

Finding Time in the Geographies of Food:

How heritage food discourses shape notions of place

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Abstract

This thesis presents a multi-sited and multi-scalar ethnography of the processes and practices through which producers attempt to designate food as heritage. Grounded in cultural geography, it adopts a cultural economy approach to addressing concerns within agro-food studies by joining in conversation notions of heritage, place-making and time. By underlining the intrinsic relation between articulations of time and constructions of place, this thesis further maps the alternative geographies of food. It engages with three overarching questions, drawing on research conducted within two heritage-based food initiatives in Mexico and Scotland, both linked to the Slow Food movement. These produce, respectively, a traditional sweet called pinole and ‘real’ bread. The thesis asks: what objectives are pursued through the heritagisation of food whereby various actors strategically coin foods as heritage? How is time articulated in the discourse of heritage food, and how do heritage food networks and producers understand time as a component of food quality? Finally, what senses of place emerge from the various uses of time as a quality in global, translocal and local heritage food discourses?

This thesis explores Slow Food’s heritage qualification scheme and the ensuing commodification of heritage food, as well as translocal networks, and practices of ‘slow’ production. Through empirical engagements it argues that the qualification of heritage foods is multifunctional and that various articulations of time enable small-scale producers to engage with a plethora of socio-economic and political issues. Numerous and at times conflicting constructions of place surface from the discourses woven around these two heritage products and problematise identity formation and narratives of the past linked to

producers and communities. This thesis concludes that the constructions of place associated with heritage foods depend not only upon the authority and circumstances of actors articulating a heritage discourse, but also on the scale of the dissemination of that discourse, and on the notions and understandings of time associated with heritage and place.

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Acronyms

AFN	Alternative Food Network
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GPN	Global Production Network
GT	Grounded Theory
HBFI	Heritage-Based Food Initiative
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Chapter 1- Introduction

1- Context

The well-known axiom that food must be ‘good to think’ before it is ‘good to eat’ (Levi-Strauss 1989) draws attention to the essential role that stories play in how we think of food. In their efforts to access niche markets, many actors in the food industry rely on *qualification schemes* – such as organic, local or fair trade schemes – as a source of information, and to tell the stories that validate their product. This process is epitomised by heritage foods. These are unique products of a ‘set of socially reproduced standards of taste as well as practical know-how’ of a region (Paxson 2014: 37) that must be ‘legitimized in order to be genuine’ (Bessière 1998: 28). Institutions and organisations increasingly authenticate heritage foods by establishing qualification criteria that define, identify and regulate which foods are registered as heritage. UNESCO’s inclusion¹ in 2010 of Mexican gastronomy in its List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity exemplifies this trend.² Such lists have the capacity to certify foods and cuisines as a global heritage. However, they often obfuscate the series of steps, the myriad actors, and the transformations necessary for a local food to become commercialised global heritage. This process, the heritagisation of food (Bessière 2013), is at the heart of this thesis.

¹ This list emerged in an effort to rectify UNESCO’s bias towards Western heritage to the detriment of cultures predicated on more immaterial practices (Sammells 2014: 12), shifting from artefacts and monuments to oral and intangible heritage such as knowledge, skills and in particular, food (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 53). Until then, this list gave disproportionate representation to Western countries and a particular Western aesthetic (Aikawa-Faure 2009; Smith and Akagawa 2009).

² Currently, the Mediterranean diet, French cuisine, traditional ‘Washoku’ Japanese, and Mexican regional Michoacan cuisines are listed.

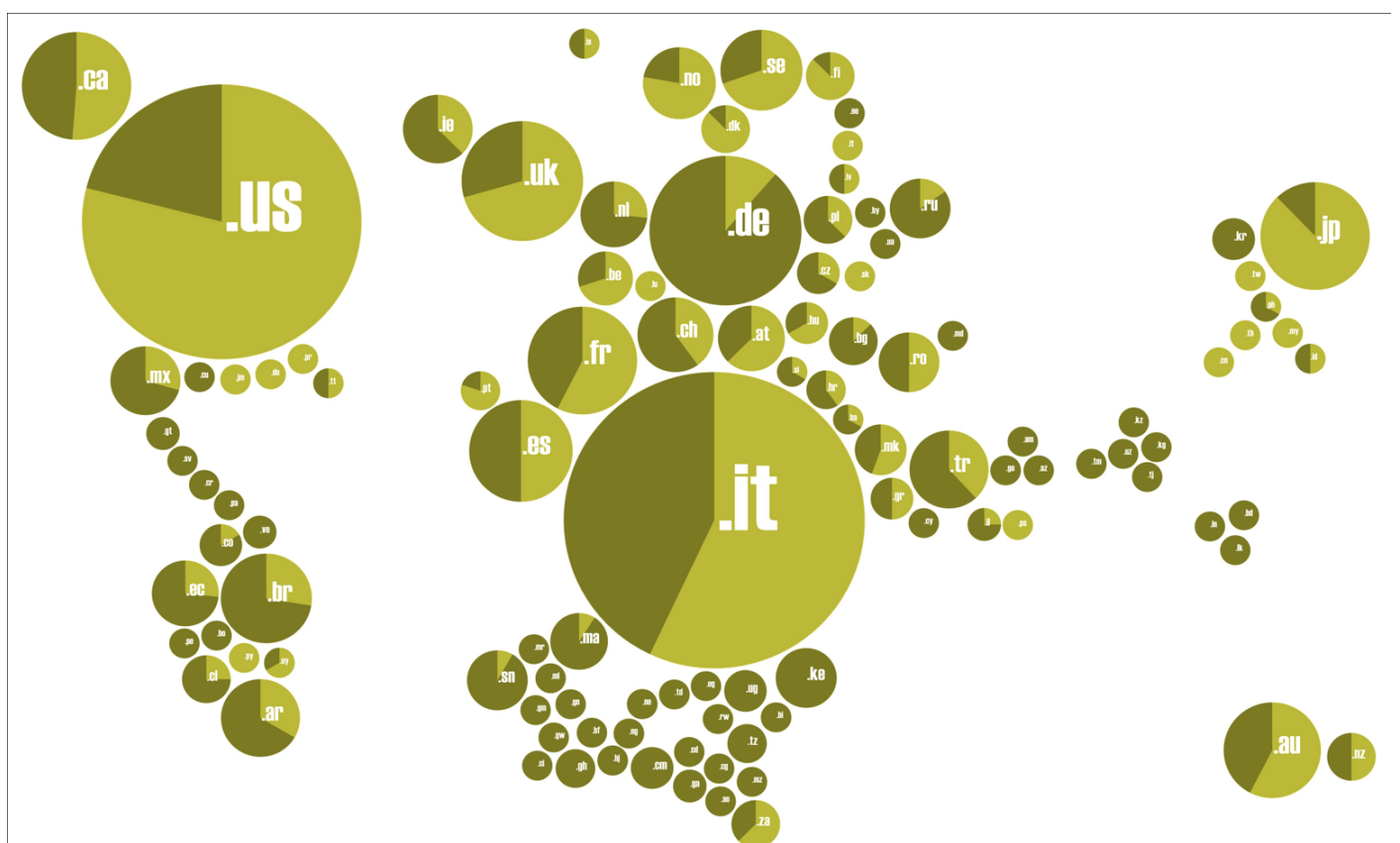
UNESCO's list was preceded in 1994 by the Ark of Taste (hereafter the Ark), an online inventory or database of heritage food products created by the Slow Food International organisation. Foods endorsed or promoted by the organisation are referred to interchangeably throughout this thesis as heritage or slow foods. The Ark stands as a symbolic vehicle to protect products 'threatened with extinction' (Pietrykowski 2004: 315). It aims to rekindle traditional food cultures seen to be 'at risk', promoting 'edible biodiversity' of 'exceptionally good' and 'forgotten flavours' (Petrini 2007), the terms of which are outlined in Appendix A. Its founder, Carlo Petrini, conceived the Ark as a way to reconcile the priorities of both the gourmet and the environmentalist (Leitch 2000: 111).

Born from a local protest against McDonald's in Italy in 1989, the organisation has grown into a global grassroots movement active in over 160 countries through 1500 *convivia* (local chapters that organise events and activities), involving over a million supporters (Slow Food website). Through its vast network, it strives to affect the entire food chain, with activities ranging from supporting traditional farmers financially and giving them media and market exposure, to educating consumers about taste and about heritage products such as those listed on the Ark. As its name suggests, Slow Food is a vocal countermovement to the fast food industry. The unique emphasis on *slow* time as a quality of food (similar to *organic* or *local*) is the cornerstone of the organisation³. The Ark thus recontextualises foods by embedding them not just in locality, as the majority of alternative food networks (hereafter AFNs) do, but in historicity *as well* (Sonnino 2007).

³ Slow Food International is a grassroots global food organisation based in Italy. Its philosophy and ethos constitute the Slow Food *movement* that has inspired other organisations and mobilisations such as slow tourism or slow cities, CittàSlow (Knox 2005). In this thesis, Slow Food refers to the organisation unless specified.

Despite asserting that its ‘selection criteria is a work tool that is relevant to the *international context* and that reflects diverse experiences from around the world’ (my emphasis, Ark of Taste website), the International Ark Commission⁴ disproportionately enlists foods from the global North. This discrepancy is rooted in Slow Food’s membership base, which is drawn largely from the professional middle classes and above, predominantly from wealthy nations who can afford the expensive activities that the organisation promotes (Chrzan 2004: 128).

Figure 1 illustrates the uneven geographies of Slow Food.



.am = Armenia (0/1) .ao = Angola (0/1) .ar = Argentina (7/14) .at = Austria (10/5) .au = Australia (19/14) .az = Azerbaijan (0/1) .ba = Bosnia and Herzegovina (1/3) .bd = Bangladesh (0/1) .be = Belgium (7/3) .bf = Burkina Faso (0/2) .bg = Bulgaria (1/7) .bi = Burundi (0/1) .bj = Benin (0/3) .bo = Bolivia (0/1) .br = Brazil (8/21) .by = Belarus (0/3) .ca = Canada (21/19) .cd = D.R. Congo (0/3) .cg = Congo (0/1) .ch = Switzerland (8/12) .ci = Cote D'Ivoire (0/3) .cl = Chile (2/6) .cm = Cameroon (0/6) .cn = China (3/0) .co = Columbia (1/5) .cu = Cuba (0/2) .cy = Cyprus (0/2) .cz = Czech Republic (2/4) .de = Germany (9/70) .dk = Denmark (7/1) .do = Dominican Republic (1/0) .ec = Ecuador (4/11) .ee = Estonia (0/1) .eg = Egypt (0/3) .es = Spain (18/18) .fi = Finland (7/10) .fr = France (23/18) .ga = Gabon (0/4) .ge = Georgia (0/2) .gh = Ghana (0/5) .gm = Gambia (0/1) .gn = Guinea (0/1) .gr = Greece (3/3) .gt = Guatemala (0/4) .gw = Guinea-Bissau (0/2) .hr = Croatia (2/3) .hu = Hungary (4/2) .id = Indonesia (1/1) .ie = Ireland (6/10) .il = Israel (1/3) .in = India (0/2) .is = Iceland (1/1) .it = Italy (175/132) .jm = Jamaica (1/0) .jp = Japan (36/5) .ke = Kenya (0/3) .kg = Kyrgyzstan (0/1) .kr = South Korea (0/6) .kz = Kazakhstan (0/2) .lk = Sri Lanka (0/1) .lt = Lithuania (2/0) .lu = Luxembourg (1/1) .lv = Latvia (1/1) .ma = Morocco (1/10) .md = Moldova (0/2) .mk = Macedonia (5/4) .ml = Mali (0/1) .mr = Mauritania (0/2) .mx = Mexico (5/12) .my = Malaysia (1/0) .mz = Mozambique (0/1) .ne = Niger (0/2) .ng = Nigeria (0/1) .nl = Netherlands (4/11) .no = Norway (14/4) .nz = New-Zealand (4/4) .pa = Panama (0/1) .pe = Peru (0/1) .ph = Philippines (1/2) .pl = Poland (3/5) .pr = Puerto Rico (3/0) .ps = Palestine (1/0) .pt = Portugal (4/1) .py = Paraguay (1/0) .ro = Romania (6/6) .ru = Russia (2/11) .rw = Rwanda (0/2) .se = Sweden (16/7) .si = Slovenia (1/2) .sk = Slovakia (1/0) .sn = Senegal (1/11) .sv = El Salvador (0/1) .td = Chad (0/1) .th = Thailand (2/0) .tj = Tajikistan (0/2) .tm = Turkmenistan (0/1) .tr = Turkey (8/13) .tt = Trinidad and Tobago (1/1) .tw = Taiwan (2/0) .tz = Tanzania (0/5) .ua = Ukraine (0/2) .ug = Uganda (0/6) .uk = United Kingdom (36/15) .us = United States of America (210/56) .uy = Uruguay (0/2) .ve = Venezuela (0/4) .za = South Africa

⁴ This commission was set up in 2002 in Bra, Italy, to oversee the selection of heritage products in the Ark.

Figure 1: Slow Food convivia and web presence (source: RU-Movement website)
The size of the circles represents the number of convivia per country in which Slow Food is active, and the pie chart within each circle represents convivia with a web presence (light green shading) and those without (dark green shading)⁵. The movement's activities and online presence are concentrated in developed nations – exemplified by the number of convivia within Mexico (17) compared to those in the UK (51) – with the greatest numbers found in Italy and the United States. Slow Food's presence online *and* geographically is thus asymmetric: foodstuffs, activities and initiatives from the global North tend to obscure those from the global South. Though it claims to champion small-scale producers, Slow Food has been criticised for its tendency to favour elites (Meneley 2004: 173). It is largely run by members who, in their formulation of the local, to paraphrase Gaytán, neglect to incorporate 'distinct routes/roots' or 'embattled histories' of the communities, and producers they strive to support (2004: 98). Macdonald argues that this trend is exacerbated by Slow Food's activities being 'wrapped up in questions of moral economies and with the imagination of Europe's future as much as its past' (Macdonald 2013: 30). The global impact of this stance on notions of heritage (and thus place) has yet to be determined.

Chrzan argues that despite the plethora of literature dedicated to the subject, 'the meanings of "slow" to the organization are probably as legion as the members themselves' (Chrzan 2004: 121). This complicates *what* is denoted by 'slow' foods. Slow Food defines these as 'good, clean and fair' (Slow Food website): tasty foods that are healthy and environmentally sustainable, and that are sold at a price that is fair to both producers and consumers. In relation to food, 'slow' is an ambiguous qualifying term that stands mainly in opposition to

⁵ This graph was created using 2011 data from Slow Food which was then active in 110 countries hosting an aggregate 1300 convivia. A total of 733 URLs of websites hosting convivia were used to determine this map. Other secondary or tertiary websites were not taken into account for this analysis (RU-Movement website).

*fast food*⁶ (see Nowotny 1994).

As a grassroots organisation that partners with academics, governments, and with ‘food corporations who wish to gain access to the Slow Food membership base’ (original emphasis, Chrzan 2004: 121), Slow Food has been criticised for its ‘top-down’ focus. This is exemplified by the Ark, which stands as an example of the dominant ‘authorized heritage discourse’ (Smith 2006) disseminating a ‘universal value’ of heritage in favour of ‘representivity’ (Hafstein 2009: 108). In other words, the Ark embodies values associated with the notion of global heritage, obscuring the diversity of understandings of heritage around the world. As a ‘cultural heritage discourse’, the Ark begs the question: ‘... whose voices prevail and whose are missing?’ (Counihan 2014: 220).

Despite the many studies sparked by UNESCO’s gastronomic list (Paramo 2010; Stanford 2012; Gfeller 2015; Betts 2015), little research has been carried out on Slow Food’s role as a global heritage producer, how it defines ‘global heritage’, and the consequences of exposing local producers to global production networks (hereafter GPNs). Its rapid growth and imbalanced selection render the Ark of growing concern: currently 2,707 products from 108 countries are listed, up from 1,000 in 2011. How will its aim to expand its list to 10,000 products in 2020 shape notions of global heritage or impact producers around the world? The current study seeks to address these questions, making empirical contributions by collecting data on the Ark qualification scheme, and on the processes by which global heritage foods are constructed.

⁶ This opposition is summed up by Helga Nowotny when she argues that: ‘(O)nly against the background of speed can slowness be determined and learnt’ (1994: 14–15).

The enlistment of Ark products tends to operate from the top down; it is important to understand how food producers and initiatives are integrated in this process. The scholar Leitch has showed how the Ark delineates the geographic origin of foods, facilitating the private patent of recipes by select groups to the detriment of producers outside its designated territory of production (2000; 2003)⁷. Her conclusion that Slow Food can rearticulate territories of production as quintessentially European supports Kuutma's argument that heritage is 'intensely related to locality – at global, national and local levels heritage is used to define a sense of place' (2009: 10). Building on this research, this thesis explores the role that heritage-based-food initiatives (hereafter HBFIs) and their members play in the articulation of place of origin of heritage foods. Specifically, it focuses on the visions of the innovators and founders of these HBFIs, and how these particular actors shape senses of place.

The notions of place that emerge throughout this investigation are thus tied to particular conceptualisations of heritage, time and space articulated by the innovators of the HBFIs considered.

As an internationally recognised food movement, Slow Food disseminates 'dominant' narratives about the places of origin of these foods, shaping their histories or pasts,⁸ their producers, and the communities they belong to. In effect, it treats heritage denominations as pre-constituted attributes. As a quality, however, heritage is a product of discursive and material practices that are carried out (Hébert 2010; MacDonald 2013) and re-negotiated through the 'interrelationship among consumers, producers, traders, retailers, and so on...' (Mansfield 2003: 4). This 'interrelationship' is at risk of being obscured by the Ark's criteria

⁷ Similar conclusions have been drawn from studying the effects of DOC (*di origine controllata*), a protected denomination under which a wine may be sold (Barrère 2007) and OAC (*Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*) labels (Barham 2003).

⁸ Following Doreen Massey (1995), this thesis refers to the past and history interchangeably.

which identify, define, and cement heritage. Heritage claims though are “‘worked out” by social actors in their everyday practices and interactions on the ground’ (Sammells 2014: 110). Significantly, heritage acts as a platform for the meanings and values of ‘pastness, exhibition, difference, and where possible indigeneity’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 370), and the sense of place to which these values are tied (Massey 1994; 1995; 1999).

Within the ‘economy of qualities’ literature (Callon et al. 2002; Ponte and Gibbon 2005), agro-food geographers tend to map food qualities based on spatial notions such as provenance (Neo 2011; Goodman 2004), locality (Feagan 2007; Bowen and Mutersbaugh 2014), and traceability and ‘origin’ (Neo 2011; Mancini 2013) to the detriment of notions of time, or temporal qualities such as ‘slow’. To correct the conceptual biases inherent in the geographies of food, the current study develops a conceptual framework based on a ‘cultural economy’ approach (Amin and Thrift 2004; du Gay and Pryke 2002) by incorporating notions borrowed from broader literature on time, heritage and place. In so doing, it bridges the ‘production’ and ‘cultural’ divide within agro-food studies (explored in the following chapter) through its analysis and prioritisation of temporal qualities. It considers that temporal notions are more than metrics of qualification: by their very nature, they affect the sense of place tied to heritage. As Massey claims, ‘the identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant’ (1995: 186). Building from the vast body of work on the qualification of food (Beckert and Musselin 2013; Heuts and Mol 2013), this thesis examines how time is articulated as a component of place, further mapping the ‘alternative geographies of food’ (Whatmore and Thorne 2007).

Slow Food's network of heritage producers offers unique insights into how discursive place-making is co-constitutive, not only with history but also, more broadly, with articulations of time (Massey 1994; 1995; Thrift 2006; May and Thrift 2001; Parkes and Thrift 1978). To provide a textured analysis, this research follows the lead of Goodman et al. in comparing 'the work on Northern-focused AFNs with that on Southern "development-focused" AFNs' (Goodman et al. 2012: 9). It investigates two HBFIs in the Slow Food network: Bread Matters in Scotland and the pinole project in Mexico, both of which promote foods listed on the Ark.⁹ The research analyses the motives for initiating these projects, the role that Slow Food plays in facilitating these aims, and examines how each actor's understanding of heritage, place and time compare. Through an analysis of their discourses, it teases out and contrasts notions of place emergent with those of time. This thesis thus seeks to answer the key question:

How do notions of time shape senses of place in heritage food discourses?

Three research questions emerge from this inquiry, devised to address the key question of this thesis whilst attending to the theoretical as well as the empirical imperatives identified and detailed in this chapter.

- What objectives are pursued through the heritagisation of food?
- How are temporal qualities associated with heritage food understood and articulated?
- What senses of place emerge from the multiple uses of time as a quality?

The process by which these questions were established is outlined in chapter 3. This thesis investigates heritage foods on three scales: local, translocal and international. It is rooted in a comparative analysis of Bread Matters, based in Scotland, and the 'pinole project' spanning

⁹ At the time of this thesis, the Ark of Taste UK had 77 products listed whereas Mexico's Ark of Taste had 33.

Mexico and the US. The former promotes ‘real bread’¹⁰ and the latter, pinole, a traditional Mexican sweet made from blue corn, distributed through transmigrant actors in the US, thereby extending this study to realms of translocal geographies (Brickell and Datta 2011).



Figure 2: Pinole’s essential ingredients: heritage corn and cinnamon

The remainder of this introductory chapter outlines the rationale for the study, the conceptual framework it develops and deploys, and the intellectual contributions it seeks to make. The following section further introduces the case-studies under investigation, and demonstrates how they provide a rich comparative research to further agro-food studies. The next section briefly sketches the methodology adopted for this research. The chapter concludes with a summary of the analytical chapters, underlining how each responds to the research questions articulated above.

¹⁰ Understood as hand made ‘naturally-fermented breads’ without the use of processing aids or any other artificial additives (Bread Matters website).

2- Conceptual framework and contributions to the literature

This thesis develops its conceptual framework by placing the cultural economy approach in conversation with literatures on time, heritage and place-making, and uses a discourse analysis encompassing both text and practice. This section gives a summary – explored in greater detail in the following chapter – of the conceptual framework and the empirical and conceptual contributions of this thesis.

First, the ‘cultural economy’ approach of this thesis addresses the asymmetry in agro-food studies between approaches to production and consumption (Whatmore 2002; Goodman et al. 2012). From this stance, quality in food – such as heritage – is understood as informed by a plurality of values that expand beyond the economic and extends to temporal considerations. In the ‘quality turn’ by which foodstuffs are differentiated according to various criteria (Whatmore 2003; Goodman 2003; Allaire 2004) and consumer behaviour is increasingly informed by factors beyond economic valuation (Winter 2003; Stassart and Whatmore 2003; Miele and Lever 2013), scholars have predominantly concentrated on spatial qualities, such as efforts to shorten the food-chain (Renting et al. 2003; Murdoch et al. 2000; Goodman 2004) or localise the food system (Hinrichs 2000; 2003; Winter 2003; Feagan 2007). Slow Food epitomises the debate over the legitimacy of the ‘turn to quality’ (Goodman 2003) that has taken place within the food system, the inconsistent effects this has had on producers (Leitch 2003; Grasseni 2011), and the propensity to dichotomise the food system between ‘the conventional’ and ‘the alternative’. Though quality foods have been the subject of scholarly attention for four decades (Goodman et al. 2012), how actors in and across various sectors have benefitted from – or been disadvantaged by – the global recognition of food as an intangible heritage has yet to be determined.

Second, a discursive approach provides this thesis with the means to integrate translocal actors within its scope of research (MacDonald 2013; Goodman 2015), giving voice to hitherto discarded actors, namely transmigrants or translocal actors.¹¹ In so doing, it broadens the discussion of agro-food geographies to translocal geographies. The role of translocal actors has typically been overlooked in favour of the controversial involvement of international actors (Sammells 2014), and development agencies (Hobart 1993). The inclusion of Mexican transmigrants and farmers in this research also avoids the tendency in food studies to discard ‘alternative’ food ‘stories in the Majority World’¹² (Maxey in Maye et al. 2007: 55).

Third, this thesis integrates discussions of constructions of place within the wider fields of the geographies and philosophies of time (detailed in the following chapter) by adopting Massey’s theoretical lens of place-making (1994; 1995; 2007). In so doing, it determines the extent to which the senses of place that emerge from the discourses of pinole and ‘real bread’ epitomise ‘heritage crusades’ or ‘reactionary withdrawals into place’ (Cresswell 2014: 101). Building on Massey’s work (1994; 1995), it further maps the food geographies of ‘heritage-scapes’ (Di Giovine 2009). By revealing global understandings of heritage as partly constructed from stories of displacement and imaginary pasts, places ‘may be imagined as particular articulations of social relations, including local relations “within” the place and those many connections which stretch way beyond it’ (Massey 1999: 22). This empirical contribution is paralleled by a unique, in-depth, analysis of the discourse of founders of Bread Matters and the pinole project, answering Morgan et al.’s call to ‘reach back and bring forward’ (2006) the actors who shape the agro-food system. Thus this investigation sketches

¹¹ Translocal actors form local-local relations across transnational spaces. (Brickell and Datta 2011: 4).

¹² Although the 15th largest economy in the world (in nominal terms), Mexico is still a developing country and faces chronic issues with lack of jobs, poor wage growth and low consumer confidence (World Bank website).

the beginning of an answer to the question of *who* specifically instigates the heritagisation of food, and *why*, underlining the links and tensions between local and translocal HBFIs and global actors such as Slow Food.

Fourth, in its focus on temporal notions of quality, this thesis furthers scholarly efforts that implode the conceptual dichotomies (Crang 2005a) established by a ‘spatial imperialism’ (Crang and Thrift 2000). The latter has upheld ‘the familiar and unhelpful dualism moving around the foundational categories of Space and Time’ (May and Thrift 2001: 1). It makes a theoretical contribution by breaking the categorical constraints accompanying geographical approaches which tend to bracket space from time (Thrift 2003a). It aims to ‘overcome (...) the very formulation of space/time in terms of this kind of dichotomy’ within the alternative geographies of food, and to recognise ‘that space and time are inextricably interwoven’ (Massey 1994: 260–1). Though geographers have previously considered questions of materiality and the ‘non-representational’ (May and Thrift 2001) in the study of temporality, engaging with Deleuze and Guattari’s (1988), Bergsonian analysis of time and duration (1968), Virilio’s theory on speed (1995), or Slow Food’s particular evocation of ‘slowness’ (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2010a; 2008; Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010), they have not integrated the analysis of qualities related to time into the study of food geographies.

To untangle the temporal notions embedded in heritage discourses, this thesis adopts Adam’s multi-dimensional concept of time, referred to as ‘social time’ (Adam 1990; 2000), which encompasses multiple rhythms, temporalities, the past, present and future amongst other conceptions of time.¹³ This approach directly acknowledges how ‘cultural time values’ generate differing understandings and uses of time, as an economic commodity, resource or

¹³ Barbara Adam’s ‘timescape perspective’ offers a flexible ‘time-sensitive social theory’ (2000) that encompasses the various temporal notions that are under investigation in this thesis.

intangible good (Adam 2000). Accordingly, this thesis considers ‘slowness’ as an inherent temporal quality that includes – but is not limited to – the speed of production and consumption, as well as the temporalities of ‘the past’ embodied by foods. In so doing, it rectifies the scarcity of studies on the temporalities that inform heritage foods and their effect on the senses of place they produce.

