to everyone (Chrzan, 2004; Gaytan, 2007).

100 % Slow Food is not possible

Then, in addition to high costs, the reality of work/business is seen as a barrier to practice Slow Food. Without making reference to importing the products in the interview, the Non-SF Chef comes up with this herself.

*In the end it is business. So this is also one of the reasons why we **import**’. (Non-SF Chef 2).*

In her business, the restaurant cannot afford to use 100 % Latvian products. It is not about cheating in this case, but simply the fact that SF farmers cannot meet his demand to make the menu more diverse. However, the Non-SF Chef makes a strong distinction between business and pleasure, stating that to her, the SF philosophy cannot be combined with business and profit. Fostering relationships between chefs and local agricultural producers seems to be a mutually beneficial proposition. Producers would gain access to a premium paying market, while chefs would be given the opportunity to create meals of extremely fresh, locally-grown food (SARE, 2008). Starr et al.’s (2003) research however confirms the Non-SF Chef, stating that there is a high interest in purchasing locally grown foods, but translating that interest into large scale purchases was seriously impeded by problems with distribution, reliability, and consistency.

Summary

There is a lot of negative framing towards Slow Food by Non-SF members. First of all, the Non-SF members see Slow Food as nothing new, it is simply a label and ‘way of thinking’. Then they accuse Slow Food of being too expensive and not able to practice the SF philosophy in everyday life, and in particular in the restaurant business. Differences between the groups are thus clearly established but there are also similarities in terms of their perspective on local food. Still, boundaries are constructed between the two groups. These similarities will become even more obvious in the next Chapter and will be elaborated in depth in Chapter 7.

5.3 Conclusion

In Riga framing Slow Food has shown that there is not one single definition of Slow Food in use. The definition for Slow Food is very dependent on who says it, what position they hold in society and amongst peers, and in which context Slow Food is placed.

So even though both groups agreed on some points of Slow Food, the way they constructed these frames were different. First of all, both SF as well as Non-SF members refer to Slow Food as local and Latvian. SF members frame Slow food as local food and therefore inclusive to Latvians. In their view, eating Latvian is a normal practice, thus it is easy for everyone to apply the Slow Food philosophy. Non-SF members however do not see it this way and frame Slow Food as nothing new. In this sense they are stating that Slow Food per se is not exclusive, rather it is simply a label constructed by foreign influences (Italy), but the SF members themselves are making it exclusive, because they suggest that it is something different. Secondly, while SF members frame Slow Food as valuing quality over quantity, this quality criteria comes at a price according to Non-SF members who accuse Slow Food of being too expensive. They perceive quality products as a good thing, but expects that not everyone can pay for it (even though the SF founder and co-founder presume this is the case) making this criteria rather exclusive. Third of all, the majority of the SF members and all the non-SF members agree that following the SF philosophy for the full 100 % is not possible. Both groups state that factors such as work, costs, and the fast-life are barriers to uphold the full Slow Food philosophy. However, again each group is constructing it in a different way. Most SF members seem to be ashamed of not following the philosophy 100 % while Non-SF members are less conflicted about not following the philosophy 100%. Non-SF members of course do not necessarily need to follow the SF philosophy for 100 %, they do not need to belong to a particular SF identity. SF members on the other hand, need to belong to a certain SF identity. The SF founder and SF co-founder have differing frames from the other SF members. These different frame show that there is an internal struggle within SF Riga to follow the 100 % SF philosophy and this has resulted in a lack of common SF identity in Riga.

6. Framing the Slow Food Movement

“Taste, like identity, has value only when there are differences.”

(Carlo Petrini, Slow Food Website, 2013)

Besides looking at issue frames, it is also important to look at relational frames to understand how SF members present themselves in relation to the movement and how they construct ‘the other’ and how ‘the other’ (Non-SF member) constructs the SF Riga movement. This means taking into account the identity and characterization frames of the people involved “because conflict almost inevitably arises when people feel that their identities are being threatened” (Aarts et al, 2011).

According to Aarts et al. (2011), identity frames are “statements of one’s own identity in relation to the problem or the conflict at stake”. Food has always stood as a powerful form of symbolism for groups as well as, if not especially for, individuals (Pietrykowski, 2004). The food that Slow Food eats is what defines them, and similarly Slow Food defines the food they eat (i.e. food that is *good, clean, and fair*).

Human beings mark their identity and membership of a group by asserting the specificity of what they eat, or more precisely by defining the otherness, the difference of others (Fischler, 1988). “Characterization frames are statements of “the other”, which may be a person or a specific group” (Aarts et al. 2011). When positioning oneself towards a conflict situation, not only the own identity is taken into account but also that of the other. Characterization frames often have a negative focus since they frequently arise from blame of *they*, the others. Petrini actually begins to argue that the modern fast foodways are morally bad, even criminal (*Slow Food Nation* 57-88). Slow Food members then see the consumption practices of those who do not embrace some old world ideals are seen as “bad” (Simonetti, 2012). The negative characterization frame are derived from experiences and what the others as Gray (2003) states it “*have done to shape our experiences*”. It is about the moral judgment of the others (Dewulf *et al.*, 2006).

This Chapter will aim to answer the following sub questions:

-what identity frames do the stakeholders employ?

-what characterization frames do the stakeholders employ?

6.1 SF Riga Members

Personification of Slow Food

In this section, we will specifically turn to the SF founder to understand what kind of identity he constructs for himself in relation to the Slow Food movement and how other SF members emphasize this identity.

'And from the same farm we have a local cheese that's not a mozzarella but, rather, a Martinella. They named it after me—it's an official registered trademark now: Martinella Cheese.' (SF founder) (Air Baltic, 2010)

In the quote above, **personal branding** is clearly presented. A Slow Food product is named after the SF founder himself. Personal branding is about intentionally taking control of how others perceive you and managing those perceptions strategically to help you achieve your goals (Montoya, 2002). Chefs sometimes put themselves forth as the image and leader of the organization or campaign. Jamie Oliver is a good example. Both Jamie Oliver and the SF founder are a clear example



of the transition from 'normal chef' to moral entrepreneur. Jamie Oliver developed himself from a person into a brand. For example, you can now find Jamie Oliver's pasta and pasta sauce in supermarkets. Thus, by stating that a local cheese from the farmer is named after him, the SF founder uses certain aspects of his personality, skills or values about food to stimulate perceptions in the audience about the values and qualities that he stands for (Montoya, 2002). He makes himself the personification of Slow Food, since what he stands for is similar to what Slow Food stands for: for the farmers and protecting local and traditional products.

Protector of the Farmers

Another identity frame which is constructed by the SF Riga founder is that he portrays himself as the **protector of farmers**. He points out that he (and thus Slow Food) is there for the farmers. Slow Food must protect traditional farmers and farmers are not appreciated and reference is made to farmer's earnings as well, stating that they do not earn enough for the hard work that they do.

*'I consider that we should give **bigger credit to those farmers**, who are producing food according to traditional methods'.*
(SF Founder)

*'Peasants are fighting a lot. It is one of the most **difficult jobs** to be a peasant, no matter how the weather is like, no matter the way you feel, seven days a week they have to get up and work. The majority of the society is unable to appreciate the job, done by peasants. The price of the production still is on the verge of minimum, but this is not enough for peasants to save something and to develop their households' (SF founder) (Slow Food, Year unknown).*

The identity of the SF founder as, 'the protector of the farmers' is accentuated by making accusations towards the 'other, namely: blaming the big companies, blaming the government, and blaming the European Union.

First, big companies are being blamed in this case for their unfair treatment of farmers. This very clearly presents how the SF founder frames his own identity as being against big companies and mass-production. It makes clear his Slow Food identity clear, namely putting value to local, seasonal and traditional foods.

