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Going "Glocal": Toward a New Social Movement Theory

by

Emma Conway Van Susteren
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....iii

CHAPTER 1: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 1

INTRODUCTION 1
LITERATURE REVIEW 2
DEFINITIONS 2
SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY 8
METHODOLOGY 18
HYPOTHESES 19
CASE STUDIES 24
A NOTE ON SOURCES 28

CHAPTER 2: THE CASE OF SLOW FOOD 29

INTRODUCTION 29
SLOW FOOD, AN OVERVIEW 30
ORIGINS 30
SLOW FOOD GOES GLOCAL 36
SLOW FOOD IN ACTION 37
USING THE SLOW FOOD CASE STUDY TO TEST GLOCAL HYPOTHESES 44
RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY 44
POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY 47
ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY 48
CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP THEORY 52
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY 55
CONCLUDING REMARKS 57

CHAPTER 3: THE CASE OF RAW MILK 60

INTRODUCTION 60
RAW MILK, AN OVERVIEW 63
ORIGINS 63
THE MOVEMENT ITSELF 70
USING THE RAW MILK CASE STUDY TO TEST GLOCAL HYPOTHESES 78
RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY 78
POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY 83
ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY 84
CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP THEORY 87
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY 88
CONCLUDING REMARKS 89

CONCLUSION 93

WORKS CITED 115

PREFACE

INTRODUCTION

"Think globally, act locally" has become an important catchphrase of the twenty-first century. With increased globalization and the rise of global concerns, this phrase has been used by government officials, businessmen, and political activists.[1] It is especially widespread among those activists involved in the fair trade and environmental movements, for example, as they encourage consumers to buy fair trade products, and to use energy efficient light bulbs. In these cases, taking action at the local level has little to do with place; "local" could be anywhere.

In this thesis, I consider a distinct type of social movement: the glocal social movement. Distinct from other movements whose participants "think globally and act locally," in a glocal movement "local" is a distinct place, with its own history, culture, politics and economy. How such a movement emerges and endures is the puzzle I seek to solve in the following work, asking: "how can a glocal movement be successful?"

In order to answer this question, I draw from contemporary social movement literature, pulling criteria that the predominant theories suggest a movement must meet in order to be successful. I use these criteria to develop my own hypotheses for a glocal movement's success, indicating the criteria that a glocal social movement must meet in

[1] "Globalization" carries many different meanings and connotations in academia. I use the term to mean simply "interconnected." With enhanced communicative technology and cheap and widespread transportation, the world's governments, businesses, and citizens have become increasingly interconnected.

order to emerge, to endure, and to be successful. Finally, I test these hypotheses with two case studies. Testing these hypotheses will indicate which criteria help to understand why some movements are able to evolve from a local to a glocal movement, and become successful, while others cannot make that shift or sustain it.

The first chapter of this thesis is divided into two sections. In the first section, I provide a literature review, defining key terms and paying close attention to the glocal social movement—a type of transnational movement that, I argue, deserves careful consideration. Also in this section I highlight five social movement theories with particular relevance to my question: resource mobilization theory, charismatic leadership theory, political opportunity structure theory, organizational theory and new social movement theory. In the second section of this chapter, I outline my methodology, developing five groups of hypotheses, each grounded in the paradigms outlined in my literature review. These hypotheses highlight the criteria that a glocal social movement would likely have to meet in order to emerge and/or endure.

In the second chapter, I test these five groups of hypotheses with a successful glocal movement, the Slow Food movement. This chapter begins with an overview of the movement: the origins of the movement and its organization, and a broad outline of the Slow Food network, its mission, its values and its goals. The second section contains my main analysis; I address each hypothesis to determine whether or not the hypothesis holds true for the Slow Food movement. I am particularly interested in discovering whether the factors identified by the social movement literature are necessary and/or sufficient for the emergence and endurance of the glocal movement.

In the third chapter, I test the same five hypotheses on a glocal social movement that has been less successful: the raw milk movement. I also begin this chapter with an overview of the movement, grounding the movement in a history of the modern U.S. dairy system, describing the emergence of the movement in the twentieth century, and highlighting the leadership and organization of the movement. In the second section, I test each of my hypotheses. My goal is to develop a better understanding of how the current social movement theories help to explain the experience of the raw milk movement.

In my conclusion, I offer a succinct summary of my findings and determine which criteria are most likely necessary for a glocal movement to emerge, endure, and be successful. I end with a discussion of the contributions of this thesis to social movement theory.

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I did not write this thesis alone. There are a number of people both within and outside of the Wesleyan community who have supported me throughout this process. I want to take the opportunity to thank them here.

I want to thank Professor Haddad, my adviser, whose constructive criticism, kindness and encouragement have been essential to making this thesis what it is. Her busy schedule did not keep her from taking on an extra advisee second semester. Nor did it keep her from editing chapters, fielding questions, or offering guidance; her dedication to her students is unparalleled. Thank you.

I want to thank my family. My mom, who, in many ways, provided the inspiration for this thesis—teaching me how to roll *gnocchi* off a fork with (near) perfection, to stir

polenta so that it does not burn and to broil the rind of the Parmesan for a special pre-dinner treat. For these things, I will forever be grateful. My dad, who has always urged me to think critically, encouraged me to speak articulately, and forced me to write with clarity. Without him, I would not be the student that I am today. I want to thank my sister, Hannah, whose sound advice and unwavering cheerfulness have gotten me through the toughest times.

I want to thank my friends. Particularly Elias, who has supported me even at my very worst; Nina, who has been so patient with me over the last four years; and my housemates, Abby, Charlotte, Conner and Erin, who always listened to me complain, without complaint.

Finally, I want to thank the College of Social Studies. I especially want to thank Professor Gallarotti, who always had faith in me and in my project; Professors Miller and Rutland for their support throughout this process; Mickie, who has always been so helpful; and, finally, my classmates, who have seen me through many late Thursday nights and long Friday afternoons.

CHAPTER 1
A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. **glocal**
   glocal is a combination of the global and local…some things are both.
   —Urbandictionary.com

INTRODUCTION

Social movement scholars do not agree on much, but they do agree that developing and sustaining any social movement is not easy. Developing and sustaining a glocal movement is especially difficult, as the tension between local and global missions, organizations and identities stands as an obstacle to the movement's success. It is for this reason that, in its simplest form, the question that I seek to answer in this thesis is the following: "how can a glocal movement be successful?"

In this first chapter, I set out to provide a theoretical framework to answer this question. I begin with a literature review. In this section I define key terms, emphasizing the distinctions between local, national, transnational, and what I call "glocal," social movements. In this section I also highlight five of the most relevant social movement theories: resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structure theory, organizational theory, charismatic leadership theory, and new social movement theory. In doing so, I examine the ways in which these theories have been used to explain the emergence, endurance and success of social movements. This will help to develop an understanding of the puzzle of the glocal social movement.

The second section of this chapter outlines my methodology. In this section, I derive a testable hypothesis from each social movement theory outlined in my literature review. Each hypothesis highlights the central explanatory factor that a paradigm uses to distinguish between successful and unsuccessful social movements, but is adapted to relate specifically to the glocal movement. In this sense, these hypotheses indicate the criteria potentially necessary for the success of a glocal movement. At the end of this section I introduce the two case studies that will be used to test my hypotheses: the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement.

LITERATURE REVIEW

DEFINITIONS

There are many different understandings of the term "social movement." For the purposes of this study I adopt Charles Tilly's definition, paraphrased by Sidney Tarrow in his book *The New Transnational Activism*.[1] A social movement, Tarrow writes, is "'a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities' that uses a well-hewn contentious repertoire on the part of people who proclaim themselves to be worthy, unified, numerous, and committed."[2]

Yet, even with a concrete definition, the term "social movement" remains a general term. Before going forward there is an important distinction that should be highlighted here. Most of the well-known social movements are, in actuality, **umbrella movements**, comprised of what Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai refer to as

[1] It is worth noting here that Tilly's definition has been criticized by new social movement and social constructionist theorists, who argue that collective identity and the formation of networks must be included in this definition. While this is an important discussion, I argue that collective identity and the formation of networks (or alliances) are not inherent components of the social movement, but rather strategies employed by the movement in order to be successful.
[2] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6-7.

component movements.[3] The environmental movement, for example, is an umbrella movement that encompasses a multitude of component movements, each with a different focus. While all work to protect the environment, one movement works to safeguard the world's rainforests, another addresses climate change, and a third intends to "save the whales."

Component movements are intimately related and often overlap, but each has a set of specific goals, targets and campaigns that makes it distinct from other component movements. In this thesis, I make a distinction between umbrella movements and component movements when it is helpful or necessary.

Contemporary social movements can occur at all three levels of analysis: local, national and international. This thesis uses the term **local social movement**, to describe a social movement that occurs within a local community. Its participants are local, its targets are local, and its mission is locally specific. It is often rooted in local politics, history, economics and culture. A good example is Middletown's own movement to restore McCarthy Park. The park is on land that used to belong to an elementary school; over time, it became completely overgrown and was no longer in use. In response, members of the community formed the group the Friends of McCarthy Park. They joined up with the City of Middletown and the Parks Department, and together these groups cleaned up the park, organizing clean-up days and receiving small grants to pay for park signs, benches, pathways, trees, and basketball and tennis courts.[4] In this example, there was a local problem, and local participants offered a local solution.

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[3] Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai, *Global Social Movements* (New York: Athlone Press, 2000), 10.
[4] Ed McKeon, "McCarthy Park: A Hidden Gem," in *The Middletown Eye* (Middletown2008).

In contrast to the local social movement, a **national social movement** is a social movement that occurs within the confines of national borders, such as the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. This movement addressed a specific, national concern: institutionalized racism and inequality in the United States. The goal was also national—to bring about an end to legally sanctioned segregation. Just as a local movement involves local participants and has locally rooted goals and targets, a national social movement has nation-wide participation and its mission is oriented toward the national level.

The **transnational social movement** is a new type of social movement that emerged at the end of the twentieth century.[5] According to many theorists, the first instance of organized transnational activism occurred in 1999 in Seattle, Washington, where more than 40,000 people gathered from the United States, Canada, and other countries to protest a World Trade Organization conference.[6]

A transnational social movement—in its simplest form—is a social movement that unites activists in three or more countries.[7] In their book *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, della Porta and Tarrow go further, defining transnational collective action as "*coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of*

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[5] In this thesis, the words "global," "international," and "transnational" are used interchangeably. This is due in large part to the interdisciplinary nature of this thesis, as different disciplines (e.g. international relations, sociology, government) use different terminology to describe these movements and their corresponding organizations.

[6] Jeffrey M. Ayres, "Framing Collective Action against Neoliberalism: The Case of the Anti-Globalization Movement," *Journal of World-Systems Research* 10, no. 1 (2004): 21. Some might argue that the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s were transnational, but while they occurred around the globe, they were not organized as transnational movements—they were simply heavily influenced by each other.

[7] Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalization and Social Movements: Islamism, Feminism, and the Global Justice Movement*, ed. Manfred B. Steger and Terrell Carver, Globalization (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 4.

activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions."[8] Smith et al. supplement this definition, adding that activists at the local, national and international levels can create a transnational social movement by communicating valuable "technical and strategic information," and coordinating "parallel" activities and demonstrations.[9] Whether the participants and social movement organizations are at the local, national, or international level, the end goal is global and its efforts are directed transnationally.

Such movements include—but are not limited to—the global justice movement, the environmental movement, the human rights movement and the nuclear disarmament movement. The nuclear disarmament movement provides perhaps the clearest example of a transnational movement, as nuclear arms are an international threat and the movement's organizations urge all nations "to negotiate a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC) to ban nuclear weapons and ensure their elimination."[10] The nuclear disarmament movement clearly fits della Porta and Tarrow's definition of a transnational social movement: it is a coordinated international campaign organized by a global network of activists against other states and international institutions.

This is not to say that a transnational social movement does not have a network of organizations at both the national and local levels. Perhaps the best

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[8] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, "Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction," in *Social Movements, Interest Organizations, and the Political Process*, ed. Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 2-3. Emphasis theirs.

[9] Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, "Social Movements and World Politics: A Theoretical Framework," in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, ed. Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, *Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 60.

[10] "The Solution," International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, http://www.icanw.org/the-solution.

example of a transnational social movement with a network of local branches is the human rights movement. Amnesty International, the principle transnational organization in the human rights movement, has an extensive network of organizations at the national and local levels, with organizations in more than 150 countries and regions. However, its agenda varies little at each level of analysis; local organizations often take on the same campaigns as their corresponding national organization, and national organizations choose from an array of campaigns spearheaded by Amnesty International, with little to no adaptation.

At the national level, Amnesty International USA's campaigns, for example, include all those organized by international headquarters.[11] Its only nationally-specific campaign is one dedicated to defending the rights of survivors of Hurricane Katrina, but even this campaign is intimately related to and intertwined with Amnesty International's Demand Dignity campaign—a campaign to "defend the rights and dignity of those trapped in poverty."[12] At the local level, WesAmnesty, the Amnesty International chapter here at Wesleyan University, promotes the same campaigns as both Amnesty International and Amnesty International USA. This means that WesAmnesty most often directs its efforts toward affecting change in other countries, rather than affecting change in its own community. Recently, students joined letter campaigns "on behalf of individuals detained by authorities" in Mexico and China, for example.[13]

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[11] Visit Amnesty International's website (http://www.amnesty.org/lists) for a list and decription of its campaigns: Demand Dignity, Abolish the Death Penalty, Stop Violence Against Women, Counter Terror with Justice, Control Arms, Individuals at Risk, and finally, Immigration Detention.
[12] "About Amnesty International," Amnesty International, http://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/about-amnesty-international.
[13] Zak Kirwood (leader of WesAmnesty in Middletown, CT), in discussion with the author via e-mail, April 2010.

A **glocal social movement**, I argue, is as a distinct type of transnational movement. It is not just a transnational movement, it is also a local movement. It occurs transnationally—its leaders and participants are from around the world—but it is rooted in local communities. Its end goals are both global and local, and its methods are strongly linked to local communities.

The alternative food movement is a glocal social movement, and two of its component movements are the glocal movements studied in this thesis—the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement. The alternative food movement occurs transnationally and its end goal is global: to fundamentally alter the dominant food industry in order to support local farmers, to preserve traditional products and practices, to encourage healthy eating habits and to help people get to know their food. It has organizations at all three levels of analysis, but their methods are aimed at the local level, and rooted in local geography, economics, politics and culture. Consumers buy fresh produce at local farmers' markets, dairy from a farm nearby, and meat from a neighbor. In this sense, the movement is simultaneously global and local: glocal.[14]

Social movements—whether local, national, transnational or glocal—usually work through organizations. A **social movement organization** (SMO) is an organization committed to a social movement. It may be a formal organization, with a legal status, budget and staff, or it may be informal (e.g. a club or a co-operative). The SMO works to support and further the movement by pressuring the government,

[14] It is important to note that some transnational movements have glocal tendencies or glocal component movements. The environmental movement is one example. The alternative food movement (including its component movements) is one of the few movements that can truly be considered "glocal."

educating the public and building up and sustaining resources.[15] It does this work by launching campaigns, implementing programs, and hosting events (e.g. fundraisers, demonstrations) dedicated to the cause. The SMO operates on the local, national or international level of analysis. It may be part of a system, or network, of SMOs, or it may not be. A local SMO, for example, might be connected to a transnational cause, but not institutionally connected to a transnational SMO.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Within the social movement literature there are five theories—resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structure theory, organizational theory, charismatic leadership theory, and new social movement theory—that may help to explain the creation and sustainability of glocal social movements. In this section, I will examine each theory in turn, highlighting how each applies to the glocal movement. Examining these paradigms will provide new perspectives on the ways in which access to resources, political opportunity, organizational structure, charismatic leadership, and the development of a collective identity are linked to the success of the glocal social movement.

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource mobilization (RM) theorists take a structural approach to the study of social movements, emphasizing the roles of "economic resources, political structures, formal organizations, and social networks" in the development and

[15] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 6-7.

maintenance of the social movement.[16] It is for this reason that RM scholars also adopt Tilly's definition of the social movement: "'a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities' that uses a well-hewn contentious repertoire on the part of people who proclaim themselves to be worthy, unified, numerous, and committed."[17] Such a definition aligns perfectly with RM theorists' structural approach to the social movement.

RM theory has dominated the study of social movements since it emerged in the 1970s.[18] It arose from discontent with other approaches to the study of social movements, particularly collective action theory, which suggests that collective behavior is irrational, as the individual can reap the public benefits of collective action without directly participating in the collective behavior.[19] Spearheaded by McCarthy and Zald, the RM approach instead views social movements as "normal" or "rational" political challenges led by well-organized groups and individuals. These groups and individuals act collectively against clearly defined opponents in order to bring about political or social change. [20]

McCarthy and Zald's emphasis on rationality is not the only aspect of RM theory that sets this paradigm apart from collective action theory and other approaches. While collective action theory postulates that the social movement emerges in direct response to specific grievances, RM theorists argue that grievances

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[16] Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, "Introduction," in *Rethinking Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper, *People, Passions, Power: Social Movements, Interest Organizations, and the Political Process* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), vii.
[17] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 6-7.
[18] Steven M. Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism: The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34-35.
[19] See Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).
[20] Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*, 35.

have "little—if any—explanatory value in accounting for movement origins."[21] Instead of focusing on grievances, McCarthy and Zald emphasize "the *structural conditions* that facilitate the expression of grievances."[22] Their argument hinges on the fact that many groups, spanning both time and place, have expressed grievances but have not formed social movements—suggesting that grievances "cannot be the critical factor in generating social movements."[23] According to RM theorists, what has been more important to the formation and endurance of a movement has been access to and control over resources. They argue that SMOs need "material, human, cognitive, technical, and organizational" resources in order to expand the movement, remunerate activists, and participate in the formal political system.[24] RM theorists view the aggregation of such resources as "crucial to social movement activity."[25]

RM theory was originally developed to explain the emergence and endurance of left-wing American movements in the 1960s and 1970s, but it has since been applied to a wide range of social movements, including transnational ones.[26] RM theorists do not address transnational or glocal movements specifically, but if RM theorists are correct, then access to both local and global resources should be a crucial factor in building and sustaining glocal social movements.

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[21] Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, *Social Movements in an Organizational Society: Collected Essays* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 337.
[22] Ibid. Emphasis theirs.
[23] Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*, 35.
[24] Marc Edelman, "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30(2001): 289.
[25] Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*, 35.
[26] John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *The American Journal of Sociology* 82, no. 6 (1977): 1213.