Finally, by engaging conversations around place-making with the broader fields of heritage consumption (Waitt 2000) and heritage production (Di Giovine 2009), this thesis answers the empirical need to comprehend the economic utilisation of heritage (Bendix 2009) that is shaped by lists such as the Ark. As Brickell and Datta argue, the close attention to translocal heritage food stories requires that we ‘pay attention to ... multiple and hybrid histories, their politics and social constructions, their material geographies, and their connections to other scales and places’ (Brickell and Datta 2011: 4). These stories are important since, as cultural anthropologists (Grasseni 2008; 2013; Di Giovine 2009; Finnis 2012; Bendix 2009), and rural sociologists (Bessière 1998; 2013) describe, the ‘heritage industry’ (Hewison 1987) and process of heritagisation are associated with the commodification, standardisation (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009) and commercialisation of cultures and their material expressions (Lowenthal 1998a; 1998b). Heritage denominations have been shown to lead to the uneven distribution of resources in rural areas (Leitch 2000; 2003), exacerbating unequal geographies within rural economies (Stanford 2012), and ultimately empowering certain actors to the detriment of others (Kuutma 2009). This study thus speaks to broader issues in development studies regarding the trade-offs that the ‘quality turn’ implies for small-scale producers and translocal actors, and concerns about their integration in GPNs.

3- Research design and methodology

The research design involves a multi-sited and multi-scalar ethnographic exploration based primarily on discourse and supplemented with participant observation and case-study focus analysis. The case-studies were selected on the basis of their concurrent celebration of heritage Ark foods, differing understandings of heritage, and unique approaches to revalorising heritage foods within their believed places of origin. Both provide a platform from which actors articulate their interpretations of the past of the place of origin of heritage foods, whereby ‘each interpretation competes for the goal of being designated as heritage’ (Waitt 2000: 848).

Bread Matters is a business and supporter of Slow Food. Based in the Borders in Scotland, it offers workshops on baking bread. Its mission though is to teach about ‘*real bread*’ prepared using ‘slow’ methods and organic flour, differentiated from the quasi-ubiquitous sliced bread in the UK. It also promotes Einkorn, a heritage wheat enlisted in the Ark.



Figure 3: Situating the Borders

Amigos de Ozolco (hereafter Amigos) is a Mexican organisation that produces *pinole*, another Ark product. The cooperative Blue Corn Alianza (hereafter Alianza), run by Mexican transmigrants in Philadelphia, US, is charged with distributing pinole throughout the US. The partnership between these organisations is referred to throughout this thesis as the ‘pinole project’. According to Alianza’s website, the partnership was designed to preserve project members’ hometown, Ozolco, a small rural village in the state of Puebla in Mexico that has been heavily hit by emigration. Towards this end, the pinole project strives to revive Ozolco’s failing local economy.

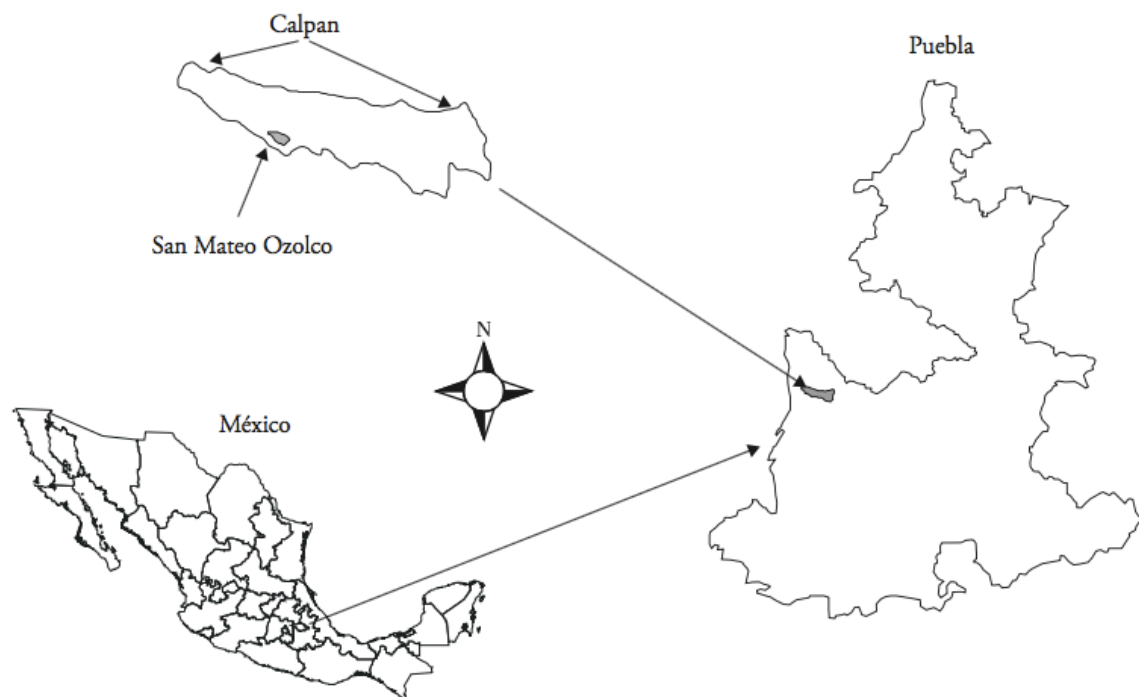


Figure 3: Situating Ozolco (source: Amavica-Ruíz et al. 2014)

Bread Matters was initiated by the co-founder of the Real Bread Revolution in the UK, a food movement to which it is closely linked. It embraces most of the tenets of the Slow Food movement. By spearheading the campaign ‘Scotland, the Bread’¹⁴, Bread Matters aims to revive the Scottish production of ancient wheat, barley and rye landraces in order to establish self-sufficient local bread supply chains. Similarly, the pinole project seeks to preserve the blue corn grown in Ozolco. Each initiative advocates the survival of heritage seeds both to preserve their place of origin, *and* in defiance of the industrial production of corn and wheat, two of the most-produced cereals in the world (FAOSTAT 2015), and the most important cereal crops in Mexico and the UK respectively (Barling et al. 2009).

Despite their similar goals, each initiative conceptualises heritage differently. Bread Matters stands as an example of ‘Europe’s invented food traditions (that) mean to legitimate present

¹⁴ The name of the campaign is a play on the patriotic song ‘Scotland the Brave’.

practices by claiming continuity with the past’ (Paxson 2014: 32). It also exemplifies the UK’s ‘affirmation d’une typicité sans terroir’ (the affirmation of a typicity without terroir – *author’s translation*) whereby the place of origin is perceived through the lens of distance, whether this articulation of place is real or imagined (Ceccarelli et al. 2014: 15). In comparison, the pinole project links pinole to its pre-Hispanic history through a celebration of Aztec skills. The project exemplifies the ‘nationalistic rhetoric’ of Mexico as a ‘maize civilisation’ and its farmers as stewards of this heritage (Richard 2008). Unlike Bread Matters, the pinole project rests on translocal ties between Mexicans in their home village Ozolco - a small village perched on the active Popocatepetl volcano in Puebla state, Mexico - and those who have migrated to the US.



Figure 5: Photo of the active volcano Popocatépetl

The myriad meanings and values of time expressed in these cases impact on the sense of place that emerges from the heritage discourses of Bread Matters and the pinole project. Indeed, the various constructions of place linked to Scotland and Ozolco are heavily shaped

by the stories told of these places. An analysis of the discourse of ‘real bread’ and pinole reveals the scope of Slow Food’s propensity to promote European ideals (Leitch 2000; 2003) – specifically with regard to understandings of place and time as coherent (Massey 1994; 1995) – and the extent to which these ideals are absorbed or rejected by the network of heritage food initiatives. These ideals constitute a direct response to the processes of individualisation, globalisation and the ‘radically uneven and heterogeneous production of space and time in post-traditional societies’ (Parkins and Craig 2006: 12).

These case-studies also differ with relation to their networks. Bread Matters’ network is representative of the trend in AFNs whereby affluent well-educated white men have disproportionate influence (Parkins and Craig 2009). By contrast, producers of pinole are poorly educated farmers from Mexico with little sway over the global commodity exchange of corn (Baker 2012; Fitting 2011). Bread Matters and the pinole project share additional characteristics, further elaborated in the methodology chapter (chapter 3), related to their efforts to tackle their respective countries’ obesity crisis, declining agricultural sector, and rising unemployment by celebrating their foodstuffs as heritage.

This research is designed as an ethnographic study, involving participant observation and discursive analysis. The latter approach seeks to explore heritage and notions of time as qualities: the product of discursive and material practices (Murdoch et al. 2000; Stassart and Whatmore 2003; Hébert 2014), and not an intrinsic attribute as mainstream economics would have it. The Ark’s qualification process thus invites empirical investigation through social research methods (Callon 2005; Stark 2009).

Between 2012 and 2014, data was collected through ethnographic research involving participant observation as well as semi-structured and informal interviews. Over the course of ten trips to Italy, Mexico, the UK, and the US, 48 interviews were carried out with participants primarily recruited using the snowball method. Covaleski et al. (1998) consider grounded theory (hereafter GT) the methodology *par excellence* when researching within the postmodern paradigm. As this research seeks to unpack the notions of temporal quality in goods typical of post-Fordist societies, GT provides the tools for a detailed and systematic analysis of field data with the intent of building context-specific theory as well as an understanding of phenomena (Henwood 1996). GT was thus adopted as the optimal approach for capturing the complexity of discursive temporal notions within heritage food discourse, with a focus on *what* concerns participants (Glaser 1998). This enabled a multifaceted account of members' perceptions of time as quality (Locke 2001).

Each interview was transcribed and then transformed in a three-step process using categorisation, coding and evaluation as analytical tools. The codes used were overarching labels, that reflected the key themes of this thesis. This approach is discussed at greater length in the chapter on methodology.

4- Outline of Chapters

This introductory chapter contextualises the study of heritage foods within agro-food studies, and provides theoretical background. It identifies the empirical gaps this research seeks to answer regarding the impacts of the Ark and international heritage lists on both local actors and global discourses of heritage. The second chapter reviews literature spanning geography and cognate social sciences, introducing the debates, accounts and conceptual frameworks that this study engages with, challenges and expands. Within this body of work, gaps are

identified and contributions outlined. It briefly sketches the history of alternative geographies of food, providing an account of their discussions about the ‘quality turn’ and contextualising the issue of qualification (focusing on heritagisation) within broader social research. This chapter also introduces the conceptual tools and frameworks adopted in the subsequent analytical chapters.

The third chapter details the comparative ethnographic research approach that is elaborated to understand how the quality of heritage in foods takes shape through the juxtaposition of sites and practices. It outlines the guiding principals that informed my experimental intervention and the choice of methods and case-studies. It also provides the background for the research design, data collection and its analysis. Four analytical chapters follow.

Chapter	Journal	Status
Chapter 4	<i>Journal of Rural Studies</i>	Submitted in February 2016
Chapter 5	<i>Journal of History and Culture</i>	Published in January 2015
Chapter 6	<i>Journal of Rural Studies</i>	Published in December 2015
Chapter 7	<i>Journal of Peasant Studies</i>	Submitted in February 2016

Table 1: List of published and submitted articles

As this is a thesis by publication, there is a certain amount of duplication and overlap between the chapters in this thesis. This was necessary so that these chapters could be read as stand alone pieces, rather than as components of a single monograph. As a result, there are some inconsistencies in referencing style. The following paragraphs summarise each analytical chapter, explaining how each builds on and complements each other.

By basing its comparative analysis on the narratives of the founding members of HBFIs, chapter 4 focuses on hitherto discarded actors shaping alternative geographies of food. Agro-food studies have had a tendency to focus on producers, consumers or food movements and

businesses, with little research on the individual motives and stories that lie behind the inception of these food projects. By integrating founders in this investigation, this thesis aims to rectify this gap in the literature. It emphasises how the outsider status of these actors was instrumental in the identification of their foodstuffs as heritage. Unlike other studies on heritagisation of food, it specifically asks: who initiated this process, and why? Following Bessière's theory (2013), it compares the process of identification of pinole and 'real bread' as heritage goods and the rationale behind the creation of both HBFIs. In so doing, it explicitly identifies the objectives embedded in the instigation of these initiatives, underlining the process of commodification that ensues from articulating food as a heritage within the context of a business. Though the founders of 'real bread' and the pinole project share similar backgrounds, their understanding and use of food as 'heritage' - and time as a quality - differ radically. By unpacking these understandings, this chapter explicitly links how temporal notions of quality shape different senses of place. Bread Matters postulates an exclusionist notion of Scotland in counter-position to the rest of the world whereas the pinole project invites a more fluid sense of place of Ozolco (the place of origin of pinole) as shaped by (transnational) social interactions and migration, a point of linkage to the outside. In incorporating transnational narratives in the study of quality food, this chapter directly addresses the bias in food studies which seeks to dichotomise relations and places according to global and local categories.

Chapter 5 exposes the relation between the global Slow Food movement and its discourse with local HBFIs by focusing on Bread Matters. It analyses the ways in which enmeshed and at times vague temporal qualities are articulated, from 'real' or 'good' food to 'slow' production and skills 'from the past'. By analysing production methods at Bread Matters, this chapter focuses on the importance of memory as 'real bread' necessitates enskillment

(Connerton 1989), the transfer of knowledge and creation of corporeal memories (Sutton 2001). This chapter furthers studies in agro-food and time by providing a unique case-study in which temporal rhythms of production of ‘real bread’ stand in contradistinction to the conventional food system typified by the ‘no time’ industrialised sliced bread.

The investigation of temporal notions in the discourse of Bread Matters and Slow Food’s Ark provides ground for an analysis of the binary and moralistic rhetoric surrounding foods: slow vs. fast, real vs. unreal, good vs. bad. This chapter argues that temporal qualities in food can be contradictory as ideals of the past are pitted against practical considerations of production; this contradiction emerges *because* temporal qualities are used as platforms for different objectives. The nostalgic and discursive construction of the past contrasts with the temporal rhythms involved in the act of baking, revealing how temporal qualities are (discursively) used to make normative claims about the alternative food system *and* are necessary for transmission of skills of the (slow) production of food.

Chapter 6 furthers this discussion by investigating the pinole project’s discourse and introducing the notion of the ‘aesthetic of safeguard’ in the Ark’s qualification scheme, emphasising the role of temporal notions of quality in the assertion of normative claims about food. This chapter simultaneously addresses two gaps in the alternative geographies of food: the disregarded role of transnational actors in shaping heritage foods and that of time as an alternative food quality. In so doing, it reveals how temporal understandings of pinole in the Ark fail to correspond to those of the pinole project because the two organisations promote different objectives related to different notions of the past and place. Significantly, the Ark omits to mention the existence of the transmigrant workers who distribute pinole in the United States. Its rhetoric promotes a fixed understanding of the past as ‘timeless’ and

impervious to change. In contrast, the narrative of pinole project members reflects notions of heritage and the past profoundly shaped by personal experiences of migration, displacement and economic struggle. By contrasting these conceptualisations of heritage, the past and their role in alternative food projects, this chapter cautions against the increasing influence of Slow Food as a global heritagisation institution disseminating dominant normative interpretations of heritage foods and their idealised gastronomic past, obscuring the conceptualisations of HBFIs and their members.

Chapter 7 expands on earlier findings of the previous chapter by exploring the process of heritagisation of food through the lens of transmigration, emphasising its multifunctional role. It investigates the objectives pursued through the instigation of HBFIs. Drawing on previous research, it demonstrates how the same HBFI can articulate food as a heritage *and/or* as a commodity. The chapter also contributes to the study of translocality by arguing for the recognition of the instrumental role of transmigrant actors in the construction of heritage foods on a global scale. The discussion expands on the concepts of the heritagisation of food, identity formation, and commodification of nostalgia by establishing the quality of heritage as a fluid notion that enables members to fulfil personal goals ranging from the reaffirmation of indigenous identity to the pursuit of economic gains through the commodification of heritage. Unlike previous research, this chapter underlines the variety of interpretations of time – and thus place – that members from the same village and working within the same organisation can hold. In so doing, it emphasises how the quality of heritage enables a range of actors to assign new values to heritage by constructing nostalgic narratives of the past, which reinforce notions of peasant essentialism.

The concluding chapter revisits the three research questions explored in the introductory chapter, and brings together the key findings. It emphasises the strengths and limitations of this research whilst summarising its theoretical insights, and their implications for the fields of agro-food, migration studies, and rural sociology. Ultimately, this thesis argues that, though the creation of heritage foods is a process involving many actors, the dominant global discourse of heritage foods reflects the ideals of a particular group of educated and privileged actors, promoting problematic notions of place. It ends by suggesting avenues for further investigation.

Chapter 2- Literature Review

This chapter situates this research in a broader academic context, outlining the theoretical and empirical contributions it aims to make. The first section briefly outlines the evolution of concerns, foci and approaches in human geography in the last three decades which have shaped the body of work in agro-food studies. This literature review further develops the conceptual framework and theoretical contributions summarised in the previous chapter. Adopting a chronological overview, it establishes the theoretical stance of this research, namely the ‘cultural economy’ approach, and the foundations for its discursive analytical stance. The following sections describe, in turn, the literatures from which the conceptual framework was developed and how a cultural economy approach would benefit from an engagement with literatures on place-making and time to encompass translocal actors and temporal notions of quality, furthering food geographies. Each section shows how an investigation of Slow Food heritage products pertains to wider discussions in the literature. This chapter thus ties the investigation of Ark foods to concerns in agro-food studies with the global and the local, the conventional and the alternative, place-making, and food quality. It also aims to establish how, in incorporating notions of time in the mapping of alternative geographies of food, this research addresses gaps in the literature regarding the role of translocal actors and small-scale farmers in shaping the food system.

1- Roots and evolution of agro-food studies

This section explains how this research, by focusing on the discourse of food, offers an exploration of complex expressions of place, identity, history and culture (Levi-Strauss

1989). It provides a brief chronological description of the emergence and evolution of agro-food studies, underlining the concerns that have risen in tandem.

In the late 20th century the discipline of human geography took a series of turns, acknowledging that spatial patterns and processes are reflected in – and are a reflection of – the perceptions, intentions and actions of human beings as conscious agents (Cloke et al. 1991: 14). Social, economic and political structures were seen to constrain as well as influence space. In the 1970s and 1980s, scholars adopted a Marxist approach that emphasised the material conditions of existence (Cloke et al. 1991: 14). The agro-food literature can be traced back to these early developments (Goodman and DuPuis 2002), and was first shaped by thinkers steeped in Marxist traditions (Morgan et al. 2006) such as Kautsky, Polanyi, and Friedland. Agro-food studies were also influenced by humanism, the school of thought that brought the role of human agency to the centre of human geography research. Humanist approaches in turn gave rise to various intellectual routes based on the philosophical foundations of structuration theories (see Giddens 1983), and realism (Sayer 1992), shifting the analytical focus from structure to discourse.

1.1 The ‘cultural turn’ and the onus on discourse

In the mid-80s, a ‘cultural turn’ (Thrift 2000a) shook the humanities and the social sciences. ‘Reality’ was no longer understood as an objective truth, but as a product of language. This was reflected in the ‘new cultural geography’ that emerged in the late 1980s (Nayak and Jeffrey 2011: 99) and brought ideas of power and meaning to the forefront of geographical research. Since then, economic geography has been ‘increasingly foregrounding cultural and institutional variables previously thought out of bounds or irrelevant to market performance and innovation’ (Clark et al. 2000: 5). Economic geography now acknowledges that

‘meanings attached to work, to objects, to exchange, vary across time and space and how meanings are established and understood is key to understanding how markets works’ (Wood and Roberts 2011: 139).

With the emergence and expansion of global production networks (hereafter GPNs), there was another shift towards the study of discourse. This led to a theoretical turn towards text and a focus on representation. Discourse analysis became a key component of human geographical research. With this emerged a need to study ‘how networks are embedded in larger cultural discourses and structures and how networks actually work within these structures’ (Hanson and Blake 2009: 146). By bridging the divide between ‘the economy’ and ‘the cultural’ or ‘the social’, cultural economists conceive of economic processes as embedded within social and cultural norms (Jackson 2002; Amin and Thrift 2007). Economic actions take place not autonomously (Çalışkan 2010) but within a sphere of pre-existing social relationships such as ‘friendships’ (Mitchell 2008: 1117). As a marker of ‘cultural’ distinctions and values (Bourdieu 1984), food gives unprecedented access to values embodied in practices of production and valorisation. These are, for example, typified in discourses of *terroir* for wine (see Bowen and Zapata 2009). A ‘cultural economy’ approach also sheds light on how actors ‘(re)valorise place through its cultural identity’ (Ray 1998: 3), as development studies have shown (Scott 2004; Hampton 2005; Harvey 2001).

Rooted in the work of these cultural economists, this research engages with notions of value, meaning and place emergent in food discourses. In so doing, it considers the interrelationships between ‘the economy’, ‘the social’, and ‘the cultural’ as co-constitutive rather than assuming they are distinct categories (Amin 2009; Castree 2004; Tsing 2009). Quality in food is thus informed not by a singular economic value but by cultural and social

values, which, this research demonstrates, extends to temporal considerations. This ‘cultural economy’ approach avoids the academic asymmetry between approaches to production and consumption in agro-food studies and which have created a ‘fault-line’ between ‘production’ and ‘cultural’ sociology of food and its provisioning (Whatmore 2002; Goodman et al. 2012). In an effort to reconcile production with the cultural sociology of food, cultural economists¹⁵ integrate political economy (discussed below) with cultural studies in a ‘cultural Marxist’ tradition (du Gay and Pryke 2002; Amin and Thrift 2004). These scholars postulate that ‘the apparently rational calculus of the market is inescapably embedded in a range of cultural processes’ (Jackson 2002: 5). This contrasts with understandings of capitalism as a coherent system driven by the singular logic of value production (Amin and Thrift 2007; Tsing 2013).

These scholars (Goodman 2003; Hébert 2014) underline the ways in which agro-food systems are increasingly organised through ‘aspects of human rationality that move beyond the economic’ (Barham 2002: 357). This research contributes to their work in agro-food geography, discussing the ‘quality turn’ (Goodman 2003) whereby consumer behaviour is increasingly informed by factors beyond economic valuation (Winter 2003; Stassart and Whatmore 2003; Miele and Lever 2013), such as environmental sustainability, local sourcing and fair trade. This argument directly contradicts the school of thought based on political economy which places human activities at the centre of value creation (Stassart and Whatmore 2003; Roe 2006): the value of things arises from – and is measured by – the utilisation of human labour alone (Brennan 1997; Harvey 1984). Political economy scholars, adopting a Marxist critique of commodity fetishism, consider market exchange and economic foods as fetishised, obscuring the means of production which underlines their existence. This perspective embraces a logic of capital accumulation taken as the sole determinant of the

¹⁵ Goodman et al. (2012) detail three of these approaches namely the “New Times” analyses of the Birmingham school, the “material culture studies” perspective, and the feminist standpoint.

value of foodstuff, excluding other imperatives that could factor into the valuation of a good (Morgan et al. 2006: 17).

Political and ethical values though have overflowed any single logic of economic valuation (Barham 2002; Guthman 2007; Marsden and Arce 1995; Miele and Lever 2013; Stassart and Whatmore 2003; Whatmore and Thorne 1997; Winter 2003). For many agro-food scholars, political-economic approaches fail to acknowledge the growing importance of quality and ethics (Marsden and Arce 1995; Murdoch et al. 2000; Rosin and Campbell 2009). Purchasing preferences, they suggest, are increasingly based on ‘food quality’ and are disrupting the productivist logic and competitive pricing of the food system (Bowen and Zapata 2009; Deaton et al. 2010; Morgan et al. 2006; Paxson 2013).

Agro-food geographers have broadened their analysis to elucidate various facets of GPNs, such as the tensions between the local and the global (Jones 2003), politics of rural change (Marsden 2003), politics of identity (Bell and Valentine 1997), the social relations on fair trade (Raynolds 2002; Renard 2003), organic agriculture (Barham 2002; Morgan and Murdoch 2000), short food supply chains (Renting et al. 2003; Marsden 2004), and the alterity of alternative food networks (hereafter AFNs) (Whatmore et al. 2003; Goodman 2003; Whatmore and Thorne 1997). AFNs emerged in reaction to a mounting distrust of the globalisation and industrialisation of the food system; GPNs are seen as embracing a productivist logic, with an ‘unflagging effort to reduce the importance of nature in production ... the driving force behind agricultural industrialization’ (Page 1996: 381).

AFNs emerge in tandem with the movements they aspire to promote. These alternative food movements celebrate ‘quality’ foods such as local, fair trade, organic, authentic or natural

foods, in contrast to the standardised, mass-produced fast foods generated by an intensive and polluting agro-industry. These movements strive to 're-embed' food in its social, cultural, and environmental context. In a process of relocalisation, they emphasise the traceability and transparency of production methods. In so doing, they embrace a 'logic of quality' (Allaire and Sylvander 1997) by adopting an ecological metric of sustainable development (Morgan et al. 2006). They also seek to shorten food supply chains (Renting et al. 2003).

There is an extensive body of work on the 'turn towards quality production' (Bonanno et al. 1994; Allaire and Wold 2004) where 'food quality' is now a component of competition (Morgan et al. 2006; Paxson 2013). For producers, the 'quality turn' can offer the opportunity to secure viable livelihoods by differentiating their product within highly competitive global markets (Climent-López et al. 2014; Marsden 2004; Murdoch and Miele 1999). Scholars have also noted how the 'quality turn' can expose agro-food producers, at times adversely, to global markets. Indeed, the distribution of economic value within the agro-food system is intimately linked to the uneven geographies of rural economies, and the livelihoods of producers. It is also increasingly mediated by the differentiation of foodstuffs according to various quality criteria (Goodman 2003; Ilbery and Kneafsey 2000; Marsden and Arce 1995; Whatmore et al. 2003). Food labels such as 'local', 'organic' or 'heritage' fail to reveal the extent to which producers have 'resisted or been absorbed by the corporate interests in the food industry, nor ... whether the values they embody are part of a radical or conservative political agenda' (Pratt 2007: 286). This tension is explored further in the investigation of heritage foods in subsequent sections.

Outside the realm of producers, the growth of alternative food movements and AFNs in the academic discourse has fuelled a binary opposition of 'conventional' and 'alternative' models

of food production, distribution, and consumption (Parrott et al. 2002; Murdoch et al. 2000; Morgan et al. 2006; Murdoch and Miele 1999). The dichotomisation of the food system suggests that food quality is necessarily ‘alternative’, embedded in ecological, social and cultural values, entailing a conflict between ‘industrial’ or ‘conventional’ foods and quality foods (Harvey et al. 2004). Yet, as Goodman et al. (2012: 5) demonstrate, the politics of alternative food system-making are not a given but a *process*. Similarly, throughout this research, quality is understood as a *construction* interlocking ‘consumers, producers, traders, retailers, and so on’ and ‘embedded in concrete social relations that occur as foods are produced, transported, sold, and consumed’ (Mansfield 2003: 4).

The controversy surrounding the validity of the alterity of AFNs (Whatmore and Thorne 1997) and of Slow Food is but one of a number of theoretical disagreements in ‘a series of “cultural turns” across human geography [that] have left cultural geography itself with something of an identity crisis’ (Kirsch 2012: 433). One such crisis emerged towards the end of the 1980s, when postmodern scholars challenged the premise that there are ‘metanarratives’ that organise the world (Cloke et al. 1991: 19). These scholars criticised the tendency to overlook the materiality of everyday life, and to discount, for instance, the materialities of food and the environment of its production (Morgan et al. 2006). They considered the ‘materiality of living, creating and politics is emergent, non-hierarchical and post-human’ (Tolia-Kelly 2012: 3 quoted in Kirsch 2012: 435). In other words, ‘material geographies’ endeavour to understand how meaning becomes social and political, rather than assuming the pre-existence of a social world from which meaning is extracted (Cresswell 2010). This constituted a critique of the cultural economy approach. In an effort to address the issues flagged by this new materialism, this research adopts a discourse-based analysis that also encompasses practices in its remit.