*It's simple: Local, seasonal, traditional. And **fair to the farmer**. Because these massive big companies are not fair to the farmers (SF founder). (Air Baltic, 2010)*

The SF founder blames bureaucracy and the government of giving very little support to the farmers:

*'Misfortunately, small household tenants **do not receive enough support** from the government, while they should be'.* (SF founder) (Air Baltic, 2010)

*"The problem is that the small producer has to fill out the same forms as the big, and there is **very little support for small farmers**. Farmers have to pass lots of inspections and to fill many papers,"* (SF founder) (Juozenaite, 2011)

Then more negative blaming is given, this time to the European Union, stating that traditional products cannot compete with the conventional production introduced by the EU. The SF founder uses the dichotomy of conventional versus typical products to bring his point across:

'Latvia sees the EU as a threat with its conventional eggs and poultry. Look at our typical products. Small farmers feel like shutting down because they can't compete'. (SF founder) (Air Baltic, 2010)

Presenting this identity frame is strategic (intentionally or not) because this is what Slow Food stands for as well, putting farmers in the spotlight and seeing the value in their work. Through these identity frames,

via the personalization of the farmer, particularly the notion of the farmer's special relationship with the land, the SF founder introduces himself as a **co-producer**; 'going beyond the passive role of a consumer and taking interest in those that produce food, how they produce it and the problems they face in doing so' (Slow Food, 2009). We cannot ignore however that the SF founder is the **'protector of some farmers'**. In the responses it becomes clear that the SF Riga founder selects farmers which he believes to be Slow Food. A common response was, *'The SF founder told me to become a member'*. (SF farmer) . The SF founder accordingly has a personal influence in selecting farmers who are Slow Food and who are not. This could lead to a possibility to exclude farmers who may not have access to the network of the SF founder and belong to the socially constructed SF identity.

The Slow Food Guru

While the SF founder constructs his own identity through his discourse and actions, his identity of 'the protector of the farmers' and 'the Slow Food guru' has been accentuated by other SF members who positively **characterize** him as such:

'SF founder is the protector of farmers' (SF co-founder).

'If there might be something changed in that, you should ask the SF founder. Honestly, I do not know much about the organization'. (SF farmer)

'I am involved in all the activities which the SF founder is involved in'. (SF co-founder)

SF members seems to be shifting the responsibilities of Slow Food to the SF founder who takes the role of the Slow Food ambassador/leader. He is responsible for SF actions, and bringing forth the philosophy. However, to what extent SF members themselves have (and want) some ownership in the Slow Food movement is questionable, even though their philosophies are in line with Slow Food.

We are trustworthy

Trust and knowing the

farmer/producer plays an extremely important role in SF Riga. Getting to know local producers and processors connects individuals in a network of food relations that provide security in knowing where food comes from, and a sense of community. Of importance for the SF members is thus that one **knows** the farmer; knows what kind of person he/she is and this has direct influence on the product he/she is selling. Farmers are the eyes and ears and there is social control to check the authenticity of products. Thus, the identity and lifestyle of a farmer



Slow Food Riga website, 2013

determines whether the products he/she is selling are trustworthy. There is no strict

regulation or certification system for Slow Food. Trust becomes more important for SF members than certification.

*'Slow Food values in general are honesty and good quality. What is important to me is definitely quality and honesty- that you **trust** your client and the client **trusts** you'. (SF farmer)*

*'For me is important that my production is good, that it has good quality, it is tasty and my customers come again. And **I'm honest** - I tell it if I have dusted my potatoes against Colorado bugs, because otherwise I should throw all my potatoes out. It is **trust to clients** and some kind of **honesty**'. (SF farmer)*

Trust is framed in interaction by stating that if you know another, it is easier to control whether someone is cheating with the origin of their products or not. In this way, SF members want to keep control over the members to maintain trust and quality products from Latvia. So in order to preserve this trust, SF members want **control over the Slow Food movement**.

***We all know each other**, all know what others do and how. So it is easier to control'. (SF farmer)*

Like with any local convivial, in order to become a Slow Food member, one has to pay a membership fee. Farmers also pay a membership, and with the membership they are able to sell their products at the Slow Food markets. In the first quote the implied argument seems reasonable: too many people becomes too hard to manage for volunteer presidents of various convivial so limiting membership and control is necessary.

*But if we become gigantic. You can't. It's how it happens, If one person with idea, passion etc, he cannot take everyone. There is **so much he can do**'. (SF Chef 2)*

However, the identity of the SF founder as 'Slow Food Guru' is again confirmed since 'there is so much he can do'. It is not, 'there is so much we can do' for example. Thus the ownership given (or wanted) by the SF members is uncertain.

They are cheating

What remains unacknowledged is that this control on the Slow Food movement could also **exclude certain individuals** based on who they are, their background, or their identity. If someone does not fulfill the Slow Food identity or lifestyle, it could be very hard for him/her to get involved in the Slow Food network. The masses may not have the correct sort of appreciation that is expected of those of a Slow Food identity. Also, if you do not know someone in the Slow Food network, it may be difficult to access it. The following quote shows an implicit disapproval of the mass product for example, thus excluding those who do not have access to the exclusive products of Slow Food. Some researchers note that expanding a movement's identity tends to make it more exclusive since it becomes harder to control and offers less powerful incentives (Friedman et al, 1992).

*I don't know if Slow Food will ever become mass product, and I don't think it should become **mass product**'. (SF farmer)*

In the following quotes we can find that SF members use negative characterization frames towards other farmers/producers, third persons/intermediaries at the Central Market and Non-SF Chefs. The common accusation is that 'the other' is not honest with their products and are cheating. The construction of a negative *they* is often contrasted with the construction of an opposite *we*, 'we are trustworthy'. The first quote states the obvious: 'they are not honest'. The farmer is in this case, blaming another farmer for not being honest. By stating that they are not honest, the SF farmer on the other hand positions himself as being honest.

*'It is more important for me, to understand. Because there are also those who grow in Latvia, but **they are not honest**'*
(SF farmer).

The second quote defines Slow Food as the direct linkage between producer and consumer, without any third persons interfering. There is a disapproval of the Central Market, where mostly third persons are selling the products. Historically Latvia has had a strong culture of farmers' and open markets. Markets still remain an important part of Riga's food retailing. Some of those old markets have even regained their strength in the last years. In spite of this, some markets, in particular the Central Market are criticized for selling produce of unknown origin and cheap low quality imported food. (Trenouth, Tisenkopfs, 2013).

*'Slow Food it is from producer till consumer. Simple. Not with **intermediaries** somewhere'* (SF farmer)

In the following quote, reference is also made to 'being in touch with the product', knowing the entire process behind the product. In the quote instead of using negative blaming towards the producer, this time it is the consumer which gets told off. In specific shopping in the supermarket is suggested to be a cold act without any contact with the process behind the product. Knowing the person behind the product is again stated as important.

*'For me Slow Food means that you are directly in touch with the person who is in touch with the product. And you see to who it goes. Not like in shop where man just takes the product, coldly does the payment at cash desk and all. **He does not care** who is the producer and where did you get it, and from who you took it and how you took it'.* (SF farmer)

Then there are characterization frames towards Non-SF Chefs. Again, the trustworthiness about the acquisition of products is questioned.

*'Chef cooks **they are cheating**. How can he sell so much? I take from your farmer. He takes from other farmer. Its cheating. The competition for young chefs, yes this is a good thing. What else do they do? ..ubh.. cheating. They say they are local, but it's not local. They don't say the truth. **It's for organization like Slow Food, you cannot do that**'.* (SF Chefcook)

Another extract from an interview shows the same frame concerning cheating, stating that in the Slow Food restaurant, they are trustworthy, but other restaurants are cheating.

*'Some restaurants have some Slow Food ethics but a small portion is natural foods. I would say this is **cheating**. In the Slow Food restaurant you know the origin of everything. Latvia is very small, so it is difficult to cheat. People will find out.*
(SF Management Team 3)

This fragment actually states that when it comes to food, those who are not part of the SF network are ‘cheating’. The fact that there is only a small portion of natural foods available shows it is not good enough. It should be 100 % natural foods. Since SF Riga state that they do not agree with this, they are indirectly affirming that they in fact are not cheating and create an identity that is trustworthy. As an organization like Slow Food you have to be trustworthy and be completely transparent about the origin of your products.