For the purposes of this thesis, the word "resources" will refer to money, information, and technology (e.g., access to the Internet).[27]

Political Opportunity Structure Theory

Like RM theory, political opportunity structure (POS) theory focuses on the external conditions that foster a social movement.[28] However, it is entirely distinct from RM theory in two important ways. First, RM theory intends to explain both the origin of the movement and the movement's endurance; in contrast, POS theory only explains the origins of the social movement, emphasizing the political conditions in which the movement emerges. Second, while RM theory argues that access to resources varies over time and place, POS theory argues that it is the political opportunity structure that varies.[29] In this case, POS theorists actually account for one of the major shortcomings of RM theory: the emergence of social movements among resource-poor groups, as they argue that "changing opportunities create avenues for resource-poor actors to engage in contentious politics."[30]

Although it was first introduced by Eisinger in 1973, Tarrow expanded on and solidified POS theory in his well-known book *Power in Movement* (1983).[31] In this book Tarrow puts forward the principle tenants of POS theory; in its most basic form,

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[27] Some theorists take a broader approach to this term (see Bandy and Smith, 2005 and Meyer, 2007), others have a narrow perspective (McCarthy and Zald, 1977), and still others make a distinction between internal and external resources (Tarrow, 1994).
[28] For this reason, many theorists have argued that POS theory simply represents a second "camp" of RM theory (see Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*, 36). In this thesis, however, it will be considered as its own paradigm, as many of its characteristics (including its focus on political power) set it apart from RM theory.
[29] Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, ed. Peter Lange, 1st ed., Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 81.
[30] Ibid., 96.
[31] Doug McAdam and David A. Snow, *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*, ed. Doug McAdam and David A. Snow (Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company, 1997), 52.

his thesis is that "movements are produced when political opportunities broaden."[32] For Tarrow the term "political opportunity" refers to the receptivity of the political system to opponents; "political opportunity structure" refers to the political dimensions that create such opportunities.[33]

The specific political dimensions that Tarrow outlines as a favorable political opportunity include increased access to political power, instability of political alignments, the presence (or absence) of strong allies and conflicts among elites.[34] Tarrow also notes that movements can both seize and create political opportunity; political opportunities may be created by using existing social networks, by teaming up with other movements and by producing collective action frames and identities that help to sustain the movement.[35]

Many theorists have criticized the POS approach, suggesting that it is too "broad and imprecise" (Gamson and Meyer, for example, call POS theory "a sponge that soaks up virtually every aspect of the social movement environment").[36] Yet POS theory can tell us much about the political environment necessary for a local social movement to go glocal, indicating which political dimensions, if any, are essential for the emergence of a glocal movement.

Organizational Theory

Organizational theory, similar to both RM theory and POS theory, takes a structural approach to the study of social movements, but in many ways offers a

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[32] Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 23.
[33] Ibid., 85.
[34] Ibid., 85-88.
[35] Ibid., 82.
[36] Edelman, "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics," 290.

distinct approach to understanding the origins, endurance and success of social movements. This approach underscores the structure of social movements, "from relationships between organizers, community groups, and participants to the institutionalization of movement groups into established organizations."[37] It is particularly concerned with how the political and social structure of organizations shape movement outcomes, arguing that "a movement's principles of organization…can lead to common dilemmas or benefits."[38] Put succinctly, the main argument of organizational theorists is that what is critical is not the external political, economic or social system that the movement operates in, but rather, the movement's internal governance structure.

There are three basic approaches to contemporary organizational theory. The first approach highlights the relationship between the internal structure of the SMO and the success of the movement. Recently, this approach has argued that the most successful movements are led by SMOs with a democratic decision-making structure. Theorists who subscribe to this approach argue that the SMO must "emphasize participation and direct democracy" and "oppose delegation of power" if it wants to meet its goals.[39]

The second approach emphasizes the organizational hierarchy of the SMOs involved in the movement. In terms of transnational social movements, this approach focuses on the interplay between local, national and transnational SMOs within the

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[37] Danielle Endres, Leah Sprain, and Tarla Rai Peterson, "Introduction: A National Day of Climate Change," in *Social Movement to Address Climate Change; Local Steps for Global Action*, ed. Danielle Endres, Leah Sprain, and Tarla Rai Peterson, *Politics, Institutions, and Public Policy in America* (Amherst NY: Cambria Press, 2009), 7.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements, an Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 141.

same social movement. Theorists look at these structural relationships in order to see if the SMOs are part of an oligarchic, federal or democratic system. While direction and decision-making are important at both the national and international levels, most contemporary organizational theorists argue that autonomy must be granted at the local level so that local offices can respond to local issues and serve "their own members' needs."[40] Contemporary organizational theorists highlight local autonomy as especially important in contemporary transnational cooperation, contrasting it with the centralized organizational structures that played a role in the transnational solidarity movements of the past.[41] In addition to local autonomy, these organizational theorists argue that structures must be both respectful and open to dialogue.[42]

The third approach of organizational theory emphasizes the alliances developed between SMOs in what Tarrow calls "kindred movements."[43] Kindred movements are two or more social movements that have separate but similar goals and values. The most useful example of kindred movements is the environmental movement and the alternative food movement; both movements are concerned with sustainability and land conservation, both target industrial practices, and the end goal of both movements is to create an alternative system that safeguards the world's renewable and non-renewable resources.

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[40] David S. Meyer, *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 66.
[41] Jackie Smith and Joe Bandy, "Introduction: Cooperation and Conflict in Transnational Protest," in *Coalitions Across Borders*, ed. Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 11.
[42] Ibid., 12.
[43] Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 82.

According to theorists like Pauline Cullen and Lesley Wood, informal and formal alliances among SMOs in kindred movements can improve both (or all) SMOs' access to resources and new membership, reduce their workloads, and increase their political power—particularly at the international level.[44] In addition, such alliances arguably "encourage collective understanding, offer solidarity, and increase [the] ability to reach shared goals."[45]

In this thesis, I refer to alliances between kindred movements as "cross-movement alliances."

Charismatic Leadership Theory

In his piece "The Sociology of Charismatic Authority," German sociologist Max Weber emphasizes the value of charismatic authority in the emergence of the social movement. He explains that charisma is an inherent personality trait—"a gift"—that sets the charismatic leader apart from ordinary men.[46] For this reason, the charismatic leader is treated by others as if he were endowed with "supernatural" or superhuman powers.[47] Such a leader, Weber argues, has been necessary in the emergence of collective action throughout history: "in times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, [and] political distress" the "'natural' leaders" have had charisma.[48]

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[44] Pauline P. Cullen, "Conflict and Cooperation within the Platform of European Social NGOs," in *Coalitions Across Borders*, ed. Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 71.
[45] Lesley J. Wood, "Bridging the Chasm: The Case of Peoples' Global Action," in *Coalitions Across Borders*, ed. Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 96.
[46] H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 245.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

The notion of charismatic leadership has been widely disputed by a number of social theorists, who have various and often contradictory interpretations of Weber's original theory. For example, while some emphasize that charisma is an inherent personality trait, others argue that charisma is actually "the effect that one individual has on a group of other individuals."[49] In other words, without this effect, "there is no charisma."[50] Such disputes have led many to reject the notion of charismatic leadership altogether, and others to adopt and adapt it.

In her piece, *Charismatic Political Leadership; A Theory* (1968), Ann Ruth Willner interprets Weber's theory and then departs from it. She uses Weber's terminology, she explains, because she thinks that political science "is already overburdened with overlapping concepts and terms and that restraint rather than inventiveness is in order."[51] I will take a similar approach to charismatic leadership, adopting Weber's general theory and terminology, but developing my own understanding of charisma. For the purposes of this thesis, charisma will refer to the following personality traits: high energy, originality, eloquence, and sense of humor.[52] While charisma will be understood as a distinct, innate personality trait, this trait may be viewed and understood in terms of the relationship between the leader and his or her followers.

While Weber certainly does not write about glocal movements specifically, his theory of charismatic leadership is helpful in terms of understanding the glocal

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[49] Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 29.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ann Ruth Willner, *Charismatic Political Leadership: A Theory* (Princeton: Princeton Center of International Studies, 1968), 1.
[52] Many of these traits are put forth by Willner; according to Willner high energy (62), a "flair for originality" (62), and eloquence (74) are all important components of charisma. While Willner uses "high energy" to refer to working long hours, I view energy in terms of overall exuberance.

movement. Weber argues that charismatic leadership is essential in "extraordinary times," playing a central role in the emergence of social movements.[53] It is likely that charismatic leadership is especially important in a glocal movement, because the leader must bring in participants from a variety of different economic, political, social, cultural, and geographical backgrounds, even while their actions are rooted in their communities. For this reason, a charismatic leader may be helpful in forming a cohesive glocal movement.

New Social Movement Theory

In contrast to the approaches described above, new social movement (NSM) theory offers a cultural approach to understanding the social movement, emphasizing "frames, identities, meanings, and emotions."[54] This focus may be seen as almost a direct response both to Marxist thought (which had long dominated Europe's study of social movements) and to RM theory—which had risen to prominence in the United States in the 1970s. Finding these approaches lacking, theorists such as Alain Touraine, his student Alberto Melucci, and more recently Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, have developed a paradigm that challenges the focus on external conditions and internal organization.

NSM theorists argue that new "logics of action" (based in politics, ideology and culture) and new identities (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age) are the sources of the so-called "new social movements" that emerged around the

[53] Gerth and Wright Mills, *From Max Weber*, 245.
[54] Goodwin and Jasper, "Introduction," vii.

world in the 1960s and 1970s.[55] They emphasize the role of identity in the emergence and endurance of the social movement, suggesting that identity is not always structurally determined (e.g. based on geographical location), but is instead a social construct.[56]

Like the other approaches to social movement theory discussed here, NSM theory does not directly address transnational social movements (or glocal movements), but it can and has been applied to them. Because this paradigm emphasizes the role of a socially constructed identity in the social movement, it may be particularly helpful in terms of studying the glocal movement, which can endure despite the fact that its participants act locally, in a variety of different geographical locations. If NSM theorists are correct, collective identity will play a crucial role in the emergence/and or success of the glocal social movement. More specifically, this collective identity would be a dual identity—a glocal identity—linking participants at both the local and international levels.

METHODOLOGY

Most social movement scholars agree with Mancur Olson that collective action is not easy. A glocal movement may be the most difficult of all social movements to create and sustain. Social movement theory suggests that very often the factors that lead to success on a local level (e.g. a strong local identity, etc.) can undermine the ability of a social movement to reach beyond national boundaries; and

[55] Buechler, *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*, 46-47. Buechler uses the word "new" here (47) in order to distinguish these movements from "older and more conventional class-based activism."
[56] While there are many different perspectives within the NSM paradigm, there is a set of core concepts that most new social movement scholars agree are central to new social movement theory; a socially constructed identity is one of these concepts.

those very factors that lead to success transnationally (e.g., commitment to a common, international cause) may make it impossible for a movement to be meaningful in local communities. A glocal social movement faces the same challenges as a transnational movement, but the conflicts it faces are often exacerbated—activists and organizations are often caught between local and global resources, political conditions, organizational structures, leadership and identities.

In this section, I derive testable hypotheses from each of the five dominant social movement theories explained in my literature review. Each hypothesis highlights the central explanatory factor that its corresponding paradigm uses to distinguish between successful and unsuccessful social movements, but is adapted to relate specifically to the success of the glocal movement. At the end of this section I introduce the two case studies that will be used to test my hypotheses, and explain why they are useful to help identify which criteria are the most important for glocal social movements.

HYPOTHESES

Resource Mobilization Theory

> HYP 1: *Glocal movements will be more successful to the extent that they have greater access to both local and global resources (money, information and technology).*

RM theory suggests that without access to resources, a glocal movement cannot emerge, endure, or succeed. There are a number of different reasons that access to resources (money, information and technology) might be necessary for both the emergence and the endurance of the glocal movement. First, money could help a movement shift from local to glocal by supporting the expansion of SMOs and the

launch of new local or international campaigns, programs and events. Second, information about the mission and goals of the movement, and the problems it seeks to address might facilitate the endurance of the movement by increasing interest and membership at all three levels of analysis, and sustaining the movement's campaigns. Finally, access to technology, especially the Internet, might serve to connect the movement's diverse participants.

In order to understand how access to resources has affected the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement I will rely heavily on the websites and publications of their principle organizations: Slow Food and the Weston A. Price Foundation (WAPF), respectively. Annual reports from both SMOs will indicate the financial situation for each movement, as well as specifics about fundraising and expenditures. Books, magazines, newsletters, brochures and websites will indicate how information (both accurate and inaccurate) has played a role in shaping and determining the success of both movements. Finally, their websites and blogs show how access to technology, specifically the Internet, has helped to connect participants.

Political Opportunity Structure Theory

> HYP 2: *Glocal movements will form when there is a shift in the political opportunity structure that enables the formation of a new movement.*

POS theory argues that political opportunities are a precondition for the development of any collective resistance. If this is true, glocal social movements should arise in the context of a political opening in global politics. In order to better understand the role of political conditions in the emergence of glocal movements, I will look at the history of both the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement

to see at what point they shifted from local to glocal, and the role that political opportunity played in promoting or inhibiting that shift. In analyzing the histories of these movements, I will look for those dimensions that Tarrow outlined as favorable to political opportunity: increased access to political power, instability of political alignments, the presence (or absence) of strong allies, and conflicts among elites.[57]

Organizational Theory

> HYP 3a: *Local organizations must retain high levels of autonomy for an enduring glocal movement.*

According to organizational theorists like Bandy and Smith, a social movement's organizational structure is primarily responsible for its success. In a transnational social movement it is difficult to balance the needs and goals of "hierarchy and democracy, efficacy and inclusivity, unity and difference" on a global scale.[58] For this reason, organizational theory suggests that local SMOs require autonomy and a democratic decision-making structure so that they can address both local and global politics and members' needs.[59]

In order to test this hypothesis I will look closely at the structural hierarchy of organizations involved in a glocal social movement; more specifically, the decision-making structure of the movement and the level of autonomy granted at the local level. In order to better understand the organizational structure of these two movements I will rely on the formal publications and the websites of their

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[57] Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 85-88.
[58] Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith, "Factors Affecting Conflict and Cooperation in Transnational Movement Networks," in *Coalitions Across Borders*, ed. Joe Bandy and Jackie Smith, *People, Passions, and Power: Social Movements, Interest Organizations, and the Political Process* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 238.
[59] Meyer, *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America*, 66.

organizations, as well as a small number of interviews with movement members/staff. Within these sources, I will search for signs of local autonomy—looking to see if the movement's local SMOs have their own leadership and membership, along with the authority to establish their own campaigns and projects. This would suggest a high level of local autonomy,

> HYP 3b: *A successful glocal movement requires high levels of communication between local and global organizations in order to promote a cohesive and coordinated campaign.*

Organizational theory also implies that a glocal movement with high levels of communication between its SMOs will be more successful than one with low levels of communication. High levels of communication in a well-coordinated network of SMOs will likely unify the movement and make the movement's fundraisers, demonstrations and campaigns more successful. In order to test this hypothesis I will look closely at communication between the SMOs at the local, national and international levels, mostly online—through websites and blogs—in order to see how much the SMOs communicate, and how this level of communication affects the success of the glocal movement.

> HYP 3c: *The most successful glocal organizations establish alliances with SMOs in kindred movements.*

Finally, organizational theory suggests that those SMOs that develop cross-movement alliances will be the most successful. Such alliances are expected to provide both SMOs with more resources and political power, decrease their workload, and increase the probability of reaching shared goals.

To test this hypothesis, I will look at whether or not the organizations of the Slow Food and raw milk movements have developed cross-movement alliances at the

local, national and international levels. I will look to see if these alliances are horizontal (relationships among local SMOS) and/or vertical (e.g. alliances between local SMOs and SMOs at the international level).

Charismatic Leadership Theory

HYP 4: *A movement must have a charismatic leader to "go glocal."*

Weber's theory of charismatic authority suggests that social movements must have a charismatic leader in order to emerge. In a glocal social movement, the leader must be known transnationally, but inspire participants even at the local level. I will test this hypothesis looking at the personal stories of the leaders of the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement: Carlo Petrini and Sally Fallon Morell, respectively. Their personal histories will offer a good indication of their personalities, and how their energy, originality, eloquence and sense of humor have (or have not) inspired participants in the movement.

New Social Movement Theory

HYP 5: *A glocal movement will be more successful to the extent that it has developed a dual identity: a shared global collective identity and a unique local one.*

NSM theorists suggest that the development of a collective identity is crucial to the success of a social movement. They recognize that in a transnational social movement it is particularly difficult to develop a collective identity because its participants rarely (or never) see each other, and because they come from diverse cultural backgrounds and political, economic and social conditions.[60] Such differences are only accentuated in a glocal movement, as local organizations and

[60] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, 7.

activists emphasize and celebrate local community—often at the expense of the international one. This likely makes the development of a collective identity even more important in a glocal movement than in a transnational or national one.

In order to determine if and how a glocal collective identity plays a role in sustaining a glocal social movement I will carefully examine the language of the mission statements and manifestos of the SMOs that spearhead these movements at the local, national and international levels, and in blogs written by the movement's leaders and participants. I will be looking for language that highlights a collective "we," underscoring the universality of the movement, along with language that promotes local communities. Ultimately, I will be asking the questions, do glocal SMOs promote a sense of global collective identity? Do they develop and maintain a local identity? If so, what role does this dual identity play in creating and sustaining the glocal movement?

CASE STUDIES

I have carefully chosen two case studies to test my five groups of hypotheses in the following chapters: the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement. These movements have crucial similarities that make them valuable case studies for this thesis.

First, both movements are glocal social movements, with global goals and transnational organizations but roots in specific, "local" places. Second, both movements are component movements of the alternative food movement. As part of the broader alternative food movement, they address similar concerns with the dominant food industry: the decline of rural communities and tradition, the

standardization of food and the consumer's alienation from the producer. I specifically chose two component movements within the same umbrella movement because I wanted to control for large variations in goals, targets and methods. Finally, both movements are spearheaded by a network of formal SMOs: the Slow Food movement by Slow Food International and the raw milk movement by the Weston A. Price Foundation.

While these movements are clearly similar, a crucial difference between them makes them particularly valuable case studies: their varying levels of success. Defining success is never easy, and it is particularly difficult in terms of a social movement; when a social movement is truly successful, its mission has become an accepted norm, and the movement, as such, largely disappears. This does not mean that enduring social movements are not successful; on the contrary, each day movements meet different goals and standards that bring them closer to this specific and idealized understanding of "success." For the purposes of this study, I have defined success on the following three conditions: longevity, portability, and popularity.[61]

"Longevity" refers to how long the movement has endured. Smith et al. argue in their book *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics* that a movement must pass a ten-year threshold before it can be considered successful.[62] "Portability" refers to how broadly the movement's mission, campaigns and SMOs have been

[61] These measurements are intended to show the overall "tactical effectiveness" of both movements. Because of the scope of this project, it would have been impossible to measure the "strategic success" of each movement.

[62] This might seem like a strange condition for success, given that the most successful movements are no longer movements. But few movements have met this ideal standard of success; many endure for decades before they become truly successful.

implemented around the world. "Popularity" refers to how well-known the movement is among the general public. Together, these three conditions indicate the endurance, expansion and growth of the movement, thus providing a good measure of the movement's success. The Slow Food movement clearly meets all three conditions, while the raw milk movement has struggled to achieve a parallel level of success.

In terms of longevity, the Slow Food movement clearly passes the 10-year threshold put forth by Smith et al.; the movement officially went glocal at the first Slow Food conference in Paris, at the Opéra Comique, in December of 1989. While it is more difficult to pinpoint the origins of the raw milk movement (as it has been largely underground for the latter half of the twentieth century) the establishment of the Weston A. Price Foundation (which has chapters worldwide) in 1999 is a good indication of when the movement formally shifted from local to glocal.

In terms of portability, the Slow Food movement has proven to be extremely portable. There are 1,614 Slow Food organizations at the local level, nine organizations at the national level, and three organizations at the international level.[63] It is more difficult to judge the portability of the raw milk movement, as it is an informal and sporadic movement at the local level. The best measure is the number of local chapters of the WAPF: 400, worldwide. This number is significantly less than the number of Slow Food organizations at the local level.

In terms of what I have referred to as popularity, the Slow Food movement is widely well-known, while the raw milk movement has evaded the general public. A Google search of both movements demonstrates the popularity of both movements.

[63] There are 314 presidia and 1,300 convivia (local chapters) to make 1,614 local organizations in total. See Chapter 2 for more information about this terminology. These numbers appear in the February 2010 issue of the Slow Food & Terra Madre newsletter.