Though there have been ‘materialist returns’ (Whatmore 2006) and a multiplicity of ‘material’ approaches (Kirsch 2012: 435), the geographical endorsement of materialism can be understood as an effort to engage with the immediate world, giving an ontological priority to the material conditions of existence (Ibid.). New materialist approaches consider nonhuman materials as integral to the formation of AFNs (Goodman 1999; Whatmore 2002; Stassart and Whatmore 2003; Bingham 2006). They give precedence to the embodiments of food, such as the experiences of eating, drinking, tasting, and digesting. As Longhurst and Johnston (2012: 325) remind us, ‘food becomes an entry point, both theoretically and methodologically, for thinking through broader body-environment-place relationships’. Emergent social geographies interrogate the differences that embodied geographies of food constitute (Longhurst and Johnston 2012; Waitt 2014), tying these to the broader concern over body politics (Guthman 2011; 2012), power and sex (Probyn 2000), geographies of digestion (Bauch 2010), and sociospatial relations (Del Casino 2014). For agro-food researchers in particular, this approach recognises that food production and consumption practices are co-produced and assembled through heterogeneous networks of human and non-human association (Whatmore and Thorne 1997; Goodman 2004).

The new materialist approaches to food have provided new insights into agro-food studies. They highlight the marginalisation and even stigmatisation of different actors by food movements that also, paradoxically, possess the ability to provide a ground for progressive political change. These themes are typified by research on Slow Food. Jessica and Alison Hayes-Conroy (2008; 2010a) question the ‘taste determinism’ that Slow Food promotes. The movement ‘educates’ its members about what tastes ‘good’ and what tastes ‘bad’, as postulated in its manifesto: ‘real culture is here to be found. First of all, we can begin by

cultivating taste’ (Slow Food website). These scholars thus map the ‘visceral geographies’ of food and eating, underlining how ‘emotions and affective relationships also shape the practices and politics surrounding the procurement of food’ (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2013: 88). Their research points to the importance of integrating multiple intersections of race, and class in the study of food.

Despite the insights provided by new materialist approaches, Michael Goodman calls for agro-food studies to move beyond ‘the visceral’ or ‘embodied’, to focus more ‘specifically on food inequalities’ and ‘food justice’ (2015: 8). His critique rests upon the failure of the ‘more-than-food, more-than-following post-disciplinary foodscape’ (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; 2010b; Longhurst et al. 2008; 2009; Coles and Hallett 2012) to be ‘applied at broader scales’ in such a way that ‘food’s vital materialisms should be tempered by critical human and cultural geographies of austerity and food justice’ (Goodman 2015: 8). This research strives to reconcile Goodman’s concerns through a discursive approach, as described in the following section.

1.2 Discourse

As described above, material scholars sought a more immediate, visceral and embodied engagement with the world as, they claim, discourse analysis is rooted in the premise of a world constructed of – and by – human words (Philo 2012). There has been a ‘recent turn to affect’ in social and cultural research (Wetherell 2013: 349) whereby affect is understood as an ‘extra-discursive’ event (Massumi 2002). In their emphasis on ‘processes *beyond, below and past* discourse’ (Wetherell 2013: 350), non-representational theorists (Thrift 2000b; Lorimer 2008b) have dismissed discourse analysis in a ‘push away from words’ (Philo 2012)

and from those who produce ‘dead geographies’ (Thrift and Dewsbury 2000). As a result, there has been an ‘absence of a productive dialogue between affect and discourse research’ (Wetherell 2013: 351). New materialism or non-representational theory emerged in part as a critique of a discursive analysis and the inattention of this approach to questions of materiality, practice and performance. The term discourse is understood in this research as a process which simultaneously represents and expresses power, knowledge and truth (Mills 1997). This definition is heavily indebted to Foucault who remarks:

Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word ‘discourse’, I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements’. (1972: 80)

Chris Philo seeks to address these criticisms of cultural geography by rethinking Foucault’s concept of discourse. In so doing, he offers a rebuttal of Nigel Thrift’s arguments against Foucault, reproaching him for neglecting the discussions of ‘affect’, and the multiple dimensions of human embodiment in Foucault’s later work. Philo reviews Foucault’s Collège de France lectures to offer an interpretation of a ‘new Foucault’ who acknowledges the ‘pre-discursive liveliness’ of bodies subjected to power (2012: 510). Though this research does not engage directly with this theoretical discussion, it is grounded in Philo’s assertion that an intellectual engagement with discourse is neither a rejection nor a neglect of the ‘liveliness of the world’. Rather, a discursive approach to the study of geography, based on Foucault’s legacy of critical discourse analysis (Wodak and Mayer 2009), helps us ‘take seriously the lively bodies and populations over which (dominating) power is to be exerted’ (Philo 2012: 510). In other words, Philo argues that Foucault’s understanding of discourse comprises a sense of practice (see the discussion of the making of ‘real bread’ in chapter 5), addressing concerns voiced by a materialist cultural geography.

This research embraces a discursive approach in an attempt to reconcile the approaches of ‘material geographies’ (Goodman 2015), with those of ‘food studies’ (MacDonald 2013), scaled up in ways suggested by Goodman (2015). It thereby aims to elucidate the translocal nature of these networks, exposing the inequalities experienced by small-scale producers associated with the Slow Food movement. This focus also provides an answer to research by MacDonald (2013) who explores food identities through an ethnographic study of Slow Food’s event *Cheese!* MacDonald suggests that his research:

provides an ability to directly observe the explicit cultural political work required to simultaneously produce and articulate a demand for “quality” goods [because] mediated practices of production and consumption reveal the role of organizations, institutions, and networks, and the mechanisms of coordination and control, involved in this development. (2013: 101)

Like Goodman (2015), MacDonald is concerned about the scale at which agro-food scholars tend to investigate. He concludes that the focus on localism prevalent in food studies fails to acknowledge the translocal nature of food production systems, a concern that this study addresses in its inclusion of transmigrants.

Translocal actors are not the only discarded actors within food studies. Regarding discourse, there is an academic tendency to disregard the voices of small-scale food producers in favour of those who ‘critique the dominant food system and identify an alternative approach’ (Gottlieb and Joshi 2010: 6). This narrative, perpetuated by rural development studies, portrays the growing appreciation for foods *from the past* as an effort to promote a rural ‘re-peasantization’ in agricultural communities (Van der Ploeg 2012) or more adversely, as ‘backwards modernization’ (Gilarek et al. 2003). This research argues that this scholarly picture is incomplete: there is a plethora of actors who, in conjunction with Slow Food, contest, debate and negotiate notions of heritage. As Waitt argues:

heritage is not simply the reproduction of the dominant ideology... Negotiation enables compromise among various interpretations. Each interpretation competes for the goal of being designated as heritage. (2000: 848)

This bias in the literature is part of a wider trend whereby the role of small-scale producers has tended to be disregarded in studies of global agribusiness chains (Posthuma and Nathan 2010) and of GPNs, in which labour is portrayed as a ‘passive victim of restructuring processes’ (Cumbers et al. 2008: 369), merely responding to the demands of ethical consumption.

Studies have investigated the role of ethical consumption, and retail within networks (Guthman 2009; Tokatli 2008; Hughes 2006) neglecting production: ‘little has been said about labour as an active constituent of the global economy’ (Cumbers et al. 2008: 369). As Hinrichs (2000) and Goodman (2004) indicate, this focus may reinforce a ‘very optimistic view of local economic relations’ (Sonnino and Marsden 2006: 192) based on overly simplistic oppositions between ‘global capitalist actors’ and their ‘embedded local counterparts’ (Goodman 2004: 5). As economic geographers have shown, impacts of growing ethical trades (such as organic or fair trade), and their affiliated certification schemes on working conditions are diverse (Trentmann 2007; Valkila and Nygren 2009) and demand to be explored in more depth (Barrientos and Smith 2007).

To recapitulate, this research adopts a cultural economy approach in addressing some of the issues in the agro-food literature. Its discussion rests upon discourse analysis, a method that, according to Philo (2012), is not incompatible with new materialism’s concern for practice, performance and materiality, but incorporates these within the broader remit of discourse. This approach facilitates the study of certification schemes (through the Ark’s qualification scheme) whilst responding to Goodman’s empirical call to uncover the role of small-scale

producers and translocal actors in the food system. This research seeks to further map the alternative geographies of food (Winter 2004) by supplementing the cultural economy approach with key concepts from the literatures on place-making, geographies and philosophies of time, and heritage studies. The following section outlines how Massey's theories on place-making inform the conceptual framework of this research.

2- Place-making

Despite their disparities, the schools of thought endorsing the 'cultural turn', and post-modernism, have placed a 'new emphasis on the human face of "place" and its social construction', enlarging 'the way that the concept of place is employed' (Goodman et al. 2009: 10). This research understands place as 'the interface of global structures and localized pockets of resistance—a regrouping of social expression in a locus of space' (Ibid.). From this perspective, the literature on place has broadened the conversation to notions of emplacement and displacement, amongst others. This literature also engages with the literature on quality. As Bowen and Mutersbaugh demonstrate, place is not just a constitutive feature of human practice; it is also a *quality* that is 'performatively remade through situated practice (Pred 1984; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Casey 1998; Secor 2004)' (2014: 206). The notion of place, as a quality, is thus not a given but a construction always in the making; as Massey theorises: 'places are processes, too' (1994: 155)

Each analytical chapter in this research examines the 'stories' of food as they have the capacity to affect a 'shift in emphasis from the politics *of* place to a politics *in* place' (*original emphasis*, Amin 2002: 397). As Massey suggests, '(A)n understanding of spatiality... entails the recognition that there is one more story going on in the world and that these stories have, at least, a relative autonomy' (Massey 1998: 3 in Escobar 2001: 164). She

thus calls for the ‘need to conceptualize space as constructed out of interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations and interactions, from the most local level to the most global’ (1994: 264). Massey also emphasises the importance that notions of time, history and the past play in ‘local’ constructions of place. By gathering and analysing narratives of heritage foods, this research reaffirms her understanding that

the relationship between past, present and future can help us to reinvigorate the way in which we conceptualise geographical places... it helps to think of them as temporal and not just spatial: as set in time as well as space. (Massey 1995: 186)

By adopting Massey’s dynamic conceptualisation of spatiality, this research avoids the disposition of many agro-food scholars to overlook how ‘(A)ll localized products are founded on a lowest common denominator – historical depth and shared know-how – that defines “origin” in basic terms’ (Bérard and Marchenay 2008). In other words, though history is one of the most essential aspects of localised food systems, it has been ignored within agro-food studies even though:

description, definition and identification of a place is thus always inevitably an intervention not only into geography but also, at least implicitly, in the (re)telling of the historical constitution of the present. (Massey 1995: 190)

This research understands place as co-constituted with broader notions of time, a stand point that offers

a non-territorial way of viewing place politics in an age of global connectivity. Instead of seeing political activity as unique, places might be seen as the sites which juxtapose the varied politics – the local, national, and global – that we find today. What matters is this juxtaposition. (Morgan et al. 2006: 18)

Massey offers such juxtaposition by understanding place as ‘a conjunction of many histories and many spaces’ (1995: 191).

Within this theoretical framework, Slow Food, Bread Matters and the pinole project emerge as examples of a number of responses that have sought to ‘re-enchant’ foods through tactics

ranging from ‘reactionary nationalisms, competitive localisms, to introverted obsessions with “heritage”’ (Massey 1994: 151). These actors ‘install [their] own version of the stories, of these relationships between past and present, which can lay an alternative basis for a (different) future’ (Massey 1995: 190). This study also addresses a broader concern within geographical discussions in its effort to ‘overcome ... the very formulation of space/time in terms of this kind of dichotomy ... [and to recognise instead] that space and time are inextricably interwoven’ (Massey 1994: 260–1). Building on Massey’s insightful work¹⁶ as well as the literature on time (detailed in the following section), this research tackles the scarcity of research on temporal notions in alternative geographies of food.

3- Time as quality

Marx first introduced the idea that a ‘great acceleration’ or the progressive ‘annihilation of space by time’ was causing a radical reworking in the nature and experience of time and space (1987). Influenced by Marx’s work, Harvey (1989) thought our relationship with time and space was undergoing profound changes due to the revolutions of neoliberalism. He coined this phenomenon ‘time-space compression’ which ‘revolutionize(s) the objective qualities of space and time [so] that we are forced to alter...how we represent ourselves to the world’ (1989: 240). In his words, the ‘rapidity of time’, makes it difficult to ‘react to events’ (Ibid.: 305-6) as the observer experiences a loss of control in a world that is going too fast, and in which he or she does not have enough time.

Slow Food’s rhetoric picks up upon the idea of time-space compression inherent in the ‘over-quicken pace of modern life’ (Simmel 1971). In their study of texts from the Slow Food’s

¹⁶ Chapter 4 provides a summary of the theoretical framework laid out by Massey that ties temporal notions to senses of place. This will not be fully developed in this chapter to avoid repetition.

quarterly magazine and other manifestos, Parkins and Craig state that the movement is a direct response to the ‘radically uneven and heterogeneous production of space and time in post-traditional societies’ (2006: 12). Parkins further demonstrates how the discourse revolves around the notion that ‘slow living [...] is more than moving slowly’ (2004: 377). Tam’s (2008) cultural reading of Slow Food similarly shows that ‘the “slow” of slow food [...] does not merely refer to speed or duration’ (2008: 213) but to a more ‘careful way of living’. Thus, ‘a meal that is slow is one that offers the opportunity to reflect’ (Ibid.: 214).

Rosa and Scheuerman (2009) maintain that contemporary society is undergoing an extraordinary ‘social acceleration’ driven in part by advances in information technology, an argument that Slow Food rearticulates through its oppositional stance to fast food and fast living. Virilio similarly believes that these developments are causing a fundamental dissolution of space and thus, of the human subject itself (see May and Thrift 2001: 9). This belief is echoed in the movement’s manifesto which states: ‘Homo sapiens must regain wisdom and liberate itself from the ‘velocity’ that is propelling it on the road to extinction’ (Slow Food website). Slow Food’s evocations of time are not limited to social time or speed. They expand to ‘interpretations of the past’ (Waitt 2000: 848). The Ark in this sense exemplifies Massey’s notion of place-making where ‘histories may still depend upon the same notion of tradition, on an assumption of continuity between past and present, where the only real form of change resides in the tragedy of loss’ (1995: 190).

This research takes heed of the significant body of work delineating the changes that have occurred in perceptions and experiences of time and how these in turn, have affected the nature of social organisations, power and politics (Hassan 2005). Specifically, the analysis of Slow Food’s articulations of time is rooted within the long tradition of social science theory

on time and temporality spanning multiple disciplines including sociology, anthropology and human geography (May and Thrift 2001). As Parkins (2004) argues, Slow Food's use of time as a quality points towards an alternative understanding which resembles Barbara Adam's (1995) 'temporal' form of time. Quoting Adam, she considers slow time as 'neither finite nor usable as a quantitative measure', advocating a need to 'de-alienate' time to better understand the 'multiple time dimensions of our lives' (Adam 1995: 54 in Parkins 2004: 369). In other words, Adam invites us to explore understandings of time – a lens through which to study Slow Food – beyond the abstract and linear frame advocated by the clock. Instead Adam advocates for an intimate and personal understanding, such as the different rhythms and temporalities of baking bread (explored in chapter 5).

In its focus on time, this research also addresses the dichotomisation of the food system between alternative and conventional, referred to in the first section. Slow Food's discourse establishes a new and evocative temporal dichotomy within the food system. Though some argue that Slow Food is a 'timely response to the unease created by the fast-paced way of living' (Tam 2008: 210), others suggest that the movement's linear and polarised understanding of time offers 'simplistic dichotomies, such as fast and slow food, [that] when subjected to the vagaries of time and place are much more complex than [...] originally thought' (Banwell et al. 2006: 238). According to Leitch, Slow Food strives to implode the more traditional dichotomisation of alternative/conventional through its temporal binary opposition:

slowness is employed ideologically in order to promote ... (an) idiosyncratic brand of "virtuous globalisation": a new figuring of cosmopolitanism that seeks to rupture binary oppositions – rural/metropolitan, local/global – reconfiguring the idea of locality as a kind of "ethical glocalism". (2012: 423)

This research underlines Slow Food's failure at an "ethical glocalism", demonstrating how the Ark's rhetoric reinforces a certain 'peasant essentialism' that pits traditional, local

farmers against global ‘modern’ food industries in chapter 6. This rhetorical opposition supports the food system dichotomisation, whether temporal or otherwise:

The binary of slow/fast in the launching manifesto of Slow Food constructs a homonym of associated values in which fast life lines up with homogeneity, infection and enslavement while slowness is associated with health, liberation and taste. (Parkins 2004: 363)

This research explicitly addresses the problematic and simplistic dichotomy that has surfaced in agro-food studies *and* in Slow Food. In so doing, it simultaneously furthers the geographies of time and temporalities (May and Thrift 2001) by mapping how the alternative geographies of food are shaped by temporal concerns, and qualities.

4- Heritagisation: re-valorisation or commodification?

This section underlines the interconnections between the three broad themes of this research: heritage, time and place. It argues that the heritagisation of food – and of goods in general – is a global phenomenon that invites scholarly scrutiny as it increasingly shapes the geographies of food. This section provides an overview of the research that has tied heritage to identity formation and to articulations of place, demonstrating that heritage plays a key role in the re-valorisation of marginalised communities and translocal actors. It then explores critiques of Slow Food’s commodification characteristics, situating these claims within the body of literature on heritage and its paired theme: nostalgia. Finally, it demonstrates how the study of small-scale translocal actors that constitute HFFIs contributes empirically to the study of place.

Heritage is an inherently spatial phenomenon (Kuutma 2009) whose articulation, tied to representation and identity, is fundamental to the study of cultural geography (further explored in the final section). Nonetheless, there is little information on the temporalities that

inform heritage foods or their effect on the senses of place they produce. Delving into the processes of the qualification of heritage food thus furthers the literature on place-making and on time, and provides the opportunity to study the ‘interface’ of the global and the local.

Heritage is likewise intensely related to locality – at global, national and local levels heritage is used to define a sense of place; it renders belonging there meaningful and provides it with a *diachronic* dimension. (*my emphasis*, Kuutma 2009: 6-10)

The notion of heritage – whether of food or other goods – is intrinsically linked to time.

Heritage acts as a guarantee of constancy, historical rootedness and order amidst continual change (Bessière 2013), and the day-to-day experiences of ‘placelessness’ (Massey 2005; Amin and Graham 1997). As Bonanno and Constance claim, the ‘spatial-temporal unity of the polity and the economy that characterized the earlier phases of capitalist development has been fractured’ (2001: 11). As a result, various heritage initiatives turn towards the past for a sense of unity. Slow Food in particular, inscribes itself in the ‘massive popular demand for nostalgic heritage’ (Waite 2000: 838). Problematically, the desire to preserve heritage goods – epitomised by the very name of the Ark of Taste (explored in chapter 5) – is part of a wider conservation effort that has attracted the attention and triggered the efforts of a ‘passionate, educated and generally influential minority’ since the 19th century (Graham et al. 2000: 14) as discussed in chapter 4.

Despite the wealth of research on heritage products, Tellström et al. warn that ‘studies skirt round an information “black hole” concerning the use of market research in choosing a food culture expression to ensure the best chance of economic success’ (2006: 132). More recently, a series of case-studies have problematised the process by which foods are designated, classified, and valorised in a particular culture’s heritage (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014; Stanford 2012; Finnis 2012; Counihan 2014; Grasseni 2014). The translation of a local, subsistence or traditional product into a globally recognised heritage food

necessitates the establishment of ‘global hierarchies of value’ (Herzfeld 2004). As heritage goods are increasingly in demand and produced, there is the scholarly need to understand how these hierarchies are established, disseminated and, at times, challenged. The study of heritage foods gives insights into the socio-political dynamics of alternative food making, underlining the fraught process by which a food is identified, constructed and disseminated as heritage. The following paragraphs further detail the benefits and the controversies identified with the construction of heritage foods.

In this research, the construction of heritage is referred to as the heritagisation of food, the process whereby ‘the concept of cultural/immaterial patrimony is being applied to local foods in diverse ways and market circuits’ (Grasseni 2011). Heritagisation is a means of economic and cultural revalorisation (Grasseni 2012; Bessi re 2013). Barham demonstrates how heritage-based initiatives, by protecting and celebrating the characteristics of particular places, are in effect efforts to ‘localize’ production within the framework of globalisation (Barham 2003). She states that concepts like terroir and heritage reflect ‘a conscious and active social construction of the present... to recover and revalorize elements of the rural past to be used in asserting a new vision of the rural future’ (2003: 131). Robins makes a similar argument by underlining its economic benefits: in ‘the most disadvantaged places, (where) heritage or the simulacrum of heritage, can be mobilized to gain competitive advantage in the race between places’ (1991: 58). According to Ray (1998: 3), the protection of agricultural heritage is specifically linked to place as it can be seen as ‘[an] attempt by rural areas to localize economic control’ by ‘increasingly adopting cultural markers as key resources in the pursuit of territorial development objectives... [and] revalorize[ing] place through its cultural identity’.

Through a symbolic and semantic shift, the heritagisation of food can help foods move from a marginal¹⁷ position to a more prominent one in global markets as well as in discourses and diets (Finnis 2012). Studies have shown how heritage foods are linked to identity formation (Bessière 1998; 2013), a means for addressing fears of food standardisation (Poulain 1997), food aesthetics and taste (Meneley 2004; Miele and Murdoch 2002), and artisanal food productions (Leitch 2003; Paxson 2005), used as a marketing tool by retailing institutions (Tellström et al. 2006), and by political and social movements such as Slow Food (Lotti 2010) that ‘seek to come to terms with desire and pleasure of consumption’ (Pietrykowski 2004: 319). As Anderson showed in his seminal work, discourses of culinary heritage provide the platform from which to construct the ‘imagined community’ of the nation-state (Anderson 1983). Articulating a group’s heritage as ‘universally valued’ is often a means of valorising that particular social group, and introducing it to the global community (Di Giovine 2009). As Slow Food typifies, however, this translation of the local into a global discourse is fraught with controversy.

Slow Food has the capacity to impact, distort or co-opt notions of tradition, heritage and authenticity in its commercialisation of local products on an international stage. This is disruptive to the very farmers and communities Slow Food seeks to support (Leitch 2000; 2003; Lotti 2010; MacDonald 2013). As Slow Food further establishes its Ark, an academic imperative presents itself to elucidate the impacts of this list. As Kuutma succinctly puts it,

Cultural heritage becomes real when someone identifies it as such, which denotes a process of knowledge production that involves academic research. The analysis of the identification and instrumentalisation process of cultural heritage requires a critical investigation of the making and social dissemination of scholarly knowledge in the context of cultural heritage research, of the mutual effects of cultural politics and academia. (2009: 7-8)

¹⁷ The term ‘marginal’ specifically refers to ‘distinct foods and culinary practices that have tended to be associated with peripheral or non-elite populations and cultural groups; these may include indigenous cultures, migrants, or local groups that have been, at least officially, subsumed by notions of one coherent, national, and dominant whole’ (Finnis 2012: 1).

The ease with which heritage foods are commodified is linked to a broader cultural trend whereby ‘Envisioning food as heritage becomes a way to *authenticate* and validate the existence and practices of a culture and becomes a way to *commodify* the culture itself’ (*my emphasis*, Castellanos and Bergstresser 2014: 202). Scholars have demonstrated at length how the Slow Food movement has incited the ‘commodification of tradition’ and ‘heritage’ (Leitch 2000; 2003; Lotti 2010; MacDonald 2013). Its appropriation of notions of the past for commercial ends¹⁸ have been seen to lead to the commodification of values – the ‘commodification of pastness’ (McIntosh and Richard 1999), ‘commodification of tradition’ (Leitch 2003) and the ‘commodification of authenticity’ (Chhabra 2010). In her study of Basque foods, Lotti (2010) shows that typical products are standardised as well as commoditised by being put in circulation on the international stage. Slow Food is meant to ‘revalue(s) specific foods, not simply as economic commodities, but as cultural artefacts linked to salient notions of the past’ (Leitch 2012: 420). In contrast to its stated aims, Lotti argues that Slow Food was responsible for the monetisation of the intangible aspects of Basque culture, heritage, and embeddedness rooted in these typical products (2010: 70).

Nostalgia, Bordi affirms, is ‘one of the reactions to the globalization process’ (2006: 97) and has fuelled the increase of HBFIs, such as Bread Matters and the pinole project. Leitch contends that Slow Food invites a nostalgia that ‘explores ways of inhabiting many places at once and imagining different time zones’ (2012: 423). Slow Food’s politics of place and the protection of ‘endangered’ food traditions have contributed to a nationalist nostalgia associated with the ‘commodification of authenticity’ (Mazel 2010). This type of nostalgia, Svetlana Boym asserts (2001), is reflective rather than restorative: it ‘dwells on the

¹⁸ Taking its cue from Goodman et al., this research considers ‘visions of “good food” and ideas of perfecting society’ perilous ones which necessitate further exploration: ‘once food politics is caught in the maze of competing definitions of the “real,” the “authentic,” or the “local” the game is already lost’ (2012: 5).

ambivalence of human longing and belonging, that does not avoid the contradictions of modernity' (2001). Leitch argues, similarly to Castellanos and Bergstresser (2014), that the movement's commodification of nostalgia is reflective of the 'global economy':

These increasing trends towards the objectification and commodification of rural and proletarian nostalgia can be seen as the ironic markers of a global economy concerned as much with the production of signs, memories, and images as it is with the production of distinct objects and commodities (Lash and Urry 1994; Baudrillard 1981). (2000: 105)

As numerous studies of the tourism industry have shown, the experiences marketed and consumed as heritage reflect only one partial and selective interpretation of the past produced by a variety of actors from planners, entrepreneurs, marketing agents to interpretative guides (Goss 1993; Selwyn 1990; 1992). With respect to food, Brulotte and Di Giovine state that 'the so-called "heritage industry" (Hewison 1987) has been accused of commodifying, museumifying, and commercializing cultures and their material expressions since the inception of scholarly writing on the subject (e.g. Lowenthal 1998)' (2014: 2). The increasing use of heritage as a cultural expression blurs the capacity to distinguish between the commercial and the cultural in their influence on economic growth (Smart 2003; Quan and Wang 2004). The subtle and at times seemingly paradoxical relations between the economic and cultural aspect of heritagisation are explored in chapter 6 and 7, revealing the contemporary commercialisation of traditions (Hobsbawm 1983).

Having developed into an 'international actor for the global promotion of the local' (Sassetelli 2007: 183), Slow Food exemplifies how the translation of local foods into global heritage can impact the identity, and articulations of place of various communities as detailed in chapter 5 and 6. A product of various and, at times, disjointed interpretations (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), heritage is a social construction that is spearheaded by the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006) which can obfuscate other actors' voices. What are the

processes that lead to the articulation of food as heritage if, as Bendix demonstrates (2000), the notion of heritage has the capacity to ‘overshadow the complexities of history and politics in its program to construct or sustain a status or a group, or equip particular objects or expressive forms with political resonance’ (Kuutma 2009: 6)? By investigating who classifies, appropriates, commodifies and valorises foods as heritage, this research underlines the different kinds of power relationships between those involved in the Ark’s heritagisation.