They just need to think

To define and justify the own identity is part of the negative characterization framing. This is done by blaming the others instead of blaming oneself. SF members counter the presumed elitism by **blaming others for not thinking** and as mentioned earlier in Chapter 5 they have countered the elitism by stating that Slow Food is affordable. In the following frames, it seems that the issue of exclusivity or elitism does not necessarily exist within Slow Food internally, but ‘the other’ is blamed.

*“No, SF is not elite. People think this only because of the **lack of knowledge** of what SF is”.* (SF co-founder)

Also ‘*People should think*’ (SF Farmer) and ‘*More people should think.*’(SF Chef 2) could be a way of countering the supposed elitist image of Slow Food. In these responses, a group identity is in fact formed that disregards Non-Slow Food members as unenlightened and without identity. It offers a critique of “foods without identity”. It could show that SF members have the tendency to think of themselves in human terms as better than others. If the food that Slow Food encourages is the type that produces happiness and identity, then according to that logic other food must lead to a lack of happiness and identity (Mccord, 2005).

In the fragment below, we can sense superiority to those who do not have an understanding of ‘better and clean production’. It is suggested that SF equals to clean production and this is better. In this case, SF is ‘better and clean’, while genetically modified is bad and dirty. The SF farmer in this case is positioning and separating himself from the other, by stating that those who do not have understanding eat bad, and it also reflects on his own identity since he is implying that he does have a good understanding of better and clean food. In the end, the other is needed to construct the self.

*‘Slow food counts as clean production. It should be. For how long you can poison yourself? **Those who have understanding eat better**, clean production that is not genetically modified.*(SF Farmer)

*'My opinion about fast food is, I can tell - they add such substances that are **dangerous**, and that's why I don't like it. It is not about killing, I just know what the substances generate. So I'm informed and I can work with it, it does not affect me, but kids are affected. I, **with my consciousness**, I can understand what the substance does and am therefore able to avoid it. They cause addiction, and even not physical, they cause mental addiction. McDonald's or any such food, or Cola, as two brightest examples, that is firstly mental addiction.'* (SF farmer)

Then, in the above quote, the SF farmer make use of another form of separating himself from the other and thus excluding by stating that 'he, with his consciousness understands' that fast food is bad. Indirectly, he implies that other people, who do eat fast-food cannot think, and understand the concept of good and healthy food. These frames could suggest that SF members feel that their identity and SF identity is threatened and try to counter this by blaming others. Elitism in this case could be seen as a negative aspect to SF members. When identities are threatened it is very likely that conflicts arise because people become very offensive, defensive when their beliefs and values are questioned (Gray, 2003).

Summary

In the frames put forth surrounding the Slow Food movement, it becomes apparent that the SF founder plays a central role in the movement. Slow Food actually is the SF founder. The way in which the SF founder identifies himself as the guru and the protector of the farmers accentuates this, as well as the way other SF members characterize him as such. Also, SF members make two interesting characterization frames towards the other, namely: they are not thinking and they are cheating. Both characterization frames also lead to SF members constructing their own, more superior identities, to be exact, that the SF members themselves 'have conscience' and 'are trustworthy'. As mentioned earlier, binary oppositions can often be used to strengthen one's own identity. Stating that Non-SF members are not thinking can be interpreted in such a way that they are countering elitism, but the result is that they are seen as more elitist than before. The importance of trust for the Slow Food movement is emphasized even more by stating that 'the other' is cheating.

6.2 Non-SF Riga Members

Characterizing the SF founder

Although, the SF founder is quite positively framed by himself and his own members, Non-SF members on the other hand frame him quite negatively. He is characterized on different aspects, namely: accusing him of cheating, not Latvian, too old, excluding Non-SF farmers, elitist. In this sense, exclusion of the SF founder is taking place on the side of 'the excluded'.

First of all, we will look at the way **Non-SF Chefs characterize the SF founder**. The Non-SF Chefs belong to the Pavāru klubs, which is a Chefs club established in Riga to connect Latvian chefs. Similar to Slow Food, they see the value of 'local foods' and both 'groups' have similarities in their approaches to food. Some of the Non-SF Chefs were also pupils of the SF founder but have now disconnected from him, starting their own restaurant and setting up their own TV Show to promote Latvian cuisine.

'Always use fresh, quality, high value products, by preference- from the Latvian producer or farmer'. (Website Pavaru Club)

'We use Slow Food principles in a way, but no necessity to be part of it. We have our own organization.'(Non-SF Chef)

In the following the Non-SF Chefs are characterizing the SF founder as a cheater. While SF members are accusing Non-SF members of cheating, now it is the other way around. The chef cooks from the 'Pavaru Club' question the trustworthiness of the products used by the SF founder in his 'Slow Food' restaurant. While trust is a major issue for SF members, Non-SF Chefs are actually mistrusting the SF founder.

*'In 1997/98 there were hardly any local products, everything was destroyed, now it is slowly rebuilding. **I don't know how the SF founder did it.** I mean I can imagine he cannot do it 100 % Slow Food either. He has banquets and stuff as well.* (Non- SF Chef 2)

The Non-SF Chefs also choose to accuse the SF founder of not being Latvian. Simultaneously, Slow Food could also be considered foreign, since in the end it is a philosophy rooted in Italy. So this could also be a reason for excluding the SF founder as well. The Chefs from the 'Pavaru club' state that they are focusing their cuisine on real Latvian food. Thus, by stating that the Chef is not actually from Latvia, they are implicitly implying that he then does not know what real Latvian cuisine is. By doing this, they could be undermining the credibility of the SF founder.

'The SF founder, he is not really Latvian. We in the Chefs Club, we are all from Latvia'.

Clearly, this shows that the Non-SF Chefs are excluding the SF founder, based on his origin and even based on age: *'Also Chefs club is for Chefs, 35 and under'*. The tension between the Chefs Club and in specific the SF founder was even explicitly stated *'actually the young chefs were educated by SF founder but due to some personal issues they are not really on good terms'*.

Then, in the following quote, a Non-SF Chef, frames his identity as not being exclusive, actually implying that SF Riga is exclusive. As a result, by not only choosing SF farmers, he is giving a chance to other

farmers as well. The way he selects his products is less strict and not 100 % according to Slow Food criteria, therefore not exclusive. According to Mccord (2011), Slow Food sometimes excludes any number of farmers from obtaining a Slow Food identity as they might be unable to follow the edicts stated in Slow Food texts or meet the *good, clean, fair* demands of co-producers.

'For me it's too extreme to only buy potatoes from SF farmers. It's important for me to let people in here that are not exclusively SF'. (Non-SF Chef 1)

Second of all, we will look at the way **other Non-SF members are characterizing the SF founder**. It becomes clear how boundaries of separation can so actively be created in conversation. In short, they are stating that SF Riga is inaccessible because not necessarily Slow Food but the SF founder seems to be exclusive or elite. While to some extent the celebrity status of the SF founder could be beneficial to the popularity of Slow Food as a whole, the personification of SF Riga can also lead to the creation of distance and boundary construction as seen in the following responses:

*'Whether I would join the SF movement? I only have an **emotional barrier**. This SF founder is a cook in a **particular level**, so it seems for a different level of society. Maybe for those rich ones. Because he always has been in not the cheapest restaurants'. (Non-SF Consumer)*

*'This chef owns this type of restaurant and somehow it is a **minus for me**. People with maybe lower salaries cannot afford the restaurant. To a place like Vincents, high professionals go there. Once I saw an interview with Ritins on TV and then he was saying you need a dress code to come into the restaurant.'* (Non-SF Consumer)

*'Slow Food (**and in particular the SF founder**) alienated a lot of people. No one offered me to be part of it. It would be great to get to know the suppliers. Earning people's trust in LV is very important, in the end it is a small country and everyone knows each other'. (Non-SF Chef 1)*

*'It's not that I have a grudge against the SF founder but **Slow Food here is quite spun off as elitist**. His slogan sort of says a lot 'If you have nothing else in your refrigerator, go for salmon filet'. (Non-SF Chef 1)*

It seems from the quotes that some people cannot fully relate to the SF founder. In the end, we tend to like people who seem like us (Cialdini, 2001). An interesting illustration of this is how a Non-SF Chef mentioned another Chef who does have these qualities:

*'Martins Sirmais on the other hand is someone you can relate to. He is often seen on television with dirty hands from peeling potatoes. Some people are like, that's disgusting but it's the real work you know. He is very **down-to earth**, basically people can **identify themselves with him**'. (Non-SF member & Chefcook)*

Summary

It becomes clear that there seems to be a hidden conflict between the SF founder and the Non-SF members. Even though Non-SF members are similar in terms of their way they value Latvian food, they are also characterizing the SF founder in a negative light. The consequences and meanings of this hidden conflict will be elaborated further in Chapter 7.