The search "Slow Food movement," returned 103,000 hits; "raw milk movement" returned just 64,500.[64] In addition to a Google search, an online search of six mainstream news outlets (both liberal and conservative) in the United States, Canada, and Britain (three countries where both movements are prevalent) demonstrates how much the general public has heard about each movement. See Table 1, below, for these data, which suggest that the Slow Food movement is significantly more popular than the raw milk movement.

Table 1: Number of Hits for "Slow Food movement" and "raw milk movement" in Major News Publications

	Slow Food Movement	**Raw Milk Movement**
New York Times (US)	64	1
Wall Street Journal (US)	0	0
Globe and Mail (Canada)	40	0
Toronto Star (Canada)	0	0
The Guardian (UK)	127	0
The Times (UK)	102	0

In addition to these searches, membership in both movements' leading organizations offers a good indication of how many people are aware of the movement. Slow Food is well-known to its 100,000 members; while the WAPF's membership hovers around 10,000.

[64] It should be noted that this search was only performed in English. The results might have been different—particularly for Slow Food—if they had been conducted in other languages (e.g. Italian, French).

To summarize: the Slow Food movement has endured, as a glocal movement, for 21 years. It has 1, 614 local SMOs, nine national organizations, and three organizations at the international level. It has 100,000 official members, from 40 countries worldwide. In this sense, the movement clearly meets the conditions of success put forth in this thesis. In contrast, while the raw milk movement meets the condition of longevity, it has struggled in terms of both portability and popularity.

For these reasons, the Slow Food movement will be considered as a successful glocal movement in this thesis, while the raw milk movement will be understood as a glocal movement that has not yet become fully successful. While the similarities of these movements make them valuable case studies, their varying levels of success are what is most important for developing the criteria that a glocal movement must meet in order to succeed.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The main question of this thesis is concerned with how a glocal movement emerges, endures and becomes successful. Hence, I will be relying heavily on primary sources such as the websites and written publications (books, newsletters and pamphlets) of important SMOs in the movement; video and transcripts from the movement's forums and conferences; radio and written interviews with leaders and activists within each movement, as well as a few of my own interviews. In addition, I will use pertinent sources that mention or relate to this movement: books, newspaper and magazine articles, podcasts, and blogs.[65]

[65] While blogs may not be reliable sources of information for facts about an organization, they do offer important primary source material on the feelings, thoughts, and ideas of members and activists—offering a window into the culture of the organization.

CHAPTER 2
THE CASE OF SLOW FOOD

A tavola non si invecchia.
(You won't grow old at the table)
—Italian proverb

A revolution is not a banquet.
—Mao Zedong in his *Little Red Book*

INTRODUCTION

Defending the right to gastronomic pleasure and encouraging the slow life, the Slow Food movement, in its simplest form, presents an alternative to fast food and the fast life. This defense, argues the Slow Food Manifesto, begins "at the table."[1] It is hard to imagine a starting line that is more local. Slow food is grounded in traditional practices, regional flavors, and cultural cuisine; the fight is taken up by ordinary citizens, every day, at the local level. Yet its members span the world, and their end goals can only be accomplished at the international level. In this sense, it is a complex and unusual type of social movement; one that I have argued in this thesis is "glocal." A glocal movement, I have noted, is particularly difficult to sustain because it is simultaneously local and global. While its participants, direct targets and programs are firmly rooted in place, it occurs transnationally.

[1] "The Slow Food Manifesto," Slow Food International, http://www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/manifesto.lasso?-session=slowfoodstore_it:63325C69056c2286AFjOk2AA4F8C&-session=slowsitestore_it:63325C69056c2286AFvXV2AA4F8F.

In the previous chapter I set forth five groups of hypotheses that might explain the success of a glocal movement. Each group of hypotheses is derived from a predominant social movement theory. From RM theory I hypothesized that those glocal movements with access to both local and global resources (money, information and technology) will be most successful. From POS theory I suggested that glocal movements will form when there is a shift in the political opportunity structure. From organizational theory I developed three hypotheses: first, in a glocal movement local organizations must retain high levels of autonomy, second, the SMOs of a glocal movement must maintain high levels of communication, and third, cross-movement alliances are crucial to the glocal movement's success. From charismatic leadership theory I proposed that a charismatic leader is necessary for the emergence and endurance of a glocal movement, and, finally, from NSM theory I indicated that an enduring glocal movement will likely have dual identities: a shared global collective identity and a unique local one. In this chapter, I test these hypotheses using the Slow Food movement as a case study.

SLOW FOOD, AN OVERVIEW

ORIGINS

One afternoon in 1986, Carlo Petrini was strolling down the Scalinata della Trinità dei Monti *(Spanish Steps), talking animatedly with a friend (no doubt another Leftist intellectual), when he stopped suddenly. Tilting his nose toward the sky, he inhaled. The smell of salt, oil and potato permeated the air—the unmistakable scent of* patate fritte *(French fries)*. " Basta!" *(Damn!) Petrini shouted. And the Slow Food movement was born.*

While this story is told again and again by "foodies," activists and Petrini-oglers, the origins of the Slow Food movement were not quite so simple. Yes, the movement was an immediate and direct reaction to the infiltration of fast food (thus the name *Slow Food)* but its inception was not only related to the establishment of a McDonald's in one of Italy's most famous piazzas. Led by Carlo Petrini, the Slow Food movement emerged from a series of political, economic, social and cultural conditions that changed Italy—and Italian food—in the second half of the twentieth century.[2]

Carlo Petrini was born in Bra, in the Piedmont region of Italy, in 1949. He grew up with the food and wine native to the area: polenta, chestnuts, honey, white truffles, Barolo wine, just to name a few. Like many Italians of his generation, he cannot remember ever eating a packaged snack, though he does remember *some d'aj*—"a slice of bread brushed with fresh garlic, with a little olive oil and salt."[3] When he was a kid, he ate that as a snack.[4] In addition to good, local food, Petrini grew up with music and laughter (a close friend of his was the writer, composer and Nobel Prize winner Dario Fo).[5]

Petrini graduated from high school in 1968, the same year that student movements—led by those on the political the Left—broke out across the country. The Communist Party (PCI) quickly lost any control that it had over its youth, which had

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[2] This argument is not new—in her piece "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity," Alison Leitch argues that Slow Food emerged "within a uniquely Italian post-war cultural and political trajectory that has witnessed, among other things, the gradual demise of the post-war party system and the search for new kinds of civil associationism." Alison Leitch, "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity," Ethnos 68, no. 4 (2003): 457.
[3] Carlo Petrini, *Slow Food Revolution: A New Culture for Eating and Living*, trans. Francesca Santovetti (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2006), 180.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Corby Kummer, *The Pleasures of Slow Food; Celebrating Authentic Traditions, Flavors, and Recipes* (San Fransisco: Chronicle Books, 2002), 18.

been heavily influenced by political and social unrest in Paris, the U.S. hippy movement, the invasion of Vietnam, and China's Cultural Revolution.[6] While they remained engaged with the Left, this younger generation no longer fully accepted the Party's traditional morals; instead, they argued that sex, drugs, music, free speech and collective life all "had to be freely experienced."[7] The emergence of new interests, values and concerns led to the development of the "so-called new social movements," and shifted what once had been considered private issues (e.g. gender, race, ethnicity) into the public, and political, sphere.[8] It was in this political and social environment that Petrini began his studies in the sociology department at the University of Trento, which was already well-known for training many of Italy's "prominent leftist leaders."[9]

Upon graduation, Petrini returned home to Bra and became a political and cultural leader in his community. Along with fellow Leftists Azio Citi and Giovanni Ravinale, Petrini set out to bring enjoyment to the Italian Left, which had long been characterized by austerity. He began with the launch of a monthly left-wing newspaper *In Camp Rosso* (In Red Domain) in 1974.[10] Just a year later he established the first left-wing independent radio station *Radio Bra Onde Rosse* (Red Waves), and in 1978 he put together the political sketch comedy and musical group

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[6] Geoff Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure* (Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 4; Fabio Parasecoli, "Postrevolutionary Chowhounds: Food, Globalization, and the Italian Left," *Gastronomica* 3, no. 3 (2003).
[7] Parasecoli, "Postrevolutionary Chowhounds," 30.
[8] Ibid.: 34.
[9] Alison Leitch, "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity," *Ethnos* 68, no. 4 (2003): 449. This fact has led many who write on this subject (including Leitch) to imply that this education was fundamental to shaping Petrini's politics and leadership skills. But in his autobiography *Slow Food Revolution* (26), Petrini notes that he did not learn as much in the university as he did from a Piedmontese branch of the Catholic organization *Conferenza di carità* ("under the auspices of the *Società di San Vincenzo De Paoli*"), of which had become president at just 17-years-old.
[10] Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, 5.

"Philoridiculous." In 1979 he restored a Piedmontese tradition called *Canté i'euv*—a music festival in which participants visit farm houses at night, performing in exchange for food (*Canté i'euv* literally means "singing for eggs").[11] Most importantly for this thesis, in 1981 he established the *Libera e Benemerita Associazione Amici del Barolo* (Free and Meritorious Friends of Barolo Wine).[12] A gourmet organization established for the working classes, *Amici* was one of the first precursors to Slow Food.

Petrini and the other members of *Amici* were also members of *Arci*—a network of recreational federations established by the Italian Left in 1957. While other federations of *Arci* focused on football or film, Petrini and his colleagues in the *Arci* Langhe federation continued to focus on local culture and food.[13] In 1982 Petrini and twelve other members of *Arci* Langhe, attended the *Sagra del Tordo* ("Festival of the Thrush") hosted by the *Arci* federation in Montalcino, a small town in Tuscany. The event included a banquet, but Petrini and his colleagues found the meal sub-par, and declared it inedible.[14] Upon returning to Bra, Petrini wrote a letter to his colleagues in Monalcino, expressing his frustration with the meal. He received an un-apologetic response. The debate that followed was indicative of a wider conflict within the PCI that had resulted from the emergence of the new social movements; it was a conflict between traditional politics and the newfound pleasures of a younger generation on the Left.

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[11] Ibid., 6.
[12] Andrews notes in *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure* (5) that Radio Bra was an extremely controversial endeavor; within a month police shut it down, and confiscated all equipment. After an extensive campaign (including well-known intellectuals and activists Dario Fo and Roberto Benigni) and a well-timed constitutional ruling that liberalized Italy's radio waves, Radio Bra was put back on the air.
[13] Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, 7.
[14] Ibid., 10.

As Petrini notes, throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Communist Party treated gastronomic pleasure "as one of the 'seven capitalist sins.'"[15] "Haute cuisine, consumption and the pursuit of pleasure" had long been associated with the Italian Right—not the Left.[16] Even Leftist intellectuals and artists had traditionally treated gourmet food with suspicion and even with contempt, considering it "a mark of bourgeois decadence."[17] Food was to be appreciated "only as the fruit of the labor of farmers and peasants"; taste was to play no role in production or consumption.[18]

At the same time, a "new generation of activists" including Petrini and his colleagues in *Arci*, was endorsing "a more expansive view of politics."[19] They argued that the personal and the political were intimately related; "personal" was intertwined "with questions of freedom, leisure, artistic appreciation and quality of life."[20] According to a growing number of this younger generation, good food and wine "were everybody's concern," and should not have been left in the hands of those on the political Right.[21]

These were the activists who began to open co-ops, *trattorias* (restaurants) and *osterias* (wine bars) around the country, in what became known as the *osteria* movement. It was in these establishments that Italy's Leftist intellectuals—philosophers, professors and writers—came to gather.[22] Such restaurants were filled with music and laughter and dinners would often last until dawn, particularly at the *Osteria del Boccondivino,* which Petrini and his friends frequented in Bra. Petrini

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[15] Ibid., 8.
[16] Leitch, "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat," 449.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Parasecoli, "Postrevolutionary Chowhounds," 29-30.
[19] Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, 8.
[20] Ibid., 9.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

notes that it was during this time that he "came to understand that those who suffer for others do more damage for humanity than those who enjoy themselves."[23] "Pleasure," Petrini told a group of reporters in the 1990s, "is a way of being at one with yourself and others."[24] And gastronomic pleasure was quickly gaining ground as an alternative to the austerity that had long characterized Italy's Communist Party.

By the mid-1980s many on the Left had embraced gastronomic pleasure, and in 1986 Petrini formed *Arci Gola* (later *Arcigola*), an organization dedicated to fighting for "the cause of conviviality and its pleasures."[25] It was only fitting that its establishment was celebrated with an all night dinner; members toasted at dawn with a 1939 bottle of Barolo wine. Petrini was unanimously elected as president. It is worth noting that, soon after the formation of *Arcigola*, wine contaminated with dangerously high levels of methanol (intended to increase the alcohol content) killed 19 people in the Langhe. After this incident, *Arcigola* members became increasingly concerned with the "recognition of quality," in addition to their goal to educate people about the pleasures of good food and wine.[26]

It was also in 1986 that members of *Arcigola* heard that a McDonald's would be opening near the *Scalinata della Trinità dei Monti*, in the *Piazza di Spagna*, Rome. The group organized a public demonstration in protest—it is this demonstration that is so often attributed to the establishment of the Slow Food movement.[27] Unlike the demonstrations of the 1970s—the so-called "Years of Lead"—these protesters were

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[23] Kummer, *The Pleasures of Slow Food; Celebrating Authentic Traditions, Flavors, and Recipes*, 18.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Petrini, *Slow Food Revolution*, 2. In her piece, "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat" (448) Leitch notes that the name *Arcigola* comes from *Arci*, the *Associazione ricreativa culturale italiana*, and from *gola*, the word for both "throat" and "gluttonous" in Italian, and the name of a popular lefist magazine at the time.
[26] Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, 10.
[27] Ibid., 11.

armed with pasta, not pistols. Brandishing bowls of *penne*, Petrini and his followers "defiantly and deliciously stated their case against the standardization of the world's food."[28] It was after this demonstration that the term "Slow Food" was first used, the organization was established, and the movement was born.

SLOW FOOD GOES GLOCAL

Just a year after the demonstration against McDonald's, Folco Portinari—poet, writer and foodie—wrote the Slow Food Manifesto. The original version of the Manifesto was written in a single night, while the members of *Arcigola* sat around a table at the *Osteria dell'Unione* in Treiso, in the Langhe, eating dinner and "grumbling about how Italy had become consumed with television and consumerism."[29] It was during this meal, writes Petrini that "a plan was hatched" to defend Slow Food.[30]

The Slow Food Manifesto highlights the threat of the "Fast Life" and argues that Slow Food is the "only truly progressive answer" to the perils of fast food:[31]

> We are enslaved by speed and have all succumbed to the same insidious virus: *Fast Life*, which disrupts our habits, pervades the privacy of our homes and forces us to eat Fast Foods.
>
> To be worthy of the name, *Homo Sapiens* should rid himself of speed before it reduces him to a species in danger of extinction…Our defense should begin at the table with *Slow Food*. Let us rediscover the flavors and savors of regional cooking and banish the degrading effects of *Fast Food*.[32]

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[28] Alice Waters, "Foreward," in *Slow Food: The Case for Taste* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), ix.
[29] Petrini, *Slow Food Revolution*, 70.
[30] Ibid.
[31] "Manifesto."; Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, 11.
[32] "Manifesto." Emphasis theirs.

The Slow Food Manifesto was first published in *Il Manifesto*—a Leftist Italian newspaper—in a section dedicated to food and wine called *Gambero Rosso* (Red Shrimp) in November 1987, and was picked up by *La Gola* later that same month. This helped to broaden the focus of *Arcigola*, and set a new movement into motion.[33] Once it had been widely circulated in a variety of languages (e.g. Italian, English, French) Petrini and his colleagues issued international press releases and planned the launch of an international movement.

The launch took place in Paris, at the Opéra Comique, in December of 1989. Delegates from more than 15 countries gathered at the Opéra Comique to sign the Manifesto and discuss the movement for Slow Food—what Petrini defines as food that is "good, clean and fair." "Good" refers to taste, or what one likes—often influenced by personal, cultural and historic factors. "Clean" refers to sustainable production, processing and transportation. And "fair" refers to social justice: respect for workers, farmers and the rural life.[34]

SLOW FOOD IN ACTION

Slow Food's philosophy is grounded in a fundamental belief in the "right to pleasure" and in a personal responsibility to "protect the heritage of food, tradition and culture that make this pleasure possible."[35] Its mission is threefold: first, to defend the biodiversity of the world's food supply; second, to spread taste education; and third, to create a system of "co-producers" to replace the current network of

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[33] Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, 11.
[34] Carlo Petrini, *Slow Food Nation; Why Our Food Should Be Good, Clean, and Fair* (New York: Rizzoli Ex Libris, 2007), 96, 123, 35.
[35] "Our Philosophy," Slow Food Italy, http://www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/philosophy.lasso.

producers and consumers.[36] Through a variety of initiatives, Slow Food works to preserve traditionally and culturally important foodstuffs, to educate the public to become slow food consumers, and to encourage, empower and connect producers at the local, national and international levels.

International

Slow Food International is the international SMO that leads the Slow Food movement.[37] It has two other branches at the international level: the Foundation for Biodiversity and the *Terra Madre* (Mother Earth) foundation. Both help Slow Food International to build an alternative food system, and affect change in the dominant one.

In order to defend the biodiversity of the world's food supply, Slow Food established the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity; an international foundation that defends the heterogeneity of the world's food supply, safeguarding communities' traditional ingredients and preserving their gastronomical history and culture. Its primary initiative is the Ark of Taste (a play on Noah's Ark), which was born after Slow Food's first *Salon de Gusto* (Hall of Tastes)—a three-day convention held in Turin that spotlights rare, traditional foodstuffs. The Ark itself is a list of endangered fruits, vegetables, cheese, shellfish, meats, salt and wines that all hold an important place in the history, culture or traditions of a particular country or region.[38]

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[36] "Our Mission," Slow Food International, http://www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/mission.lasso.
[37] Slow Food's organizations are closely associated with the movement itself, as the organization and the movement developed simultaneously. Because of its critical and obvious role in the movement, it would be easy to make the mistake of confusing the Slow Food movement with its SMOs, reducing the social movement to its organizations. But it is important to note that there is a distinction between the movement itself, and its leading organizations. David S. Meyer, The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 61.
[38] Kummer, *The Pleasures of Slow Food; Celebrating Authentic Traditions, Flavors, and Recipes*, 30.

The Foundation also supports Slow Food "presidia" (meaning "garrison"), local organizations that work to protect the foods on the Ark.

In order to spread taste education, Slow Food (in partnership with the regions of Piedmont and Emilia-Romagna) established the University of Gastronomic Sciences in 2004. It is a small, private, non-profit institution with two campuses, both located in northern Italy. The university is dedicated to building a relationship between gastronomy and agricultural science and therefore has been an important vehicle for spreading Slow Food's philosophy and mission. To date, it has taught over six hundred students—from around the world—about the political, historical, cultural and anthropological aspects of the production and consumption of slow foods.[39]

Students at the university are taught formally in subjects like biology, ecology, agriculture, food economics and taste; disciplines include Gastronomic Science and Food Culture and Communications. Students may earn an undergraduate, graduate or masters degree depending on the discipline and on the campus. It should be noted that much learning comes from outside the classroom, as students help to plan Slow Food events, and spearhead the organization's Youth Food movement.[40] Graduates go on to promote slow food in a variety of different ways, from occupations in restaurants and hotels, to wine marketing and food communications—to give a few examples.