The heritagisation of food is a process of qualification that is used by a variety of actors to pursue different aims. Many forms of quality food production and consumption are ‘built around the development of notions of quality by retailers as a means of segmenting markets and increasing market share’ (Winter 2003: 25). Shedding light on the actors who first initiate the process of heritagisation, the innovators and founders of HBFIs, both elucidates how foods are articulated as heritage commodities, and who benefits or is penalised by their marketisation. This research answers Tregear et al.’s call for research in ‘examining which actors get involved in qualification and what strategies are pursued’ as the ‘socio-economic context (as described by Requier-Desjardins et al. 2003) is acknowledged as playing an important role’ (2007: 14). Despite having been studied at length, the study of *quality* foods still divides scholars: do they offer solutions to the ills of the food system or are they a tool for the commodification, commercialisation and marketisation of foods and their producers? The current investigation, that delves into the entrepreneurial visions of the founders of HBFIs, seeks to underline how heritagisation is also a tool of innovation within the food system.

5- Conclusions

To recapitulate, this research adopts a discursive approach to the study of heritage foods in an effort to further the debates in agro-food studies on the value, meaning and impact of quality foods. In so doing, it inscribes itself within the cultural economy tradition, integrating multiple facets of food in its analysis. The study of heritage foods will reveal how constructions of place are co-constitutive with those of time, enmeshing temporal notions with spatial ones. As a movement explicitly qualifying foods in reference to time, Slow Food provides a singularly adequate platform from which to study place-making, quality foods, articulations of the global and the local, and the validity of alternative food movements and networks. It also sheds light on the role of discarded translocal actors in the shaping of alternative geographies of food. Throughout, this study reveals the ways in which these actors may benefit or be constrained by the process of heritagisation that translate local foods in global heritage commodities.

Chapter 3- Methodology

This chapter outlines the general methodological principles underlying my research, and the co-evolution of my ideas, methods, and fieldwork. I begin by detailing the concerns that arose as I engaged with my topic, and which informed my stance in the field. I then provide an extended justification (also outlined in the introduction) for my choice of case-studies and the limitations they pose. I sketch out the ethnographic tools and considerations that shaped my fieldwork and data collection. I then discuss the interviews I conducted and my method of analysis and interpretation. I then show how my reading provided the basis for my research questions, and how I adopted a grounded theory (GT) approach intermeshed with discourse analysis to explore these questions further. I conclude this chapter with a review of the methodological limitations I faced, and reflections on experiencing ‘place’, not just as the focal point of my study, but as a researcher who was herself far from home. To avoid repeating content from the analytical chapters which follow, I have included a table summarising the methods, activities and analytical considerations deployed.

1- First step: taking a stance

Planning research is an exercise in knowledge production. From the onset, I tried to balance the ontological stance of ‘investigator as an instrument’ (McCracken 1988) with that of the researcher as ‘an amateur of reality’ (Mol 2010) whose aim is *not* to uncover ‘deep-seated hidden truths’ (Stoller and Olkes 1989: 29). Throughout my study, I was increasingly aware of the ‘complexity of the world, which does not wait outside and does not remain equal to itself’ (Latour and Stengers 1997: xi). I borrowed the principles of the radical empiricist:

questions and concerns that emerged from engaging with AFN literature were inescapably at risk of being redefined by the data mobilised in my research process (Ibid.: xv). I adopted an interactive deployment of multiple methodologies (Lorimer 2006), deliberately tailored to foster different and unexpected interactions and interventions. I emphasised relevant and responsive research practices, open to experimentation, novel questioning and concept development (ibid.).

Counter to more conventional or positivist ways of conducting research, my radical empirical approach avoided generating concepts and questions as though they existed independently of – or prior to – encounters with the objects and subjects of my research, a stance which was facilitated by my GT approach. I investigated my topic using an inductive approach, fostering the development of theory from experiential accounts rather than testing hypotheses, and sought novel engagements with constructions of place by considering temporal concepts in food.

2- Second step: reading

I began my research in January 2012. As with most investigations, my first step was to read widely. I selected texts related to the overarching themes in agro-food studies that pertain to my topic, as outlined in the literature review. Though this appears a straightforward activity, it generally includes an indiscriminate phase during which the researcher is unsure which texts may be relevant. I thus endorsed Latour's views that: 'texts are a little bit less and a good deal more than information and document (...) They are localised events, with their own matter and their own practice' (1993: 129).

I read and ‘re-read’ material throughout my research in an effort that ‘emphasises multiple meanings and also the multiple re/readings that arise from different reading contexts, scepticism about the truth-claims of much ‘primary’ or ‘empirical’ research, and a critical revisionist approach to existing texts’ (Dampier 2008: 11). Throughout my reading, I strived to remain aware of my own positionality regarding the texts and their authors’ intentionality, as well as the context that ‘shapes the readerly responses to the text’ (Ibid.: 12) in which knowledge claims were produced. Based on this extensive reading and initial fieldwork I devised the research questions discussed in the introduction.

This first phase of the research determined my primary method of investigation: ethnography. When thinking about ‘quality’ food networks, the discursive ‘qualities’ of food are always bound up with material relations (see Goodman 2003; Mansfield 2003; Stassart and Whatmore 2003). Previous ethnographic work on Slow Food provided me with a template. Miele and Murdoch (2002) use participant observation (‘including visits... as paying customers’) at a Tuscan restaurant to examine the aesthetic sensibilities informing Slow Food and its human/environment relations. MacDonald’s discourse analysis of the *Cheese!* Festival (a Slow Food event) assesses the effects of the movement’s qualification requirements on modes of production of Bulgarian blue cheese and Somerset cheddar cheese (2013). Leitch demonstrates through her own ethnographic work on Colonnata lard in Italy how the foodstuff’s transformation into heritage promoted by Slow Food made it a ‘new symbol of a national and international movement around the politics of food production and consumption in the new Europe’ (2003: 448). In her ethnographic study of Basque foods, Lotti suggests that Slow Food was responsible for the monetisation of the intangible aspects of Basque culture, heritage, and embeddedness rooted in these typical products (Lotti 2010: 70).

Other studies established that texts written by and about the movement play an influential role in the development of Slow Food practices and initiatives (see Parkins 2004; Frost and Laing 2013; van Bommel and Spicer 2011). My research locates itself within this body of qualitative studies. Although my work intersects with a study of processes of commodification and the political economy of AFNs, which invite quantitative engagement, the approach used is qualitative. My primary concern in this research was to underline the effect of temporal notions on place-making and the shaping of alternative geographies of food. More importantly, it aimed to give voice (see chapter 2), to discarded actors within AFNs, and GPNs more broadly, namely to small-scale food producers and translocal actors, and to generate qualitative data which would help elucidate their roles in the creation of alternative geographies of food.

My research was also supplemented by grey literature. This grey literature included the official websites of Blue Corn Alianza and Bread Matters, the Facebook pages of Amigos de Ozolco as well as the pinole project's promotional brochures, journal articles (predominantly from Philadelphia Weekly) reports released by Save the Children as well as by Mexican and Scottish census records. The latter informed the analytical chapters that depict Ozolco's plight as a village hollowed out by migration and that had only recently been undertaken a wave of modernisation (detailed in Chapters 6 and 7). Much information gathered on Ozolco came from sources that could not be - or were not – verifiable or legitimate (such as Facebook pages and brochures) and were thus excluded from the analysis.

3- Third step: ethnographic considerations

My qualitative investigation was designed as an ethnography. My rationale for this choice was twofold. First, I chose ethnography on ethical grounds as:

not only gaining knowledge but also empathy and care for unknown others whose lives are bound into the food we buy and eat, then we *have* to do more ethnography because its core methodology – participant observation – is explicitly intended to enable researchers to ‘empathetically consider the perspective[s] of the people one is working with’. (Miller 2001: 231 in Cook et al. 2006: 660)

Second, ethnography is particularly well suited to my investigation into the creation of HBFI as it facilitates an understanding of the ‘making and shaping of things’, focusing on ‘mediated practices of production and consumption’ (Pratt 2004: 125). My research questions demanded an investigation that delved into the lives and beliefs of participants, striving to grasp particular understandings of time as they related to food and collecting stories of ‘the past’. Ethnography ‘provid[es] nonreplicable insight into the processes and meanings that sustain and motivate social groups’ (Herbert 2000: 550). It lends itself to the endeavour of ‘exploring the tissue of everyday life’, essential in a study of heritage foods. It enables the harnessing of a ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973) as an approach grounded in everyday cultural practices and social discourses (Denzin 1997; Whatmore 2003).

During my study I tried to adopt or follow my participants’ habits, striving to apprehend, as far as I could, their mode of being in the world (Ingold 2000). This involved comprehending their knowledges, sensations and concerns, in order to gain insight into the non-verbal dimensions of their social lives (Mears 2013). Participant observation is a corporeal process (Ingold 2000; Mears 2013). As an ethnographer, I endeavoured to be affected by events and encounters, attempting to adopt participants’ physical stances, routines, appetites, and modes of sensory perception (Wacquant 2004; 2011), and joining their activities (Bernard 2006; Falzon 2009). I attempted to articulate these as closely as possible to my participants’ own

experience, effectively transforming my body into a research instrument (Longhurst et al. 2008; Wacquant 2011) and effectuating a translation from world to text (Amit 2000; Crang and Cook 2007; Latour 1999), and to experience first hand what the ‘slow’ production of food meant.

Participant observation fosters a certain familiarity with a particular group of individuals and their practices (Malinowski 1922; Price 2000). In my research, this demanded an extended immersion with people in their ‘natural environment’, following their day-to-day chores and activities, learning about the modes of production involved in the making of pinole and ‘real bread’. This research into the practices of production methods was partly inspired by non-representational geography methodologies (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; 2010a; 2010b). As explored at length in chapter 5, I based my analysis of ‘real bread’ on participant observation of a workshop led by Bread Matters to access modes of sensory engagement with making ‘real bread’. Such modes are resistant to textualisation (Stoller 1997; Crang 2003; Lorimer 2008a), and my aim was to translate ‘something into words that [...] [previously] did not exist in language’ (Hirschauer 2006: 414). This practical experience enabled me to engage with the corporeality of ‘real bread’ and sense the ‘dynamics of fleshy embodiment’ (Irigaray 2004: 74). This approach was heavily influenced by previous studies of more-than-human geographers who argue that ‘learning to be surprised at the capacities, and properties, of different materialities’ is key to participant observation (Anderson et al. 2006: 15 in Richardson-Ngwenda 2014: 195).



Figure 6: The making of ‘real bread’

4- Fourth step: designing initial fieldwork

4.1 London internship

My initial fieldwork was intended to generate data and to create contacts: ‘a first step in any ethnography, it is important to develop early contacts in the organisation/industry/community/area in which you are interested’ (Cook and Crang 1995: 3). My priority was to get first hand experience of the qualification procedure for the Ark of Taste within Slow Food, and compare it to the literature on ‘slow’ quality and qualification.

In a second phase, I sought to interview producers associated with Slow Food at the movement's international bi-annual event, Terra Madre. I would then contrast the movement's official standards and procedures (observed during my first fieldwork) with the individual experience and activities of producers. Analysis would begin alongside the first fieldwork as, in GT, 'analysis is necessary from the start because it is used to direct the next interview and observations' (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 6).

Constrained by time and finances, I volunteered for a three-week internship at Slow Food UK headquarters in London, during which I was responsible for finding and selecting British foods that could be added to "Forgotten Foods", the UK's own Ark of Taste.



Figure 7: Slow Food UK's Ark of Taste 'Forgotten Foods' (UK Slow Food website)

As a participant observer, I sought to integrate not only the informal, chaotic, and small world of interns, assistants, volunteers and full-time employees at the headquarters, I also participated in the wider activities of Slow Food International by helping to organise events in London and the Terra Madre event in Turin, Italy, later that year. This internship provided unexpected and welcome encounters, such as a meeting with Carlo Petrini, the founder of Slow Food, whom I interviewed during his presentation at the Oxford Literary Festival in 2012, and with Piedro Sardo, the President of the Ark of Taste International at Terra Madre.

The internship exposed me to the surprisingly opaque procedure by which Ark foods are listed. Though an intern and a foreigner, I was solely responsible for the selection of foods that represented quintessential British gastronomy. There were no pre-existing lists, so my research began online, and I selected three items after a multitude of phone interviews with producers across the UK. I drafted applications for peasemeal, Saltcote Pippin (a variety of apple), and Einkorn flour, the last of which I discuss at length in chapter 5.

The internship highlighted a discrepancy between the claims and practices of the Slow Food qualification procedures. Although they were supposed to be representative of British gastronomy, the Ark foods I selected had not been approved or overseen by anyone at the UK headquarters. My experience identifying, selecting and narrating foods I had not encountered or tasted broadened my understanding of the organisation and validated my enquiry as I had observed first-hand the gap between Slow Food's discourse and its practices.

4.2 Terra Madre 2012

Six months after my internship, I travelled to Turin, Italy, to participate in Terra Madre. At this international biannual event, small-scale farmers congregate for discussion, knowledge exchange and to explore possible partnerships. Representatives of Slow Food projects are invited to showcase their products as examples of their home country's culinary heritage and sustainable production, including many products listed under the Ark. My intention was to meet as many producers as possible and gather their perceptions of the qualification methods for Slow Food, contrasting their views with my findings from London. Espousing Joseph Jaworski's belief that the 'most important hour of an interview is the hour before the interview' (1996), I pre-prepared the questions I sought to ask during the event (listed in Appendix B).

During this five-day event I first encountered the producers of the heritage foods I would later focus on. Amongst others, I met the Slow Food leader of Mesoamerica, and of Slow Food Scotland, as well as the leader of Amigos de Ozolco at the time, and the founder of Bread Matters. These individuals became key informants during my subsequent fieldwork in Scotland, Mexico and Philadelphia. However, the tumultuous and exhausting event of Terra Madre (and the Salone del Gusto)¹⁹ also shifted my focus significantly. Despite careful planning, my research *in situ* proved an exercise in ‘felt-sensing’ (Bacon 1979): intuitions, senses and emotions demanded attention and negotiation as I was immersed in – and exposed to – fieldwork. I talked to 48 individuals in a series of semi-structured and informal interviews (listed in Appendix C). However, most of my interviews were limited by participants’ busy schedule or obligations to clients.

5- Fifth step: rationale for selecting case-studies

I endorse Whatmore’s view that research events are embedded in specific contexts and localities that *participate* in the production of ideas and research materials (Whatmore 2003: 96), ultimately affecting the researcher’s planning. Accordingly, I designed my research as a comparative study of different food projects associated with Slow Food (the organisation does not make its own food but promotes that of others) to provide a textured analysis of a broad range of actors from disparate locations. I thus devised my research as an explorative enterprise that embraced a ‘grounded theory’ approach (GT), which facilitated the adoption of the ontological viewpoint that *there are many truths* illustrating – and conflicting in –

¹⁹ The world’s largest food and wine fair organized by Slow Food every two years in Turin aimed at showcasing Italian products

reality, whilst simultaneously enabling an epistemological immersion into the reality of my field.

GT is extensively used in health-related studies and to a lesser extent, in consumer behaviour and marketing (Goulding 2002), but rarely in agro-food studies and the study of alternative geographies of food, which has often adopted a non-representational, actor-network theory approach (Whatmore 2003), or a feminist/ gender-focused approach (Little and Austin 1996; Probyn 2000). However, GT is particularly suitable for an investigation of understandings of temporal qualities as it lends itself to capturing complexities of interactions (such as food production, and qualification), and helps to build a multifaceted account of perceptions in their context (Locke 2001). My research encompassed largely ignored factors within food networks, such as transmigrants and HBFI leaders; thus GT provided a ‘secure base in a field that is not well established’ (Povey 2006: 147).

At this stage I had yet to determine which food projects I would investigate. GT gave me the freedom to interpret data throughout my research and guide further interventions in the field: initial fieldwork would help me determine *where* and with *whom* I would carry out my investigation. To paraphrase Povey, a grounded approach encourages and supports ingenuity in research by necessitating the researcher to apply theoretical sensitivity whilst conducting diverse analysis (2006: 147).²⁰ As a consequence, I started analysing data as soon as I collected it, allowing my research design to remain flexible. Indeed, ‘(T)he research process itself guides the researcher toward examining all of the possibly rewarding avenues to understanding’ (Latour in Stengers 1997: xi).

²⁰ Well-suited for narratives of sensory experiences such as taste, GT represents an ‘inductive approach, used to allow theory to emerge from the experiential accounts of those responsible for production and marketing of regional food products (Povey 2006: 147).

My participant observation at Terra Madre first drew me to Bread Matters and Amigos de Ozolco (later I learned that the latter was partnered with Alianza, forming the pinole project). The two HBFIs showcased ‘real breads’ and pinole at their respective stalls. Both initiatives had started less than a decade ago, and both stressed the importance of preserving heritage seeds. Despite their relative obscurity, Amigos and Bread Matters spoke to broader culinary trends, epitomising, respectively, the mounting interest in Mexican culinary heritage, and the bread renaissance underway in the UK. Together, they provided the basis for an enriching analysis of heritage food initiatives from both the global North and the global South.

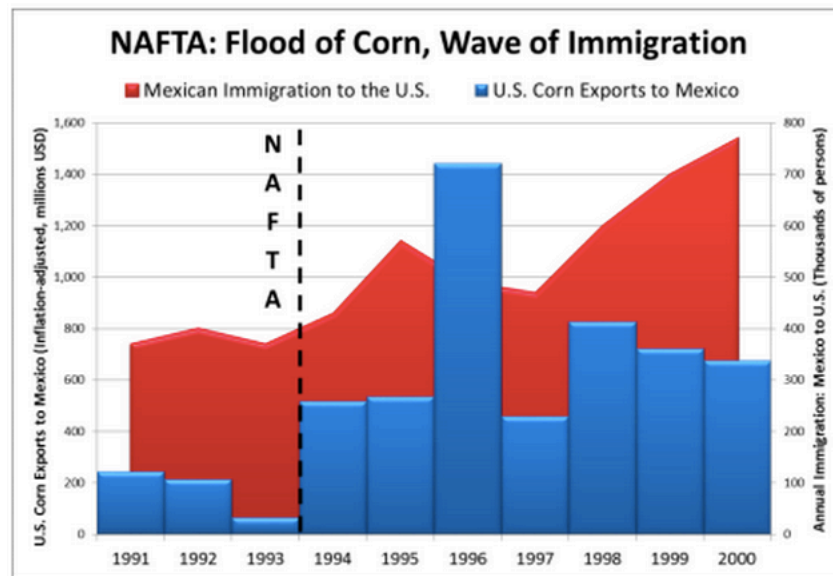
This choice of case-studies sought to underline the regional differences in understandings of place that emerge within the Slow Food network. The movement largely epitomises European AFNs: its discourse is ‘wrapped up in questions of moral economies and with the imagination of Europe’s future as much as its past’ (MacDonald 2013: 30). Through an investigation of HBFIs in the UK, Scotland in particular, and in Mexico (whose networks extends to the US), my research was designed to map the alternative geographies of food (Whatmore and Thorne 1997; Maye et al. 2007). The socio-historical contexts from which both projects emerged provided a fruitful platform from which to discuss broader aspects and concerns of the food system. There are four areas in which an enriching comparison of the two case-studies can be made: history of colonialism, notion of typicality and of heritage and finally, and current patterns of consumption. I detail below the contextual settings in which this research inscribes itself, from the broad historical context down to the specificities of corn and bread making.

5.1 History of colonialism

The heritagisation of food emerges as a strategy shared by small-scale producers of ‘real bread’ and pinole to re-affirm ‘the past’ and gain an economic footing in an increasingly competitive, centralised, and industrial market. Their marginalisation is rooted in a shared history of colonisation and recent policy changes that have altered their agricultural sectors, diets and economies, as well as notions of the rural past.

At the turn of the last century, the Mexican revolution caused a great displacement of farmers and re-allocation of land, disrupting the country’s agriculture²¹ (Pilcher 1998; 2012b). Land was initially divided into *ejidos*, communal agricultural land shared into parcels and farmed by individuals within a community. The implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and further legislation aimed at neoliberal economic restructuring, enabled the privatisation as well as sale of ejidos (Yetman 2000). As a result, ejidal productivity decreased and contributed to increasing rural poverty, and migration (see Figure 8).

²¹ Mexican elites disseminated the ‘tortilla discourse’, which claimed that maize was inherently inferior to wheat, profoundly altering Mexicans’ diets and agriculture (Pilcher 1998; 2012b).



Source for corn exports: U.S. International Trade Commission, "Interactive Tariff and Trade Dataweb," 2013. Source for immigration: Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero – and Perhaps Less," Pew Research Center, April 23, 2012.

Figure 8: Effect of NAFTA on corn production and migration in Mexico (Public Citizens.org website)

It was also detrimental to national corn production and to small and medium-scale farmers (Henriques and Patel 2004; Hernandez-Lopez 2008). Mexico is now a net importer of maize and of food in general (Baviera and Bello 2009) and the second largest importer of corn in the world (see Figure 9). Though celebrated in Mexico, corn is perceived as an impediment to modernity and 'contradictory to the public goals' (Ibid.) by the government. According to the members of the pinole project, however, corn represents an Aztec legacy, a pre-Hispanic past that ought to be celebrated, a view echoed by the inscribing of Mexican gastronomy onto the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

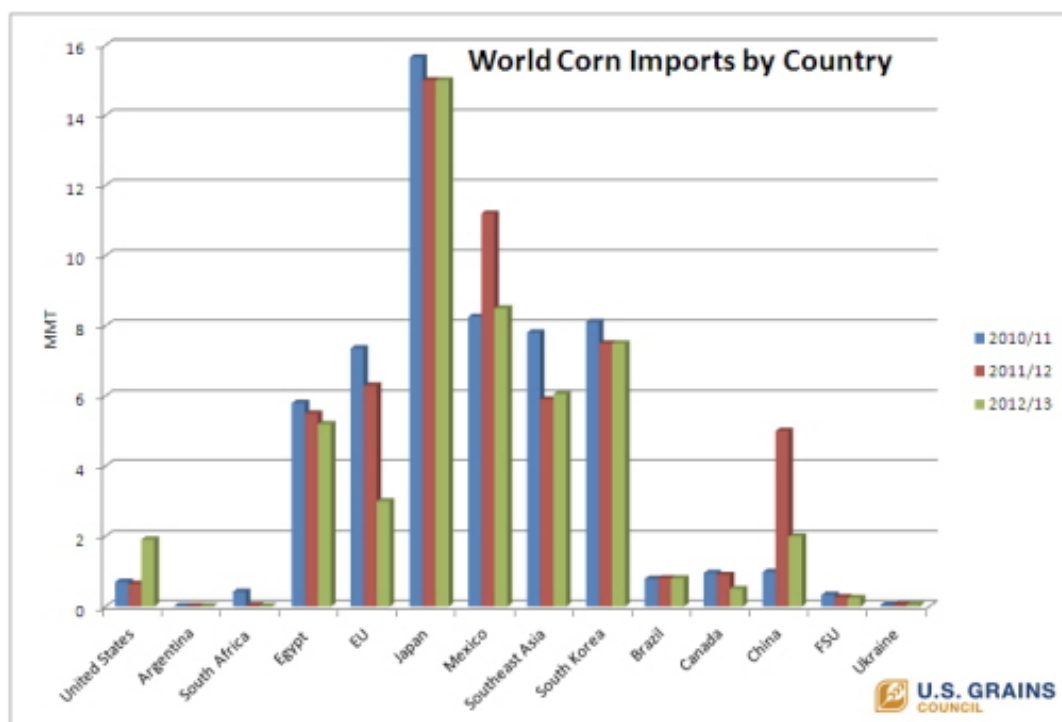


Figure 9: Corn Import by country (US Grain website)

The UK has similarly suffered from policies and governmental strategies, such as the ‘single market, the integrationalist ambitions of the EU, the protectionist ethos ... damaging effects of harmonisation, and the EU’s global ambitions’ which collectively undermined the democracy and autonomy of British agriculture (North 2001: 204). Scotland in particular had a history of community ownership under the clan system that was replaced by feudalism²², and eventually replaced by private ownership, greatly centralising resource control (Bryden and Geisler 2007). This effectively stripped most people in rural areas of their land (Wightman 2013). As a result, ‘burgh’ residents lost democratic oversight of the administration of their common-good lands (Ibid.) in a fashion reminiscent of Mexico’s removal of Corn tariff protection, public sector food aid and subsidies were removed. As Hernandez-Lopez states, ‘by ending state support for a product of nationalist significance

²² An early form of colonisation where the Crown took ultimate power over all land.

these political-economic and food culture changes pose challenges for Mexican democracy’ (2008: 575). Scotland now has the most unequal pattern of land distribution in Western Europe (Wightman 2013): two thirds of Scottish land is owned by approximately 1250 landowners, many of whom are absentee.

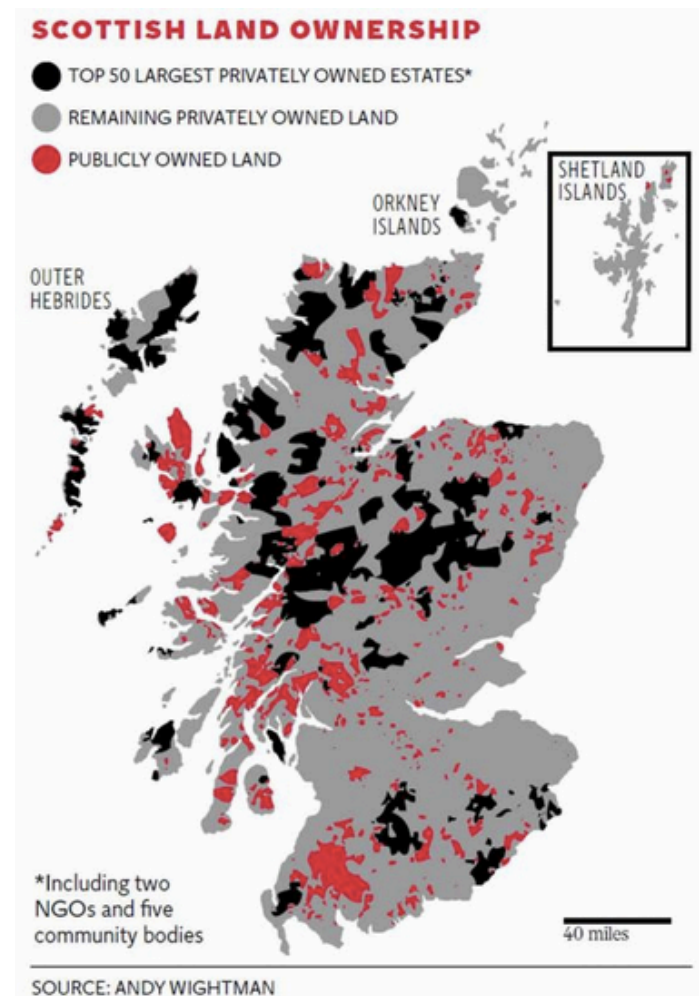


Figure 10: Distribution of landownership in Scotland (Wightman 2013)

5.2 Typicality

With increasing urban populations, and changes to their rural landscapes, both countries remain strongly attached to visions of rural ideals. Nostalgia for home-grown corn and hand-made tortillas in Mexico (Pilcher 1998) are reminiscent of the appeal of the land and

‘farmtowns’ of ‘Bonnie Scotland’ (Perman 2011) and hand-made bread. These are heavily defined in opposition to the ills of industrialised food production, strongly identified with processed bread made from the Chorleywood process.