6.3 Conclusion

The relational frames have brought our attention to different inclusion and exclusion mechanisms taking place between the two groups. First of all, Non-SF members put most blame of the elitist image of SF on the SF founder himself. The frames put forth lead to stating that Slow Food is not necessarily elitist, but the SF founder is. This elitism of the SF founder however is accentuated by the way the SF founder is presenting himself towards the public. By presenting himself as the personification of SF he alienates general populace from Slow Food instead of making it accessible. A celebrity chef who is also the owner of one of the most expensive restaurants in Latvia, is very easily framed by Non-SF members as elitist while it might not be his personal intention to promote himself like this. Secondly, the issue of trust yet again returns, and this seems to be a real issue for the SF identity. Outsiders that refuse to be transparent about the origin of the products they use are perceived to be cheating, and therefore without question according to the SF members 'should be excluded' from the SF Riga network. In addition, the Non-SF Chefs have characterized the SF founder on different aspects, namely: accusing him of cheating, not Latvian, too old, excluding Non-SF farmers, elitist. have made a number of accusations towards the SF founder such as: 'he is a cheater', 'he is not Latvian', 'he is elitist' and even 'he is too old'. So while SF members state that Non-SF members are cheating, it also happens vice versa. Exclusion is not only taking place by SF members, but also on the side of 'the excluded', Non-SF members.

Figure 5. Visualizing issue and relational frames

Non-SF Riga Members:

Consumers,
Civil society, Chefs.
Farmers

Identity: we are not exclusive, also value local, Latvian food.

Slow Food: nothing new, we have another system. Just a way of thinking. Not 100 % possible due to costs, work, fast-life

Characterization: SF is cheating, SF founder is elitist, not Latvian, too old.

Identity: protector of the farmers, trustworthy, thinking

Slow Food: local, clean, affordable, quality, Not 100 % possible due to costs, work, fast-life (colliding frame)

Characterization: Non-SF members are cheating. SF founder is leader/guru of Slow Food.

SF Riga

Members:

SF Management team, Chefs, Farmers

7. Consequences & Discussion of Frames

If there is one thing that stands out from the collection of frames in the previous two chapters, it is that there appears to be inclusion and exclusion mechanisms taking place. In this chapter, the different consequences of the frames will be examined in more depth. This enables putting the frames into the a broader context to gain a better understanding of the current situation.

This Chapter aims to answer the following sub question: **What are the consequences of these frames in terms of inclusion and exclusion of people and/or their ideas?**

7.1 Including Latvians and Excluding the Global

According to Ted Lowell (2002), globalization doesn't simply bring homogenization but also strong localization. The word 'local' is especially valuable as a site of resistance to the global (Dirlik, 1996). Thus by framing Slow Food as local leads to inclusion, since local is Latvian, so all Latvians can have access to Slow Food. This inclusion in turn can create a collective identity for SF members in this case.

Nevertheless, where there is a collective identity, an "us", a confrontation with "them" is also necessary (Turner, 1991). Harvey (1996) suggests that 'local' and place identities often fall into the construction of us/them distinctions between those in the place to be defended and those outside.

Using local as a frames of inclusion for establishing a collective identity, as Slow Food Riga does can thus lead to frames of exclusion. Sharon Zukin (2008) suggests that upon closer inspection, the discourses of authenticity that play out in an urban setting reveals consumption practices that produce exclusion. On a heavier note, a left wing politician Paolo Cocchi accused Lucca's city council of 'gastroracism' due to their preoccupation with local, regional food. Furthermore, localism is a powerful ideology in many alternative food networks, whereby 'the local' is commonly viewed as unquestionably and inherently superior to mass production irrespective of the evidence (Goodman, 2005; Hinrichs, 2003; Winter, 2003). This gives an explanation to understanding that although it becomes inclusive to Latvians, it can also lead to superiority and thus exclusion, since 'anything Latvian, is per definition better'. This exclusion can also be dangerous since shutting their eyes for new developments could occur.

7.2 Boundary constructions between SF and Non-SF

Elias and Scotson (1994) show that it is actually the exclusion and stigmatization of the outsiders that allows the insiders to maintain their identity. Conflicts are more likely to rise between people who are divided by great cultural or social differences (Blok, 2001). Bourdieu (1984) states that “social identity lies in difference, and difference is asserted against what is closest, which represents the greatest threat”. Thus although the frames of Non-SF and SF members are countering each other, it is their similarities that enlarge the conflict between them. Non-SF members, ‘the excluded’ in turn play a role in the exclusion dynamics as well.

Both SF members and Non-SF members share minimal differences in terms of the value they give to food. Still, there seems to be strong boundary setting. SF members set particular criteria to the SF identity such as the need for quality products and trust in the origin of products is a major criteria for SF members. ‘Individuals define their identity in opposition to that of others by drawing symbolic boundaries’. (Lamont, 1922). Belonging to the Slow Food movement creates a Slow Food identity and the values that Slow Food stands for, defines who you are as well. Stating that Slow Food is better than Fast-food for example, may emphasize a superior identity but also produce exclusion. The trust issue may also be used by SF members to exclude others, as Non-SF members are characterized as cheaters and thus SF members are identified as trustworthy. Then, controlling the network based on trust could lead to excluding outsiders since it becomes accessible only to people who know someone in the network. In addition, the identity of the SF founder as ‘the Slow Food guru’ and ‘the protector of the farmers’ creates a sense of exclusion since Non-SF members are less likely to join SF due to the position he takes. On the other hand, Non-SF members exclude the SF founder based on other factors as well such as age, origin and also the status he seems to uphold. One can presume that they do this to strengthen their own identity as well, and want to distinguish themselves. Thus, while SF and Non-SF members are similar, they still try to distinguish themselves from ‘the other’ because they want to enhance their own identity and the collective identity of the group they may belong to.

7.3 Internal struggle within Slow Food Riga

‘For a group of people to have a collective identity, it is necessary that the group members see themselves as a group’ (Jenkins, 1996; Van Assche, 2004). There is a strong incentive for them not to deviate from the group’s norms, values or ideas. In Chapter 5 and 6, SF members have framed Slow Food and the Slow Food movement through their discourse based on certain characteristics (local, quality, trust) which are

meaningful to them and shape the SF identity. Though, although there are similar shared meanings, each SF member constructs Slow Food in their own way, dependent on their own position.

Furthermore, in the frames put forth by SF members, it appeared that there were determining colliding frames between SF members themselves and this may result in ambiguity towards the SF identity. In specific there are colliding frames between the SF founder and co-founder and the other SF members. The SF founder and co-founder do not see that Slow Food is being perceived as exclusive or elitist while other SF members are acknowledging that SF may be elitist, by stating that 100 % SF is not possible due to the high costs for example.

A possible explanation for this internal struggle within SF Riga is due to the position that the SF founder may take. Since frames have shown that the SF founder identifies and is characterized as 'The Slow Food guru' or leader to the members, other SF members have very little ownership. Thus, in the end there is very little self-reflection towards the whole group since there is no room created for dialogue. Strong leadership is good in an organization, but it seems that it has been put out of balance and it is important to give the SF members some ownership as well. There is consensus in terms of some of the values that SF holds, but individual members do not necessarily agree with majority views within the group, such as the fact that 100 % Slow Food is possible. So rather than leaning towards a closed, elitist community, SF Riga leans more towards being a one-man show due to the position which the SF founder takes.