Finally, Slow Food's Terra Madre Foundation was established by Slow Food in 2004. Like the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, Terra Madre is a separate

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[39] "University of Gastronomic Sciences: History and Mission," University of Gastronomic Sciences, http://www.unisg.it/pagine/eng/about/history_and_mission.lasso.
[40] Alessandra Abbona, Maria Bellingeri, and David Szanto, "Unisg Student Guide," ed. University of Gastronomic Sciences (Italy: University of Gastronomic Sciences, 2009), 72-73.

organization from Slow Food International; though the two are intimately related, with links between their websites and a common newsletter. The organization exists in order "to give voice and visibility to the rural food producers who populate our world."[41] It is in charge of the Terra Madre network, a network of producers, cooks and academics who wish "to preserve, encourage, and support sustainable production methods."[42] In 2004, the same year that it was established, Terra Madre held its first biannual Terra Madre world meeting, which brought together the Terra Madre network in an effort to make those connections that Slow Food deems vital to fixing the current food system.[43] In addition to these biannual meetings in Turin, Terra Madre holds regional meetings in Sweden, Brazil, the Middle East and North Africa.

National

Adopting Slow Food's philosophy, mission, and Manifesto, foodies and activists first in Germany and Switzerland, then the United States, France, Japan, and finally Australia and the Netherlands, established national Slow Food organizations. The job of Slow Food's national organizations is threefold. First, they launch campaigns and implement projects and programs unique to a country's specific political and social conditions, history, and culture. Slow Food USA, for example, has established a program called Renewing America's Food Traditions (RAFT), a program dedicated to preserving the diversity of North American foods and food

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[41] "Terra Madre: Who We Are," Terra Madre, http://www.terramadre.info/pagine/organizzazione/.
[42] "Terra Madre Network: Introduction," Terra Madre, http://www.terramadre.info/pagine/rete/.
[43] "Terra Madre Day," Terra Madre, http://www.terramadre.info/pagine/incontri/welcome.lasso?cod=4E98738E1d6591914BOJQ2093289&tp=3.

traditions, and ensuring that these foods reach our tables.[44] Each national organization also has its own Ark of Taste and presidia, tailored to its own culture, history and production practices.

Second, Slow Food's national organizations host events that act as fundraisers, promote public relations, and further Slow Food's mission. In 2008, for example, Slow Food USA put on a Salon de Gusto type event it called Slow Food Nation.[45] This four-day event included taste pavilions that showcased Slow Food "from America's best food artisans," a "victory garden" located in front of City Hall, San Francisco, and discussion panels with the leaders and most well-known activists of both Slow Food International and Slow Food USA. To give another example, Slow Food Australia's Terra Australis event is modeled after Terra Madre's biannual world meeting. Terra Australis brings together a network of indigenous peoples, farmers, chefs, young people and academics in a discussion of traditional practices and foodstuffs.[46]

Third, and finally, national organizations act as a liaison between Slow Food International and Slow Food's local organizations, called "convivia" in Slow Food terminology. Most national websites keep a calendar of local, national and international events, keeping all Slow Food members up-to-date. All post recent Slow Food newsbytes, highlighting a particular farm stand, a creative seminar, or a new project. In this sense, Slow Food's national organizations act as communication

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[44] "Renewing America's Food Traditions," Slow Food USA, http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/programs/details/raft/.
[45] In fact, Slow Food USA developed a subsidiary non-profit organization, Slow Food Nation, to organize this event.
[46] "Terra Australis," http://slowfoodaustralia.com.au/events/national/terra-australis/.

facilitators, keeping a running dialogue of what is happening within the movement. They provide unity to an otherwise disparate, locally grounded, global movement.

Local

As Petrini notes, the movement owes much of its success to those organizations at the local level, as almost all day-to-day action occurs in local communities around the world. At this level, Slow Food presidia and convivia play a crucial role in furthering the Slow Food movement. Each Slow Food presidium is a group of local producers who produce a food listed on the Slow Food Ark of Taste. These producers (and the activists and academics who support them) come together in order to promote the product, stabilize traditional production techniques, establish production standards, and educate consumers in order to guarantee a future for the food that they produce. While the first presidia were formed in Italy in 2000, there are already more than 314 worldwide.[47] In order to encourage or authorize the establishment of a presidium, Slow Food must have a considerable amount of information about the history of the food and its production, its relationship with the culture of the region, and its role in the local, regional, national and global economy.

In Morocco, for example, a presidium was established in 2001 with the help of a professor at the University of Rabat. The purpose was to protect Argan oil, a product listed on the Ark of Taste. The oil is produced from the seeds of the Argan tree, which grows in the hot, arid region on the southern coast of Morocco. This oil has always been a staple of the area, even consumed by the Berbers before the Arab invasions of the 7th century. It is added to couscous, tajine or crudités, and, most

[47] John Irving, "Welcome to Our World," ed. Slow Food International (Turin, IT: Slow Food Editore, 2008), 28.

importantly, it is the key ingredient in a spread called *amlou beldi*, which is put on bread and traditionally given to visitors as a sign of welcome, along with mint tea. Women are the primary processors of the oil, and the "traditional knowledge is passed down from mother to daughter."[48] This knowledge is vanishing.

The presidium has helped to combat this problem, encouraging the exchange of knowledge by making the extraction of oil a social occasion for women of all generations. The presidium recently produced a DVD in Amazigh (the main language spoken by the Argan oil producers), to help train and educate women involved with the oil's production. The presidium and its sponsor, the Region of Piedmont, have also worked to promote Argan oil in restaurants abroad. It is worth noting that the Argan oil presidium has an additional importance, bringing attention to the environmental importance of the "Arganerie," which "keeps the desert at bay"; the area has since been declared an official biosphere reserve.[49]

While Slow Food's presidia play an important role in the movement, the convivia are even more crucial to furthering Slow Food's mission at the local level. Convivia play a particularly important role in spreading taste education. Local projects include school and community gardens, sensory education programs, seminars about production and consumption, and even simple potlucks. The *Lék Magnef Sénégal* convivium in Dakar, Senegal, for example, has partnered with local cooks from the Terra Madre network in order to establish the Mangeons Local education program. The program teaches kids ages 10-12 years old about "local

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[48] "Slow Food Presidia: Argan Oil, Morocco," Fondazione Slow Food per la Biodiversita, http://www.slowfoodfoundation.org/eng/presidi/dettaglio.lasso?cod=157.
[49] Ibid.

breeds and varieties, culinary traditions, and the food communities in the region."[50] Such a program teaches students not only about local foods, but also about the history and the culture of their region. In cooking classes students develop relationships with each other and with their food, helping to build a strong, culturally aware youth community. In this sense, this project teaches students about food, but also gives them a powerful, local cultural identity.

USING THE SLOW FOOD CASE STUDY TO TEST GLOCAL HYPOTHESES

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

> HYP 1: *Glocal movements will be more successful to the extent that they have greater access to both local and global resources (money, information and technology).*

Money has been perhaps one of the most valuable resources in terms of the success of the Slow Food movement. Funding for Slow Food comes from the local, national and international levels, from private sponsors, government institutions, publications, and membership fees. Without these sources of income, Slow Food would not be able to host events such as Salon de Gusto and the Terra Madre world meeting, and to implement programs such as the Ark of Taste. All have been fundamental to raising awareness of the movement and helping the movement to fulfill its mission. Events and programs like those listed above account for 80% of Slow Food's total annual costs.

Access to information has been crucial to this movement, particularly at the local level. In order to fulfill its mission to protect the world's biodiversity, Slow

[50] "Mangeons Local: Food Education Project in Dakar (Senegal)," Slow Food, http://www.slowfood.com/donate/pagine/eng/progetti.lasso?-idp=005.

Food collects and consolidates information about local foods and production practices (we have already seen how information about history, culture, and the local economy played a role in the development and success of the Argan oil presidium in Morocco.)

Information also plays a role at the national level, Slow Knowledge, for example, is a Slow Food Australia project dedicated to capturing, publishing and promoting "information about Australian producers, chefs, cooks and food communities."[51] In the United States, information is crucial to the success of its Ark of Taste. When heritage turkeys joined the U.S. Ark, for example, Slow Food USA acted as an "information broker" between producers and consumers, guaranteeing the consumer of the high quality of the meat.[52]

At the international level, collecting and disseminating information is a task performed by Slow Food Editore—Slow Food's international publishing company. Slow Food Editore publishes Petrini's books and the *Slow Food Almanac*, a compilation of the personal stories of prominent Slow Food members and leadership. It is also responsible for *Slowfood* (Slow Food's magazine), Slow Food newsletters (both national and international) and the Slow Food guides to good food and wine. All of these formal publications play a role in making Slow Food, the organization and the food itself, available to the general public.

Access to technological resources has also played an important role in the success of the Slow Food movement. As Deborah Madison notes in the forward to

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[51] "Slow Knowledge," Slow Food Australia, http://slowfoodaustralia.com.au/projects/australia/slow-knowledge/.
[52] Janet Chrzan, "Slow Food: What, Why, and to Where?," *Food, Culture, and Society* 7, no. 2 (2004): 123.

Collected Thoughts: "Slow Food was born with the Internet."[53] The Internet has promoted the movement in three primary ways. First, it provides an interested individual, organization, or corporation with information about the movement. Slow Food International's website is an intricate web of "foodie" newsbytes, information about the philosophy and mission of the movement, and a breakdown of its projects and campaigns. From this website, an individual interested in the movement can find his or her way to the websites for Terra Madre, the Slow Food Foundation of Biodiversity, the University of Gastronomic Sciences, and national organizations and convivia.

Second, the Internet helps the organization to access another important resource: money. A page dedicated to supporting Slow Food makes it easy for individuals, partner organizations and government institutions to donate to the Foundation for Biodiversity, Slow Food International, Terra Madre, and a number of highlighted local projects.

Third, the Internet helps to connect interested individuals to Slow Food. At the local level, convivia use the Internet to publicize farmers' markets, potluck dinners, speakers and discussion panels, and community and school garden projects. In this sense, the Internet connects people not just online, but also in person, helping to bring community members together in an effort to enjoy slow food. The Internet also facilitates connections within the global Slow Food network. Slow Food's official websites post information about various Slow Food campaigns, programs and events,

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[53] Carlo Petrini, Ben Watson, and Slow Food Editore, eds., *Slow Food: Collected Thoughts on Taste, Tradition, and the Honest Pleasures of Food* (White River Junction VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company,2001), xiii.

spotlight local Slow Food chapters and local producers, and encourage networking on their blogs.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY

> HYP 2: *Glocal movements will form when there is a shift in the political opportunity structure that enables the formation of a new movement*.

We saw from the history of the Slow Food movement in the beginning of this chapter that when Petrini and others first established *Amici* and *Arcigola*—the precursors to Slow Food—there were, in fact, political opportunities. This local movement, grounded in gastronomic pleasure and Italian culture, grew out of the social and political instability that rocked the globe in the second half of the twentieth century. In Italy, the emergence of new ideologies created an opening for Petrini and his friends on the Left, who were able to generate a political and social environment that accepted the right to pleasure. By 1989, however, when the movement officially shifted from local to glocal, there was no change in the political opportunity structure that supported or facilitated this shift. The NSMs of the 1960s and 1970s had died away, and their goals and values had in many ways become the norm.

Since then, however, there have been a number of opportunities that have promoted the expansion and success of the movement. While distinct from the specific political opportunities that Tarrow outlined in *Power in Movement*, these opportunities have created a political and social environment conducive to the growth of the Slow Food movement, and they are worth mentioning here.

Food contamination scandals such as Mad Cow disease in Britain, E.Coli and Salmonella outbreaks in the United States and Europe, and China's tainted milk

scandal, for example, have drawn the public's attention to the perils of industrial practices. The publication of books like *Fast Food Nation* and movies like *Super Size Me* have raised awareness that the "fast life" does not translate to a long life—highlighting the health conditions related to fast food consumption. U.S. First Lady Michelle Obama's organic garden, coupled with the rise in farmers' markets and CSAs around the world, has widened the availability and social acceptability of "good," (and often "clean" and "fair") foods. While these opportunities are distinct from those outlined by Tarrow, they have created a conducive political opportunity structure for the Slow Food movement. Teaching the general public, social and political activists, and government officials about the drawbacks to the food that we produce and consume, these scandals, books, movies and initiatives have made it easier for the SMO to instigate change.

ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

> HYP 3a: *Local organizations must retain high levels of autonomy for an enduring glocal movement.*

The Slow Food movement has a complex organizational structure that encourages autonomy and decision-making at the local level, while maintaining direction at the international level. Slow Food International oversees this complex network of organizations, delegating responsibilities to its two main branches: the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity and the Terra Madre Foundation, which also function at the international level. Both foundations were established by Slow Food in order to pursue different parts of the Slow Food mission, and both enjoy a certain level of autonomy—planning their own events, overseeing their own subsidiary

organizations, and even snagging their own corporate, government and individual sponsors.

At the national level, Slow Food's organizations implement nation-wide campaigns, hold national fundraisers and PR events, and act as a liaison between the local and international levels. This is one of the most important tasks of the national organization, as it acts as a vehicle for communication: informing local organizations about international Slow Food initiatives, showing Slow Food International who their members are, and, more importantly, the projects they are implementing.

At the local level, Slow Food convivia enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy. While convivia establish programs and host events that align with national and international campaigns, they also take initiative: planning wine tastings, organizing farmers' markets, planting school and community gardens and spearheading taste education programs. Local events and projects depend largely on the desires of local leadership and convivia members, and also reflect the culture, history and traditions of the community.[54] This autonomy is the result of the belief— long held by Slow Food leadership— that affecting change in the food system occurs at the local level.[55]

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[54] Chrzan, "Slow Food: What, Why, and to Where?," 122.

[55] While this description highlights a certain degree of autonomy it is important to note that in her piece "Slow Food: What, Why, and to Where?" (123) Chrzan suggests that Slow Food's organizational hierarchy has become increasingly centralized, as national organizations encroach on the freedom of convivia and their initiatives. Her example of this centralization is the establishment of *the* Terra Madre network and world meeting, which was an "enormously expensive endeavor" that was agreed upon by Slow Food USA without consulting local chapters, or (according to Chrzan) even acknowledging that the project would "divert funds from local endeavors." On Slow Food International's website, however, Slow Food explains that funding for Terra Madre comes "almost exclusively from Italian government institutions," suggesting that it has taken nothing away from convivia.

HYP 3b: *A successful glocal movement requires high levels of communication between local and global organizations in order to promote a cohesive and coordinated campaign.*

Within the Slow Food movement, communication is a top priority. As noted above, national organizations play a crucial role in communicating between SMOs at the international and local levels. Slow Food's national websites provide important information about international programs (e.g. the Terra Madre network), national programs (e.g. the Australian Ark of Taste) and local programs (e.g. Slow Food Perth's "Food with Latitude" school garden project in Western Australia), and spotlight local, national, and international events.

While these websites certainly play a role in increasing communication, it is also important to note that Slow Food's international leadership is comprised of prominent Slow Food activists from around the world. (Josh Viertel, President of Slow Food USA, for example, sits on Slow Food's International Board of Directors). This ensures that the movement's diverse leadership directly communicate—sharing successful events and programs, along with those that were less so.

A high level of communication among Slow Food's organizations helps Slow Food to present a coordinated, cohesive and successful movement in three ways. First, and perhaps most importantly, it allows national organizations and convivia to emulate the successful campaigns and projects launched by other Slow Food organizations. Slow Food Australia, for example, based its program Heliculture (a word for "the farming of snails"—a play on Slow Food's symbol, the snail) on Slow Food USA's Slow Food on Campus initiative, which works to build up Slow Food membership on college and university campuses. Second, greater communication

helps to bring people together, ensuring that events such as Salon de Gusto and the Terra Madre world meeting are well publicized and well attended. These events are crucial to the unification of the movement, because they bring people from around the world together at one conference. Third, and more generally, greater communication creates a more dynamic and cohesive movement, for the simple reason that each branch is aware of what the other is doing.

> HYP 3c: *The most successful glocal organizations establish alliances with SMOs in kindred movements.*

Slow Food has developed a number of cross-movement alliances at the national level. With its Time For Lunch campaign, for example, Slow Food USA has partnered with SMOs in the environmental movement, such as 350.org and Alliance for Climate Education (ACE).[56] But it is worth noting that the majority of Slow Food USA's partners in this campaign are organizations within the alternative food movement itself: Healthy Schools Campaign, Sustainable Table, and Better School Food, provide just three examples.

These "intra-movement alliances," are even more common at the local level.[57] For example, Slow Food Eugene, Willamette Valley, in Oregon, has developed an intra-movement alliance with the School Garden Project, in its own Lane County. Together they help to construct gardens and teach local students about the foods that they grow. Recently this convivium has also partnered with the Willamette Food &

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[56] "Time for Lunch: Our Partners," Slow Food USA, http://www.slowfoodusa.org/index.php/campaign/time_for_lunch/our_partners/.

[57] "Intra-movement alliances" are alliances between SMOs within the same umbrella movement. These include alliances between two SMOs within the same component movement.

Farm Coalition's Food-On-Farm to Cafeteria program, which promotes locally produced foods in elementary schools, universities, hospitals and other institutions.[58]

While cross-movement and what I have called intra-movement alliances have helped to launch national campaigns and implement local programs, the most important relationships to the success of the Slow Food movement are between Slow Food and its corporate sponsors. These sponsors are much more prominently displayed on websites than any organizational alliances, and their funding has been essential for the success of a number of Slow Food events.

The sponsors of the 2008 Terra Madre world meeting, for example, were not other SMOs, they were almost exclusively corporations. These included Lufthansa (a German airline), Comieco (an ecological paper conglomerate), a variety of clothing companies, and a pasta enterprise.[59] Slow Food USA's Slow Food Nation event was sponsored by Whole Foods Market, Rodale (a global media company) and Analon (a company that sells cookware).[60] While two of these corporations are related to food, the rest have no other association with the movement. Slow Food develops such alliances simply because they increase the SMO's access to an important resource: money.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP THEORY

HYP 4: *A movement must have a charismatic leader to "go glocal."*

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[58] "Slow Food Eugene, Willamette Valley Convivium," Slow Food Eugene, Willamette Valley Convivium, http://www.slowfoodeugene.org/labels/Partner%20Organizations.html.
[59] "Partners and Donors 2008," Terra Madre, http://www.terramadre.info/pagine/incontri/welcome.lasso?id=3E6E345B0a3502A140KYY38E44ED&tp=3.
[60] It is worth noting that Analon is Slow Food USA's official sponsor—which earns the company its own webpage on the Slow Food USA website.

In 2004, Petrini made Time Magazine's list of European heroes. In an article titled, "The Slow Revolutionary," the author asks: "who can resist the laid-back elegance of Carlo Petrini?" He goes on, "the huge smile, the winkling eye, the enthusiastic gestures as he talks—he's a seducer, the Don Juan of the food world."[61] It is not just anybody who can get hundreds of people to brandish bowls of penne in one of Rome's most bustling piazzas, and Carlo Petrini is not just anybody; this charismatic sixty-year-old with a salt and pepper beard and a soft spot for music, laughter, and good food and wine started what many (outside of academia) have deemed a "revolution."

At a young age there was no question that Petrini would be a leader—funny, charming and smart, he knew how to work a room. The radio broadcasts he did as a youth are described as engaging, and from early on the people who heard him "were drawn to him."[62] His folk music festival and political comedy group brought music and laughter to the Left (pleasures that had long been associated with the Right) and with them greater support for gastronomic pleasure.