As a country of ‘post-industrial supermarkets’, the UK has developed a concept of ‘typicality’ which evokes “‘elsewhere”, places far away in time and/or distance’ (Ceccarelli et al. 2013: 16). Typicality is inherently linked to notions of authenticity, heritage and tradition, denoting a ‘historical rooting [that] can even be completely re-invented’ (Ibid.: 19). The UK stands in contrast to other models in Europe which place greater emphasis on the historical and cultural traditions of the product and its place of provenance (see Ilbery and Kneafsey 1999). Through its association with Slow Food though, Bread Matters contributes to the re-localisation of the food system in an effort to re-establish a ‘Eurocentric rural imaginary and defend cultural identity against a US-dominated, corporate globalisation’ (Goodman et al. 2012: 12). By contrast, Mexico’s culinary heritage gained popularity, partly due to its inclusion in the UNESCO Intangible Heritage list (Fitting 2011; Stanford 2012; Baker 2012), and specifically, in relation to its regional and ‘peasant cuisine’ (Pilcher 2012a). The scholar Jeffrey Pilcher demonstrates how Mexican nationalists have centred their images of authenticity on the ancient Aztecs, with peasant cuisines from the global South celebrated in reaction to the McDonaldization of the food system (Pilcher 2012a: 4-12). Though typicality denotes different concepts in Mexico and the UK, in both countries typical foods stand in opposition to the image of industrial, ‘American’ (fast) food. Both HBFIs are rooted in a sentiment of anti-globalisation within the food system.

5.3 Heritage

Both initiatives were designed to counter the trend whereby small-scale farmers have been squeezed out of global markets (see chapter 4). As explored in chapter 5 and 7, ‘real bread’ and pinole both rely on notions of authenticity embedded in the past as a marketing strategy, typifying a trend identified by Ilbery and Maye (2005). They demonstrate how alternative food businesses have to ‘dip in’ and ‘dip out’ of ‘conventional’ supply chains because of the dominant structure of the agro-food whereby “‘alternative’ is fast becoming part of the mainstream such as in ‘British’ [food] culture’ (Belasco 2005: 223). Despite the strategic and economic use of the heritagisation of ‘real bread’ and pinole, both initiatives reflect how heritage can ‘become a place for projects, action and mobilisation (Davallon 2002)’ (Bessière 2013: 276). They stress the quality of production with an aim to identify new development pathways for the wider rural economy (Marsden et al. 2002; Goodman 2004). Heritagisation is purposefully implemented to address similar, chronic, issues in their respective food systems: health, obesity, and the centralisation and corporatisation of food production.

5.4 Consumption

Mexico has among the highest rates of adult obesity in the world and the UK has the largest population of obese adults in Europe (OECD 2014). The majority of Mexicans (in Mexico and in the US) eat processed tortillas (Pilcher 2012b), and over 80% of bread consumed in the UK is highly processed (Bakers Federation website). Supermarkets are the overwhelming points of sale for bread in the UK (See Figure 11).

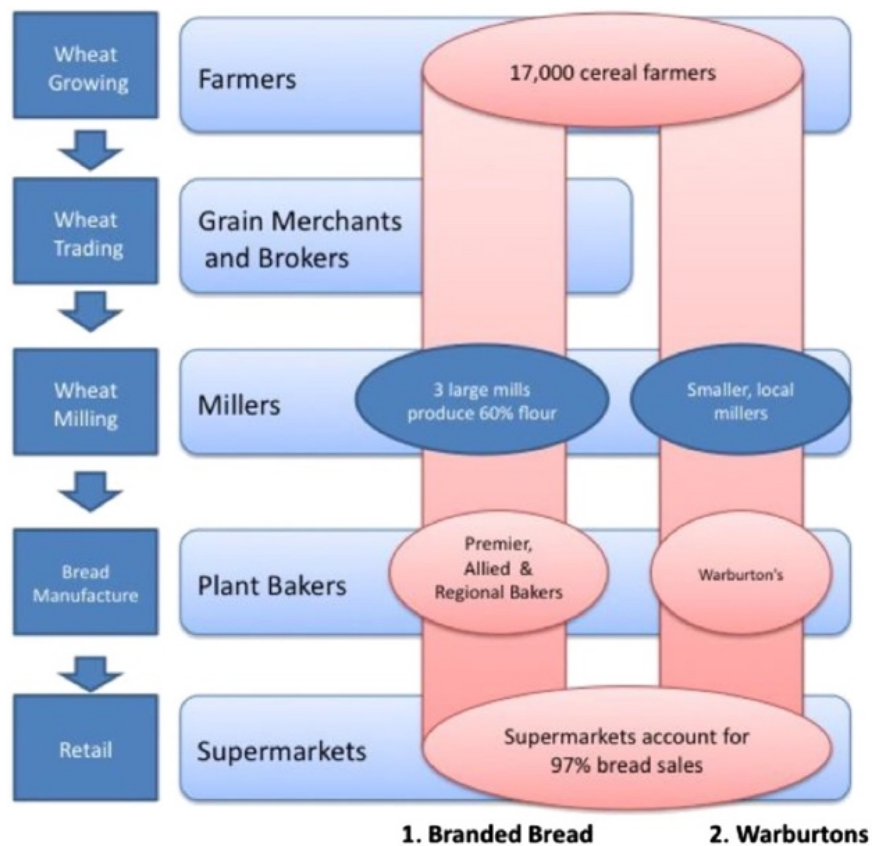


Figure 11: Schematic sector structure and supply chain in UK bread (Mylan et al. 2015)

This industrial production of staple foods in British and Mexican diets has also had wide social and economic impacts: it led to the foreclosure of most artisanal bakeries in the UK (Wightman 2013), and caused a mass migration of Mexican corn farmers to the US (Hernandez-Lopez 2008). These trends were identified by the founders as directly influencing their decisions to initiate their projects. Bread Matters and the pinole project celebrate the culinary heritage embedded in ‘real bread’ and pinole respectively, praising these foods as part of the solution to their nations’ poor health, and disrupted socioeconomic systems (mentioned in the introductory chapter). On their websites and in interviews conducted in Terra Madre, the initiatives and their members tied heritage foods to the broader social and cultural wellbeing of people, the food system and the land.

5.5 Limitations

Though sharing several socio-political and historical characteristics, Bread Matters and the pinole project also allowed a textured comparative analysis. The construction of (any) place is ‘based on the socio-geographical position of the groups which promote them’ (Massey 1995: 185). Correspondingly, these HBFIs differ significantly in their portrayal of their foodstuff vis-à-vis the daily struggles of producers. By sponsoring the Real Bread Revolution, Bread Matters personifies concerns related to time-space compression and a ‘lack of personal control, identity, choice, agency, risk, safety, governance, authority and access to true knowledge’ (Griffiths and Wallace 1998: 4), leading to a new era in British (food) culture: the ‘age of anxiety’ (Ibid.: 1). Bread Matters addresses the paucity of culinary skills in the UK, and what it perceives as the lack of gastronomic education of ‘real’ food. It caters mainly to middle-class and educated customers, as explored further in chapter 5.

The pinole project, on the other hand, addresses mounting concern surrounding Ozolco’s heavy migration drain to the US, one of the greatest in the world (Amavizca Ruiz et al. 2014). It celebrates the wealth of culinary skills and agricultural expertise ubiquitous within the traditional community of Ozolco, and is thus an example of ‘local hybridized models of the economy and the natural environment maintained by peasants and indigenous communities’ (Escobar 2001: 155).

The comparison between the HBFIs is further limited by their different status within Slow Food. Though pinole is on the Ark of Taste, ‘real bread’ is not. Bread Matters is listed as a supporter of Slow Food UK, and it encourages the use of the heritage seed Einkorn, which is listed on the Ark. The implications of these limitations are discussed in the concluding chapter.

6- Sixth step: fieldtrips to Scotland and Mexico

My dual French-American citizenship greatly facilitated the frequent and unexpected trips to Scotland, Mexico and the US required for this research, which became a multi-locale or multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995), ‘counterposing surfaces from different moments and places’ (Cook and Crang 1996: 150). To build on my rudimentary Spanish I incorporated language learning into my formal research ‘training’. Though my proficiency in Spanish allowed me to conduct day-to-day interactions, I hired a translator to translate interviews; this person became one of my ‘key informants rather than... neutral transmitters of messages’ (Temple and Young 2004: 170). My interviews in Spanish, unlike those in English, were always ‘hybrid, in-between forms of cultural understanding in which choices have been made about whether and how to hide or highlight the failures of fit between one language and another (Twyman et al. 1999)’ (Crang and Cook 2007: 10-11).

I designed my research as a series of fieldwork interventions around a ‘loose’ version of participant observation. During these fieldtrips, I shadowed the leaders, producers and other members of food projects to observe the ways participants thought of, understood, and ‘practiced’ time in food. My in-depth analysis of notions of temporal qualities such as ‘slow’, ‘traditional’, ‘of/from the past’ or even ‘real’ was aimed at provoking ‘moments of rupture in a cultural fabric that appears all too continuous’ (Willis 1991: 42). I also directly engaged in the preparation of pinole and ‘real bread’. The practical experience of making ‘real bread’ and pinole with producers allowed me to observe first hand the interaction between people and food as well as understand corporeally *what it was like* to be a producer of ‘slow’, ‘real’ and ‘heritage’ food. The challenge was to gather information on ‘time’, both as a discursive quality and as a practice, which led me to seek knowledge *in praxis, savoir-faire* whilst

witnessing *and* experiencing the importance of *enskillment* (discussed in chapter 5). The following table summarises my fieldtrips:

	Time	Location	Food organisation(s)
1	March-April 2012	London, UK	Slow Food UK
2	October 2012	Turin, Italy	Terra Madre
3	April 2013	Scotland, UK	Bread Matters
4	May 2013 (two trips)	Scotland, UK	Bread Matters
5	June 2013	Scotland, UK	Bread Matters (Fundamental Baking Course)
6	June 2013	Scotland, UK	Slow Food Scotland
7	August-November 2013	Puebla, Mexico	Amigos de Ozolco
8	May 2014	Philadelphia, USA	Blue Corn Alianza
9	May-July 2014	Puebla, Mexico	Amigos de Ozolco; Slow Food Mexico
10	June 2014	Philadelphia, USA	Blue Corn Alianza

Table 2: Fieldtrips (2012–2014)

Over the course of five field trips, I lived with bakers in Scotland for several days at a time (detailed in Table 2), taking extensive notes of my observations. I spent a week learning how to bake bread by volunteering with a community-owned bakery affiliated with Bread Matters, during which I gathered data. I contrasted my notes to those collected on another fieldtrip during a Bread Matters baking course. During these fieldtrips I sought to understand how time played an essential role in (‘slow’) baking and the motivations behind the creation of Bread Matters.

I spent an aggregate of five months in Mexico and two weeks in Philadelphia, US. During my first fieldtrip, I was hosted by a three-generational farming family in the village of Ozolco for three months. I shadowed family members as they went about their daily activities to the *campo* (farm), helping with the cultivation of corn and other vegetables. I learned to make

tortillas from scratch and cook them by hand – regularly burning myself – on the traditional flat griddle (*comal*). My first fieldwork in Mexico was designed to understand the significance (blue) corn had in the daily lives of farmers.

During my second fieldtrip, I shadowed Alfonso Rocha Robles, the Consejero Internacional de Slow Food México y Centroamérica through the first Ark of Taste Mexico meeting in Puebla and on several excursions to Slow Food Presidia around the region. I also spent several days in the Amigos workshop, learning to make pinole, paying close attention both to the methods involved in production, and the stories producers told of the foodstuff.



Figure 12: Amigos de Ozolco workshop

During each fieldtrip, I set up interviews that I would record and then transcribe. Despite careful planning, however, I discovered that ‘real research is often confusing, messy, intensely frustrating, and fundamentally non-linear’ (Marshall and Rossman 1989: 21). The greatest limitations on my research were my interviewees’ or respondents’ restricted

availability. Bread Matters continuously ran classes and housed volunteers, limiting time available to answer questions. In Mexico, most of my respondents were farmers who juggled working in the field, family life, secondary jobs, and the pinole workshop. In the US, all my respondents worked in the restaurant industry at trying jobs.

7- Seventh step: interview planning

During each fieldtrip, I carried out several semi-structured and in-depth interviews. As Denzin states, ‘Doing interviews is a privilege granted us, not a right that we have’ (2001: 24). I held to the contention that subjects are active agents, who construct meanings and identities for themselves (Silverman 1998). Through the interviews, a dual construction emerged, in which my participants’ voices were heard and I became the ‘tasteful fieldworker’²³ or the ‘I’ of the reporting, ‘active listener’ of the experience and narratives of heritage food (Stoller and Olkes 1989).

My priority during interviews was to elucidate the stories of heritage foods by focusing on the role of time (referencing the past, production methods etc.), and of *how* and *why* interviewees decided to initiate, participate in or desist from their food project (a list of questions is provided in Appendix D). Most interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two and half hours. Each interview underwent a series of translations²⁴ as both verbal and body language were rendered into text through transcription and note-taking (Whatmore 2003): ‘(T)he interview is a way of writing the world, a way of bringing the world into play’ (Denzin 2001: 25).

²³ The ‘tasteful fieldworker’ is one who will ‘describe with literary vividness the smells, tastes and textures of the land, the people, and the food’ and not search for ‘deep-seated hidden truths’ (Stoller and Olkes 1989: 29).

²⁴ With face-to-face encounters, the flow and immediacy of the interaction point to the “co-presence” (Crang 2002: 651) as well as the co-construction of field knowledge (Crang 2002; Thrift 2003b).

Before each interview, I asked interviewee(s) if they agreed to be recorded and be quoted in my research (a copy of the consent form is provided in Appendix E). Some interviewees wished to remain anonymous while others explicitly asked to be named. I recorded the majority of the interviews, and took notes for those who refused to be recorded or when the context did not permit recording (such as during family meals or while working in the field).

I devised long interviews to understand in greater depth the motivations of HBFI members, how they constructed the past and other temporal notions in food, and how they conceived of Scotland/Ozolco as places. I sought to understand respondents in their own terms: ‘every interview text selectively and unsystematically reconstructs that world, tells and performs a story accordingly to its own version of narrative logic’ (Denzin 2001: 25). Each of these long interviews commenced by inviting the interviewee to discuss their life story, starting with their childhood and/or the influences of their family. In an effort to ‘step into their shoes’, I engaged in ‘reflective listening’. As discussed in chapter 4, I focused on the personal history of founders and leaders of food projects. In McCracken’s words,

(T)he long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory. For certain descriptive and analytical purposes, no instrument of enquiry is more revealing. The method can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world. It can also take us into the lifeworld of the individual, to see the content and pattern of daily experience. The long interview gives us the opportunity to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves. (McCracken 1988)

I conducted interviews with 48 interviewees in total (Appendix C), some were interviewed multiple times. Three-quarters of the participants were recruited using the snowball method, starting from my own personal contacts in Terra Madre (see Table 3). Due to the snowballing exercise, and the preponderance of male actors in AFNs, respondents were predominantly male and aged 30–50 years, however I did attempt rectify this bias and interview as many women as possible. Interviews varied: some were much more or less formal than others,

depending on the position, availability or attitude of the interviewee. Interviews took place in cafes, in kitchens, offices, or involved ‘talking whilst walking’ (Anderson 2004), driving or preparing pinole or bread. This required a certain amount of adaptability on my part.

Interviewee Affiliation	Location	Number of Interviewees
Slow Food, UK	London, Scotland (UK)	2
Slow Food, Mexico	Puebla (Mexico)	2
Slow Food International	Turin (Italy)	7
Bread Matters	Scotland	13
Amigos de Ozolco	Ozolco (Mexico)	8
Blue Corn Alianza	Philadelphia (USA)	5
Other	London, Scotland, Mexico, USA	11

Table 3: List of Interviewees

8- Eighth step: dual analytical approach

8.1 Grounded Theory

The aim of GT is to discover concepts grounded in data as I sought to examine how the very notion of time affected constructions of place in food. Time has been little studied in the alternative geographies of food. GT offered a platform to study and generate theory from the range of my participants’ experience (Starks and Trinidad 2007).

I began analysing data as it accumulated. As Locke has suggested (2001), the first step of the analytical process in GT is to break down narratives generated during interviews to foster reflection and develop explanatory theories of basic social processes studied in context (Starks and Trinidad 2007). Memos were generated and coded by sorting them into categories based on initial ideas and common or contradictory viewpoints. The transcribed interviews were both read as whole and analysed through a three-step process using

categorisation, coding and evaluation. This approach sought to transcribe faithfully the reality of subjects' perceptions and experiences (Guba and Lincoln 1994). GT enabled me to undertake detailed and systematic analysis of field data with the intent of building context-specific theory around my key themes – explored in the analytical chapters – as well as an understanding of the phenomena (Henwood 1996) recorded.

8.2 Discourse Analysis

Alongside GT, I performed discourse analysis on my data, enabling me to identify the knowledge and meanings produced through the interaction of multiple narratives and discourses, and tying my research to the exploration of identities and activities in producing heritage foods. By combining these methodologies, my research furthered pre-existing literature on alternative food geographies whilst simultaneously reorienting the conversation towards the little examined concept of time. In other words, I could study the *process* by which heritage foods are qualified in reference to temporal notions and its interrelated *construction* of place.

As discussed in chapter 2, discourse analysis can elucidate the translocal nature of networks whilst addressing gaps identified within 'material geographies' (Goodman 2015), and 'food studies' (MacDonald 2013). For an investigation into the narratives of different actors in the construction of place, I adopted a functional approach to discourse analysis, focusing on the role that narratives play in the construction of reality and the meanings that emerge from these narratives, and that are shared (Bruner 1991). This approach was partially inspired by the work of the German sociologist Reiner Keller, who combines Foucault's discourse theory with theories of the sociology of knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 1966), understanding the 'sense of reality in everyday life' as the product of routinised interaction (Keller 2011).

My aim was to examine how my participants' stories (in terms of both their narratives and discourse), and the organisations they identified with, shape and reflect dynamic cultural, social, and political practices (Hayakawa and Hayakawa 1991; Gee 2005). In so doing, my research could shed light of 'the creation and maintenance of social norms, the construction of personal and group identities, and the negotiation of social and political interaction' (Staks and Trinidad 2007: 1374).

8.3 Interpretation

The interpretation process was the construction of a coherent story from the perspective of my research questions (Riessman 1993). This was an iterative and inductive process, involving decontextualisation and recontextualisation (Ayres et al. 2003; Morse and Field 1995). In the first instance, I separated the data from its original context, and assigned codes to units of meaning. In the process of recontextualisation, I examined the codes for patterns and overarching themes which I then used to organise the data around central themes (Staks and Trinidad 2007: 1375).

8.4 Coding

Coding my transcripts was a lengthy process, demanding constant revision and re-organisation. My codes were taken from outside the data but also emerged from the data. Coding within the GT framework differs from the coding phase for discourse analysis. For GT, coding and analysing occurs in three stages:

open coding (examining, comparing, conceptualising, and categorizing data); axial coding (reassembling data into groupings based on relationships and patterns within and among the categories identified in the data); and selective coding (identifying and

describing the central phenomenon, or “core category,” in the data) (Dey 1999; Strauss and Corbin 1998). (Staks and Trinidad 2007: 1376)

With respect to discourse analysis, themes and roles were identified through their use in the participant’s or organisation’s discourse. Using Gee’s ‘building tasks’: significance, activities, identities, relationships, politics, connections, and sign systems and knowledge (2005), I mapped the various meanings and roles that place and heritage held for each participant and organisation and how they were negotiated and related to identity and knowledge. In other words, discourse analysis enabled me to explore *the differences of meanings of place* in the heritagisation of food.

After each interview, I replayed recordings, read transcripts, and re-read field notes, identifying or referring to common themes of concern and patterns that then formed categories. As my data was text-based (diaries, focus-group sessions and transcripts) and included both self-generated and pre-existing documents, I used a three-step coding system (Clifford et al. 2010):

1. Defining first-level descriptive codes
2. Developing second-level analytical codes
3. Coding along a particular theme or concept

The final themes emerged from ongoing engagement with people and texts that tied my thesis to the broader literature. Each interview transcript was revised to tease out recurring themes pertinent to each analytical chapter. I grouped my codes (subthemes) into overarching five labels (themes) as shown in Table 4.

Labels	Codes	Analytical chapters
Commodification	Commercialisation, marketization, economic valorisation	Chapter 4, 7
Heritagisation	Qualification, authenticity, typicality, alterity	Chapter 4, 5, 6
The past	Nostalgia, history, time, essentialism, reality	Chapter 4, 5, 6, 7
Transmigration	Translocality, transnationalism, remittances	Chapter 6, 7
Place-making	Space, patriotism, regionalism, nationalism	Chapter 4, 5, 7

Table 4: Codes and Labels

These five themes underpinned the conceptual toolkit which I used to answer my research questions, and formed the areas of engagement for each analytical chapter.

9- Summary of methodology approach

My activities, methodologies and analysis according to my key research questions are summarised in the following table:

Research questions	Methodology	Related activity	Analysis
What objectives are pursued through the instigation of heritage-based food initiatives?	Long interviews Semi-structured interviews	Interviewing Andrew Whitley at his house and seat of Bread Matters Macbiehill Farmhouse in Scotland. Interviewing Peter Bloom in Oaxaca, Mexico, at the headquarters of his new company, Rhizomatica. Interviewing key members of Alianza and Amigos during workshops, at cafes and in the field (Appendix B)	Close textual analysis discussed in chapter 4, teasing out the similarities and conflicts between Peter and Andrew's discourse. Focus on evocations of nostalgia, commodification of the past or heritage and economic revitalization explored in chapters 5 and 6. Comparing discourses to one another between founders and members.
How do notions of time shape senses of place in heritage-based food initiatives?	Reading Interviews Participant observation	Participant observation during my internship in London, drafting applications for the Ark of Taste. Interviewing Slow Food	I approached my transcribed interviews and my notes of participant observation with the aim of examining how different understanding of 'place' emerged from different

		members and leaders in Turin, London, Scotland and Mexico, focusing on connotations of <i>slow</i> foods, the past and heritage (Appendix A). Reviewing BM, Alianza, Amigos and Slow Food's reports, websites, brochures and books articulating their official discourse.	actors' discourse and how these affected their behaviour within their projects, as explored in chapter 4 and 7. I attempted to read these all documents constructively, by putting them into interaction and contrast with the interviews I had conducted and the notes I took during my participant observation.
How do producers understand and articulate temporal qualities associated with heritage food?	Reading Interviews Participant observation	Interviewing bakers in Scotland. Interviewing corn farmers and pinole producers in Mexico. Workshop apprenticeship and assistant baker at Breadshare in Scotland for several interrupted weeks. Participated in a week-long workshop at BM. Spent an aggregate three months working alongside farmers and pinole producers, shadowing various members.	Re-listening and remembering the interviews, I attended to overarching themes that emerged from collective stories as well as individual ones. Research materials include conversations, pictures as well as the foodstuffs themselves. Privately, I sought to prepare 'real bread' and pinole myself (with relative success) to remember corporeally how producers had taught me their craft and what timely considerations needed to be implicated.

Table 5: Summary of activities, methodologies and analysis by research question

10- Predicted limitations

Collecting data was an active, reflexive and at times, confusing exercise. Gathering stories of 'real bread' and pinole necessitated frequent traveling to various sites and countries. My collection of data was thus constrained by both time and financial resources, limiting the

opportunities I had for participant observation, most notably in Philadelphia where my access to informants was greatly restricted by these migrants' long working schedule in the restaurant industry. The financial and temporal limitations of my research engendered a greater focus on the pinole project, which demanded fieldwork in two separate countries, and generated more data than my research on Bread Matters. This imbalance is also reflected in the focus of my analytical chapters.

I encountered a further limitation with interviewees. On the one hand, snowball sampling entails that my sample members are not selected from a sampling frame and thus subject to a 'community bias' where the first participants might have had strong impact on the sample (exemplified by the preponderance of male interviewees). In addition, and despite my efforts, I was not able to visit or talk to all members of the pinole project – some purposefully avoided my overtures, whilst others had busy schedules. Their absence makes one wonder whether the group dynamics might have altered had these individuals participated in the discussion groups or been interviewed.

Though I attempted to cultivate a positionality of empathy and a sense of wonder before all my participants, I was limited at times by my appearance and/or status as an Oxford student. This drawback expressed itself in various ways: some participants wanted me to place their communities on the global map; others perceived me as a representative of a Western colonialist institution. One informant insisted I bring Aztec codices held in the Bodleian Library before he agreed to an interview (*interview with Adrian 2.05.2014*). I was reminded of Guthman's experience in her study of whiteness in Californian alternative food-provisioning associations (2008b) in which she asked questions about the situated-ness of race, but had to avoid the risky position of her enquiries being misinterpreted as being about

racism. In response, I strived to maintain a certain sensitivity towards my field of study in what is often called a 'self-conscious project' (Katz 1992: 496) whilst guarding myself from the "excesses" of reflexivity' (Crang 2005b: 226).

My ethnographic research, though extensively designed, was limited or re-shaped by various components. Carrying out participant observation and interviews in Mexico and in Italy led to technical decisions of matching 'conceptual equivalence[s] across languages' (Temple and Young 2004: 165) when translating transcripts. Though my translations were verified - and at times corrected - by a translator, the exercise of translation was at risk of 'meaning [to be] lost and invented' (Hoggart et al. 2002: 260). Paraphrasing Crang and Cook (2007: 10), translation is rarely, if ever, a straightforward process. In this sense, my ethnographic account was always already a mix of 'representation, interpretation and invention' (Katz 1992: 496).

Though my research focuses on constructions of place (as they pertain to time), experiencing place itself became a confusing and even limiting factor in my investigation. My extended fieldwork in four different countries and seven different cities and villages was both a welcome and a disorientating adventure. I was wary of getting caught up in 'the "one true place" syndrome by idealising a particular place and its people, and burdening them ... with special meaning' (Wattchow and Brown 2011: 55). I experientially felt that there can be 'no authenticity of place' (Massey 1994: 121). As my research on food, its temporal qualities and place progressed I experienced place not as a unified construction but rather, multiple places with multiple centres of significance. As a researcher, though I strove to understand the places I engaged with as an 'insider', I was often relegated to the 'outsider' status, echoing Relph's assertion that the 'identity that a person or group has with that place, in particular whether they are experiencing it as an insider or as an outsider' affects the identity of a place

(1976: 45). As with any other ethnographic study, I was wary of being ‘burdened with preconceived ideas’ (Malinowski 1922: 8). Though essential for regulating social practices (Crang 1994), place also affected the imaginative settings in which my interactions occur. I was highly aware how my settings and the place in which interactions or observation took place could be strategically used to elicit information from participant whilst affecting the knowledge I gathered (Anderson 2004).

My personal experience with/in place necessarily affected the encounters discussed in the following chapters, which are partial accounts and particular to a specific historical moment. This specificity also carries a salient drawback: in tracing the making of the HBFIs, I was always tracing communities in praxis. As such, my re-presentation of the participants of these initiatives reflects a snapshot in time (albeit one that expanded over two years), and invites more longitudinal studies in this field.

Chapter 4- Founding stories: how food is articulated as heritage

This article was submitted in February 2016 to the Journal of Rural Studies. It is presented here in its original format.