One Non-SF farmer explicitly states that he feels SF Riga is not doing too well:

I came into contact with SF through the SF founder. I took part in the market here and he took my production. But it seems to me that for him the thing is not going very well'. (Non-SF farmer)

Also, the following online information describes the interaction between the SF co-founder and a stakeholder presenting a possibility to expand for SF Riga. It show how elitism is countered and how a problem with Slow Food Riga is actually rejected.

Twitter conversation on SF Riga

Anna Eisaks: @slowfoodberlin @slowfoodriga I think Slowfood should take example of Slowfood Berlin. In Riga there are Slow food markets and SF founder and thats all.

Slow Food Riga: @slowfoodberlin we would love to be the same like you. Then there would be more supporters and they would be more active.

SF co-founder: @annaeisaks I disagree that there are only markets and SF founder. A lot has been done, but it's up to enthusiasts/volunteers/who have an idea, and how much free time they have.

SF co-founder: @annaeisaks We do what we can. Maybe there is not enough information? www.slowfood.lv Everyone has the opportunity to take part Slow Food and support it.

Anna Eisaks: @SF co-founder I think it would be a good idea to start expanding, (to inform more) but it's just my subjective opinion.

Anna Eisaks: @SF co-founder That is also not a correct picture. Because mostly SF founder is everywhere. People think that it's something very expensive and unavailable.

7.4 Slow Food Riga and the trickledown effect

The trickledown effect as described in the conceptual framework states that the ideas and developments from the upper class (elitist groups) can trickle down to broader parts of society.

The SF management team 3 has an interesting response which corresponds to this exact thought:

'Lots think we don't have anything to offer. Young chefs for example, said 4 years ago, that we have nothing but now they are changing their opinions. They are reinventing the bicycle. It seems that they are back to traditional foods'. (SF Management team 3)

As seen in their activities (taste education, catering to business class, etc) SF Riga does want to spread the SF philosophy, however they are also blocked by, in particular the elitist image of the SF founder and are thus distancing themselves instead of attracting people. The results have also shown, that Non-SF

members do not seem as though they want to be part of the SF Riga movement. It does not seem very desirable for Non-SF members to take over SF philosophy as suggested in negatively framing Slow Food as nothing new, too expensive, 'just a way of thinking', and a foreign label. In practice, however, Non-SF members are following some bits of the SF philosophy although it seems that they do not want to admit that they are linked to Slow Food. As mentioned in the fragment, the young Chefs, are 'reinventing the bicycle'. Thus, although they are following the same principles, they create their own constructed meanings and ownership of Slow Food.

8. Conclusion & Recommendations

In the previous chapters the findings have been presented and discussed with many quotes and excerpts from the field notes. This thesis has hoped to give an answer to: **How do Slow Food Riga members as well as Non-Slow Food Riga members frame Slow Food, themselves and others and how do these frames include or exclude others?**

8.1 Conclusion

Exclusion is inevitable; there will always be a group of people who will be privileged over others and a group solely defined by food will set itself apart from others. In conclusion, one could say that Slow Food Riga does have tendencies towards being exclusive and being a closed community. However it leans more into the direction of being a one-man show due to the position that the SF founder takes in SF Riga. More importantly, is that Non-SF members underline this exclusivity. Boundaries are constructed between the SF and Non-SF members; SF members construct exclusionary criteria with respect to Slow Food, but Non-SF members on the other hand accuse Slow Food of being elitist and in particular exclude the SF founder based on particular characteristics. In the end however, even though boundaries are constructed between the two groups, it comes down to minor differences with respect to their perceptions of food. Boundaries in turn are strengthened due to these minor differences since people who are most similar to each other find ways to distinguish themselves from others. Also, the colliding frames with respect to Slow Food within SF Riga show that there is ambiguity about the SF identity and this in turn has a direct effect on how those outside of the SF Riga movement perceive them. Then the position of Slow Food is strongly determined by the context it is placed in. While it may be popular in Italy or France, it seems that although Latvia is a perfect location for Slow Food, Non-SF members have demonstrated that there is not really necessity for it, and therefore it creates more distance due to its 'foreign label'.

8.2 Recommendations

From a societal perspective, if it is the intention for the SF Riga to expand, and attract as many people as possible, they should, instead of setting boundaries, put their inclusive principles into practice. It is thus important that they let people understand what SF really is or can be, and that SF does not necessarily have to be more expensive. It can also be about 'growing your own food' for example. In order to do this, it is important that SF Riga has more self-reflexivity to understand if all members are striving for similar

things. It is necessary to move away from an ambivalent identity. Leadership is good, but it is important to give some ownership to the SF members as well. It is also important that Slow Food Riga does not simply translate the rules from Italy to Latvia, but also understands the Latvian context and the need for Slow Food. Furthermore they should form more inclusive partnerships with other locally established food movements in Latvia, to shift away from a 'foreign label'. Also, consumers, not only farmers should see the significance of Slow Food in Riga. Consumers remain to be rather invisible in the Slow Food Riga network so more attention should be given to attract the consumer. An interesting approach to use is the positive deviance approach for example, in which certain individuals or groups whose uncommon but positive behaviors and strategies enables them to find better solutions for their peers. Rather than having someone that people cannot not relate to, because of a particular status like the SF founder, it would be preferable to have someone who is considered more of a peer. In the end, we cannot ignore that Slow Food can plant the seeds for the type of profound global change and can serve as an important signal and example to the mainstream, reflecting where society is going and where the new opportunities lie. Hopefully at some point these opportunities may trickle down to broader parts of society.

In relation to other scientific articles that have focused examined the exclusivity and an elitist image of Slow Food, most articles have focused on the portrayal of the elitism of Slow Food in mass media or Slow Food recipes (van Bommel et al, 2011, Germov et al, 2010, Mccord, 2005). What makes this thesis different to these studies is that it focuses on the interplay between SF and Non-SF members. From a scientific perspective, this thesis thus contributes to empirical data (interviews, discourse) on understanding how people (with the use of framing) set boundaries between each other, and how this process plays out through their discourse. Framing has been extremely useful to make this visible since it highlights the dynamic and contingent aspects of meaning creation, as well as its potential for conflicting interpretations of the same reality. It has shown that discourse is a means of identity construction within a collective group but that discourse can simultaneously be utilized as a means of inclusion and exclusion by group members. Also this thesis confirms the theory that groups with minimal differences can lead to conflict as well as groups which have extreme differences. For further research, it would be recommendable to examine another local convivial, since a single case study is not enough to make a good judgment. In this thesis and research, interaction has also been studied but insufficiently. It is advised to study more in-depth interactions between SF members by using methods such as focus group discussions. It can enable this type of research to be more profound and understand how interactional framing can take place in physical spheres.

9. Reflection

Personal experience

Before a journey, one has expectations of their destination, sometimes rightly so, other times the expectations are completely unfulfilled. My expectations of Latvia were: ice cold temperatures, grumpy people sitting across from you in public transport, and a high percentage of vodka drinkers. Overall, a big stereotype of Post-Soviet states. I was pleasantly surprised though.