Petrini's personality and values, particularly his sense of humor, have played a powerful role in making the Slow Food movement a global phenomenon. At one Slow Food convention in San Francisco, a reporter from the United Kingdom recounts standing next to a woman who began a chant "Carlin! Carlin!" (an affectionate nickname) as Petrini took the stage.[63] In video footage of such events, one begins to understand the excitement. Petrini often begins the same way, apologizing in Italian for not speaking English, and suggesting that, for this reason,

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[61] Alain Ducasse, "The Slow Revolutionary," *Time Europe*, 2 Oct 2004.
[62] Kummer, *The Pleasures of Slow Food; Celebrating Authentic Traditions, Flavors, and Recipes*, 20.
[63] Leo Hickman, "Slow Food: Have We Lost Our Appetite?," *guardian.co.uk*, 4 Feb. 2009.

"tonight will be like a night at the opera."[64] But unlike most operas, Petrini has an interpreter, who he often interrupts and squabbles with onstage—always getting a big laugh. Petrini speaks with energy and with his hands, gesturing wildly to underscore a particularly important point. He gets louder and more commanding as he gets angrier about the atrocities committed in the current food system.

An excerpt from a speech on his book *Slow Food Nation* helps to demonstrate how Petrini commands the stage. When talking about waste, Petrini asks his audience to open the refrigerator when they get home. He tells them to look for "a parsley that looks like Carlo," (i.e. old) or rabbits that look like they are from *Jurassic Park*, and to salvage and carefully prepare them for dinner. If they cannot eat everything, he says, they should donate the leftovers to the homeless of San Francisco.[65] When he tells his audience to chop the parsley, his hand gesture tells us that he is using a *luna* (a sharp kitchen tool shaped like a crescent moon) to do so, rather than a regular old kitchen knife; when he mentions the rabbits from *Jurassic Park* the audience cannot stop laughing because the image is so ridiculous; and by the time he mentions San Francisco's homeless, he is notably angry.

But perhaps the best example of Petrini's charismatic leadership is the simple fact that he was able to introduce gastronomic pleasure to Italy's far Left, at a time when such enjoyment was seen as solely the purview of Italy's privileged classes. And that he could take his ideas, seemingly rooted in Italian food and culture, and transport them to countries with cultures and values as varied as the United States and Japan.

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Carlo Petrini, *Building a Slow Food Nation* (San Fancisco: 2008).

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

> HYP 5: *A glocal movement will be more successful to the extent that it has developed a dual identity: a shared global collective identity and a unique local one.*

Slow Food's international organizations (the Foundation for Biodiversity, Slow Food International and Terra Madre) simultaneously promote a shared global collective identity and encourage a unique local one. The use of the words "we" and "our" in the Slow Food philosophy, mission statement, and Manifesto, for example, create a sense of collective solidarity and belonging to both the organizations and to the movement. The Slow Food Manifesto especially promotes a global collective identity, suggesting that all humans have become "enslaved by speed" and have succumbed to the fast life. It continues, arguing that "our defense" begins with Slow Food. Both this language and this concept help to develop a global group mentality among members of the movement, creating a division between members of the movement and those people who continue to be subsumed by the fast life.

In addition to the Slow Food philosophy, mission statement, and Manifesto, Slow Food's organizations themselves help to develop a shared global collective identity. Terra Madre in particular promotes a shared collective identity. Its biannual world meeting brings farmers from around the world physically together in Turin, Italy, where they share production practices, food traditions, and culture. Portraits of Terra Madre farmers and a "voices of Terra Madre" web page match names and faces with the world's "local," sustainable farms. And the Terra Madre blog provides space for Terra Madre farmers and supporters to discuss food and production, post

comments, and tell their own stories. A blurb beside the blog best explains this sense of a single global collective identity:

> We are the voices of Terra Madre.
> We believe in good, clean and fair food.
> These are our stories, our pictures, our questions and answers, our problems, concerns, fears, failures and successes.[66]

At the same time, the work of Slow Food, Terra Madre and the Foundation for Biodiversity is rooted in the local, honoring local identities and celebrating regional differences. Slow Food's taste education projects for elementary school children provide the best example; we have already seen how Mangeons local education program, a Slow Food education project in Dakar, Senegal, teaches elementary school children about "local breeds and varieties, culinary traditions, and the food communities in the region."[67] This program is not only intended educate students about nutrition, but also to develop and pass on a local cultural identity.

From this discussion, we can see how the Slow Food movement is simultaneously grounded in both local and global identities: the Terra Madre website, for example, describes the network as a "family," but goes on to say that one of the most important tasks is for members to defend "local cultures and products." The Manifesto also highlights both the global and the local; while underscoring the movement's global ambitions, it also suggests that the defense of Slow Food "begins at the table" and encourages members to "rediscover the flavors and savors of *regional* cooking."[68] And while the Slow Food philosophy argues that "everyone has a fundamental right to pleasure," it also suggests that the citizens of the world have "the responsibility to

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[66] , in Terra Madre *Blog* (Bra, IT: Terra Madre, 2010).
[67] "Mangeons Local."
[68] "Manifesto." Emphasis mine.

protect the heritage of food, tradition and culture that make this pleasure possible."[69] While it encourages a shared, global collective identity, the movement recognizes that the food, tradition and culture that make gastronomic pleasure possible vary from place to place.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a successful glocal movement, the Slow Food case study offers valuable insight in terms of the criteria that a glocal movement must meet in order to emerge, endure, and be successful.

Table 2: Results of the Slow Food Case Study[70]

Criteria	Emergence	Endurance
Resources (money, information, technology)	✓	✓
Political opportunity structure	X	--
Local autonomy	✓	✓
High levels of communication	✓	✓
Cross-movement alliances	X	--
Charismatic leadership	--	--
Dual identity	X	--

The experience of the Slow Food movement seems to confirm that resources are, in fact, crucial to both the emergence and the success of the glocal movement. Financial resources have allowed the movement to expand at the international level,

[69] "Our Philosophy."
[70] In this table, and in all following tables, "X" indicates that the criteria is not present or has not been met by the movement. A dash (--) indicates that the criteria was/is present and beneficial, but not necessary for success, and a check mark indicates that the criteria has been met and is necessary for success.

enabling the establishment of new branches such as the Foundation for Biodiversity, the University of Gastronomic Sciences, and Terra Madre, along with their corresponding programs and events. The Internet has helped Slow Food to collect and disseminate information, to ask for donations and, most importantly, to connect participants at both the local and international levels. Information has been beneficial in terms of preserving traditional, and endangered, food and production practices, especially at the local level. While access to all three resources has promoted the success of the movement, financial and technological resources proved to be more important to the growth and expansion of the glocal movement than information; as information played a large role mainly at the local level.

The Slow Food case study did not support the hypothesis that a political opportunity structure was necessary for a movement to "go glocal." While the political opportunity structure in the late 1970s did promote the emergence of a *local* movement dedicated to gastronomic and Italian culture, there was no substantial change in the POS that promoted the shift in the movement from local to glocal in 1989. It is important to note, however, that while a political opportunity structure does not explain the origins of the movement, the current political and social environment has been helpful in terms of the endurance of the glocal movement.

Of the three hypotheses derived from organizational theory, two were supported and one was dismissed by this case study. First, the Slow Food movement showed that local autonomy has been crucial to the endurance of the movement; from the beginning, Slow Food's convivia have been granted autonomy. Second, a high level of communication between SMOs has helped the movement to be successful;

national organizations have been particularly helpful in bridging the gap between the local and international levels of analysis, helping to form a coordinated and cohesive glocal movement. Finally, while the Slow Food has formed cross-movement alliances, these alliances were not as helpful as what I have called intra-movement alliances, nor as important as corporate partnerships.

The Slow Food movement has had a charismatic leader since its inception. Petrini's high energy, expressiveness, creativity and sense of humor helped the movement shift from local to glocal, and have encouraged its expansion as a glocal movement. Under his leadership, the movement has over 100,000 members worldwide, and has established a variety of different innovative programs—including a university dedicated to the gastronomic sciences. While Petrini's leadership has certainly been valuable to the movement, it remains unclear whether or not it has been essential for the success of the movement. This will become more apparent with a comparison between the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement in the conclusion of this thesis.

Finally, Slow Food's SMOs promote a collective shared identity while maintaining unique local identities. They use language such as "we" and "our" to bring people of diverse backgrounds together in a single movement, but encourage the local identities grounded in local gastronomic history, traditions and culture. This helps participants to develop a glocal identity.

CHAPTER 3
THE CASE OF RAW MILK

Who was the first guy that looked at a cow and said: 'I think I'll drink whatever comes out of those things when I squeeze them'?

— Calvin in *Calvin & Hobbes*
(a comic strip by Bill Watterson)

If happiness truly consisted in physical ease and freedom from care, then the happiest individual would not be either a man or a woman; it would be, I think, an American cow.

— William Lyon Phelps (1935)

INTRODUCTION

Most Americans are not aware that there is another kind of milk to drink—that is, one different from the one they usually pull off the refrigerated shelf at their grocery store. Yet a growing number of consumers in the United States are participating in what some (non-academics) have even deemed the "raw milk revolution," drinking raw milk and, perhaps more importantly, lobbying for its universal availability. These individuals, along with the organizations that support them, argue that "farm fresh milk" is safe, tastes better than the more widely available processed variety, and is the most sustainable form of dairying. Of the approximately 300 million people in the United States, current estimates suggest that half a million drink raw milk.[1]

[1] John Drape, "Should This Milk Be Legal?," *The New York Times* 2007.

Drinking raw milk is currently illegal in 18 U.S. states, and its production and consumption have been legally restricted in the 32 others. It is illegal to sell or purchase raw milk in all of Canada, and illegal in all but two provinces of Australia (in one of these two provinces, raw milk can legally be sold as a beauty product, but not for consumption). In contrast, in most of Western Europe raw milk is both legal and available; searching the web, one finds images of raw milk vending machines in Italy and reads about France's artisanal raw milk cheeses.

While the struggle for the availability of raw milk is, in fact, transnational, like Slow Food, the raw milk movement is grounded in communities. Local culture, for example, plays a large role in defining and encouraging the growth of the movement. In the U.S., those states with progressive politics and a "hippy" counterculture, such as California, have had the most success widening the availability of raw milk. States with a dairying history, like Wisconsin, have also become hotbeds of raw milk production and consumption. Other states, (e.g. Maryland and New York) have been much more resistant.

In addition to local culture, the nature of the movement and the overall unavailability of raw milk have grounded the movement in both economic and personal relationships between the producer and consumer, and even between consumers themselves. "Know your farmer," is an important catchphrase within the movement, not only because not all raw milk is produced safely, but also because most raw milk consumers also consider themselves "locavores," who emphasize the importance of local foods. Relationships are also built among consumers in those areas where raw milk is illegal; in these areas, raw milk "undergrounds" or co-

operatives often form, bringing people in a community together in order to break the law.[2] These raw milk advocates often have to coordinate pick-ups and drop-offs, at times driving hours to a farm that is permitted to sell "the white stuff."[3]

In the previous chapter I tested five groups of hypotheses that I suggested might explain the success of a glocal social movement. I tested these hypotheses against the Slow Food movement, a glocal movement that has been largely successful. In this chapter, I will test the same five groups of hypotheses with the raw milk movement, a glocal movement that has struggled to achieve a level of success parallel to that of the Slow Food movement.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will define raw milk, explain how it is different from "regular" milk, and trace the history of the raw milk movement, beginning with the onset of pasteurization in the mid-nineteenth century. Second, I will highlight the important components of the contemporary raw milk movement, underscoring the ways in which access to resources, charismatic leadership, democratic organization, political opportunity, and global and local identities have contributed (or have not contributed) to the movement. Finally, I will use the raw milk movement to explicitly test my hypotheses, as I did with the Slow Food movement. This will help to determine which criteria are necessary for the glocal movement's success, and which are not.

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[2] Sandor Ellix Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved* (White River Junction VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 2006), 168.
[3] Drape, "Should This Milk Be Legal?."

RAW MILK, AN OVERVIEW

ORIGINS

Milk was a staple of the American diet long before bacteria were discovered, refrigeration was invented, and the rules of good hygiene were common knowledge. This makes it is easy to understand why milk in the eighteenth century (and earlier) was both dirty and dangerous, and makes it difficult to imagine that things could have gotten much worse. Yet in the mid-nineteenth century, with the onset of industrialization, dirty milk became even dirtier. Urbanization meant a decrease in pastureland in urban areas, which coincided with the emergence of the U.S. whiskey distilling industry. Soon "swill dairies" began to pop up in urban areas around the United States. Owned by distillers, the dairies were established next door to their distilling operations. They were called swill dairies because the cows were fed only swill—a grain-based waste product from the distillery.

Since the stable was housed in what was essentially a factory, it was far from sanitary, and, as a result, the cows became sick. An account by Abraham Jacobi, a prominent New York medical doctor who came to favor pasteurization, helps to demonstrate this point. Jacobi notes: "no cow had the opportunity to leave at any time after having been imprisoned there. There she was kept in foul air, standing or resting in her own manure, with no other food, sickening until her tail rotted off and her skin broke out in gangrenous ulcers, and she died."[4]

Coupled with an all swill diet, such conditions meant that the milk from these dairies was thin and "bluish" and teeming with bacteria. As one firsthand account

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[4] Abraham Jacobi, "Introduction," in *Disease in Milk: The Remedy, Pasteurization; the Life Work of Nathan Straus*, ed. Lina Gutherz Straus (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1917), 15-16.

notes, the milk was as "*dirty* as sewage water."[5] In order to make their milk salable, distillery owners doctored the milk, "with plaster of Paris to take away the blueness, starch and eggs to thicken it and molasses to give it the buttercup hue of honest Orange County milk."[6] Poor transportation systems and limited refrigeration techniques did little to help solve "the milk problem."

Despite its poor quality, swill milk became popular because it was so cheap; by 1852, three-quarters of New York City's milk sales were swill milk.[7] As a consequence, the infant mortality rate in the City rose throughout the first half of the nineteenth century—by as early as the 1840s, "an infant born in the city had a 50 percent chance of living to the age of five."[8] During the same period, infants born in the countryside had a much higher probability of surviving to adulthood—likely due to cleaner milk.[9]

By the time the swill milk system had become well established in the mid-nineteenth century, the rising middle classes in northeastern cities began calling for reform.[10] "The milk question," as it was called, was widely discussed among doctors, government officials, scientists, and "industrial philanthropists."[11] The question was how to supply citizens, particularly infants, with good, clean milk. Two alternative systems emerged as answers to the milk question: certification and pasteurization.[12]

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[5] E. Melanie DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food: How Milk Became America's Drink* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 18; John Spargo, *The Common Sense of the Milk Question* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1908), 111.
[6] Bee Wilson, "The Swill Is Gone," *The New York Times*, 30 Sept. 2008.
[7] Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved*, 166.
[8] DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food*, 19.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 73.
[12] Ibid., 76.

The certified dairy system was the brainchild of a New Jersey pediatrician, Henry Coit, in the late 1880s. It was a labor- and capital-intensive system, as milk was produced under the watchful eye of a regional Medical Milk Commission—a Board composed primarily of doctors who were concerned with the safety of the milk supply. Barn conditions, milking practices, and the cows themselves were frequently and carefully inspected by the Commission, whose standards were strict. If a dairy passed the examination, it was declared "certified" by the Commission. This certification told the general public that the milk was considered safe for consumption.[13] Coit's plan was to establish such Milk Commissions across the country, and thus clean up the nation's milk supply.

Some celebrated certified raw milk as a panacea for the milk problem: according to these doctors, state officials and activists, certification was "a revolution in the methods of producing milk and the method of its supply to large cities."[14] But this intensive process meant that certified milk cost almost twice as much as other milk. This fact would prove to be the Achilles heel of certified raw milk, as poor urban families could rarely afford it. At its height, certified milk accounted for less than one percent of the total milk supply.[15]

Pasteurization offered the other solution to the nation's milk problem. The French scientist Louis Pasteur invented the process of pasteurization in 1864 as a means of preserving beer and wine, and by the 1890s doctors and scientists in both Europe and the United States realized the benefits of applying this process to milk. In

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[13] Interestingly, in her book *Nature's Perfect Food* (77), Dupuis points out that certified dairies were some of the largest dairies at this time—many operations milked over five hundred cows.
[14] DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food*, 77.
[15] Susanne Freidberg, *Fresh: A Perishable History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 214.

the United States, Nathan Straus, a German immigrant, successful businessman and well-known philanthropist, was the champion of pasteurization. Straus' goal was to eliminate the milk problem by supplying the poor with clean, cheap milk. In order to do so, Straus personally funded and established milk depots throughout the city. At Straus' depots, milk bottles were sterilized, and the milk was pasteurized in a pasteurizing oven. The milk was then cooled, placed in iceboxes and delivered throughout the city.[16] In addition to Straus' depots, in the 1890s, dairies began pasteurizing milk; Sheffield Farms Diary (which would later become a part of Sealtest/Kraft) was the first to install a pasteurizer. This caught on, and many dairy companies were already pasteurizing their milk on site by the time the city passed its pasteurization requirements in 1912.[17]

Certification and pasteurization were not originally considered mutually exclusive, but many people involved in the debate thought that the state had no choice but to endorse one method or the other. Dr. Charles North, secretary of the New York Milk Committee, articulated this point of view at the New York Milk Committee's "Conference on Milk Problems" in 1910. North argued that, as a licensor of milk dealers, the state was responsible for guaranteeing the safety of the milk that it permitted to be sold. As North saw it, the state could guarantee the safety of the milk in one of two ways. It could either increase inspections in order to ensure the same guarantees that Coit's private Milk Commissions provided, or it could enforce mandatory pasteurization.[18] In the end, pasteurization won out largely because it was

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[16] Lina Straus Gutherz, *Disease in Milk: The Remedy, Pasteurization; the Life Work of Nathan Straus*, 2nd ed. (New York: E. P Dutton & Company, 1917), 34-40.
[17] DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food*, 82.
[18] Ibid., 79.

cheaper for the state to mandate pasteurization than to certify the general milk supply. By 1917 state governments mandated or "officially encouraged" pasteurization "in forty-six of the fifty-two largest U.S. cities."[19] Over the following decades, systems of milk certification would "die out in most places," though small farms in rural areas continued to sell raw milk.[20]

It was only after World War II that raw milk was virtually eliminated from the dairy landscape. Contemporary raw milk enthusiasts attribute the demise of raw milk in the mid-twentieth century not only to the popularity of pasteurization, but also to well-publicized, anti-raw milk propaganda. In his book *The Untold Story of Raw Milk*, Ron Schmidt argues that a series of magazine articles published in the mid-1940s were detrimental to raw milk consumption.