1- Introduction

As we enter an ‘age of global heritage’ (Grasseni 2011), foods of the past – such as traditional, authentic or heritage foods – are increasingly in demand. This is altering the landscape of ‘alternative geographies of food’ (Whatmore and Thorne, 1997) whereby temporal qualities are increasingly prominent in pleas for the recontextualisation of food (Littaye, 2015a). In an attempt to safeguard dying culinary traditions, heritage-based food initiatives (hereafter HBFIs) are striving to re-embed foods in their social, cultural and environmental contexts by rediscovering their history and past. Heritage is an inherently spatial phenomenon (Kuutma, 2009). The discourses on heritage foods co-mingle geographical and historical identity (Rautenberg, 2003) and as such, offer a privileged site from which to understand constructions of *place* related to notions of the *past* within alternative food networks (hereafter AFNs).

Though much research has focused on the *effects* of the production, promotion and consumption of heritage foods, little has been written on *how* these foods are first identified. The actors responsible for identifying, and subsequently coining food as heritage tend to be overlooked despite their sway over the socio-economic and cultural landscape of food systems. The current comparative analysis of the founders’ discourse seeks to reveal how the

identity of a place is ‘based on the socio-geographical position of the groups which promote them’ (Massey, 1995: 185).

In so doing, this article makes a theoretical contribution to the geographies of food by demonstrating how founders discursively construct place through notions of time, imbuing their initiatives with ideals through temporal qualities of food. Doreen Massey’s theory on notions of place as related to different conceptualisations of the past (1994; 1995) provides the theoretical framework through which this article approaches the complexity of AFNs. This research strives to show how founders of food initiatives are actors that play an important (though obscure) role in shaping the geographies of food by formulating notions of heritage that impact constructions of place. More broadly, this analysis offers new directions from which to approach the articulation of quality in food, contributing to discussions on alterity of AFNs in agro-food studies (Whatmore et al., 2003; Goodman, 2003), and constructions of place (Massey, 1994; 1995; 2007).

The case-studies in this article were selected on the basis of their strategic use of the heritagisation²⁵ of food (the process by which food is articulated as heritage) as a means to address the struggle of small-scale farmers and producers in the face of mechanised and homogenised agro-food industries (Stanford, 2012; Finnis, 2012). The first is based on a project that produces and distributes a Mexican heritage food called pinole, made of heirloom blue corn: the pinole project. It was initially set up to counter the pernicious effects of the neoliberal policies which dismantled Mexico’s agricultural sector and jeopardised its agro-biodiversity (Baker, 2012; Fitting, 2011; Pilcher, 2008; McMichael, 2008). The pinole project is compared to Bread Matters, a movement and business in Scotland. It sells courses

²⁵ The process of heritagisation is one whereby ‘the concept of cultural/immaterial patrimony is being applied to local foods in diverse ways and market circuits’ (Grasseni, 2011).

on ‘real bread’²⁶ in an effort to counter the ubiquitous ‘sliced bread’ industry in the UK (Barling et al., 2009; Whitley, 2009). Its founder also initiated ‘Scotland, the Bread’, a project to revive Scottish agriculture based on landraces, ultimately seeking to foster a self-sufficient economy of locally sourced artisanal bakeries.

By analysing the narratives of the founders of these HBFIs as primary sources of data, this article follows the school of thought which postulates that:

geographical knowledges associated with foods can potentially be produced at a variety of sites within the ‘worlds’ of those products by a variety of actors involved in their provision and consumption. (Cook and Crang, 1996: 141)

This comparative analysis aims to tease out the commonalities and discrepancies between the selection process of food as heritage and the backgrounds of these actors that led to this process. It explores *who* decides *which* foods qualify as heritage and are representative of ‘the past’, and asks, how do heritage food projects discursively facilitate the pursuit of ideals and goals? How do notions of time in quality foods relate to specific constructions of place?

In responding to these questions, this article briefly sketches out the literature on AFNs and the increasing popularity of heritage foods. It establishes the theoretical framework, built from Doreen Massey’s conceptualisation of ‘a sense of place’ as relating to varying notions of the past and heritage (1994; 1995), as well as Jacinthe Bessière’s understanding of heritagisation of food (1998; 2013). Following a short description of the methodology employed in gathering the data, this article tells the stories of the founders of the two projects largely in their own words. The discourse analysis which follows teases the multifunctional

²⁶ ‘Real bread’ is hand made ‘naturally-fermented breads’ without the use of processing aids or any other artificial additives (Real Bread Campaign website).

role of the heritagisation of food in shaping notions of place, addressing the founders' objective, and reaching a niche market. It concludes with a call to include temporal notions of quality in the study of agro-food systems and the 'economy of qualities'.

2- Literature Review

While previous scholarly efforts focused on regional or local distinctiveness, growing stress on the foods and production methods of the past is redefining notions of alterity and alternative geographies of foods. Bordi associates the surge in demand for foods from the past with the wider effects of globalisation, understanding it as a reaction to nostalgia, 'one of the reactions to the globalization process' (2006: 97).

The academic interest in heritage foods has been further spurred by the recent integration of gastronomy in the UNESCO list of intangible heritage (initiated by Mexican gastronomy's entry in 2010), focusing on the shifting behaviours towards the global agri-food system (Sammells, 2014) and its actors. The increasingly global heritagisation of food has spurred a number of issues. One important concern centres on the ambiguity embedded in the language of quality as related to 'heritage' foods, explored in-depth in this article. Mainstream economic theory considers the qualities of goods as intrinsic attributes, that economic actors may possess incomplete or asymmetrical information about though which remain potentially amenable to unambiguous and uncontested evaluation (Allaire, 2004; Callon, 2005; Wilkinson, 1997). In response, many scholars (see MacDonald, 2013; Stassart and Whatmore, 2003; Hébert 2014) approach the issue of quality from a framework inspired by pragmatist sociologies of economic markets, which:

Instead of beginning with goods to be exchanged for which prices exist and whose qualities are considered to be a natural property [...] asks first how the qualities of

goods are constructed. (Beckert and Musselin, 2013: 22)

Adopting a similar stance, this article perceives quality as a product of discursive and material practices actively carried out (Hébert, 2010; MacDonald, 2013).

Heritage foods embody various interpretations of the past (Waitt, 2000: 848; see Massey, 1994; 1995). They are part of broader efforts of AFNs to recontextualise foods by embrace a 'logic of quality' (Allaire and Sylvander, 1997) within emerging 'alternative economic spaces' (Leyshon et al., 2003; Hughes, 2005), organic food (Guthman, 2003; Mansfield, 2003; Raynolds, 2004), local foods as site of empowerment (Herod and Wright, 2002), fair trade (Goodman 2004), traditional and artisanal production (Leitch, 2000; 2003; Paxson, 2006), *slow* food (Miele and Murdoch, 2002; Goodman, 2003), identity construction (Bessière, 2013) and means for local actors to develop 'strategic countermeasure[s] to deterritorialized space' (Kuletz, 1998: 239) as well as resist the marginalization of rural areas (Finnis, 2012).

The heritagisation of food in particular offers a platform from which to embed foods in locality *as well as* historicity (Sonnino, 2007) as the notion of heritage is intrinsically tied to spatial concepts as well as those of alterity:

heritage is [not]... solely a link between past and present, but also... a reservoir of meaning necessary to understand the world: a resource in order to elaborate alterity and consequently identity. (Bessière, 1998: 26-27)

Bérard and Marchenay believe that history is one of the most essential aspects of localised food systems. They state that '(A)ll localized products are founded on a lowest common

denominator – historical depth and shared know-how – that defines “origin” in basic terms’ (2008: 10).

Scholars have investigated a variety of themes emerging from heritage foods, such as the fraught process of heritagisation (Bessière, 1998; Fischler, 1998; Grasseni, 2011), traditional and artisanal food production (Leitch, 2003; Paxson, 2006), and the means of localising production by protecting the specificities of particular places (Barham, 2003). As they show, notions of place and time are embedded in heritage foods:

Heritage thus refers to a capital of specific, singular resources aimed at ensuring the perpetuation of the group while feeding its own collective dynamic founded on a certain cultural, historical, even geographical identity. (Rautenberg, 2003 quoted in Bessière, 2013)

As Robins argues, even ‘the most disadvantaged places, heritage or the simulacrum of heritage, can be mobilized to gain competitive advantage in the race between places’ (1991: 58). Within the field of alternative geographies of food however, little research has been carried out on the relationship between the articulation of place and conceptualisations of time. Bessière though believes tradition and heritage are closely related since, ‘as a marker of a temporal link, the heritage element is inseparable from tradition, which is thus a fundamental concept’ (2013: 277).

A second concern emerges from the popularity of these foods: they are prone to commodification as the values embedded in quality foods become marketing tools. Research has documented the ‘commodification of heritage’ (Jenkins et al., 2002) related to food practices of specific regions. Food studies have investigated the process of commodification

as a *consequence* of the standardisation of qualification criteria (Lotti, 2010), specific food aesthetics and taste (Meneley, 2004; Miele and Murdoch, 2002), and linked to ‘food fetishism and ... consumer fetishism’ (Paxson, 2005). Despite this rich body of literature, there is a distinct lack of research on *how* foods are selected and identified as heritage for their potential commodifiability. Tellström et al. warn that ‘studies skirt round an information “black hole” concerning the use of market research in choosing a food culture expression to ensure the best chance of economic success’ (2006: 132). As Cook and Crang remind scholars: ‘the degree to which knowledge producers construct knowledges for others’ interests as well as their own, and the ways in which these other interests are represented, seems a crucial issue’ (1996: 143). The data presented here aims to address these gaps by detailing how heritage foods are identified and selected, as well as examine the ‘invention of tradition’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), as it relates to place and the past in HBFIs.

3- Methodology

The research for this article was designed to gather stories of the founders of heritage food projects in order to understand how they identify and select foods *as* heritage and how this process leads to the creation of HBFIs. This approach was inspired by the belief that:

Case studies... lend themselves to emergent theories and interpretations. They usually have an emergent, open-ended quality that facilitates the discovery of new theories of human behavior. Studying social life in situ and in diversity often adds the benefit of unanticipated findings and data sources. (Feagin et al., 1991: 277)

The pinole project and Bread Matters were selected on the basis of their links to Slow Food, a celebrated international food organisation and movement, described as an ‘international actor for the global promotion of the local’ (Sassatelli, 2007: 183). Both initiatives were showcased

at Slow Food's biannual international event, Terra Madre, in Turin in 2012. Both also promote the preservation of items listed in Slow Food's Ark of Taste, an online catalogue of heritage foods: namely pinole and Einkorn.

The data for this article was gathered during several months of ethnographic research between 2013 and 2014 conducted in Scotland, Mexico and Philadelphia. Fieldwork included participant observation and in-depth interviews with the members and founders of the pinole project and Bread Matters. In-depth interviews were designed to explore how the founders had personally selected and identified their foodstuff and how they subsequently built their initiatives. In particular, 'long interviews' were conducted which focused on the personal history of founders and leaders of food projects, a method that 'can take us into the mental world of the individual, to glimpse the categories and logic by which he or she sees the world' (McCracken 1988). The aim was thus 'to step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves' (Ibid.). The following sections explore in detail each HBFIs, the heritage foods they promote and the ways in which their founders initiated the process of heritagisation.

4- Pinole

Pinole is a Mexican pre-Hispanic foodstuff made of toasted kernels of corn ground into a powder, to which is usually added sugar and cinnamon. Despite its former ubiquity, it is increasingly difficult to find in Mexico and until recently, was not commercially available. The Mexican organisation Amigos de Ozolco (hereafter Amigos) sought to remedy this by reviving the traditional production of pinole. They partnered with Blue Corn Alianza (hereafter Alianza), an organisation formed by Mexican migrant workers living in Philadelphia and selling pinole in the US. Members of both organisations share the same birthplace, namely the village called San Mateo Ozolco (hereafter Ozolco). Together, the

organisations form the transnational ‘pinole project’, with members and activities on either side of the Mexican-US border.

Despite being run entirely by Ozolcanian members today, the pinole project was initiated by an American member: Peter Bloom. The founder was at the time a community leader, born in Philadelphia. As he explained in a private communication, the pinole project was designed to achieve several social and financial goals:

First, get folks paid better for their corn, with the original aim being three times what they were getting... Second, to do so in a way that motivated farmers to use natural/organic methods... the latter was also important as a longer-term strategy to remediate the land and produce "healthier" food for local consumption and hopefully raise yields as the soil regained fertility. Third, to capture whatever profits were generated up North, and keep them circulating within the network.

Ozolco has amongst the world’s highest rates of youth emigration²⁷, a fact which came to Peter’s attention as an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania in 2001. At the time, he was ‘*disillusioned with (my) Ivy League education, and wanted to make a difference*’. Peter’s family directed his attention towards the increasing Mexican migration to Philadelphia:

My cousin married a Mexican [woman] who had migrated before the huge wave of migration in the 90s... They (cousin and his wife) ended up being a reference point for the migrant Mexicans who came throughout the 90s and 2000s. It was by talking to her grandfather that I realised that there was this big problem of migration...

²⁷ Ozolco suffers one of the worst adolescent migration drains in the world (Amavizca Ruiz et al., 2014), with many young men migrating to Philadelphia.

Mexican workers were *‘arriving at this specific time and working in the booming restaurant industry. There was a huge pool of cheap, undocumented labour to help out with the restaurants’*. A year later, Peter was regularly volunteering at a church in South Philadelphia to teach English to Mexican migrant workers.

As his classes grew in popularity, Peter became increasingly aware of his students’ need for social support and a place to practice their cultural rituals and traditions:

In the classes, we were listening to their problems and trying to help them out. From the beginning, we were in partnership with Women Against Rape organisation... We also did some Aztec dancing and other pseudo-indigenous rituals.

The church ‘got rid’ of Peter, accusing him of Satanism – an excuse he says, based on the traditional papier-mâché dolls his students made to decorate their classes. After an article was published about him in the *Philadelphia Enquirer*, Peter *‘ended up receiving quite a bit of donations, especially from foundations. Philadelphia has an industrial past with a bunch of dead billionaires so there is a culture of charity giving’*. With these funds, he established JUNTOS, the first social organisation for Mexican migrants in South Philadelphia at the time, with which he successfully advocated for police protection for assaulted undocumented workers.

JUNTOS provided a space for Mexican migrants to hold meetings, perform rituals and practice traditions, usually impossible in cramped, shared living spaces. Many from Ozolco congregated in JUNTOS to discuss the plight of their home village. The American partner of one undocumented Ozolcanian migrant – who had not returned home in seven years - visited Ozolco, and was given a small packet of pinole that was brought back to Philadelphia. It was

subsequently shared amongst members of JUNTOS. As Peter recalls, Ozolcanian teased him about pinole: ‘it’s going to dry your mouth out!’ or ‘you can’t whistle and eat pinole at the same time’. As Peter remembers:

It was very interesting to me. I am not sure why. Ruben was always going on about corn. And I knew we couldn’t sell their corn in the US. That just wasn’t possible. And I kept asking them if there was any product that they did with corn, out of corn. And they kept saying there wasn’t. Because they do not think of themselves as ‘pinole’ producers. They think of themselves as corn producers. So when the pinole arrived, something in me clicked. Instead of it being the corn itself, it was corn-flour. And I thought: ‘maybe this is the way to do something about corn’.

According to the Ozolcanians Peter asked, pinole was consumed as a drink or as powder. Dissatisfied, Peter took pinole ‘to the pastry chef of one of the fanciest restaurants (Buddha Khan) in Philadelphia. His name was Carlos Rojas and he was one of the original leaders of JUNTOS’. As Peter explains, ‘(T)he restaurant is owned by Steven Starr, which is a group dominated by people from Ozolco. Something you need to understand is that people from Ozolco infiltrated themselves very well in the restaurant scene of Philadelphia’. Carlos, whose wife is from Ozolco, immediately experimented with pinole. As Peter remembers, the chef though pinole was an exceptional product:

I think he called me back that same day with recipes for mousse, pancakes, muffins... it was all delicious... Pinole has that specific smoky taste and everyone thought it was delicious. And I thought: ‘here we go’.

Pinole was not only delectable, as Peter told an interviewer for the local newspaper, ‘it’s cool that it’s corn ... A lot of third-world development discourse is, “Grow this, grow that.” But

[the people of San Mateo] already know how to grow corn. And since we do not have the power to overturn NAFTA – which 99.9 percent of the time works against the community – we can turn it into an advantage’ (Kilpatrick, 2006).

The pinole project encapsulates Peter’s own philosophy of ‘Fair Trade 2.0.’:

the value usually comes from moving the product across one space to another. But where does the money go? You basically need to harness that money back to the producers... it doesn’t matter if you are a cooperative or a for profit enterprise.

Peter understood that Ozolco’s heritage blue corn represented a competitive advantage in the US and turned pinole into an ‘ethnic’ value-added foodstuff: *‘Everything else (revindication of indigenous roots, heritage food marketing) was at the service of these two goals, and was implemented cynically in some cases.’*

It took Peter several years to establish the pinole project. At the start, he travelled regularly to Mexico to bring back *‘about 50kg of pinole... the absolute limit of what I could legally bring. I was basically the pinole mule for several years.’* Later, a truck driver from Ozolco transported pinole across the border. Peter subsequently applied for a three-year grant from Hispanics In Philanthropy, a nongovernmental organisation dedicated to supporting Mexican migrants in the US. With these funds, Alianza (in Philadelphia) and Amigos (in Ozolco) were established and applied successfully for import and export licences in 2008. That same year, Peter left Philadelphia to start a new telecommunications project, feeling that: *‘if I throw enough cash at it (pinole project), they won’t be able to fuck it up’*. Though Peter set up the pinole project, he is no longer involved in its activities, nor in its listing in the Ark of Taste and was absent at the Slow Food Terra Madre event in 2012 to promote pinole.

5- Bread Matters

Unlike Peter, Andrew went to the Terra Madre in Turin in 2012 to promote his business Bread Matters and the ‘real bread’ movement (Littaye 2015a). He held a stand showcasing his cookbook *Bread Matters: The State of Modern Bread and a Definitive Guide to Baking Your Own* and offering samples of his sourdough ‘real bread’. Despite his presence at Terra Madre and Bread Matters’ membership of the Supporters’ Scheme of Slow Food UK, Andrew states that ‘*Bread Matters doesn’t feel that they have a connection really with Slow Food*’. The issue Andrew believes is that Slow Food UK ‘*can be described as the “National Trust” with power in landholding... an extension of a “lunch club”*. *Slow Food is the niche-ification of food*’. By contrast, Andrew has sought to design Bread Matters as a means to engage with ‘real food’ for ‘*new agrarians. Intellectuals who want to get involved in food through conviction, not legacy*’.

With baking courses costing a minimum of £175, Andrew’s initiative is aimed at a social group (educated middle-class) that contrasts sharply with those the pinole project seeks to support²⁸ (transmigrants and local small-scale farmers). A second difference with the pinole project lies in Bread Matters’ active political stance, catering for those who want to engage with food politically: ‘*Those involved in food stay clear of politics... There is no sign of upraising of those who are getting their benefits cut ... there is no revolutionary impetus... The UK is disengaged with politics of food with notable exceptions of Tim Lang*’.

Bread Matters’ roots were located in Andrew’s desire to live a ‘*more truthful... life*’ as he grew up during the Cold War as part of ‘*was the CND generation, the nuclear apocalypse*

²⁸ The most expensive course teaches how to build a community bakery for just under £700.

generation'. During his youth, he strived to '*shrink and opt out of an element of industrial society*' where '*baking amongst a lot of other things [was] part of [his] search to become a little bit more self-reliant*'. As Andrew recalls, '*(T)he motivation was reading Shumaker, Rachel Carson, Ivan Illitch a lot... god yes. "Tools of Conviviality" was mind blowing*'. These authors affected him strongly as they offered an appealing combination of '*Buddhist economics*' and a '*positive view of the world which was more circular than linear*'.

A fascination for Russian literature of the 19th century fuelled his curiosity about the narodniks²⁹, the '*kind of the people who went back to the land... of 1870s, who went to 'the people' and try to educate them, try to lift them out of this numb ignorance and subjection to the land owners and also the kind of ... kind of slavery ... serfdom, literally.*' Andrew was inspired by this '*link between the intellectual and the manual*' or '*the peasant and the intellectual*', a relationship he feels is replicated in his own initiative. Andrew became a BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) correspondent on Russian affairs. In parallel, his attempts at self-sufficiency led him to baking his own bread and growing carrots on his office windowsill at work. He quickly became interested in the source of his flour, and grew wheat on his allotment ('*quite unusual in those days*') and made bread from the harvest, initially by milling grains in a coffee grinder, then in bulk with an electric mill.

Delighted with his success, Andrew abandoned his BBC career to seize the opportunity to work for a bakery. He then founded one of the UK's first organic artisanal bakeries, which used wood-fired brick ovens. He worked on his repertoire of wholemeal breads and learned to bake commercially. As described on the Bread Matters website, 'A visit in the early 1990s to post-communist Russia enabled him to study sourdough and he then launched a range of

²⁹ The Narodniks were a socially conscious movement of the Russian middle class in the 1860s and 1870s.

naturally-fermented breads that met a growing demand from people in the UK who found they could no longer tolerate factory loaves.’ Till this day, Andrew keeps a sourdough starter he ‘*smuggled*’ during his trip and that he distributes to apprentice bakers during the courses he gives. He jokingly calls the strong yeast ‘*the armpit of mother Russia*’ in his classes.

As with Peter’s pinole project, his focus on sourdough came unexpectedly. In the 1990s, representatives of Waitrose (a chain of British supermarkets) visited his bakery, looking for artisanal and local breads to sell in their shops. Andrew was surprised that the few sourdoughs hidden amongst other breads on display were the only items to catch their attention. As he later discovered, Waitrose was seeking to cater for a growing number of gluten sensitive³⁰ customers in the UK and were considering marketing sourdough breads as an alternative to industrial sliced bread. As a result, Andrew was commissioned by Waitrose to bake thousands of sourdough loaves every week. In 2002, he left the Village Bakery to start Bread Matters, focusing on teaching how to bake ‘naturally-fermented breads’ (Bread Matters website). His aim shifted from producing ‘real bread’ to teaching others how to bake ‘real bread’ striving to revive artisanal baking in the UK, earning him the name of the father of the Real Bread Revolution³¹, emblematic of the principles of sustainability he had previously found in Russian literature:

The cycle of sourdough and of the transmutation of bread... It is non-linear, you need to nurture and refresh it. It’s like the cycle of life. It is an important parallel of life: It is self-renewing. There is an abundance in that the process of renewal is reliable (if you follow the rules...) The science of baking is one of slow baking.

³⁰ Many, though not all, with gluten sensitivity can tolerate sourdough bread.

³¹ A movement striving to counter manufactured bread, and disseminate artisanal bakeries in the UK to revive local strands of wheat and local economies.

Baking organic, naturally-fermented bread enabled Andrew to explore wider themes first raised by his interest in Russian literature, as well as give him an opportunity *‘to engage in an argument about nutrition, about agriculture and later on when I got to learn more about it, about digestion’*.

Andrew is adamant about supporting the Scottish legacy of grains he uses in his bread. In 2012, Andrew has begun a new campaign for the rediscovery and use of heritage varieties of wheat, barley, oats and rye, an endeavour he has named: ‘Scotland, the Bread’. This project aims to ‘re-establish a Scottish flour and bread supply that is healthy, equitable, locally-controlled and sustainable’ (Bread Matters website). Alongside Bread Matters, Andrew is ‘developing an organic agro-forestry project among whose objectives is to help build a local grain economy’ (Ibid.). The project began with ‘thirteen heritage varieties of wheat, several of them bred ... in the 19th century... grown once more on four Scottish organic farms’ (Ibid.).

Unlike Peter, for whom heritage seeds are a secondary concern, Andrew emphasises the agro-genetic diversity of wheat, barley and rye seeds and their nutritional virtues. His interest in *‘heritage grains ... starts from the evidence that older varieties, pre-cursors genetically of modern foodstuffs, vegetables and fruits and grains are almost always more nutrient dense than modern varieties’*. Though his Real Bread Campaign extends across the UK, his effort to build a ‘home-grown economy’ are confined to ensuring the local and organic production of Scottish landraces. The project began with ‘thirteen heritage varieties of wheat, several of them bred ... in the 19th century... grown once more on four Scottish organic farms’ (Bread Matters website).

6- Helping ‘others’

Using Bessière’s understanding of heritagisation (1998; 2013), this section explores how the process by which Peter and Andrew identified pinole and sourdough as heritage is in part due to the marketability and potential commodifiability of pinole and ‘real bread’ respectively. In both cases, the heritage of foodstuffs was deliberately constructed as a quality (MacDonald, 2013; Hébert, 2010), not identified as pre-existent. Their shared capacity to instigate this qualification process of heritagisation emerges from similar social backgrounds, though both founders imbue their project with divergent ideals and notions of place.

Proceeding according to Bessière’s methodology, this paper proceeds by ‘Analysing how heritage is selected and identified involves measuring the catalyst mechanisms that spark a “heritage realization” among local actors’ (2013: 282). In this fashion, Peter’s ‘spark’ came when he first tasted pinole and thought it could be used to make appetising American-style pastries. For Andrew, this moment came from the intervention of a national supermarket chain and the subsequent realisation of the growing market for sourdough foodstuffs linked to increasing gluten-free demand. On each occasion, the founder was positioned as an ‘other’ or ‘outsider’ to the region of origin of the food he promoted:

The adoption and promotion of a given heritage is constructed with a sense of otherness, meaning that it occurs via an encounter with a form a social diversity that forces actors, at some point, to reposition themselves and rethink their value system.
(ibid.)

In contrast to Bessière’s analysis though, the process of heritagisation was instigated by actors who did *not* share an ‘inherited conscience’ of the food:

At the heart of the identification of heritage there is a familiarity, a form of recognition, an ‘inherited conscience’, and a shared judgement on the importance of the objects in question... (Bessière, 2013: 278)

Peter and Andrew were confronted with a ‘sense of otherness’ - in appraising pinole as a Mexican treat and Scottish landraces respectively - *because* of their *peripheral* positioning vis-à-vis the regions of origins of foods.

As outsiders, Peter and Andrew understood how these foodstuffs would appeal to niche markets and lend themselves to commodification. Peter is an American whose project sought to help Ozolcanians and their local economy. He identified pinole as an exotic and potentially successful product within markets. Andrew, though English, strives to revive Scottish landraces and local grain economy. Although Peter and Andrew’s stories diverge from Bessière’s theory by incorporating *extra*-local actors as ‘heritage entrepreneurs’ (Grasseni, 2014: 70), their examples support her claim that: ‘The adoption and promotion of a given heritage is constructed with a sense of otherness, meaning that it occurs via an encounter with a form a social diversity’ (Bessière, 2013: 282).

Peter identified – when native Ozolcanians did not – pinole as a valuable *commodity*, whose association with Mexican culinary traditions and Aztec heritage would facilitate marketability to US consumer base and pinole’s subsequent commodification. In contrast, Andrew came to understand the value of sourdough through the *corporate* interest of a UK food chain. Paradoxically, his appreciation of sourdough’s commercial appeal came from the very agro-food industry he deplors. The chain’s interest brought him to the realisation that ‘naturally fermented’ bread was an increasingly sought after commodity, and could be

articulated and marketed as ‘real bread’ with nutritional appeal in contradistinction to highly processed bread (Littaye, 2015a). ‘Real bread’ is a construction as: ‘The “real” itself is socially constructed, born of particular power relations within society and legitimizing selective political and economic interests’ (Waitt, 2000: 848).