Latvia, a small country in between Estonia and Lithuania and bordering Russia has a lot to offer. Latvia is a green country and Latvians will never make me forget their strong connection to nature. Every Latvian I have spoken to has a house in the countryside, where they can go to and hide from the city, drink fresh milk, climb the trees, help their grandparents with gardening, pick blueberries from the forest, just breathe in the air and remember childhood. The connection to the countryside is normal (as also suggested in the frame of SF members) and a remarkable aspect of Latvian culture. It is hard to picture this while living in Riga but it is strongly sensed when I hop on the bus away from the hectic life of the city. In the countryside, houses are removed from each other by a couple of kilometres, fields of bright yellow rapeseed flowers are compensated by a small blue orthodox church in the background. For miles and miles, on the right I see immense pine forests hiding the cold Baltic sea. In the distance I see a stork hovering over, bringing food to her chicks. Latvians are so connected to nature, they take juice directly from the birch tree in spring time. Latvia has made me understand the connection to nature but also nostalgia to the past. Every time I escaped from Riga I felt like I was going back in a time without industrialisation and a fast-moving life but a quiet, peaceful, simple life in the countryside. It reminds me of Slow Food's nostalgia to past traditions and I remind myself that I am constructing my own nostalgia at this very point: a nostalgia to my time in Latvia. As an outsider, Latvia is a perfect example of the maintenance of these traditions, although I would say it is more about regaining their tradition rather than maintaining it, when looking at Latvian history. Of course, this is a very rosy and idyllic picture of Latvia, and fast-food and processed food are making their entrance into Latvian consumer's world. In Riga, there

are two big supermarket chains: Rimi and Maxima. Stockmann, a Finnish store is apparently for the upper-class; they have more expensive and special products. Slow Food Riga like many other organizations and food movements are trying to promote 'good, clean and fair' Latvian cuisine. Unfortunately the way Slow Food itself is being positioned and how others frame their thoughts on Slow Food make it less attractive for people to join the movement. Other movements, such as the direct consumer-producer movement seem to be more accessible. These informal alternative food movements are more popular amongst Latvians, and it is more in line with their own culture and identity.

Limitations

Language

Without a doubt, understanding the Latvian language was an impossible task to do. Although most of the chef cooks spoke English due to their experiences abroad, it was difficult to approach consumers and farmers without an interpreter. So in my second month, I finally decided it was time to approach an interpreter.

Interpreter

With qualitative research, probing is a defining point. This at times was difficult to the position, the interpreter took in the process. As she was less familiar with qualitative research, it could be that at times the information was lost and I had no ability to return it. However, I have tried to involve her in as much activities as possible to get a feeling for the research. It is very important that one feels comfortable and understands the objectives of the research. At times, of course I felt insignificant in the interview but I believe my presence there could have influenced the interview in a certain way as well. Also, non-verbal communication is very important and I tried to follow the interview in such a way that I was able to see the reaction of the respondent towards certain questions.

However in the end of March, I had a problem with her since she ended up cancelling our cooperation. This was quite stressful because I became dependent on her and we already had planned some appointments. Eventually, I found a new interpreter and she has helped me collect the further data. Her critical questions and out-of-the box thinking were quite useful for me at times. Although, I became alert that it was still important for me, that my own questions were asked. Sometimes this was quite difficult due to the language and I became a passive interviewer at times.

Difficulty finding certain respondents

In my research process, I have had some difficulty contacting the respondents. People are busy and have limited time to have interviews. So it was a real task to get around this. For example, in one week my first interpreter has called the different farmers for me who are all SF members. One of them only wanted a phone interview, the other wants an interview by email. The problem is that they are all not living in Riga which makes it a lot harder for me to contact them. In the end however, my interpreter called the farmer about the phone interview, since I felt it would be much better to see him face-face. The second time she called, he changed his mind, and even invited me to his house to have the interview.

On numerous occasions, I noticed that respondents were hesitant to talk to a researcher because of personal concerns and wondering where the information that they were telling me about was going to land. A normal question was, for what and who is this research? I wonder if this is part of the Latvian culture, being less open towards outsiders but of course I cannot make this assumption. Moreover, some topics that were discussed in the interview, for some people, gave rise to suspicion. Why was I so interested in Slow Food? And why do I bring up questions about ‘elitism’? And who cares about ‘my personal food style’? Sometimes I felt like they thought it was utterly useless to talk about this. However of course it really depended on the people and their openness to the questions.

Some people thought I was a journalist so they were very happy that I could set up a story about them and their company. Furthermore, some people were hesitant to participate because they feared that there was a link with a particular institution. As a researcher, I was part of the research field and therefore influenced the people who I met and the ones that I interviewed, although unintended. I was sometimes asked whether the responses were helpful (*“I hope the interview has been useful”*). Social desirable ways of answering and anticipation of what the informant thought I wanted to know were inevitable. However, I expect that the combination of data collection techniques; semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and participant observations, even though only partly, have subverted this limitation.

Difficulty getting acquainted with the Slow Food Network

It was quite difficult to get information on contacts from the founders. I tried to reach the Slow Food Riga founder and co-founder by email and phone many times. Often I also asked about the members and then I got a list of chef cooks, which I didn’t really understand because at times I would have an interview with one of the chef cooks and they would say they are not a member of Slow Food. For me, it was thus difficult to give a proper identification of who was a SF member and who was not. However, of course, this, in itself was an interesting result as well.

Contacting farmers

Since I was also interviewing farmers, a limitation was that some were not going to any markets because they had nothing to sell. I was spending my time in Riga from end of January till end of June, which means I experienced all the seasons. From January-April however, I was unable to contact one farmer for example who sold tomatoes and they were just not in season yet. It was thus a good thing that I had experiences all seasons, and it made me more aware that seasonal products were indeed so important for these farmers.

Positioning

Besides the research methods, it is important to examine the role of the researcher, as this plays a major role in the way respondent's reacted to the interview questions.

Role of researcher

My research was centered on the city of Riga. As a foodie I was very happy to dive into the different restaurants, go to the markets and examine supermarket products. It was very easy for me to do this already since my interest lies in this topic. This however could have influenced my research to a certain extent and create a bias. Nonetheless, there is no such thing as 'value-free research' (Cumming, Jones, 2005:86) and it is inevitable that my own frames and point of reference would somehow influence my research. Being aware of this is the first step and throughout the research, I took good care one view would not be accepted over the other, but that it would merely be a collection of different views and opinions in order to interpret the result as objectively as possible.

During the interviews at times, I felt like there was a certain distance between me as the researcher and them as the respondent. Other times, it was easier for me to interview respondents because we knew each other outside of the interviewing sphere and the atmosphere was more informal. This could have to do with the age of the respondents and the ambiance of the location where we interviewed. Most interviews with the chef cooks took place in their natural surroundings- the restaurant (although not the kitchen). The dynamism in the kitchen and restaurant was very much sensed in both Restorans Vincents as well as Restorans Biblioteka Nr. 1. Both chef cooks were in a hurry and did not have much time.

I would say I started as an outsider (etic) and slowly became part of some circles, though still not becoming a complete member (emic). In terms of being an insider I would say it already has a lot to do with my own terms of reference concerning Slow Food. A lot of times, I was agreeing with particular point of views, which could question my neutrality of course. However, I have tried to step into the research as neutral as possible. Visiting the numerous restaurants as a consumer, joining a chef cook to the

market, visiting the markets, and being part of the direct-buying group has helped me become more of an insider, but still well aware of my objective position in the research.

Reflection on theory and methodology

Food cannot in any way be disconnected from our identity and culture. Food nourishes but also signifies (Fischler, 1988). This thesis has helped me understand this even more significantly. Food can create a sense of belonging, but with this sense of belonging, also comes a sense of ‘otherness’ and exclusion. Objecting what someone may eat will object to his/her identity as well leading to a ‘we and they’ feeling. Framing has definitely helped to make inclusion and exclusion mechanisms more visible. It has however been a real struggle to show these inclusion and exclusion mechanisms on paper even though the thoughts about the mechanisms are firmly pressed in my mind.

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Appendix 1

Topic List

- Slow Food Characteristics-size
- Slow Food Characteristics-control
- Slow Food Characteristics-responsibility
- Slow Food Characteristics-costs
- Slow Food Characteristics-membership
- Slow Food Characteristics-processing
- Slow Food Characteristics-organization
- Slow Food Values-trust
- Slow Food values-origin
- Slow Food values-protecting farmers
- Slow Food values-no cheating
- Slow Food values-seasonal products
- Positioning towards other food styles-Latvian Food
- Positioning towards other food styles-Fast Food

Appendix 2

Transcribed Interview

SF Chef

Date interview: 20-04-2013

Place interview: Kalcniema Iela Market

Occupation: Chef at NOMA and now Chefcook at Restorans Vincents

Personal Food styles:

Opening question: **Could you describe your personal food style?**

First you're looking always for seasonal products, what you can get in season. If you can't, better quality from the other countries. Now you can't get tomatoes, no season here. They are expensive but you can find it. Morels mushrooms, now it starts season. Cheap, if you find them yourself.