First, an article in the *Ladies' Home Journal* titled "Undulant Fever" (1944), for example, claimed that tens of thousands of Americans have "suffered from fever and illness because of exposure to raw milk."[21] In reality, Schmid notes, from 1923-1944 there were only 256 cases of undulant fever attributed to raw milk, and only three resulted in death.[22] Also in 1944, *Coronet* magazine published an article by Robert Harris, M.D. bluntly titled: "Raw Milk Can Kill You." In this article Harris wrote about an outbreak of undulant fever that infected one in four people in a town he refers to as "Crossroads, U.S.A."[23] But Harris later admitted that he made up the entire story.[24] Raw milk production would continue to decline throughout the latter

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[19] Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved*, 167.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ron Schmid, *The Untold Story of Milk*, 2nd ed. (Washington D.C.: NewTrends Publishing Inc., 2009), 150.
[22] Ibid., 151.
[23] Ibid., 150.
[24] Ibid.

half of the twentieth century, and most state governments banned the sale of raw milk in grocery stores, if not altogether. This anti-raw milk campaign culminated in 1986, when the U.S. government banned all interstate sales and shipment of raw milk and raw milk products.[25]

The widespread use of pasteurization has had a huge impact on the contemporary organization of dairy production, processing and distribution. Because pasteurization not only cleans milk but "also enhances the keeping quality of the milk," it has permitted companies "to increase their economies of scale" and encouraged the centralization of the industry. Milk has become "a product of an industrial system,"[26] and, as such, the production and distribution of the U.S. milk supply is now concentrated in just "a handful of corporations."[27]

Dean Foods, for example, the nation's largest dairy corporation, processes more than two billion gallons of milk each year.[28] It also owns some of the most well-known regional labels, including—but not limited to—Alta Dena, Berkeley Farms, Mayfield, Meadow Gold, Shenandoah's Pride, Horizon Organic Milk, and Garelick Farms—as well as soy processors such as Silk and Sun Soy.[29] According to one report by the USDA, dairy producers with sales of $800 million and above accounted for 69 percent of all dairy sales in 1998, and industry concentration has only continued to increase.[30]

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[25] Ibid., 388.
[26] DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food*, 80.
[27] Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved*, 164.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

Much of the pasteurized milk now produced in the United States is produced with the help of recombinant bovine growth hormone (rBGH) (also known as recombinant bovine somatotropin (rBST)).[31] Somatotropin is a hormone produced in the pituitary of animals; in dairy cows its primary job is to encourage lactation.[32] Monsanto (the agricultural corporation made infamous by Michael Pollan's *The Omnivore's Dilemma*) has genetically engineered the hormone in order to increase milk production in cows by as much as 15 percent. Studies suggest that rBGH has a negative impact on both the cows and the milk that we drink.

A study done at the University of Vermont shows that rBGH is responsible for an increase in mastitis—a type of bacterial infection of the udder. This same study suggests that these cases of mastitis are more difficult to cure, which means that they are often treated with higher doses of antibiotics.[33] The increased use of antibiotics causes an increase in the risk of antibiotic-resistant infection in both cows and humans.[34] The U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved the use of rBGH in 1993, and there is no law that forces companies to label such milk. It is banned everywhere in the world except for the United States, Mexico, and Brazil.

The centralization of the dairy industry and the manipulation of the milk itself have led even mainstream consumers to seek out organic milk or milk labeled "rBGH-free." Yet, a growing number of consumers are opting out of the dominant dairy system altogether—purchasing raw milk, often directly from those farms that

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[31] It is important here to note that on June 1, 2006 Dean Foods began an rBGH-free campaign—all dairies that provide milk to Dean Foods processing plants must present a certificate that demonstrates that they have not used rBGH.
[32] "The Issues: rBGH," http://www.sustainabletable.org/issues/rbgh/.
[33] Michael Hansen et al., "Potential Public Health Impacts of the Use of Recombinant Bovine Somatotropin in Dairy Production," http://www.consumersunion.org/pub/core_food_safety/002272.html.
[34] Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved*, 165.

still produce it. Producers and consumers of raw milk argue that industrial, pasteurized milk is not "real milk," and express concerns about the industrial dairy system's necessity, sustainability, and hygiene, along with the nutritional value of the product itself. In addition, many raw milk consumers highlight the fact that they like knowing where their milk comes from, meeting their farmer, and patting happy, healthy cows. Some drink raw milk because they swear that it improves their eczema, has helped with their child's autism, gives them more energy, or is easier to digest. Others drink raw milk simply because they think it tastes better.[35]

Regardless of the reasoning, a movement for raw milk has emerged in the last decade. Its participants argue that pasteurization is no longer necessary, and that it carries its own health risks to both humans and animals. Such advocates fight local and national governments to repeal those laws that prohibit the sale or distribution of raw milk. While it remains sporadic at the local level and disorganized at the international one, the movement is becoming increasingly cohesive and has made progress in the last decades.

THE MOVEMENT ITSELF

International/National

Though people have been protesting mandatory pasteurization almost since the development of the process, the raw milk movement took a formal turn with the establishment of the Weston A. Price Foundation in the late 1990s. The WAPF is the

[35] This information comes from reading newspaper articles, magazine articles and blogs; listening to podcasts and radio broadcasts; watching short videos; and interviewing raw milk farmers and producers from September 2009-April 2010.

most well-known organization behind the fight for the universal availability of raw milk and has spearheaded the formal Campaign for Real Milk.

The organization was named for a Cleveland, OH, dentist who traveled the world in the 1930s, visiting isolated populations in order to explore the relationship between diet and health, and documenting his findings.[36] From his studies Price concluded that traditional diets—featuring raw milk—led to stronger, straighter teeth, and better overall health. The WAPF currently has approximately 10,000 members, and 400 local chapters—more than fifty of which are located abroad. (While the majority of local chapters are in Canada and Australia, there are local chapters in countries in South America, Asia, and the United Kingdom.[37]) The WAPF has also established the Annual International Raw Milk Symposium, an annual meeting that brings together local chapter leaders, the WAPF leadership and famous raw milk activists for a day dedicated to discussing the past, present and future of raw milk.

The WAPF was established by Sally Fallon Morell, a mother of four with what she has called a "passing interest" in nutrition," who became a raw milk advocate after picking up a copy of Price's book *Nutrition and Physical Degeneration* in the 1970s. With the work of Price supporting her, Fallon Morell brought her kids up on a rich diet of raw milk, butter and cream. Fallon Morell argues that this diet "reversed the process of physical degeneration" in her kids, citing the fact that none of them developed allergies or needed braces.[38] Price's research and the impact his theories had on her children's health first inspired Fallon Morell to write a cookbook,

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[36] Jon and Cathy Payne, "Sally Fallon Morrell of Weston A. Price Foundation," *Our Natural Life* (2009).
[37] Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved*, 169.
[38] Payne, "Sally Fallon Morrell."

Nourishing Traditions, that explains Price's findings. The cookbook was intended to make Price's theories both available and understandable to the general public, and in 1999 Fallon Morell took an even bigger step toward this goal, establishing the WAPF and launching the Campaign for Real Milk.[39]

The WAPF's Campaign for Real Milk was inspired by the Campaign for Real Ale; established in England in the 1970s, its purpose was to fight for small-scale brewers and a return to traditional brewing methods. The Campaign for Real Milk has parallel ideals, but the product is milk, not booze: "what's needed today," argues the WAPF, "is a return to humane, non-toxic, pasture-based dairying and small-scale traditional processing."[40] The ultimate goal is universal access to clean raw milk.

The WAPF—its leadership and membership—intend to achieve this goal by increasing knowledge about raw milk and its availability. This is largely done through the campaign's website (developed by the WAPF), www.realmilk.com, which provides a host of information about the safety and nutrition of raw milk—including a 71-page presentation that directly counters each point put forward by the FDA. When it was first established, the site had less than "a page of sources where raw milk could be purchased legally"; now, the list takes up well over two-dozen web pages.[41] In providing this valuable information, the website also serves as a network, connecting consumers to producers by providing a long list of "local" farmers first by country, and then by state or province.

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[39] Ibid. *Nourishing Traditions* has sold approximately 300,000 copies; to put this in context, former Alaskan governor Sarah Palin's autobiography *Going Rogue* sold 300,000 copies its first day on sale.
[40] The Weston A. Price Foundation, "Why?," http://www.realmilk.com/why.
[41] Drape, "Should This Milk Be Legal?."

As production and consumption of raw milk grew over the next decade, the WAPF saw an increasing demand for legal counsel from farmers whose raw milk operations were being raided and even shut-down by authorities. The WAPF attempted to meet the demand, but this task was not included in its mission statement and it proved to be too difficult for a single organization.[42] So in 2007 Fallon Morell established the Farm-to-Consumer Legal Defense Fund, an organization comprised of both farmers and consumers who want to protect the constitutional right of consumers and to safeguard the nation's family farms.[43] The Fund and its members seek to protect sustainable family farms, "on-farm processing," "direct-to-consumer distribution," and consumer choice.

With this mission, it has become a crucial organization in the raw milk campaign, as it helps farmers to act within or circumvent laws that prohibit the distribution of raw milk.[44] The Fund provides a number of different programs and services to help farmers understand both the laws surrounding raw milk production and distribution, and their own rights as producers. Perhaps most importantly, the Fund provides a 24-hour hotline for farmers whose operations are confronted by state and federal inspectors without a warrant. The Fund also offers support to raw milk producers who have been taken to trial, or have been subjected to an illegal raid.

In addition to the WAPF and the Farm-to-Consumer Legal Defense Fund, the Farm-to-Consumer Foundation is another SMO involved with the raw milk movement at the international/national level. The Foundation is dedicated to both

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[42] Schmid, *The Untold Story of Milk*, 405.
[43] "Farm-to-Consumer Foundation," Farm-to-Consumer Foundation, http://www.farmtoconsumerfoundation.org/.
[44] Ibid.

safeguarding and promoting local and sustainable farming; the foundation's mission is to educate farmers about sustainable methods, distribution models and food safety—particularly in regard to raw milk.[45] The foundation has helped hundreds of farmers establish legal cow-shares and goat-shares through their "cow-share college" and "goat-share university" programs—classes taken via telephone that teach a farmer how to establish and legally operate a cow-share or goat-share.[46] According to their website, they help an average of 4-5 family farms become cow-share (and/or goat-share) operations each week.[47] While these three organizations (the WAPF, the Farm-to-Consumer Legal Defense Fund, and the Farm-to-Consumer Foundation) are fairly autonomous, they are intimately related—the movement's leadership describes them as "sister organizations."[48]

Local

In addition to WAPF headquarters, hundreds of local WAPF chapters have sprung up in 17 countries around the world.[49] The chapters may be established by anyone who shares the WAPF's values and wants to further its mission. Local chapters support the WAPF's Campaign for Real Milk by providing information

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.
[47] In a cow-share people become co-owners of a cow or a herd, paying the farmer for boarding, milking and generally caring for their cow. It is also worth noting here that while this thesis has focused on raw milk produced from cows, some farms produce raw goat's milk. Raw goat's milk is used in a lot of raw milk cheeses.
[48] I called the Farm-to-Consumer Foundation and "Pete" relayed this information to me. It is worth noting that Pete is the Vice President of both the Fund *and* the Farm-to-Consumer Foundation; in fact, the boards of both organizations almost completely overlap.
[49] Unlike the Slow Food convivia, the WAPF's local chapters do not have their own websites; their contact information is listed on the WAPF's main website (if they are a raw milk producer their farm's website may also be provided). Also in contrast to the Slow Food convivia, WAPF's local chapters may be established right next door to one another—WAPF headquarters show no concern about overlap, whereas Slow Food encourages activists in the same area to join existing chapters, rather than establish new ones.

about the availability and the safety of raw milk to those who seek it—and to those who do not. At local farmers' markets and fairgrounds, as well as at their own WAPF events, local chapter leaders provide copies of the WAPF's informational pamphlets (available by mail through the WAPF or online at www.realmilk.com). In addition, they might sell the WAPF's quarterly magazine, *Wise Traditions*, which publishes both scientific information and news updates from the raw milk campaign. Some local WAPF chapter leaders also hold workshops promoting raw milk, and cooking classes that teach people how to make raw milk ice cream, butter, and cheeses.

Most importantly, local WAPF chapters have been instrumental in lobbying state governments to increase the availability of raw milk, particularly through cow share programs. In 2005 in Colorado, for example, the WAPF's Denver chapter launched an expansive letter-writing campaign, and encouraged members to attend legislative hearings. The chapters' leaders have argued that this action played an "integral" role in passing legislation legalizing cow-shares.[50]

In addition to its lobbying efforts, the Denver chapter co-hosts an annual conference with the Raw Milk Association of Colorado (RMAC). The Annual Gathering is an all day event dedicated to teaching members, along with other producers and consumers, about raw milk. This co-sponsorship highlights the fact that, while the WAPF is the most extensive formal network of SMOs dedicated to the production and consumption of raw milk, there are other formal SMOs involved in the movement. The RMAC strives to enlighten producers, to educate consumers, and to organize a raw milk network through its annual conference, its website and

[50] Mary Blair McMorran (co-chapter leader of a WAPF chapter in Denver, CO), in discussion with the author via e-mail, March 2010.

promotional material. Organizations like the RMAC exist all over the country. In my own home state, an organization called Rural Vermont was the driving force behind new and more lenient raw milk legislation, bringing farmers and consumers together in a letter-writing campaign parallel to the one led by the WAPF Denver chapter mentioned above. In Maryland, the Maryland Independent Consumer and Farmer's Association (MICFA) has led the struggle against strict raw milk laws. While many of these local SMOs are intimately related to the WAPF (the Executive Director of the RMAC is a co-chapter leader of WAPF Denver, the leader of MICFA is a WAPF chapter leader in Bowie, MD) they are clearly independent from the WAPF's official network—indicated in the fact that they have different names, and different sources of funding.

The Raw Milk Underground

Raw milk is legal in just 32 U.S. states, and many raw milk drinkers take risks in order to obtain this product. John Langlois of Estillfork, Alabama, for example, gets his milk delivered, illegally, by mail from a dairy in South Carolina. He pays heavily for it too, at $19 a gallon. Suzanne Nelson, a raw milk drinker in North Carolina and a writer for Indy.com, shares her experience trying to track down a raw milk farmer, and going to pick up her milk on the farm—in the middle of the night. In the last few decades, consumers like Langlois and Nelson (and the producers who provide for them) have been coming together in an informal network of both underground and not-so underground clubs, or co-operatives, in order to get their hands on "the white stuff."[51]

[51] Drape, "Should This Milk Be Legal?."

Informal, "clandestine" raw milk clubs have sprung up around the United States. In states where on-farm sales are legal, raw milk clubs offer a convenient way to obtain raw milk from farms that are often far away; in states where raw milk sales are illegal it provides a means of obtaining raw milk. These clubs operate in various ways, and some are less clandestine than others (though the less clandestine, the more likely it will be shut down). In such clubs, members may buy the milk from the farm in bulk, and then send a single representative to make the long drive to pick up the order. In other cases (most often when it makes economic sense to do so) raw milk farmers will make the trip to the city in order to provide milk for their most loyal customers. They meet at carefully pre-disclosed locations, and the farmer often stays for just a couple of hours—for fear of being caught by the authorities. These consumers, and the producers who supply them, comprise an informal raw milk network that has emerged in the last two decades.

Cow shares are another way that raw milk farmers and producers circumvent strict raw milk laws that prohibit even on-farm purchases of raw milk. The first cow-share in North America was established by Michael Schmidt, a 54-year-old raw milk farmer in Ontario, Canada, after authorities raided his farm in 1994. Schmidt refused to stop selling raw milk, instead turning his farm into a cow-share. In a cow-share people become co-owners of a cow or a herd, paying the farmer a small fee for boarding, milking and generally caring for their cow.[52] This bypasses many strict raw milk laws, which prohibit even the on-farm sale of milk, but permit the "farmer" to

[52] "Cow Share, Herd Share, and Farm Share Agreements," Weston A. Price Foundation, http://www.realmilk.com/cowfarmshare.html.

drink his or her own milk.[53] Since Schmidt's establishment of the cow-share, this system has been implemented—often successfully—in a number of states in the U.S., from Virginia to Alaska.

It is worth noting that these clubs, are not only limited to those states where raw milk is largely illegal. Here at Wesleyan University, in Connecticut, where raw milk is widely available (it is even sold in some grocery stores), a raw milk co-op organized by a Wesleyan student has been very successful. Jake Litke, the co-op's organizer, currently accepts about 30 orders for raw milk each week, distributing about 20 gallons to be consumed—legally—by approximately 80 people.

USING THE RAW MILK CASE STUDY TO TEST GLOCAL HYPOTHESES

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

> HYP 1: *Glocal movements will be more successful to the extent that they have greater access to both local and global resources (money, information and technology).*

Money does not play a large role in the raw milk movement, though it has, of course, played a role. Fallon Morell remembers, for example, the moment during the first year of the WAPF when she was standing in her kitchen—WAPF headquarters at the time—and opened an envelope with a check inside for $10,000.

But even with generous donations like the one described above, in 2006, the WAPF's total annual revenue was just $839,000. To put this into perspective, in that same year Slow Food USA's revenue was one and a half times as much, and it is just

[53] Katz, *The Revolution Will Not Be Microwaved*, 169.

one organization in an extensive Slow Food network.[54] Of this annual income, the majority goes toward the WAPF's annual Wise Traditions Conference and to general administrative activities; only about 12 percent goes directly to the WAPF's campaigns. This means that in 2006, just $50,340 of the WAPF's income went toward the raw milk movement.

In this movement, information is a hotter commodity than money. Information plays a crucial role in getting people involved, whether producers, consumers or advocates. Participants in the movement use information about food safety and nutrition to argue that raw milk is healthier than pasteurized milk because it contains "enzymes and probiotics" that make it easier to digest and boost the immune system. In addition, they suggest that it is safer than pasteurized milk because it is more carefully produced, and has natural mechanisms that prevent it from spoiling the way that pasteurized milk does.

Firsthand accounts from patients and medical doctors endorse raw milk as a medicinal tool, arguing that it has helped with health conditions such as eczema, sore joints, and autism. This information is distributed to prospective advocates in a variety of ways: from conferences and symposiums, from websites and blogs, and from a variety of journals and pamphlets. Local chapter leaders listed on the WAPF website and raw milk producers posted at realmilk.com also provide information about whole foods and the availability of raw milk. The movement's emphasis on information is perhaps best embodied in the words of Price himself: "you teach, you

[54] Jeffrey Roberts, "Slow Food USA Financial Report Fiscal Year 2006," *The Snail* 2008.

teach, you teach."[55] As Celeste Skousen, a co-leader in of a WAPF chapter in Atlanta, Georgia, suggests, the movement is "just about getting good knowledge out there."[56]

Technology has played a large role in bringing raw milk advocates together, and thus comprising a movement. Participating in alternative food systems can be incredibly alienating if one's family, friends and neighbors shop in the mainstream.[57] Participating in the raw milk movement is perhaps even more alienating because the FDA has issued vehement warnings against raw milk. One nurse in an obstetrician's office notes that she cannot tell her colleagues that she drinks raw milk, and she certainly could not tell them that she was drinking it while she was pregnant.[58] The Internet has provided an important avenue of support for raw milk advocates, many of whom want confirmation that what they are doing is "right."

Raw milk advocates are brought together through a number of online sources and initiatives by the WAPF and other raw milk enthusiasts. Realmilk.com is the most comprehensive website on raw milk, serving as a starting point for anyone interested in learning more about the movement; providing information about raw milk's history, political overtones, legality, availability and safety. The site also provides updates to those involved in the movement, clueing them in to Michael Schmidt's trial for example.[59] The site also connects those who are interested in raw milk to raw milk producers in their area.

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[55] Payne, "Sally Fallon Morrell."
[56] Celeste Skousen (co-leader of a WAPF chapter in Atlanta, GA), in discussion with the author via telephone, March 2010.
[57] Ibid.
[58] David E. Gumpert, "Got Raw Milk?," *Boston Globe*, 23 Mar 2008.
[59] Adam McDowell, "Michael Schmidt Acquitted in Raw-Milk Case," *National Post*, 21 Jan 2010.

The WAPF has relied heavily on "Yahoo! Groups" as a method of bringing raw milk enthusiasts together. Local leaders who have access to Internet, for example, can join the WAPF's "Yahoo! Group" for chapter leaders. Established in 2003, the group currently has 496 members. As described by the WAPF, the purpose of the group "is to provide a central 'meeting point'" for local leaders. Skousen highlights the importance of the group in establishing connections and maintaining communication with the WAPF headquarters. She notes that Fallon Morell is a member of the group, even posting messages at times. "It's kind of cool," Skousen points out, "there are just one or two degrees of separation with Sally, just with that Yahoo! Group."[60] It is worth noting that there are several Yahoo! Groups for WAPF members. WAPF San Francisco, for example, established a Yahoo! Group in July of 2004 and currently has 612 members. Along with a discussion board, the group has an "evite" list, which automatically invites members to monthly potlucks featuring guest speakers.