Many researchers assert that ‘demands for authenticity necessitate that the ethnic group essentialize and spectacularize themselves in order to attract customers (Diamond, 1995; see also Davis, 2002; Cwierka, 2005)’ (Cook et al., 2010: 3). Andrew exemplifies this trend as he ‘spectacularised’ ‘real bread’ by relating it to a ‘revolution’ and a project: ‘Scotland, the Bread’ (named in a deliberate attempt to remind one of ‘Scotland, the Brave’). The stories of Peter and Andrew underline how heritage foods also necessitate extra-local or ‘outsider’ actors to identify and formulate narratives that encapsulate ‘essentialised’ notions of Mexican and Scottish gastronomic heritage. In so doing, Peter and Andrew have created projects that epitomise an ‘artisanal reaction (i)n prosperous markets (where) the emphasis is shifting from cheapness to quality, rarity and esteem for artisanal methods...’ (Fernandez-Armesto, 2001: 250).

At the heart of the production and dissemination of the knowledge of their foodstuffs, their discourse underlines the disproportionate role that affluent, well-educated white men play in alternative food networks (Parkins and Craig, 2009; Goodman et al., 2012), showing that:

the selection, protection, and institutionalization of these traditional and heritage-based products are enmeshed in particular bounded political, institutional, and social settings. (Bowen and de Master, 2011: 74)

Peter and Andrew's stories exemplify a social privilege prevalent and demographic imbalance within alternative food networks:

It is noteworthy that the vast majority of such activists are white, come from middle-class backgrounds, and often turn to food activism as part of a second career after long professional employment or are university students or retirees. More men than women tend to become involved in such activism. They are well educated and on the whole, have not themselves experienced hunger as children or as adults. (Friedman and Friedman, 2008)

The founders' education and professions put them in advantageous positions to select and identify foods as heritage. Peter became interested in the plight of Mexican migrants because of his dissatisfaction with his 'Ivy League education' which he could then support through his subsequent role as a community leader, legally crossing borders and negotiating with Philadelphia police for protection. Andrew was 'fascinated' by 19th century Russian literature and learnt fluent Russian, worked as a Russian correspondent for the BBC and was invited to travel to Russia – a privilege at the time - and brought back Russian recipes and sourdough starters.

Their social position facilitated their access to the region and networks of actors they sought to aid. Their 'outsider' status gave them the capacity to instigate the process of heritagisation, effectively transforming local or regional knowledge of food production into the 'collective intellectual property' of the pinole and 'real bread' network (Thiedig and Sylvander, 2000; Pacciani et al., 2001). Peter and Andrew's desire to support networks and regions that they do not belong to typify those 'who enrol in such projects "to bring good food to others"' and whose discourse 'reflects whitened cultural histories, such as the value of putting one's hands

in the soil’ and ‘white desires more than those of the communities they putatively serve’ (Guthman, 2008: 431).

7- Places of origin

The founders articulate particular notions of the past for the regions their HBFIs support and thus, of the *place of origin* of their heritage foods. Peter’s tactical (and, in his own words, ‘cynical’) reference to pinole’s pre-Hispanic past is aimed at appealing to a particular consumer base. As an American, he understood how his society is one that, in the words of Jean Duruz, ‘still highly discriminates against Mexican immigrants and Mexican culture’ and ‘contradictorily (yet consistently) embraces “Mexicanness” as its commodity and freely cannibalizes the “other’s” image, in caricature, at Taco Bell’ (2004: 437). In essence, Peter selected pinole because of the foodstuff’s capacity to evoke a pre-Hispanic Mexican legacy, a heritage which, in turn, could lend itself to commodification with strong marketing appeal.

Unlike Peter, Andrew falls into the category of ‘neo-traditional localists’ that are ‘largely coded as members of the white ethnoracial majority’ (Nonini, 2013: 274). He articulates a ‘narrative that evokes an idealised and fixed past for bakers and the craft of baking’ (Littaye, 2015a: 2). ‘Real Bread’ is an invented notion (Ibid.) in such a way that ‘the invention of tradition is (here) about the invention of the coherence of a place, about defining and naming it as a “place” at all’ (Massey, 1995: 188). The (culinary) world promoted by Andrew’s initiatives takes its cue from the past in which an idealised notion of place is ‘supposedly’ ‘inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities’ (Massey, 1994: 145).

Andrew’s conceptualisation of Scotland, based partially on the revival of heritage Scottish landraces, and Bread Matters – based on notions of a Lost Eden (Littaye, 2015a) – appeal to ‘an introverted, inward-looking history based on delving into the past for internalized origins’

(Massey, 1994: 152). This general longing for the past, Massey warns us, sparks reactionary and defensive responses such as ‘nationalism, sentimentalized recovering of sanitized “heritages”’ (Massey, 1994: 146) or ‘competitive localisms, to introverted obsessions with “heritage”’ (Ibid.: 151). In this fashion, ‘Scotland, the Bread’ is a reactionary translation of place that ‘is problematical’ as it promotes the ‘idea that places have single, essential, identities...’ (Ibid.: 152).

The project ‘Scotland, the Bread’ reinforces notions of a place constructed from a ‘long internalized history’ (Ibid.) whose boundaries are fixed and demarcate the ‘outside’ from the ‘inside’. Andrew constructs the notion of a Scottish grain economy based on Scottish landraces of wheat, barley and rye in ‘counterposition with the outside’ (Ibid.: 154), namely: the UK’s (highly processed and mechanised) bread industry. This strategic formulation of past and place is reflective of wider gastronomic marketing trends which have embraced the:

dominant ideological constructions of Scotland (that) are such that it continues to be the rural space which lends both Scottish food and tourism products their particular appeal... the rural space remains powerfully locked into images of the past which are increasingly problematic... The continued dominance of representations of ‘peasant pasts’ (crofting and clanship) ... is such that current promotion of the cultural industries in these ‘traditional’ terms is both widespread and expected. (Burnett, 2003: 28)

Andrew’s endeavour is a fundamentally conservative one based on ‘thinking of places as areas with boundaries around’ (Massey, 1994: 154). As Massey reminds us: ‘what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular

locus... It is, indeed, a *meeting* place' (Ibid.). Peter's conceptualisation of Ozolco as a place stems from his appreciation of the 'constellation of social relations' that Ozolcanians have formed within and beyond the borders of their native village. In contrast to the coherent local community assumed in Andrew's discourse, the pinole project explicitly conveys the sense that 'communities can exist without being in the same place – from networks of friends with like interests, to major religious, ethnic or political communities' (Massey, 1994: 153).

Peter's initiative stands in stark contrast to the notions of place promoted by Bread Matters and 'Scotland, the Bread', aiming instead to strengthen the translocal networks between Ozolco's local producers and Philadelphia's transmigrant community (Littaye, 2015b). As Peter's narrative reveals, the pinole project emerged from the intricate interconnectedness of Ozolco (and Mexican) migrant community in Philadelphia to the local farmers in Ozolco.

The pinole project thus understands Ozolco as:

articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. (Massey, 1994: 153)

The diverging notions of place and the past encapsulated by both HBFIs emerge partly from the founders' differing ideologies. Peter believes that the pinole project will benefit Ozolcanians (in Mexico *and* the USA) because it emulates his notion of Fair Trade 2.0.: a redistribution of capital from the North to Mexico. In contrast, Andrew's project stems from his efforts at 'self-reliance' and at a later stage, at fostering a self-sufficient local grain economy. In other words, the pinole project was designed to incorporate (and grow) from the

transnational flow of people, goods and capital whereas Andrew's initiative fosters a 'local' economy within the confines of Scotland's boundaries: Scottish bakeries using Scottish wheat and selling bread locally. Ironically though, Bread Matters caters mainly to 'cosmopolitan' elites attracted by his politics of 'perfection'. In a sense, Bread Matters' business model conflicts with the very principles espoused by 'Scotland, the Bread'. By capitalising on a consumer base principally external to those 'Scotland, the Bread' seeks to support: small-scale and marginalised Scottish farmers and artisanal bakers (who cannot afford Andrew's courses). Andrew's very presence at Terra Madre in 2012 exemplifies how a local food project strives to engage with a global and reflexive consumer base in an effort to gain a competitive edge within ethical markets.

The projects' structural differences are also partially rooted in the different plight facing Ozolco (and to a larger extent, Mexico) and Scotland's agro-food industry. The first project sought to curb youth migration currently hollowing out Ozolco in the wake of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and Mexico's neoliberal policies. On the other hand, Andrew is concerned with the lack of politics in discussions over food in the UK, the disappearance of Scottish agro-biodiversity and pressing concerns about the health of British diets.

The pinole project and Bread Matters both sprung from specific socio-economic and political contexts, demonstrating how:

foods do not simply come from places, organically growing out of them, but also make places as symbolic constructs, being deployed in the discursive construction of various imaginative geographies... In consequence practices and modes of differentiation require critical analysis. (Cook and Crang 1996: 140)

Despite contrasting narratives, both founders devised their HBFIs which, ‘at the micro level ... have their foundation, and logic, in theories of the competitive advantage of firms’ (Tregear et al., 2007: 13). By promoting pinole and sourdough to national and international markets, Peter and Andrew not only strove to develop the production of these heritage foods, they facilitated the “translation” of marginal agriculture into a globalised practice’ (Grasseni, 2005). Similarly, they appealed to a global ‘cosmopolitan’ elite (notably Slow Food’s elite), enthusiastic about the benefits that may emerge from ‘globalization’ (Friedman and Friedman, 2008).

Alternative social organisations such as HBFIs exist and evolve hand in hand with contemporary capitalist society (Jessop, 1997). Pinole and ‘real bread’ are ‘not survivals as such, they are generated out of sustained commercial activity, state regulatory systems, and international trade agreements’ (Pratt, 2007: 291). The pinole project and Bread Matters emulate the north-centric character of broader alternative agro-food projects by their propensity to value accumulation and regulation (Gibbon and Ponte, 2008) as profit-making enterprises benefitting small-scale and marginalised farmers. Their strategy underlines the complex and paradoxical role that heritage plays within the geographies of food. Though both HBFIs are concerned with the preservation of certain culinary traditions, their narratives encapsulate how ‘Envisioning food as heritage becomes a way to authenticate and validate the existence and practices of a culture and becomes a way to commodify the culture itself (see Lindholm 2008)’ (Castellanos and Bergstress, 2014: 202). The commodification of heritage of both pinole and ‘real bread’ is a strategic - and as this article argues - deliberate means to secure the success of HBFIs within national and international markets. As such, these HBFIs challenge the binary opposition between neoliberalism and alternative economy

ideologies (Ilbery and Maye, 2005), as they both embrace the preservation of rural lifestyles *through* the capitalisation of these rural areas' typical and heritage products.

As typical of Ozolco and Scotland, pinole and 'real bread' respectively, are 'a mixture of tradition and innovation, physicality and symbolism, mechanization and craftsmanship, endogeneity and exogeneity, myths and realities' (Bowen and de Master, 2011: 81). The very process by which foods are articulated as heritage (heritagisation), which capitalises on the commodification of the heritage that foods embody, blurs the boundaries of what is authentically unique, real or heritage. The ambiguity of the meanings emanating from the use of 'heritage' or 'the past' as qualities facilitates particular articulations of place: 'any claim to establish the identity of that place depends upon presenting a particular reading of that history' (Massey, 1995: 188). This ambiguity, inherent in notions of the past and heritage, enables extra-local actors such as Peter and Andrew to use, rearticulate and redefine values embedded in heritage foods. In so doing, they pursue their own social, economic and political goals, reflective of their social status. The senses of place that emanates from such articulations underline how places are 'not only the recipient of global forces' but 'the origin and propagator of them' (Massey, 2007: 15). As founders, these actors' discourse reveal how the construction of a place 'can come, in part, precisely through the particularity of linkage *to* that "outside" which is therefore itself part of what constitutes the place' (emphasis in the original, 1994: 155).

8- Conclusions

This article sought to shed light on the 'operational rationalities' (Goodman et al., 2012: 3) underpinning alternative food projects and the sense of place they articulate and strategise from. In so doing, it highlights the role of founders as actors that underscore dominant

narratives of globalisation and alternative food geographies. By borrowing Massey's theory on place and the past (1994; 1995), the analysis reveals how the founders' conflicting understandings of heritage are reflected in – and feed into – diverging conceptualisations of place. This is partly due to the differing ideologies embedded within each project and to the geographical specificity – and socio-economic situations – of the actors and regions these initiatives were designed to support.

Despite their commonalities, the narrative of both founders underlines a variety of articulations and perceptions of heritage. Exploring these notions of heritage in food re-emphasises how notions of the past are intrinsically linked to articulations of place (Massey, 1995; 1994). Andrew's emphasis on reviving the local grain economy in Scotland through heritage landraces nurtures reactionary views of Scotland as a bounded place, exemplifying 'competitive localisms'. In comparison, evocations of heritage and the past are purely instrumental for Peter who understands the pinole project as a fundamentally transnational one, reflective of Ozolco as a place continuously shaped by the impacts of migration (and thus globalisation) and the translocal relations between Ozolcanians in Mexico and Philadelphia.

In both cases, the financial success of HBFIs rests upon the commodification of heritage, highlighting how the initial selection of heritage foods is based on the discursive capacity of their HBFIs to appeal to a reflexive basis of consumer elites. The heritagisation of pinole and 'real bread' is in effect a strategic means for ensuring the viability of these initiatives *as well as* preserving and supporting rural areas and lifestyles. The very elasticity of the notions of 'heritage' and 'the past' facilitates the pursuit of these varied aims and the constructions of place.

The findings of this article call for renewed engagements with the operational logics that shape alternative food projects and their geographies. As the stories of the founders of the pinole project and Bread Matters demonstrate, a wealth of complex and at times, conflicting motivations and ideologies are inscribed within these projects, imploding the clear binary oppositions between conventional and alternative food systems. Integrating notions of the past and the voices of founders within the analysis agro-food studies can shed light on the process of qualification of heritage foods, the power dynamics that underpin that process and the geographies that emerge from the heritagisation of food.

Chapter 5- Baking Bread Memories for the Future

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The smell of good bread baking, like the sound of lightly flowing water, is indescribable in its evocation of innocence and delight...³²

1- Introduction

Bread, the staple of life, is ubiquitous in UK households. Ninety-nine percent of households in the UK buy bread, and the UK eats the equivalent of over nine million large loaves of bread every day³³. Through its widespread consumption, bread offers a platform from which to understand the erosion of artisanal (baking) skills and the ways that food networks have emerged to counter this loss. This article centres in particular on the discourses and narratives of the “real bread” network of bread-bakers (some professional, others infrequent bakers) who have learned how to bake “real bread” with a food movement called Bread Matters.

Bread Matters is a pioneering British food movement and business based in Scotland that supports the creation of community-owned bakeries in the UK and offers courses that teach how to bake “real bread”, in contradistinction to bread produced through mechanised processes. Bread Matters celebrates artisanal, hand-made baking with organic and local

³² Fisher, F.J.K., *The Art of Eating* (New York: MacMillan, 1954).

³³ [Bakers Federation website](http://www.bakersfederation.org.uk/the-bread-industry/about-the-bread-industry.html), ‘History of the Bread Industry’, accessed 23rd August 2013.
<<http://www.bakersfederation.org.uk/the-bread-industry/about-the-bread-industry.html>>

ingredients. It claims that a Bread Revolution is under way in the UK³⁴, leading individual to bake and set-up artisan bakeries, thwarting the corporate and highly mechanised bread industry - a food movement still understudied which stands as an example of grassroots efforts in the UK to counter the mechanization of the food industry. The overwhelmingly mechanical production of bread in the UK can be traced to the development in 1961 of the Chorleywood Bread Process, which combines vegetable fat, yeast and improvers at high speeds so that a loaf can be made in less than three and a half hours. This highly mechanised and chemical process is now used to produce 80 percent of bread baked³⁵ in the UK because it reduces the cost of production and more than doubles a loaf's shelf-life³⁶.

The bread industry in the UK is thus now heavily dependent on modern technology, and less reliant on individual skill and craft, or the *savoir-faire* of bread-baking. It is estimated that the number of small-scale artisanal bakeries in the UK fell from around 18,000 to fewer than 3500 between the 1950s and the 2000s³⁷. Ninety-seven percent of bread in the UK is made in factories or supermarkets, reflecting the 'growth of an ideology of neo-liberal market and the rise of a concentration in corporate control of agri-food'.³⁸ The erosion of artisanal, hand-made bread typifies the wider mechanisation, systematisation, and standardisation of the food system in the UK.

³⁴ Andrew Whitley, the founder of Bread Matters, co-founded the Real Bread Campaign in the UK in 2008.

³⁵ [Bakers Federation](http://www.bakersfederation.org.uk/the-bread-industry/about-the-bread-industry.html), 'History of the Bread Industry', accessed 23rd August 2014.
<<http://www.bakersfederation.org.uk/the-bread-industry/about-the-bread-industry.html>>

³⁶ [Bakers Federation](http://www.bakersfederation.org.uk/the-bread-industry/about-the-bread-industry.html), 'History of the Bread Industry', accessed 23rd August 2014.
<<http://www.bakersfederation.org.uk/the-bread-industry/about-the-bread-industry.html>>

³⁷ Sustain website, 'Press release- from Brick Lane to Bread Street', accessed 21st August 2014,
<http://www.sustainweb.org/pdf/25_08_04.pdf>

³⁸ Morgan, K., Marden, T., Murdoch, J., *Worlds of Food: Place, Power, and Provenance in the Food Chain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

“Real bread” is a concept constructed by Bread Matters in response to such industrialised production methods and the resultant perceived lack of authenticity in the modern British food system. As this article explores, the “real” nature of “real bread” is linked to representations of how bread should be baked that stand in stark contrast to the Chorleywood Bread Process. In this case, the “real” in “real bread” is based on notions of the correct use of time, celebrated in Bread Matters’ narrative that evoke an idealised and fixed past for bakers and the craft of baking. The impetus for remembering “real bread” – understood as the desire to bake as well as the act of eating – is rooted in attempts at reviving both artisanal foodstuffs and the skills intrinsically linked to their survival. The “real bread” network is thus a platform through which to grasp how baking bread influences its consumption and vice-versa, enabling us to break down the all-too-familiar dichotomy between consumption and production. In relation to food, *what* we remember is necessarily and intrinsically linked to *how* we remember. Within the discourse surrounding “real bread”, it is assumed that those who bake and consume it to regain a sense of reality and authenticity lacking from the food system they would otherwise inhabit. As such, the movement for the expansion of “real bread” is mainly focused on food production, which has had little traction as a potential site for the analysis of reflexive conduct.

In investigating Bread Matters’ formulation of “real bread”, this article seeks to bridge two academic fields within food studies: the conceptualisation of foods from the past as forms of cultural capital with the potential to alleviate broader social and economical concerns in local rural areas³⁹; and heritage or traditional foods as a response to feelings of alienation typical of

³⁹ Brunori G. and Rossi A., ‘Synergy and coherence through collective action: some insights from wine routes in Tuscany’ *Sociologia ruralis* 40 (2000), 409-423.

post-Fordist, Western societies, ‘divorced from their origins through urbanization and population migration, such senses of pride and place have to be created’.⁴⁰

Through discourse analysis, this article underlines the role of food networks in shaping culinary pasts and heritage. It investigates how food networks revive eroding culinary skills through the structuring of pastness as ‘a vague “then”, a “time before”’.⁴¹ It considers how “reality” of bread is constructed according to different temporalities and representation of the past, and moreover what consequently constitutes “unreal” bread (the majority of bread eaten in the UK). It ultimately aims to efface the binary oppositions of ‘broad-brushed contrasts between “now” and “then”, “past” and “present”’⁴² upon which these food networks base their legitimacy.

2- Bread Matters

Bread Matters is a business that offers classes on how to prepare and bake handmade goods (though it does not sell bread) and also helps community-shared bakeries to establish themselves within or outside of the UK, through paid or free consultancy. Its recipes and larger philosophy are based on sourdough, a type of bread that necessitates a “slow” fermentation. It heavily encourages baking with “heritage” and organic cereals such as einkorn (discussed below) with the exclusion of any artificial additives. Indeed, “real bread” is ‘defined as being made without additives, fermented for several hours and always touched

⁴⁰ McIntosh A.J., and Richard C.P., ‘Affirming authenticity’ *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 26: 590.

⁴¹ Fowler, P. J., *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now* (London: Routledge, 1992):6.

⁴² Samuel, R., *Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso, 1994: 6).

by human hands’.⁴³ Furthermore, because of its production methods and the raw ingredients, “real bread” is ‘better for you, better for your community, better for the planet’.⁴⁴

Andrew Whitley, the founder of Bread Matters also co-founded the Real Bread Campaign (RBC) in 2008, through which he aimed to spread the philosophy of “real bread” throughout the UK. The RBC website announces their aim as being:

to increase the enjoyment, production and consumption of bread made with natural ingredients, appropriate fermentation and no adulterants...we want to see grain and bread production at the heart of a sustainable ecological food system...We campaign for proper labelling so at least we know what we’re eating. We want all the additives – declared and hidden – out of bread. We are helping to organise scientific research into why fast-made bread leaves so many people bloated. We work with other organisations to make real bread available in schools, hospitals and other public institutions.⁴⁵

The organisation constructs its notion of “real bread” in contrast to the ills it perceives in today’s dysfunctional food system and in relation to bread from the past:

In the pre-industrial era, time was an essential ingredient in bread-making, even after the processes of fermentation were well understood.⁴⁶

⁴³ Bread Matters website, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://www.breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=15>

⁴⁴ Bread Matters website, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://www.breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=15>.

⁴⁵ Bread Matters website, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://www.breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=15>

⁴⁶ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

The notion that in the past, baking was ‘well understood’, stands as an ideal against which to criticise the bread industry in the UK today, with its heavy machinery and lack of expertise and manual skill:

Without time and watchfulness, there would be no bread as we know it...Before the advent of commercial yeasts, bakers had to make their own leavening mixture.⁴⁷

Tacit knowledge as well as the use of time necessary to baking are seen to be replaced by machines and chemistry inherent in the modernisation of the bread industry. Indeed, time is a key element in the production of “real bread” made without preservatives or additives and whose dough thus rises solely through the action of yeast. “Real bread” is intrinsically slowly made bread. Time – and its slow unfolding – is the essence of the “reality” of “real bread”. If we rob bread of its time, it fails to be the “staple of life”, since:

...it was, above all, time which caused that first left-over piece of flour-and-water dough to surprise its maker by rising a little after a few hours of benign neglect...Without time and watchfulness, there would be no bread as we know it...Without time to ferment the dough and allow the microorganisms to interact, bread not only lacks flavour but may not be the staff of life we fondly imagine.⁴⁸

The organisation deplores the nominal use of time deployed in the global food system, both at a consumption and production level. It takes a vocal stance against fast food culture by praising home baking:

For the British baking industry in the past fifty or so years, a more serious race has been on: to make mass-produced bread as quickly as possible in the interests of profit

⁴⁷ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁴⁸ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

and low prices. Most big plants moved to the “no-time dough”, in which a combination of high-speed mixing and chemical additives is substituted for traditional fermentation. No-time dough: the very antithesis of leavened bread as it first emerged many thousands of years ago.⁴⁹

The additives (enzymes and chemicals) that reduce the baking time in the Chorleywood Bread Process are perceived as unwanted adulterations, and inhibit bread from qualifying as “real” because they replace traditional baking production. In other words, “real bread” is inherently made from “real” baking methods where time is respected. Indeed, ‘modern distribution systems, dedicated to provide multiple retailers with maximum freshness, interrupt the rhythm of time necessary to real bread’.⁵⁰ According to Bread Matters, the bread industry has habituated us to a homogenous flavour of mass-produced bread and more perniciously, to the idea of perpetual freshness. The bread industry has limited our capacity to identify fresh bread by offering loaves with preservatives:

[T]he trouble is that if absolute freshness (even the ersatz freshness of a ‘baked-off’ loaf) becomes our minimum standard, we progressively rob ourselves of the benchmark by which the true delight of freshness can be judged.⁵¹

The modern imperative for long-lasting freshness requires that freshness is a stable state available in processed bread: our experience of bread is, as Whitley labels, one of “absolute” freshness. The mistreatment of time robs bread of its “reality”. Time cannot punctuate the

⁴⁹ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁵⁰ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁵¹ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

various stages of the evolution of the loaf – fresh or stale. Industrial bread limits our experience of food since bread should be allowed to ‘grow old with dignity’ so that we may ‘use it in different ways, dunking it in soup, toasting it, covering it trencher-style with succulent stews. Even when quite stale it still delights us, in summer pudding, croûtons or kvass’.⁵² The list of recipes entails a cornucopia intrinsically linked to “real bread” which, by its very transitory nature, enables the organisation to weave ‘alternative temporalities into the present’⁵³ as well as to refer to an idyllic past ‘when bread was a vital source of sustenance, it was usually so hard won that throwing it away was a sin’.⁵⁴

By referring loosely to ‘the past’, Bread Matters’ discourse is a ‘mixing of pastness and presentness’⁵⁵ that presents itself as a template for living in the now.⁵⁶ Foodstuffs gain meaning through their association with a past that is either invented or re-enacted, in what Margaret Visser coins the ‘commodification of nostalgia’.⁵⁷ As Visser points out, the food industry has capitalised on the growing desire for authentic, artisanal, or traditional foods. Indeed, “real bread” typifies:

In Western societies, in which political and cultural processes are generally mediated to the consumer by professionals, particularly great reliance is similarly placed in the

⁵² Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁵³ Verdery, K., *Political Lives and Dead Bodies. Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999: 115.

⁵⁴ Bread Matters: ‘Time and Bread’, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁵⁵ McIntosh A.J., and Richard C.P., ‘Affirming authenticity’ in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612.

⁵⁶ Fowler, P. J., *The Past in Contemporary Society* (London: Routledge 1992).

⁵⁷ Visser, M., *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos of an Ordinary Meal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).

interpretation of authenticity to the consumer by professionals (Walsh 1992)⁵⁸ ...what is and is not authentic is largely the consequence of replicated interpretations.⁵⁹

The organisation's discourse equally embraces biblical connotations, claiming 'it is no surprise that the language of bread finds echoes in religious metaphor. From the germination of the good seed to symbolic identification with the body of Christ, bread speaks to us of becoming, of transformation'.⁶⁰ The association of "real bread" with the body of Christ confers a sacred aspect on food that, by association, suggests that bread that fails to be "real" – or those who fail to eat "real" bread – are sinful. The notion of "real bread" is thus couched in a rhetoric that invites an association between good foods and good bakers/eaters, whereas unreal processed bread can be linked to bad foods and its evil bakers/eaters.

Bread Matters' quest for the "authentic" or the "real" epitomises a shift in the ideals pursued by "foodies" in the past decade.⁶¹ Instead of seeking authenticity in foreign cuisine (the "other outward"), they are reaching back into our culinary past to guide them towards a "reality" that they feel is lacking from our modern food. Baking and eating "real bread" are acts of authenticity that is expressed as 'identity, autonomy, individuality, self-development, and

⁵⁸ Walsh, K., *The Representation of the Past. Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World* (London: Routledge 1992) cited in McIntosh, A.J. and C. Richard 'Affirming authenticity', in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, p. 590.

⁵⁹ McIntosh A.J. and C. Richard, 'Affirming authenticity', in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, p. 590.

⁶⁰ Bread Matters: 'Time and Bread', *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19

⁶¹ Hannerz, U., 'Reflections on varieties of culturespeak', *European journal of cultural studies*, 2 (1999), 393-407.

self-realization (Berman 1970).⁶² It is the affirmation of identity through looking back, as a memory but with the pain removed (Lowenthal 1985)^{63, 64}.