Supporting questions:

What kind of food do you like?

Seasonal. I don't have a favorite. Its not like: 'I like potatoes I can eat it every day, no it is stupid thing'. Now it comes asparagus, after 3 months comes tomatoes.

What is your favorite dish?

Fresh is the best what you can get on your plate.

Are there things that you would never eat? (specific animals, specific vegetables, food that is prepared in a specific way, fast food, et-cetera)

Licorice. I eat it but.. it's like Anis. I like Sambuca, ouzo however.

Do you like to cook?

You never want to bring your work back home. Most of the food you don't make at home so most of the things you eat are cold things.

For whom do you cook normally? For some birthdays.

Where do you get your food? When seasonal, of course as much as possible from the local farmers. If it's not good quality, we don't take it. I try to bring this philosophy home, but I can't. I can't make it always. I love to pick good chicken, but I can't. Sometimes the only possibility is to take it from a big factory.

What about adopting some chickens? Adopt some, in a flat? Geez.. no!

Do you typically get different kinds of food in different places? (e.g. vegetables at central market). I never go to Central market. We work with farmers. 90 % of the farmers who work at the

Central Market are reselling. The Slow Food philosophy is not working there. The quality is not so bad, but it does not coincide with the philosophy. It's not work with the farmer, but working with a third person. The third person he doesn't care, he just wants to sell, and get his money. The farmer, that is his products. If it is bad, he might be shy. The third person he doesn't care about that.

Do you know where the ingredients/products you use come from? Is it your preference that they are 100 % Latvian?

Hmm..I always look for good quality, good and true quality. It is most important. Of course, if it Latvian, yes of course. I have some patriotism inside. Latvian products however are expensive and quite bad quality.

How do you determine quality? You see it, you touch it, you try it to determine quality.

What are the most important factors when making food choices? (cost, taste, health, quality, tradition, convenience)

You have to put everything in balance. Of course, you try to find the best and great quality for less money but it hardly ever happens.

What kinds of restaurants do you prefer?

Here in Riga, there are hardly any good restaurants. It's always a disappointment. You know everything, where it comes from. Vincents is quite expensive, but what you get is quality.

Network characteristics:

Are you a Slow Food member?

Yes, of course, it started 5-6 years ago, after that I am member yes. Not really in life, because it is just a little too expensive for. Slow Food member no, but to be a Slow Food man yes. But the philosophy from the restaurant you try to live with that but something you cannot get good quality. But meat sometimes too expensive in these Latvian areas. You can't be 100 % Slow Food.

Can you tell me a little a bit about how you first came in contact with Slow Food?

My chef. I work as chefcook at Restorans Vincents. I didn't know SF Founder before. No, one time I asked 'can I try?'. And he said, yeh, come try. Then I stayed one summer. I had school, but that was a waste of time. I worked in NOMA, and last year in Alinia in Chicago. In France, I worked in 'boulangerie'. But I'm not a pastry man. You have to be very special man to work with dough. You cannot be chef and work with pastry. They are totally different things, it's like meat and fish.

Could you describe the values of Slow Food in your own words?

It's a whole philosophy; seasonal, local, traditional, family, fair-trade, for the farmer. It works, but people can't afford this. It's too expensive for now but maybe in the future. We as chefs try to represent the people, the farmers, work with the farmers. We ask what we need, they need to calculate. Other chef's make a phone call to big companies.

How does membership work?

You can believe it without being involved in it. Why you wanna be involved? But the money that you give, it can help something. With this money you can help the farmers.

How large is Slow Food Riga?

60 members, farmers, bread makers. Consumers? Yeh, its like here in Riga all these six years, 100 people, they try to support us. They try to help us do something more. As a member you have to pay memberships. With that money that we get from the membership we can help the farmers. Just make it a little more popular for people to get his produce.

Do you know any chefcooks that are SF member?

SF founder, and a lot of farmers. Chefcooks they are cheating. How can he sell so much? I take from your farmer. He takes from other farmer. Its cheating. I can say this is Slow Food (points at Birch sap from Chef's garden)because its traditional, its natural. You can believe it.

What is the role of farmers in Slow Food?

Some of them want to be part of it. Farmers get better, I take this salad from that farmer. He's right farmer, he's cheating. People listen. Responsible for this, we tell people what is good and what isn't good. We have to insure that they are not cheating.

What are the obstacles for Slow Food?

Before we got our own market in Berges Bazaar, now we are here at the Kalnciema Iela Market. Three years ago, there was really fantastic market. Now, we try this market. We are here, we make food, and are here for the farmers.

Do you think Slow Food should expand?

Yes, I hope so. We started small and after 3 years we were about 70. But then again, it goes down and then we start again. But if we become gigantic. You can't. It's how it happens, If one person with idea, passion etc, he cannot take everyone. There is so much he can do. Better if we stay exclusive, good and truly, then you can't control that. In the end everyone can be part of it.

Personal food style in relation to other Sf-members and non-Slow Food:

Do you think more people should eat and practice Slow Food?

More people should think. It's not very expensive but it's still more expensive.

But growing food on the balcony of my flat is also Slow Food right?

I can also make a car in my flat, but I'm not a car maker. It's for farmers not for consumers. It's not for people who are growing at home for themselves.

How do you feel about 'fast food' and ready-made meals? Do you sometimes eat fast food?

It's everywhere so you can't escape. I can't remember when I was last time. Not every day and not so much. People are crazy eating, sometimes they don't even know what they eat. We have to start to think what we eat because you are what you eat. You eat bad fuel.

What do you consider elite food?

What I like in this market, is that you can forget all this. Here you are in a market, here you can make real and traditional food, and try to use products from farmers. Its bloody hard work, but it's fantastic. Yesterday you come at 9 in the morning, finish at 2 at night, wake up today at 5, and you have to be a service in the evening. Only 4 hours to sleep. You want to enjoy but somehow you have to make it.

What do you think about the food habits of the Latvian people? Do people eat healthy? Do they have a good taste/ do Latvian people have a rich tradition of food / a rich food culture?

No, NO! The best place where they eat healthy is Japan. Healthy is fresh to me. Bread you can make from 5 things. If you go to market, bloody 32! Rich food culture, Jezus Christ. Latvian, no, no no. Latvia no signature, sorry, no signature for that. Rye Bread soup. Honey cake. It's not so loud, this is Latvian. Pasta Pasta is Italiano. A lot of things from Russians, Polish and yeh, like this. There is no Latvian cuisine. Herring is not Latvian, we don't have it in our waters. What can you buy from 10 lats, nothing. They have to earn something, you can't buy nothing for that. That is little cheating. Real Latvian, maybe buy from producers, farmers.

Latvian ostrich, they buy from Lithuania, Lithuania buys from somewhere else. One can't really catch it.

What do you think about the concept Contemporary Latvian cuisine introduced by the other chefs?

I do not agree with it. There is no future, maybe it will be in a book one day, that's it. Maybe not in my time, maybe in 200 years.

How is your contact with other Chefs? Do you try to involve them in Slow Food?

They have this show, Musdiena Garza. The Pavaru club...we think they ..not to be rude.. are bitches. They have a competition for young chefs. What else do they do? ...uhh.. cheating. They say they are local, but it's not local. They don't say the truth. It's for an organization like Slow Food, you cannot do that. Of course it's hard to survey all process. The real thing is trust. They try to trust and the chefs use that. I think it is happening everywhere. Even in Italy. You can't say when and how. It's like politician, you know they are lying and cheating. Nobody can say it.

What is the future of Slow Food in your opinion?