Many raw milk enthusiasts—some of whom are associated with the WAPF—have also come together through the website Meetup.com. Meetup.com is a social networking site dedicated to helping people with shared interests develop "offline clubs in local communities around the world." [61] The process is simple and can be very effective. Anybody can join the Meetup group, and when the organizer hears about or plans an event, he or she simply posts the event on the group's Meetup site. Then, Meetup takes care of the rest: e-mailing members the link to the event, showing

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[60] Celeste Skousen (co-leader of a WAPF chapter in Atlanta, GA), in discussion with the author via telephone, March 2010.
[61] From a google search of the term "Meetup," at: http://www.google.com/search?q=meetup&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&aq=t&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&client=firefox-a

who has RSVP-ed and who is bringing guests to the event. Organizers and guests can upload photos, post messages, and participate in a discussion. At Meetup.com there are ten Meetup groups listed as interested in raw milk (many of them were established by local WAPF members or leaders). There are 1,658 members in all, spanning two countries: the United States and Britain.[62] These groups play an important role in recruiting new raw milk enthusiasts, WAPF members and leadership.[63]

Raw milk activists have also recently begun to use Facebook as a vehicle for advocacy. The group, Alliance for Raw Milk internationale (ARMi) was formed in January of 2010.[64] ARMi has 1,190 members, who post on the group's "wall" about local sources of raw milk, and updates on pertinent court cases and legislation. In addition the group, ARMi has a Facebook "page," with 238 "fans." It works much the same way as the group, but it provides links to the pages of ARMs in different countries. These ARM pages also provide information and updates about raw milk in each area. ARMi is currently limited to Facebook, although its administrators are in the process of launching an ARMi website.

Finally, in terms of technology, blogs have played a useful role in distributing information about raw milk and updates about the movement. In her blog "Cheeseslave," for example, Anne Marie Michaels, a WAPF chapter leader in Los Angeles, offers her own "top ten reasons to drink raw milk." A blog called, "The

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[62] "Raw Milk Meetup Groups," Meetup, http://raw-milk.meetup.com/.
[63] Kimberly Hartke, "Organize Locavores and Support Small Farms with Meetup.Com," in *Cheeseslave*, ed. Ann Marie Michaels (Los Angeles: WordPress, 2010).
[64] Another Facebook group, called the Alliance for Raw Milk International (no "e," and capital "I"), was established at the same time as ARMi. The group as just 235 members, and seems to be redundant as long as ARMi exists.

Bovine" closely followed Michael Schmidt's most recent trial.[65] And David Gumpert, author of *The Raw Milk Revolution*, writes a blog titled "The Complete Patient," offering information about the health and safety side of raw milk. All of these sources chronicle the movement through the eyes of advocates, informally educating readers about raw milk, and the movement.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY

> HYP 2: *Glocal movements will form when there is a shift in the political opportunity structure that enables the formation of a new movement.*

There has been no major shift in the political opportunity structure that has encouraged the growth of the raw milk movement. In fact, a brief history of the U.S. dairy industry showed us that when there was an obvious political opportunity in the late nineteenth century, advocates of raw milk were not successful in their bid for certification. Government officials and the medical establishment largely sided with pasteurization, and this process soon became mandatory throughout the country, and even transnationally. The current formal political opportunity structure has remained largely against this movement, as political alliances between government officials, the medical establishment, the dominant dairy industry, agricultural corporations and retail grocery chains have proven to be obstacles to raw milk legislation.

However, there is one dimension of Tarrow's political opportunity structure that has encouraged the emergence of the raw milk movement and increased access to political power. The Internet has played a major role in increasing the ordinary citizen's political power, as has the 24-hour news cycle and electronic media. In

[65] His farm was raided in 2006 and he was charged with 19 counts of producing and distributing raw milk. He was acquitted of all charges in January of 2010, solidifying the legality of the cow-share under Canadian law.

terms of the raw milk movement, these developments have allowed both ordinary citizens and the movement's leadership to petition anti-raw milk legislation, organize rallies, and develop letter-writing and lobbying campaigns. The omnipresence of the media has helped to put pressure on lawmakers, by increasing the movement's audience and getting more people involved. In this sense, the Internet has opened up a political avenue for emerging movements and new activists.

It is also worth noting that, as with the Slow Food movement, there have been a variety of factors that have created a political, social and economic environment conducive to the movement. The centralization of the dairy industry and the manipulation of milk, for example, have given rise to concerns about the sustainability and cleanliness of the current system and the nutritional value of pasteurized milk. While distinct from Tarrow's specific political opportunities, these conditions have led a growing number of consumers to seek alternatives, including organic and/or raw milk.

ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

> HYP 3a: *Local organizations must retain high levels of autonomy for an enduring glocal movement.*

The WAPF chapter system was Fallon Morell's brainchild, and its structure is intended to give maximum freedom to leaders at the local level. For this reason, the requirements for establishing a local chapter are limited: a chapter leader must be a member of the WAPF, sign a contract with the WAPF, provide contact information on the WAPF website, and turn in a yearly report of the chapter's activities. In

addition, he or she must provide information on local sources of raw milk (and other foodstuffs) to anyone searching for this product.

While the requirements are easily met, chapter leaders are encouraged to "go above and beyond" as Fallon Morell says, representing the WAPF at local fairs, holding workshops or cooking classes. Many chapter leaders have developed food cooperatives or raw milk delivery systems in order to give more people access to local, whole foods—one chapter leader in Washington D.C. has established a delivery system that serves more than 4,000 people.[66] This flexibility and freedom is essential for the potential success of the movement, it would not be viable if decision-making was "top-down."[67] "The very core of the movement is local," Skousen notes, "so we have to stay true to that."[68] The WAPF and those involved with its raw milk campaign operate on the premise that the more distributed the decision-making, the better; chapter leaders are given all the resources that they need, and they may choose how they want to use them.

> HYP 3b: *A successful glocal movement requires high levels of communication between local and global organizations in order to promote a cohesive and coordinated campaign.*

The vertical and horizontal structure of the raw milk movement is indistinct, and this greatly impedes communication among organizations. The WAPF is a hybrid organization, acting at both the international and national levels. Its Campaign for Real Milk is transnational, as is its annual symposium. But most of its work remains rooted in the United States, as it works in tandem with the Farm-to-Consumer Legal

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[66] Payne, "Sally Fallon Morrell."
[67] Celeste Skousen (co-leader of a WAPF chapter in Atlanta, GA), in discussion with the author via telephone, March 2010.
[68] Ibid.

Defense Fund, the Farm-to-Consumer Foundation, and local organizations to support the availability of raw milk at the local level.

The fact that the movement is so sporadic at the local level presents another major obstacle to communication. Whereas Slow Food's organizations are part of an organized network, and clearly related to the movement itself (both movement and organization are called Slow Food), many of the local organizations involved in the raw milk movement are unaffiliated with the WAPF or any other umbrella organization, and some are even "underground." This means that there is little communication between organizations at the local level, and no chance of communication between informal organizations and an organization at the national level.

Finally, while www.realmilk.com has in some ways promoted communication between the various levels of analysis—posting important updates and listing sources of raw milk around the world—the website is not nearly as comprehensive as www.slowfood.com. This too has held back communication, and the formation of a cohesive movement.

> HYP 3c: *The most successful glocal organizations establish alliances with SMOs in kindred movements.*

So far, cross-movement alliances have played no role in the raw milk movement. But intra-movement alliances are both prevalent and useful at the local level, as relationships form between local chapters of the WAPF and other local SMOs, such as the RMAC, Rural Vermont, and the MICFA.

As in the Slow Food movement, the WAPF has established important relationships with corporate sponsors. New Trends Publishing—a "green" publishing

company—is listed as a "platinum sponsor" of this year's International Raw Milk Symposium, signifying that it has donated $1,000 toward the event. Other sponsors include Harmony Organic, an organic milk company, and *Fromagerie L'Ancêtre*, a raw milk cheese company.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP THEORY

HYP 4: *A movement must have a charismatic leader to "go glocal."*

Sally Fallon Morell is the clear leader of the raw milk movement, but she is far from charismatic. She is a stout woman in her early 60s, with short, graying hair and a wide collection of tan pantsuits, which she seems to sport at every WAPF event. While she is knowledgeable and well-spoken, she shows little energy, passion, outrage, or interest when she speaks in public and she often has difficulty connecting with her audience. At the WAPF's annual conference in 2008, for example, Fallon Morell read a list of modern diets, such as "Atkins" and "South Beach," in order to emphasize the numerous contradictions in the field of nutrition. A picture of the cartoon character Lisa Simpson—the brains of the Simpson family—accompanies the list on Fallon Morell's PowerPoint presentation. Fallon Morell points out, "even Lisa Simpson, a very bright young lady, is confused!"[69] The joke receives almost no response. She continues the presentation, speaking with little inflection or personality. The contrast between Fallon Morell and Petrini, the leader of the Slow Food movement, is startling.

[69] Fallon Morell makes this joke at the 8th annual Weston A. Price Foundation conference, titled "Nourishing Traditional Diets." See her presentation at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mNu7XeJxV2w

While people within the movement speak fondly of her, it seems unlikely that those who know little about raw milk would hear Fallon Morell speak and become engaged in the movement. To be fair, she might be held back by the subject matter, which can be overly technical and at times frightening; at WAPF conferences and other events it is often her job explain the science behind Price's theories on nutrition. Regardless, no one chants "Sal" as she takes the podium, and it is clear that she lacks the charisma of a charismatic leader.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

> HYP 5: *A glocal movement will be more successful to the extent that it has developed a dual identity: a shared global collective identity and a unique local one.*

Collective identity does not play a role in this movement at the local or global levels. Even as the primary vehicle of this transnational movement, the WAPF does little to establish any sort of identity among participants either online or in person. We saw in the previous chapter how the Terra Madre has used its blog to connect a global network of producers. Using terminology like "we" and "our" and allowing anyone to participate in discussion, this blog has helped to develop a global identity among those involved in the movement. In sharp contrast to the Terra Madre blog, the WAPF's blog is written by just two of the foundation's leaders: one, a local chapter leader in Massachusetts, the other, a board member with a Ph.D. in nutrition. The ARMi Facebook pages come the closest to allowing participants in the movement to voice their own ideas, questions and concerns, but the redundant network of pages and groups detracts from this forum—without a clear space for this discussion it is difficult to promote a single global identity.

The idea that the raw milk movement lacks a shared global collective identity is also evident in the organization of the International Raw Milk Symposium, which is not conducive to making connections between members. Unlike the Terra Madre annual world meeting which brings together thousands of producers from around the world, and is based on personal contact and discussion, the Symposium is centered around the lectures of various leaders prominent in the movement.

Moreover, while the description of this year's Symposium says that they will discuss the raw milk from an "international perspective" with speakers from Germany and Slovenia, the Symposium can hardly be described as "international." Of the twelve of this year's "featured speakers" at the Symposium, only one person is not American—Michael Schmidt, from Canada. The woman speaking about the "international raw milk perspective" is actually from Pennsylvania.

While the movement builds strong relationships between producers and consumers at the local level, consumers may never even come into contact with each other; two neighbors could co-own cows at the same cow-share, for example, and never even be aware of it. MeetUp.com and Yahoo! Groups have helped to connect people at the local level, but the relationships that do form do not suggest a common identity as much as they do a common interest.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a glocal movement struggling for success, the raw milk case study provides valuable insight in terms of the criteria that a glocal movement must meet in order to be successful. In the following table and brief summary, I highlight which criteria the raw milk movement has met; in the following chapter, I will compare

these results with those of the Slow Food movement, in order to develop a clear understanding of what it takes for a glocal movement to emerge, endure, and be successful.

Table 3: Results of the Raw Milk Case Study

Criteria	Emergence	Endurance
Resources (money, information, technology)	✓	✓
Political opportunity structure	**X**	**--**
Local autonomy	✓	✓
High levels of communication	**X**	**X**
Cross-movement alliances	**X**	**X**
Charismatic leadership	**X**	**X**
Dual identity	**X**	**X**

Resources play an important role in the raw milk movement. Money has been helpful, but access to information has been crucial to its emergence and limited success, as information about the availability and safety of raw milk helps to increase raw milk consumption and mobilize raw milk advocates. Technological resources also play a role, especially in distributing information and connecting consumers to producers.

Political opportunity structure does not explain the origin of the raw milk movement; in fact, the raw milk movement emerged as a glocal movement *despite* the fact that the federal and state governments, the medical establishment, agro-corporations and grocery companies were against its cause. However, a POS has encouraged the endurance of the movement, as the Internet has increased access to

political power and informal political opportunities (not addressed by Tarrow) increase interest in the movement.

In terms of organization, the prominent organization of the raw milk movement—the WAPF—grants autonomy to its chapters at the local level. Local organizations not affiliated with the WAPF, such as the Wesleyan raw milk co-op, have complete autonomy, as there is no umbrella organization to oversee them.

But the movement has low levels of communication between SMOs at the international/national and local levels. This lack of communication is the result of a disorganized hierarchical structure. The WAPF headquarters act in many ways as both an international and a national organization, working at both levels of analysis. This work seems to be too much for the organization, which offers almost no direction to the local level, and promotes little coordination at the international one.

Currently, the raw milk movement does not have any national organizations outside of the United States; it would likely be more successful if the WAPF established a network of distinct national organizations to act as a liaison between the local and international levels. These organizations should help to communicate between both levels of analysis, and recommend projects and events to chapter leaders (though it is important that they should grant a certain degree of autonomy and flexibility at the local level).

So far, in the raw milk movement there are no cross-movement alliances. Instead, the most valuable relationships have been intra-movement alliances between local WAPF chapters and organizations like the RMAC and Rural Vermont. These

relationships are likely to be crucial to the success of the raw milk movement, as they have already played fundamental roles in widening the availability of raw milk.

The raw milk movement lacks a charismatic leader, but it seems that this fact has not been a significant factor in keeping the movement from enjoying widespread success, as Fallon Morell was still able to launch a global movement and establish an international network of SMOs dedicated to widening the availability of raw milk. While it might be helpful if she were more charismatic, it has not been detrimental to the movement.

Finally, within the raw milk movement there is no indication that there is a local or a global identity among participants in the movement. At the international level, there are almost no relationships built among participants in the movement, as neither online resources (official websites, blogs, etc.) nor the Annual International Raw Milk Symposium focus on bringing advocates together. While the raw milk movement builds strong relationships between producers and consumers at the local level, it does not use any tools or language to develop a shared collective identity. Moreover, it is difficult for ordinary raw milk consumers—the core of the raw milk movement—to develop any kind of a shared identity, global or local, as they might never come into direct contact, or even be aware of each other

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1, drawing from contemporary social movement literature, I developed five hypotheses that were likely to explain a glocal movement's success. In the following chapters, I tested these hypotheses with two different case studies: the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement. These cases have provided valuable information that will help to answer the question put forward at the beginning of this thesis: "how can a glocal movement be successful?"

Now, I explicitly answer this question by comparing the evidence from my case studies and confirming or dismissing each of my original hypotheses; Table 4 clearly identifies which factors contributed to the emergence and endurance of each movement. The final section of this conclusion will discuss the valuable empirical, theoretical and practical contributions that these findings offer to the current social movement literature.

RECAPITULATION

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

From RM theory I hypothesized that *glocal movements will be more successful to the extent that they have greater access to both local and global resources (money, information and technology).* My case studies support this hypothesis, suggesting that access to all three resources has been essential to the emergence and endurance of both movements.

Money

Money has played a particularly important role in the Slow Food movement. Slow Food's funding comes from many different sources; from corporate and private donors and sponsors, state grants, membership and program fees, advertising, merchandise and publications. With this income Slow Food hosts thousands of members at international events, launches campaigns, implements projects and runs an international publishing company

Money plays a smaller role in the raw milk movement, though it does play a role. The WAPF's funding comes primarily from private donations, sales of its publications (including its quarterly newsletter) and membership fees. But even with these sources of income, the WAPF does not have nearly the same amount of money as Slow Food—evident in the fact that the WAPF's total revenue in 2006 was $839,000, while Slow Food USA's revenue alone was $1,168, 808.[1]

It is clear from this study that money has been an important force behind the expansion of the Slow Food movement, permitting the organization to host fundraisers, hold conferences and implement projects that further the movement's mission at both the local and global levels. It is likely that a relative lack of financial resources has kept the raw milk movement from achieving a parallel level of success, preventing it from launching major initiatives and from expanding the movement.

Information

Information has also been an important resource for both movements. In the Slow Food movement, information about local culture and food production and

[1] Roberts, "Slow Food USA Financial Report Fiscal Year 2006."

consumption has helped organize new campaigns and implement culturally specific projects, particularly at the local level. For example, information about traditional production practices helped with the formation of the Argan oil presidium in Morocco. This presidium has led to an increase in the production and sale of Argan oil, which had become endangered.

Access to information is intrinsic to the mission of the raw milk movement. The movement's leadership describes it as a "knowledge-based" movement, as information about the nutritional benefits, safety and availability of raw milk is fundamental to furthering the movement. In this sense, information acts as a recruiting tool; many raw milk enthusiasts recall reading Fallon Morell's *Nourishing Traditions* or stumbling upon the Campaign for Real Milk website as reasons that they became involved with the movement.[2] This website, www.realmilk.com, is a compilation of information about the nutritional value, safety, availability and legality of raw milk.

Technology

Technology, and more specifically the Internet, has been an invaluable resource for both movements. For the Slow Food movement, the Internet has been an important tool for bringing its diverse participants together in both cyberspace and in person, by providing updates about local, national and international campaigns, projects and events. The Internet has helped Slow Food's organizations to promote a sense of collective identity on the international level; the Terra Madre blog, for example, allows anybody to post, and uses words like "we," "our," and "family."

[2] This information comes from interviews with leaders and members of the WAPF, along with raw milk consumers.

Within the raw milk movement, the Internet has been especially important in terms of disseminating the information described above. In addition to the information posted on its website, the WAPF has also uploaded pamphlets dedicated to its Campaign for Real Milk, which anybody can download, print and distribute. Blogs, Youtube videos, podcasts and social networking sites such as Facebook have also helped to spread information about the movement, its mission, events and campaigns.

Moreover, the Internet makes it quick and easy for people to donate to SMOs. Both SMOs' websites have a web page dedicated to donations, allowing members and non-members to donate simply by plugging in their credit card information. Each also has a page dedicated to transparency so that donors understand how the SMO might spend their money.

We can see from this discussion that these resources complement each other; access to one resource often increases access to another. This is especially true with technology, as the Internet is a useful tool for both collecting and disseminating information and for receiving donations. This is also true of information and money. Armed with information, the SMO can educate the public about the movement, which increases interest and thus helps to bring in donations. And money can open doors to accessing technology.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE THEORY

From POS theory, I hypothesized that *glocal movements will form when there is a shift in the political opportunity structure that enables the formation of a new movement.* The evidence from both cases dismisses the POS hypothesis.

The history of the Slow Food movement demonstrates that the movement made the shift from local to glocal in a context without any appreciable political opportunity. The Slow Food movement officially went glocal a decade after the NSMs in Italy, the rest of Western Europe and the United States had shifted personal issues (such as food) from the private to the political sphere. The example of the raw milk movement also demonstrates that a glocal movement can emerge despite a closed political opportunity structure. The raw milk movement went glocal regardless of the fact that the political and legal environment strongly opposed the production and consumption of raw milk.

Although political opportunity structure did not, as suggested by POS theory, play an important role in the emergence of the movement, the evidence from both cases suggests that political opportunity may play an important role in the *endurance* of the movement. This is especially true in the Slow Food movement. Food scares, newspaper articles and news broadcasts, popular movies and books about both fast food and good food have raised awareness of the detriments of the industrial food system, especially relating to fast food. These trends have helped to increase popular awareness of and support for the Slow Food movement. While industrial practices in the diary industry—particularly the use of rBGH— have in many ways created political opportunities for the raw milk movement, this movement has not benefited as much from the same kind of pop culture support for its cause. Raw milk activists may need to create their own political opportunities to reap similar benefits to Slow Food.

ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY

I generated three hypotheses from organizational theory. Of these hypotheses, two were confirmed to be essential to the success of the glocal movement. The third was dismissed as helpful—but not necessary—for success.

First, I hypothesized that *local organizations must retain high levels of autonomy for an enduring glocal movement.* In both of my case studies, I found that SMOs are granted autonomy at the local level. Local autonomy has proven to be essential in the Slow Food movement, as it allows Slow Food's presidia, for example, to capitalize on local politics and culture. Though presidia operate autonomously, it should be noted that they are intimately related to the Terra Madre network, and even to Slow Food International. In the raw milk movement, autonomy has been a top priority among the leadership of the WAPF, who argue that autonomy is necessary for any movement at the local level. Moreover, because many of the raw milk movement's local organizations are informal, or underground, they have complete decision-making power and control over their participation in the movement.

Although the local chapters of Slow Food and the WAPF take direction from the movement's international and national SMOs, local leaders remain in command in their own communities. In this way, local organizations are granted the freedom to institute locally-specific programs and projects (though sometimes based around national or international campaigns), and host their own events at the local level. This not only promotes success, but also ensures that the movement remains glocal—firmly rooted in the economics, politics, culture and history of the community.

Also from organizational theory, I suggested that *a successful glocal movement requires high levels of communication between local and global organizations in order to promote a cohesive and coordinated movement.* This hypothesis too was confirmed.

In the Slow Food movement extensive communication among SMOs is fundamental to the movement's success. The national offices serve a particularly important organizational role, facilitating international-local communication through their websites. These websites provide valuable updates, highlighting events, campaigns and programs occurring at all three levels. This communication has helped to coordinate the movement, ensuring that local organizations work with each other and with national and international organizations. Of particular importance, communication increases participation, and enables organizations to emulate successful campaigns and projects.

The raw milk movement is missing this high level of communication. There appears to be little dialogue between WAPF headquarters and its local chapter leaders, and among other activists (mostly consumers and producers) and SMOs in the movement. This seems to be an incredible obstacle to the movement, which remains sporadic on the local level and disorganized at the international level. A lack of coordination has caused redundancy; local organizations can exist within just ten miles of each other but may not even know of one another, preventing them from coordinating joint campaigns. This lack of communication and coordination is likely due to the fact that the WAPF is simultaneously an international and a national organization. While it has branches around the world, most of its work remains in

North America and particularly in the United States. The movement would likely be more successful if it modeled its hierarchical structure after Slow Food's and developed clearly defined structures at the national and international levels. A distinct national organization would bring cohesion to an otherwise disparate movement.

Lastly from organizational theory, I hypothesized that *the most successful glocal organizations establish alliances with SMOs in kindred movements.*

As we saw in Chapter 2, Slow Food has developed cross-movement alliances with SMOs of the environmental movement, most notably at the national level. But more common than cross-movement alliances are what I have called intra-movement alliances (e.g. between Slow Food Eugene and the School Garden Project), which are prevalent at the local level and help to build local networks of SMOs and activists.

While both cross-movement and intra-movement alliances are helpful for coordinating campaigns and implementing programs, the most common and useful relationships in the Slow Food movement are, in actuality, partnerships between SMOs and corporate sponsors. Such partnerships give the SMO greater access to financial resources; in exchange, the corporation's logo is prominently displayed on the SMO's website and at events.

In the raw milk movement there is no evidence of cross-movement alliances at any level of analysis. But, as in the Slow Food movement, intra-movement alliances (e.g. between the WAPF Denver and the RMAC) were both common and useful. In the raw milk movement these alliances have been valuable to organizing letter-writing campaigns and lobbying state governments; such initiatives are fundamental to widening the availability of raw milk.

As in the Slow Food movement, the WAPF has developed partnerships with corporate sponsors, who have helped to fund the Annual International Raw Milk Symposium, for example. However, in this movement these partnerships play a less pivotal role; intra-movement alliances are more helpful in propelling the movement toward its end goal.

CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP THEORY

From charismatic leadership theory I hypothesized that *a movement must have a charismatic leader to "go glocal."* We saw with Slow Food that the movement has had a charismatic leader from the very beginning; Petrini's magnetic personality, sense of humor and emphasis on pleasure have played a pivotal role in the development and expansion of the Slow Food movement. Loud and affable, he is an engaging public speaker with an obvious passion for good, clean and fair food.

The raw milk movement presented a different case; Fallon Morell is certainly well-spoken and knowledgeable, but her personality cannot be described as charismatic. Her humor often falls flat on her audience, and she speaks in an almost monotonous tone, showing little passion for her subject material. Yet, despite this fact, the raw milk movement was able to make the shift from local to glocal, suggesting that Fallon Morell's personality has not been a significant factor to the movement's relative lack of success.

While Weber implies that it is not possible for a movement to develop without a charismatic leader, the emergence of the raw milk movement at both the local and global levels suggests otherwise. Although Fallon Morell is not charismatic, she has been an effective leader for the movement, establishing what has become an

international organization from the bottom-up and launching several successful transnational campaigns. It seems that having a charismatic leader is certainly helpful, but is not necessary to the emergence or success of the glocal movement.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Finally, from NSM theory, I hypothesized that *a glocal movement will be more successful to the extent that it has developed a dual identity: a shared global collective identity and a unique local one.* In the Slow Food movement we saw how its SMOs have encouraged both a shared global collective identity and a unique local one. Slow Food promotes a global identity online through its official websites, blogs and newsletters, as well as in person—at international conferences, fundraisers and other events. It also encourages a local identity through initiatives such as its Ark of Taste and presidia (which work to preserve local food knowledge and traditional production processes), as well as through its educational initiatives, which teach communities about local foods and the relationship between food and culture.

In contrast, the raw milk movement does not seem to have a glocal identity. This is in a large part due to the sporadic nature of the movement and the lack of coordination and networking at both the local and international levels. At the local level, for example, consumers of raw milk from the same farm may never meet, and producers may know their consumers but might never meet other producers in the area. Raw milk advocates active in the WAPF may share a connection, but this is not the same as a "unique local identity," which implies a deeper bond to community members who are also involved in the movement.

Interestingly, the evidence from these two cases suggests that a dual identity is not necessary for the formation of a glocal movement; Slow Food really began promoting a glocal identity well after it went glocal in 1989; the Slow Food Ark of Taste was developed in 1997, and Slow Food International launched its website in 2001. Moreover, the members of the raw milk movement do not have a collective identity but do form a nascent glocal movement.

Although this conclusion remains tentative due to data limitations, the timing of the development of Slow Food's dual identity suggests that a glocal identity is an effect produced by a glocal movement and its organizations, rather than the cause of glocalization. In an effort to bridge the gap between local and global and to ease any tension in the movement, successful SMOs actively promote dual identity through their organizations and initiatives.

TABLE 4: RESULTS FROM BOTH CASE STUDIES

Criteria	**Slow Food Movement**		**Raw Milk Movement**		**Essential for Success**
	Emergence	Endurance	Emergence	Endurance	
Resources (money, information, technology)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Political opportunity	**X**	**--**	**X**	**--**	**X**
Local autonomy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
High levels of communication	✓	✓	**X**	**X**	✓
Cross-movement alliances	**X**	**--**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Charismatic leadership	**--**	**--**	**X**	**X**	**X**
Dual identity	**X**	**--**	**X**	**X**	**--**

The evidence provided by these case studies suggests that access to resources (particularly technology), local autonomy and high levels of communication are essential to the success of the glocal movement. Of these three criteria, the raw milk movement meets the first two, indicating that a lack of communication is the primary factor keeping this glocal movement from succeeding. It should also be noted that political opportunity, charismatic leadership and cross-movement alliances are helpful for the endurance of the glocal movement, but not necessary for its success.

CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis provides three types of contributions to the standing literature: empirical, theoretical and practical. Empirically, it has provided a close study of two glocal movements that have not yet been the subject of thorough sociological research. Theoretically, it provides two original contributions, highlighting the importance of the Internet in meeting other criteria and indicating that a national organization is essential for the success of the glocal movement. It also refines current theories, indicating that POS plays no role in the emergence of glocal movements (although it may be helpful for their endurance) and suggesting that a dual identity might be an effect produced by the movement and its SMOs, rather than a prerequisite for the movement's success. Practically, this thesis offers concrete recommendations to advocates seeking to build a successful glocal movement.

EMPIRICAL

The major empirical contribution of this thesis is the close study of the sociology of the Slow Food and raw milk movements, component movements within

the worldwide alternative food movement. Neither movement has been thoroughly examined from a sociological perspective, and the new empirical information provided in this thesis may be used for scholars studying a range of topics. It is likely particularly helpful for scholars studying transnational social movements (especially those transnational movements with glocal tendencies), and food history or politics.

THEORETICAL

The presence and the absence of the criteria outlined in this thesis provide valuable insight into the development and emergence of contemporary social movements. In particular, these findings offer four important theoretical contributions to social movement theory.

Original Theoretical Contributions

The evidence put forward in this thesis supports the prevailing wisdom that resources are critical to the success of a social movement. An added contribution is the increasingly important role of technology, specifically the Internet. The Internet is a particularly important resource because it helps the movement to meet a number of other criteria necessary or helpful for success.

First, the Internet helps the SMO to access the two other resources considered in the thesis: money and information. Websites make it especially easy for participants to make donations, and are a useful tool for collecting and spreading important information. Second, the Internet promotes dialogue between SMOs at all levels of analysis. Third, the Internet facilitates both cross-movement and intra-movement alliances, as SMOs can find each other online with a simple Google search. Fourth,

the Internet provides a political channel for activists, who can "sign" online petitions or join e-mail writing campaigns.

Finally, and most importantly to the glocal movement in particular, the Internet helps to develop and disseminate a glocal identity. It helps to overcome the tension between local and global identities, promoting a glocal identity by building an online network that bridges the local and international levels. It has allowed people around the world to "meet up" in their own communities, and has encouraged a diverse population of citizens to connect online through open discussion forums.

This thesis' second original contribution is that a strong national level organization is critical for the success of a glocal movement. This finding may seem counter intuitive since a national organization is neither "global" nor "local"; however, national organizations are especially important in a glocal movement because, as the evidence in this thesis suggests, high levels of communication are a critical factor in ensuring success. National organizations promote communication, acting as a bridge between the local and international levels. Their websites are an important tool, spreading information and updates from above and from below.

We saw this with the Slow Food case study. Slow Food's national organizations have comprehensive websites with calendars that keep track of local, national and international events. In this sense, national organizations act as a communication facilitator, maintaining a running dialogue of action at all three levels of analysis, and ensuring that all leaders and members are well informed. They play a vital intermediary role, providing unity to an otherwise disparate, locally grounded, global movement.

In contrast, the raw milk movement has a disorganized hierarchical structure with no distinct national organizations. In the United States, the WAPF headquarters acts in many ways as a national organization but it also functions at the international level, attempting to coordinate a transnational movement. This supports a sporadic movement, rather than creating a cohesive one, suggesting that, without a national organization, the raw milk movement has a limited chance of achieving a high level of success.

Refinement of Current Social Movement Theory

In addition to its original contributions, this thesis has refined two current social movement theories for use in the study of glocal movements: POS theory and NSM theory. In terms of POS theory, it has found that a favorable POS—as Tarrow defined it—is not necessary for a glocal social movement to emerge. The two movements studied in this thesis both emerged without any opening in global politics; the raw milk movement even emerged in a political environment hostile to its cause.

However, the experience of these two glocal movements suggests that a favorable political and social environment can provide useful political opportunities, and may be helpful for the endurance of the movement. Food scares and books and films on the subject have placed food in the limelight, gaining publicity for the movement and attracting members and donors.

Lastly in terms of its contributions, this thesis suggests that the development of a glocal identity may be a result of a successful glocal movement, rather than a condition for its success. This is a valuable contribution to new social movement theory, as a number of NSM theorists imply that a collective identity is a driving

force behind both the emergence and endurance of the movement; most paraphrase Alberto Melucci, describing identity as both a prerequisite for and an accomplishment of a social movement.[3] While the evidence is not conclusive, this thesis indicates that collective identity is not a prerequisite for success in the glocal social movement, but rather, an effect produced by SMOs and the movement itself.

PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The following practical contributions are intended to highlight the actions that political activists can take in order to help build a successful glocal movement.

Establish a National Organization

Perhaps the most important practical contribution is the discovery that a national organization is fundamental to the glocal movement's success. This is surprising, as the glocal movement hardly occurs at the national level. However, national organizations bridge the gap between local and global, providing a means of communication between the two, and supporting the movement at the national level.

The national organization must relay important updates and information from the local level to the international level and vice versa. The national organization should act as a repository for successful campaigns and events so that local organizations seeking advice have successful models on which to design their own initiatives. Without this information, the movement will be uncoordinated and redundant and the local level.

[3] Steven M. Buechler, "New Social Movement Theories," *The Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (1995): 446.

The national organization should also implement its own campaigns and programs at the national level. It is important to note that these national campaigns must be flexible enough to allow for the diversity of local expressions; for example, Slow Food USA organizes the U.S. presidia, but each presidium is specific to the food traditions of a local community. National campaigns should energize and motivate local activists, they should not be so numerous or intensive that they absorb all of the energy of local groups.

Events should also be organized at the national level. These national events offer a means of bringing local members and leadership together (e.g. Slow Food USA's Slow Food Nation event). This promotes networking among local organizations, and helps to present a coordinated, nation-wide glocal movement.

Create Political Opportunities

The SMOs of a glocal movement should also work to create their own political opportunities. The SMO may create opportunities in a variety of different ways; I will highlight three here.[4]

First, and most obvious, the SMO can organize mass public protests or demonstrations. Demonstrations should have clear goals and should be against a clearly defined target at either the local or international level. A demonstration presents a political opportunity because it attracts the attention of the target organization (e.g. the WTO in Seattle in 1999), along with other potential activists.

[4] Tarrow also notes in *Power in Movement* (82) that movements can create political opportunities "by using existing social networks, by teaming up with other movements and by producing collective action frames and identities that help to sustain the movement." Since these are subjects already discussed in great detail in this thesis, I chose to highlight three other methods that might be employed to create opportunity.

Second, a movement can create political opportunities by lobbying politicians, and by taking important issues to court (or by being taken to court). This is most effective when closed political opportunities make it difficult or even illegal to execute campaigns or organize public demonstrations. It was under these circumstances that Michael Schmidt developed the cow-share, for example. After he won his court case, the cow-share was determined legal under Canadian law, and has been successfully implemented throughout Canada, and even in the United States.

Third, the SMO can create a political opportunity simply by enlisting the help of local and/or national "celebrities" within the movement. In the alternative food movement writers Eric Schlosser and Michael Pollan, chef Alice Waters and First Lady Michelle Obama have been prominent figures at the national level in the United States. Enlisting the help of those well-known within and outside the movement increases the level of awareness surrounding the movement and enhances the movement's social credibility.

The best political opportunities are those that grab the attention of the media, as media coverage leads to greater awareness, participation and funding. Creative or original campaigns, events, protests or demonstrations, the presence of a celebrity and the use of the judicial system are all effective means of gaining access to mainstream media outlets.

Build a Local Network

We saw in both case studies that cross-movement alliances play no role in either movement at the international level, and almost no role at the local one. Both movements, however, demonstrated the importance of what I have called "intra-

movement alliances"—alliances between (or within) component movements of the same umbrella movement. In order to develop or enhance a glocal movement, SMOs should establish intra-movement alliances at the local level.

Slow Food Wisconsin Southeast is a new example of an organization with a long list of intra- movement alliances: Victory Garden Initiative, Friends of Real Food, Eat Local Celebration and Challenge, and Farm-to-Chef Connection.[5] Alliances like these have helped this convivium to implement a variety of successful campaigns and programs in its own community.

Intra-movement alliances are likely prevalent in both the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement simply because they are more efficient and more useful. Like cross-movement alliances, intra-movement alliances raise awareness, increase participation, maximize resources and decrease workloads—but they do all this without detracting from either SMOs' end goal, since they are the same. Intra-movement alliances at the local level are especially important because they help to build solidarity within the community.

Get Online

While it might seem obvious, in order to lead a successful glocal movement, SMOs must get online. As the evidence in this thesis has shown, the Internet plays an especially important role in the glocal movement: increasing access to money and information, encouraging communication and networking (both horizontally and vertically), and promoting a glocal identity.

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[5] Robert Stockinger (leader of Slow Food Wisconsin Southeast), in discussion with the author via e-mail, April 2010.

The SMO's official website plays an important role in the movement. The website must contain information about the movement itself: its philosophy, its mission and its manifesto (if one exists). The website should provide a blog or a discussion board where anybody interested can post about the movement. A page dedicated to donations is also important, so that individuals, other organizations and corporations can easily make donations to the movement. Finally, the website should use language like "we" and "our" (e.g. "our mission") to encourage identification with the movement.

In addition to its official website, an SMO should also take advantage of new social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter—which allow people with similar interests to connect in cyberspace. MeetUp.com is perhaps the ideal social networking site for a glocal movement, though it is not as popular as Facebook or Twitter. MeetUp is especially helpful because its mission is to connect people online and help them to organize gatherings in person.

CLOSING REMARKS

In this thesis, I have described a distinct type of transnational social movement: the glocal social movement. The glocal social movement is distinct because, while it occurs transnationally and its end goal is global, its methods are rooted in local communities. This movement, I explained, struggles to emerge and endure, as the tension between local and global missions, organizations and identities stands as an obstacle to its success. For this reason, I set out to answer the question, "how can a glocal movement be successful?"

In order to do so, I pulled from five predominant social movement theories: resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structure theory, organizational theory, charismatic leadership theory and new social movement theory. From each paradigm I drew criteria that the theory must meet in order to be successful. I used these criteria to develop my own hypotheses for a glocal movement's success, indicating the criteria that a glocal social movement must meet in order to emerge, endure, and be successful. Finally, I tested these hypotheses with two different case studies: the Slow Food movement and the raw milk movement.

A comparison of these case studies indicates that access to resources (especially technology), local autonomy and high levels of communication are the criteria essential to the success of the glocal social movement. High levels of communication are of particular importance, as the evidence in this thesis indicates that a lack of communication is the primary factor preventing the raw milk movement from achieving success. Political opportunity, charismatic leadership and cross-movement alliances are helpful for the endurance of the movement, but not necessary for its emergence or its success.

These conclusions are particularly valuable in an age when the world is becoming increasingly globalized, and transnational movements are becoming much more common. Globalization has shifted many local conflicts to the global level, as disaffected groups find solidarity among those in other nations, through the Internet, on television, or in person. Similarly, with rising awareness, activists with commitments to global causes find ways to support these causes at the local level, both through their own actions and by building local networks.

In response to this rise in global problems, the world's leaders, activists and ordinary citizens are looking increasingly to locally-oriented solutions. Glocal movements are likely to be an important element of future social movements, and we need better theoretical models to understand them. This thesis has been one small contribution to that effort.

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