Maybe miracle happens. You have to always believe in something. I have to stay positive on that note. Lets believe in something

Appendix 3

Coded interview

Fragment of text	Topic	Code
First you're looking always for seasonal products, what you can get in season. If you can't, better quality from the other countries. Now you can't get tomatoes, no season here. It's expensive but you can find it.	Slow Food values-seasonal products	Seasonal products
Seasonal. I don't have a favorite. 'I like potatoes I can eat it every day, no it is stupid thing'. Now it comes asparagus, after 3 months comes tomatoes.	Slow Food values-seasonal products	Seasonal products
I try to bring this philosophy home, but I can't. I can't make it always. I love to pick good chicken, but I can't. Sometimes the only possibility is to take it from a big factory.	Slow Food Characteristics-costs	Costs
We work with the farmers. 90 % of the farmers who work at Central Market they are reselling. The philosophy is not working there. The quality is not so bad, but it does not coincide with the philosophy. It's not work with the farmer, it's like a third person. The third person he doesn't care, he just want to sell, and get his money. The farmer, that is his. If it is bad, he might be shy. The third person he don't care about that.	Slow Food Values-protecting farmers	Protecting farmers
Latvian products however are expensive and quite bad quality.	Positioning towards other food styles-Latvian Food	Latvian Food

You have to put everything in balance. Of course, you try to find the best and great quality for less money but it hardly ever happens.	Slow Food Characteristics-costs	Costs
Not really in life, because it is just a little too expensive for me. Slow Food member not really, but to be a Slow Food man yes.	Slow Food Characteristics-costs	Costs
No, you can believe it without being involved in it. Why you wanna be involved?	Slow Food Characteristics-membership	Membership
We as chefs try to represent the people, the farmers, work with the farmers. We ask what we need, they need to calculate.	Slow Food Values-protecting farmers	Protecting farmers
It works, but people can't afford this. It's too expensive for now but maybe in the future.	Slow Food Characteristics-costs	Costs
The money that you give, it can help something. With this money you can help the farmers.	Slow Food Values-protecting farmers	Protecting farmers
Slow Food small? No, 60 members, farmers, bread makers. Consumers? Yeh, its like here in Riga all these six years, 100 people, they try to support us.	Slow Food Characteristics-size	Size
They try to help us do something more. As a member you have to pay memberships. With that money that we get from the membership we can help the farmers. Just make it a little more popular for people to get his produce.	Slow Food Characteristics-membership	Membership
Chefcooks they are cheating. How can he sell so much? I take from your farmer. He takes from other farmer. Its cheating. I can say this is Slow Food (points at Birch sap from Chef's garden)because its traditional, its	Slow Food values-no cheating/Slow Food values-trust	No cheating/Trust

natural. You can believe it.		
Some of them are, want to be part of it; farmers get better, I take this salad from that farmer. He's right farmer, he's cheating. People listen. We are responsible for this, we tell people what is good and what isn't good. We have to insure that they are not cheating.	Slow Food Values-trust	Trust
We started small and after 3 years we were about 70. But then again, it goes down and then we start again.	Slow Food Characteristics-size	Size
It's how it happens. If one person with an idea, passion, he cannot take everyone. There is so much he can do.	Slow Food Characteristics-organization	Organization
Better if we stay exclusive, good and truly, otherwise you can't control that. In the end everyone can be part of it.	Slow Food Characteristics-control	Control
More people should think. It's not very expensive but it's still more expensive.	Slow Food Characteristics-costs	Costs
I can also make a car in my flat, but I'm not a car maker. It's for farmers not for consumers. It's not for people who are growing at home for themselves.	Slow Food Values-protecting farmers/Slow Food Characteristics-membership	Protecting farmers/Membership
It's everywhere so you can't escape. I can't remember when I was last time. Not every day and not so much. People are crazy eating, sometimes they don't even know what they eat. We have to start to think what we eat because you are what you eat. You eat bad fuel.	Positioning towards other food styles-Fast Food	Fast Food
Rich food culture, Jezus Christ. Latvian, no, no no. Latvia has no signature, sorry, no signature for	Positioning towards other food styles-Latvian Food	Latvian Food

<p>that. Rye Bread soup. Honey cake. It's not so loud, this is Latvian. Pasta Pasta is Italiano.</p>		
<p>We think they ..not to be rude.. are bitches. They have competition for young chefs, this is good. What else do they do...uhh.. cheating. They say they are local, but it's not local. They don't say the truth. It's for organization like Slow Food, you cannot do that. It's hard to survey all process. The real thing is trust. They try to trust and the chefs use that. I think it is happening everywhere. Even in Italy. You can't say when and how. It's like politician, you know they are lying and cheating. Nobody can say it.</p>	<p>Slow Food values-no cheating/Slow Food values-trust</p>	<p>No cheating/Trust</p>

Appendix 4

Issue and relational frames from coding fragments

Issue frames

First you're looking always for seasonal products, what you can get in season. If you can't, better quality from the other countries. Now you can't get tomatoes, no season here. Expensive but you can find it.

Seasonal. I don't have a favorite. 'I like potatoes I can eat it every day, no it is stupid thing'. Now it comes asparagus, after 3 months comes tomatoes.

I try to bring this philosophy home, but I can't. I can't make it always. I love to pick good chicken, but I can't. Sometimes the only possibility is to take it from a big factory.

You have to put everything in balance. Of course, you try to find the best and great quality for less money but it hardly ever happens.

Can't say this is Slow Food; its traditional, its natural. From Chef's garden, birch sap, you can believe it.

It works, but people can't afford this. It's too expensive for now but maybe in the future.

The money that you give, it can help something. With this money you can help the farmers.

Slow Food small? No, 60 members, farmers, bread makers. Consumers? Yeh, its like here in Riga all these six years, 100 people, they try to support us.

They try to help us do something more. As a member you have to pay memberships. With that money that we get from the membership we can help the farmers. Just make it a little more popular for people to get his produce.

Some of them are, want to be part of it; farmers get better, I take this salad from that farmer. He's right farmer, he's cheating. People listen. We are responsible for this, we tell people what is good and what isn't good. We have to insure that they are not cheating.

We started small and after 3 years we were about 70. But then again, it goes down and then we start again.

It's how it happens. If one person with an idea, passion, he cannot take everyone. There is so much he can do.

Better if we stay exclusive, good and truly, otherwise you can't control that. In the end everyone can be part of it.

More people should think. It's not very expensive but it's still more expensive.

I can also make a car in my flat, but I'm not a car maker. It's for farmers not for consumers. It's not for people who are growing at home for themselves.

Relational Frames

Identity Frames

Not really in life, because it is just a little too expensive for. Slow Food member no, but to be a Slow Food man yes.

We as chefs try to represent the people, the farmers, work with the farmers. We ask what we need, they need to calculate.

Characterization Frames

We work with the farmers. 90 % of the farmers who work at Central Market they are reselling. The philosophy is not working there. The quality is not so bad, but it does not coincide with the philosophy. It's not work with the farmer, it's like a third person. The third person he doesn't care, he just want to sell, and get his money. The farmer, that is his. If it is bad, he might be shy. The third person he don't care about that.

Latvian products however are expensive and quite bad quality.

Chefcooks they are cheating. How can he sell so much? I take from your farmer. He takes from other farmer. Its cheating.

It's everywhere so you can't escape. I can't remember when I was last time. Not every day and not so much. People are crazy eating, sometimes they don't even know what they eat. We have to start to thinking what we eat because you are what you eat. You eat bad fuel.

Rich food culture, Jezus Christ. Latvian, no, no no. Latvia has no signature, sorry, no signature for that. Rye Bread soup. Honey cake. It's not so loud, this is Latvian. Pasta Pasta is Italiano.

What else do they do...uhh.. cheating. They say they are local, but it's not local. They don't say the truth. It's for organization like Slow Food, you cannot do that.

Appendix 5

Short summary of the issue and relational frames

Issue

Slow Food is seasonal, local, traditional, natural.
100% SF man not possible.

Relational

Identity: I cannot be a 100 % Slow Food man, flexible with Slow Food definition. Chefs are the protector of farmers.

Characterization: Working with third persons like at the Central Market is not trustworthy. Other chefs are cheating, they state they are using Latvian products but are not. People who eat fast food do not know what they eat. Latvians do not have a strong food culture.