The capacity of the past to confer “reality” on food is typified in the interest in heritage seeds. One of the key projects for Bread Matters is “Scotland, the Bread”, which aims to ‘build a local grain economy’ by helping to ‘re-establish a Scottish flour and bread supply that is healthy, equitable, locally-controlled and sustainable’.⁶⁵ The project attempts to revive the biodiversity of grains ‘from the past’ in Scotland and in the UK more broadly, whereby, at present:

little, if any, of this wheat was used directly by local breadmakers. As with other commodity foods, the part of the supply that isn’t fed to animals or used to make biofuels is bought by large milling conglomerates or aggregated by traders. Its identity is submerged and its price is distorted by speculators. Worse, the kind of grain grown is determined by the presumed needs of intensive farming and industrial bread production. To build health and food sovereignty requires better grains, less intensive processing and more connection between producers and bread eaters.⁶⁶

⁶² Berman M., *The Politics of Authenticity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970) cited in McIntosh A.J. and C. Richard, ‘Affirming authenticity’, in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, p. 590.

⁶³ Lowenthal, D., *The Past is a Foreign Country*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) cited in McIntosh A.J. and C. Richard, ‘Affirming authenticity’, in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, p. 590.

⁶⁴ McIntosh A.J. and C. Richard, ‘Affirming authenticity’, in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, p. 590.

⁶⁵ Bread Matters: ‘Time and Bread’, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁶⁶ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
<http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

“Scotland, the Bread” started in March 2013 by planting small samples of 19th century Scottish wheat on four organic farms. The aim of the project was to start researching new crosses, mixtures, or landraces.

Bread Matters claims that ‘the growing interest in older grains (e.g. spelt, emmer, einkorn) and “heritage” varieties mirrors significant citizen dissatisfaction with industrial wheat and bread.’⁶⁷ Through this project, Bread Matters promotes nostalgia for a Lost Eden⁶⁸ that responds to desires for a “reality” rooted in the past. The organisation’s discourse is couched in terms of a nostalgia rooted in memories of Gemeinschaft⁶⁹ (i.e. in terms of ideals rather than in terms of regular transgressions of these ideals). The appeal to an ‘armchair nostalgia’⁷⁰ is symptomatic of late capitalist consumerism whereby the ‘merchandise supplies the lubrication of nostalgia’ and the consumer ‘need only bring the faculty of nostalgia to an image that will supply the memory of a loss he or she has never suffered’.⁷¹ In this sense, both Bread Matters and “real bread” bakers engage with a commodification of ‘pastness,’ which underlines ‘needs for identity, and the finding of the true self through the appropriation of pastness’.⁷²

⁶⁷ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013. <http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19>

⁶⁸ Sutton, D., *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (London: Berg, 2001).

⁶⁹ Gemeinschaft is a category coined by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies that indicates social relations characterized by intimacy, trust and common values and through which individuals share memories of community.

⁷⁰ Appadurai, A., *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press, 1996).

⁷¹ Appadurai, A., *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press, 1996), p. 78.

⁷² McIntosh and Richard, ‘Affirming authenticity’, in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, p. 590.

3- Slow Food and global counter-movements

Bread Matters' philosophy echoes a wider global counter-movement against the increasing "McDonaldization" of today's food system. The study of Bread Matters reflects a wider shift in the academic discourse coined the 'cultural turn'⁷³ in the food system's 'turn to quality'.⁷⁴ Bread Matters epitomises various alternative movements characteristic of Post-Fordist⁷⁵ economies that have been spurred by demands for local, organic, fresh, artisanal or traditional foods.⁷⁶ Much of the recent academic literature on "alternative" foods and networks has been dedicated to ethical eating⁷⁷ and complementary trends such as organic food, Fair Trade, or vegetarianism.⁷⁸ Some believe efforts for more reflexive consumption patterns represent a paradigm shift away from an industrial food system.⁷⁹ Others, meanwhile, consider these patterns simply as the reverse side of mass food production.⁸⁰

Such counter-movements are typified by Slow Food: 'a global, grassroots organization with supporters in 150 countries around the world who are linking the pleasure of good food with

⁷³ Thrift, N., 'Performing cultures in the new economy', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 4 (2000), 674-692.

⁷⁴ Goodman, D. 'The quality 'turn' and alternative food practices: Reflections and agenda', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19 (2003): 1-7.

⁷⁵ Understood as the shift from an economy based on mass production of homogenous goods to one distinguished by "flexible specialization."

⁷⁶ Harvey D., 'Flexible accumulation through urbanization: reflections on 'post- modernism' in the American city' in *Antipode* 19 (1987), 260-286.

⁷⁷ Bell, D. and Valentine, G., *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat* (London: Routledge, 1997).

⁷⁸ Miele, M. and Murdoch, J. 'Fast food/slow food: differentiating and standardising cultures of food,' in Almas, R. and Lawrence, G. (eds.) *Globalisation, localisation and sustainable livelihoods* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 25-41.

⁷⁹ Schossler, E., *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the American Meal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2001).

⁸⁰ Guthman, J., 'Fast Food/Organic Food: Reflexive Tastes and the Making of "Yuppie Chow"', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 4 (2003), 45-58.

a commitment to their community and the environment'.⁸¹ The Slow Food movement emphasises the importance of maintaining the knowledge and taste of “real”, “slow”, or “forgotten” foods and the skills necessary for the preservation of culinary tradition. Bread Matters is one of the local activities affiliated to Slow Food,⁸² and during Slow Food’s 2012 Terra Madre event, Bread Matters held a stand promoting the philosophy of “real bread”.⁸³ Both Bread Matters and Slow Food have taken a stance against the conventional food system, symptomatic of how ‘things are speeding up and spreading out’⁸⁴ by either identifying the foods that need saving or encouraging the enskillment necessary to their survival. Slow Food’s rhetoric provides a global framework to Bread Matters’ discourse.

The Ark of Taste (Ark) is one of Slow Food’s strategies in support of small-scale producers: an online list or ‘compendium that proposed the documentation of disappearing agricultural and food products on a global scale’.⁸⁵ Slow Food has thus evolved into a global ‘cultural producer’⁸⁶ that orchestrates and defines which foods qualify as ‘threatened with extinction’⁸⁷

⁸¹ Slow Food UK website, ‘The UK Ark of Taste & Chef Alliance Programme’, accessed 8th July 2014 <<http://www.slowfood.org.uk/ark-info/forgotten-foods/>>

⁸² Bread Matters is a supporter of Slow Food UK in that they ‘share and want to support the Slow Food cause by engaging with [their] network to achieve positive change in the food system’ in Slow Food UK website, ‘The UK Ark of Taste & Chef Alliance Programme’, accessed 8th July 2014 <<http://www.slowfood.org.uk/ark-info/forgotten-foods/>>

⁸³ Terra Madre: World Meeting of Food Communities, An Idea was co-organised with the Salone del Gusto for the first time in Turin in 2012. It is a biannual event, which aims to link ‘destiny communities’ i.e. farmers from around the world as well as potential global food distribution networks.

⁸⁴ Massey, D., *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), 146.

⁸⁵ Leitch, A., ‘Gastronomic Revolutionaries: Slow Food and the politics of ‘virtuous globalization’’ in *The Globalization of Food*, edited by Inglis D., and Gimlin, D. (New York: Berg Press, 2009).

⁸⁶ MacDonald, K.I., “The morality of cheese: A paradox of defensive localism in a transnational cultural economy.” *Geoforum* 44 (2013), pp. 93-102,

⁸⁷ Pietrykowski, B., ‘You are what you eat: the social economy of the Slow Food movement’ in *Review of Social Economy* 62 (3), pp. 307–321, 315.

and which do not. Through its Ark, Slow Food determines which foods need to be remembered. Luciana Castellina aptly conveys the impetus of the Ark: ‘there is a desperately serious genocide of taste material culture... food is what gives meaning to human existence and taste is something that gives meaning.’⁸⁸ The discourse of the Ark thus introduces paradoxical appreciations for time: we must take our time eating and preparing Ark products yet we must simultaneously hurry in doing so, or they will become extinct. As Slow Food UK proclaims on its website: ‘eat it or lose it!’. In upholding a discourse of urgency, simultaneously a discourse of nostalgia for ‘disappearing foods’ and ‘forgotten flavours’⁸⁹, Slow Food legitimises the Ark’s discriminating criteria, which mirrors Bread Matters’ process of discriminating between “real” and “unreal” bread.

One of the foodstuffs listed by the Ark of Taste UK is einkorn, a heritage grain also endorsed by Bread Matters. Einkorn is the oldest type of wheat, but with the majority of UK bread being produced from one strain of (engineered) wheat, einkorn disappeared from the England 5,600 years ago until 2008 when Doves Farm on the Wiltshire/Berkshire border began a collaborative project with a small group of organic farmers to reinstate its production. They are currently conserving einkorn *in situ* as well as other ‘historical series of varieties’, focusing on the common bread wheat grown in Britain since Neolithic times.⁹⁰ Einkorn seeds

⁸⁸ Cited in an interview in Petrini, C., *Slow Food: Collected Thoughts on Taste, Tradition, and the Honest Pleasures of Food* (White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2001), 32.

⁸⁹ Slow Food UK website, ‘The UK Ark of Taste & Chef Alliance Programme’, accessed 8th July 2014 <<http://www.slowfood.org.uk/ark-info/forgotten-foods/>>

⁹⁰ Slow Food UK website, ‘The UK Ark of Taste & Chef Alliance Programme’, accessed 8th July 2014 <<http://www.slowfood.org.uk/ark-info/forgotten-foods/>>

thus stand as “witnesses of the past”⁹¹ whose very reintroduction underlines the interrupted agricultural heritage within the UK.⁹²

In other words, the constancy of “real bread’s” tradition and heritage, implicitly assumed in Bread Matters’ discourse, is an invention.⁹³ This invention obscures and facilitates the organisation’s role in rediscovering ‘a sense of place and of the past [that] is conveyed formally rather than organically’.⁹⁴

With its explicitly biblical imagery of deluge and salvation, Bread Matters’ and the Ark’s shared discourse with regard to grain promotes, in Kenneth MacDonald’s words, a ‘rhetoric of redemption’ in heritage seeds, inviting an ‘aesthetics of safeguard’ enmeshed with moral undertones and nostalgia⁹⁵. Slow Food similarly ‘promises not only to save our conscience but to bring the world back from the edge of alimentary apocalypse’.⁹⁶ MacDonald argues that Slow Food portrays eating Ark products as an act of ‘moral salvation,’ surreptitiously introducing an element of morality into the experience of eating (intrinsically linked to remembering ‘forgotten flavours’).⁹⁷ This rhetoric of redemption is necessarily coupled to the naturalistic discourse of food: we need to save nature. In other words, Slow Food’s discourse

⁹¹ Dove M., ‘The memory of agronomy and the agronomy of memory,’ in Nazarea, V. (ed.), *Ethnoecology: Situated Knowledges/Located Lives* (Tuscon: Univ. Ariz. Press, 1999), pp. 45-66.

⁹² Sutton, D., *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (London: Berg, 2001).

⁹³ Hobsbawm E., ‘Introduction: inventing traditions’, in Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 1-14.

⁹⁴ McIntosh and Richard, ‘Affirming authenticity’, in *Annals of Tourism Research* (1999) 2.6: pp. 589-612, 590.

⁹⁵ MacDonald, K.I., "The morality of cheese: A paradox of defensive localism in a transnational cultural economy." *Geoforum* 44 (2013), pp. 93-102.

⁹⁶ Paxson, H., 'Slow Food in a Fat Society: Satisfying Ethical Appetites,' *Gastronomica* 5 (2005), 17.

⁹⁷ MacDonald, K.I., "The morality of cheese: A paradox of defensive localism in a transnational cultural economy." *Geoforum* 44 (2013), pp. 93-102.

is one whereby we have a moral obligation to save nature (and its forgotten flavours) by eating it. Andrea Nightingale meanwhile, believes Slow Food's naturalistic discourse is an unexamined and pre-given category whereby the appeal to what is “natural” exempts its followers’ actions from political and moral scrutiny’.⁹⁸ To remember, produce or eat forgotten flavours – most notably “real bread” – is an act, which resonates throughout Bread Matters and Slow Food’s rhetoric as being endowed with morality. “Real bread” needs time to be baked and consumed, yet there is little time to lose in baking or eating it if we are to save our world and ourselves.

4- Enskillment

Time is not only essential to the production of “real bread”; it is also fundamental to the enskillment of its bakers. Slow Food and Bread Matters identify the disappearance of artisanal foods with the erosion of *savoir-faire* and the loss of ‘food memories’⁹⁹ – exemplified by distorted notions of freshness in bread. Nadia Seremetakis believes that Western cultures are experiencing a ‘reorganisation of public memory’, since sensory premises, memories, and histories linked to food are being erased in entire regional cultures. The loss of memories of food is intrinsically linked to the loss of craft in food production. Duruz makes a link between time spent cooking and the loss of culinary skills:

Although the "time-poor" Generation X has become the technology-rich one (the development of the microwave chip enabling easy access to both food and

⁹⁸ Nightingale, Andrea J. "Can Social Theory Adequately Address Nature-Society Issues? Do political ecology and science studies in Geography incorporate ecological change?" (2006), 6
<<https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/1842/1437/1/anightingale004.pdf>> (accessed 2014.07.07)

⁹⁹ Sutton, D., *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (London: Berg, 2001).

entertainment), at the same time it is this generation that displays a definite "lack" in the everyday skills of food preparation.¹⁰⁰

The speeding up of the industrial bread production and the decline of 'everyday skills of food preparation' mean that 'cooking seems to be increasingly socially disembedded if not disembodied'.¹⁰¹ By offering courses teaching "real bread" baking, Bread Matters strives to redress this memory loss by enskilling people with, effectively, the means to bake "reality" into bread.

As Richard Sutton reminds us, any skill involved in craftsmanship necessitates a context in which we can exercise judgment as well as adjust our expertise to each task at hand.¹⁰² It depends on the dual process of 'enculturation' and 'enskillment' whereby taste and skills are learned, mobilized, and repeatedly trained.¹⁰³ Our 'enculturation' or 'education of attention'¹⁰⁴ demands that our senses be engaged in our apprenticeship with and within our environment: our whole person (mind/body) is learning a new skill. Baking becomes a simpler, non-mechanised tool that extends the 'whole person [into the environment] and draws power from this'.¹⁰⁵ "Real bread" demands time and apprenticeship: the foundation for embodied memories (i.e. skills). It necessitates an understanding of our environment and the objects

¹⁰⁰ Duruz, J., 'Home cooking, nostalgia, and the purchase of tradition', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 12 (2001), 24.

¹⁰¹ Sutton, D. 'Cooking Skills, the senses and memory: the fate of practical knowledge' (2006) in Counihan, C. and P. Van Esterik, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 299-321 305.

¹⁰² Sutton, D., 'A Tale of Easter Ovens: Food and Collective Memory', *Collective Memory and Collective Identity* 75 (2008), 157-180.

¹⁰³ Connerton, P., *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁰⁴ Ingold, T., *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000).

¹⁰⁵ Illich, I., *Tools for conviviality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

that we seek to affect as ‘the world [that] is its own best model’.¹⁰⁶ To understand how to bake “real bread”, we need to enskill ourselves (i.e. absorb memories of know-how).

The enculturation and enskillment of baking is illustrated in Bread Matters’ lessons in preparing a sourdough. One of the methods taught during Bread Matters’ “Fundamental” course – a two day course tailored to beginner bakers – is that of “airing” the dough: kneading it in the air (as opposed to on the table) to stretch the gluten bonds of the dough until they are deemed fit for baking. Each sourdough preparation begins with a “starter”: dough that is pre-fermented by wild yeasts and lactic-acid bacteria. This allows the development of flavours in the bread and gives sourdough its distinct taste. At the beginning of the class, none of the participants know how to judge whether the dough has risen sufficiently to be baked. Thus, the purpose of the course is to demonstrate the methods of airing as well as to give them “a feel” for the “right consistency” of a dough before baking it. Participants learn how to refresh a starter: augment its mass without changing its distinct flavour. The starter remains active for an indefinite time in the correct conditions. The mother sourdough (original dough) in Bread Matters, from which the majority of loaves are made, has been continuously refreshed for five years. This not only gives loaves the distinct taste of Bread Matters bread, but also provides a constant platform for Bread Matters’ education in taste. The starter can be passed on from one participant to another and from one generation to another. In this sense, the flavours of sourdough are timeless (since they come from the same starter) yet its production process is regulated entirely by time.

¹⁰⁶ Ingold, T., ‘From the Transmission of Representations to the Education of Attention’, *Paper Archive: Mind, Culture and Activity* (2001) <http://lchc.ucsd.edu/MCA>, 12.

On the Bread Matters website, we are told that the original invention of the sourdough starter (which, we are taught, can be made from scratch from water, flour, and time) was the result of accident and not ingenuity:

For we may surmise that it was, above all, time which caused that first left-over piece of flour-and-water dough to surprise its maker by rising a little after a few hours of benign neglect.¹⁰⁷

During the workshop, participants are also taught that sourdough starter is produced in twelve to thirty-six hours; however, it is from the feel or a gentle poke of the dough that one knows it is sufficiently proved. Participants are encouraged to smell, observe, and touch the dough to gain a ‘reasoned use of the senses’.¹⁰⁸ This necessitates apprenticeship, repetition and the education of the senses, or enskillment. As the founder of Bread Matters reminds us, ‘to know how to bake bread, you need to bake’.¹⁰⁹ The body learns gestures, which it remembers and improves each time it bakes, re-enacting gestures with every loaf. The act of baking, like the bread it produces, enmeshes various temporalities by invoking learnt gestures and past experiences as guides for preparing dough. “Real bread” is thus baked by those who have incorporated the skills for baking through repeated practice. As Sutton claims, craftwork establishes a realm of ‘skill and knowledge perhaps beyond human verbal capacities to explain...language is not an adequate "mirror-tool" for the physical movements of the human body’.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Bread Matters website, ‘Time and Bread’, *Bread Matters*, accessed February 13th, 2013.
http://breadmatters.com/index.php?route=information/information&information_id=19

¹⁰⁸ Sutton, D. ‘Cooking Skills, the senses and memory: the fate of practical knowledge’ (2006) in Counihan, C. and P. Van Esterik, *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 299-321, 310.

¹⁰⁹ Bread Matters Fundamental Course workshop, Macbiehill Farmhouse, Scotland, Bread Matters Fundamental Course, 1-2 June 2013.

¹¹⁰ Sutton, D., *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (London: Berg, 2001), 95.

The baking skills taught by Bread Matters are perpetually evolving as they are transmitted, practised and honed. Within the discourse promoted by the organisation, though, “real bread” is constructed as the product of a static past; it thus ignores the fact that tradition ‘develops with the growth of the organism’.¹¹¹ Bread Matters’ manual for baking “real bread” reflects the growing desire for traditional, authentic, or real foods in the format of what Alan Warde calls a ‘nostalgia cookbook’. Nostalgia cookbooks epitomise static notions of tradition as well as an underlying desire in Western societies for an oral community and the embodied knowledge it transmits. Paradoxically, this knowledge is encapsulated in the written format, the most commodified form of all.¹¹² As Joy Adapon reminds us, ‘As with any other sort of skill, cooking is something that is enacted and embodied, not usually articulated’.¹¹³ The legacy of “real bread” as articulated by the organisation is in this case an invention¹¹⁴ – similar to the agricultural heritage of einkorn – that Bread Matters perpetuates by creating static notions of bread baking culture in the UK. As Jeffrey Pratt reminds us, traditional or artisanal products ‘are not survivals as such; they are generated out of sustained commercial activity, state regulatory systems, and international trade agreements’.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Ingold, T., *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 361.

¹¹² Warde, A., *Consumption, food and taste* (Sage, 1997) cited in Sutton, D., *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (London: Berg, 2001), 142.

¹¹³ Adapon, J., *Culinary Art and Anthropology* (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2008), 14.

¹¹⁴ Hobsbawm E., ‘Introduction: inventing traditions’ in *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger, pp. 1-14. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983).

¹¹⁵ Pratt J., ‘Food values: the local and the authentic’, *Critique of Anthropology* 27 (2007), 292.

5- Conclusion: memory and reality

The potency of the discourses articulated by Bread Matters and Slow Food lies in their promise for salvation intertwined with a return to a “reality” constructed in reference to the past. According to Richard Sennett, the Western world is now experiencing a ‘nostalgia for the real’ in a society of increasingly mass-mediated experience.¹¹⁶ The growing popularity of “real bread” responds to what Doreen Massey argues¹¹⁷ is the general sentiment in affluent First World economies of ‘discomforts of fragmentation, disruption and “placelessness” that have produced nostalgic longings for a secure world and for secure positionings within it’.¹¹⁸ The expansion of fast food culture, she argues, is one of the factors that has had the capacity to ‘erase differences between “this place” and “that” and between “now” and “then”’.¹¹⁹ Borgmann, meanwhile, relates the apparent ‘receding of reality’¹²⁰ to loss of *metis* and *techne* (technique or skill) whereby artisanal expertise is lost to mechanisation and computerisation. The desire to bake “real bread” in the UK thus speaks to feelings of placelessness and disembeddedness, along with a ‘receding of reality’¹²¹. Through “real bread”, Bread Matters directly responds to demands to re-embed food in its social, cultural and environmental context, typified by the Age of Ecology of the third modernity.¹²² “Real bread” offers the

¹¹⁶ Sennett, R., *The craftsman* (Yale University Press, 2008), 155.

¹¹⁷ Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).

¹¹⁸ D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), pp. 146–47 cited in Duruz, J., ‘Home cooking, nostalgia, and the purchase of tradition’ in *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 12 (2001), pp. 21–32, 22.

¹¹⁹ MacClancy, J., *Consuming Culture: Why you eat what you eat* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1992), 193.

¹²⁰ Borgmann, A., *Holding on to Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹²¹ Borgmann, A., *Holding on to Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹²² Goodman, D., ‘Agro- Food Studies in the ‘Age of Ecology’: Nature, Corporeality, Bio- Politics’, *Sociologia ruralis* 39 (1999), 17–38.

opportunity for an aesthetic appreciation¹²³ of food based on the awareness of the temporal flow of food from the past into the present.¹²⁴

Through a discussion of “real bread”, this article has sought insights into the ways that the ‘past is recalled, memorialised and used to construct the present’.¹²⁵ The time gained through the availability of ready-made, processed food and the apparent cornucopia of choice in retail stores has been counterbalanced by a loss of culinary skills and food heritage¹²⁶ as well as a sense of reality. The latter is constructed in opposition to the ills perceived as being inherent in the modern food system by alternative food movements to which they contrast elaborate representations of idyllic gastronomic pasts. In so doing, they capitalise on a wave of ‘nostalgia for reality’¹²⁷ that spurs the search for authenticity and heritage in foods from our past, notably in heritage grains. Bread Matters and Slow Food’s discourse results in a profitable production of nostalgia, whereby “real bread”, linked to einkorn, creates what Potter and Tilzey term ‘spaces for post-productivism within an inherently productivist agriculture...[by] map[ing] out an alternative “consumption countryside”’.¹²⁸ Presented within the discourses of Bread Matters and Slow Food are thus promises of salvation, redemption, and reality because “real bread”, by its very name, holds a promise to ground us back in “reality” by saving the constructed tradition of baking bread.

¹²³ ‘Practical aesthetics’ mingles ‘the social and the natural in the very taste of the foods themselves and this combination points to an ethical element in the products and cuisines proposed by Slow Food’: Miele M, and Murdoch J., ‘The aestheticisation of food: Taste, time and typicality’, *Sociologia Ruralis* 42 (2002), 319.

¹²⁴ Miele M, and Murdoch J., ‘The aestheticisation of food’, 328.

¹²⁵ Holtzman, J.D., ‘Food and Memory,’ 363.

¹²⁶ In their study of British cuisine, Mason and Brown (1999) classified more than 400 regional foodstuffs as ‘endangered species’, a number higher today.

¹²⁷ Borgmann, A., *Holding on to Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹²⁸ Potter, C., and Tilzey, M., ‘Agriculture policy discourses in the European post-fordist transition: neoliberalism, neomercantilism, and multifunctionality’, *Progress in Human Geography* 29 (2005), 581-600.

However, the temporality referred to in the discourse surrounding “real bread” is ambivalent. On the one hand, Bread Matters claims that the British bread industry distorts our sense of reality by perverting our sense of freshness. This freshness is constructed in relation to a notion of an idealised past in which bread was widely used regardless of its state (fresh or stale). As Fowler reminds us, the ‘past is an intellectual concept’.¹²⁹ Bread Matters is changing the past to its own end in what Lowenthal coined a ‘creative anachronism’¹³⁰ and is offering memories of food based on invented traditions.¹³¹

Simultaneously, this loss of reality is also articulated in conjunction with the importance of artisanal, traditional skills. “Real bread”, as demonstrated throughout the Bread Matters workshop, needs time, expertise, and craft in order to be “real”. In this sense, reality in food is also dependent on the enskillment and enculturation of its producers which, in turn, depend on embodied memories embedded within the baker’s person through repetition and practice. Bread Matters suggests that the loss of knowledge of artisanal food production is one of a ‘loss of ancient gestures’¹³² the loss of (embodied) memories and the loss of reality. “Real bread” typifies a growing sentiment of ‘nostalgia for the real’ through its expanding network. We are reminded of Terdiman’s ‘present past’¹³³ whereby the creation of “real bread” attempts to reproduce a memory: an impossible desire (at the root of nostalgia) to recall

¹²⁹ Fowler, P. J., *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now* (London: Routledge, 1992), 187.

¹³⁰ Lowenthal, D., *The Past is a Foreign Country*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹³¹ Hobsbawm E., Introduction: inventing traditions, in *The Invention of Tradition*, Hobsbawm, E. and T. Ranger, pp. 1-14. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983).

¹³² Giard, L., ‘Part II: doing-cooking’ in *The Practice of Everyday Life, Vol. 2, Living and Cooking*, L. Giard and M. de Certeau, Mayol, P., (eds.) pp. 149-48. (Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press, 1998).

¹³³ Terdiman, R., *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

things by replicating them which, by virtue of being memories of the past, are gone forever.¹³⁴ In defining the criteria for “real” foods by determining which memories are required, Bread Matters is in danger of reducing those who do not know how to make – or do not have access to – “real bread” to be condemned to fake foods and by extension, vulnerable to fake bakers.

Indeed, by making claims about the “reality” embedded in food, Bread Matters surreptitiously invokes particular interpretations of the past and morality linked to food. Unknotting the temporalities embedded in the network’s risk discourses underlines the importance of the role of memory and different types of remembrance at play in the promotion and creation of “real bread”. Bread Matters and Slow Food make implicit moral assertions through affirmations of the correct use of time in food preparation, recollection, and consumption. The discourse of “real bread” depends on a dichotomy between “real” and “no-time” dough (i.e. unreal or fake bread), and “slow” and “fast” food that is couched in normalised terminology. The binary distinction invites moral positionings that can confer morality and reality on those who engage in bread baking. The moral undertone of the food movements’ discourse propagates the notion that there is “reality” to be found in certain breads and thus, that there is also bread that lacks “reality”. This dichotomy is not only simplistic and problematic, but it also echoes Guthman’s conclusions that the organic movement, and to a greater extent Slow Food, promulgate notions of “good” and “bad” eaters.¹³⁵ Similarly, the articulation of “real bread” may foster notions of “real” and “unreal” bakers. As described, these food networks reject ingredients or methods that fail to live up the

¹³⁴ Terdiman also postulates that there is an ‘omnipresence’ of memory which gives to sensory instances such as a smell or sight, cultural value.

¹³⁵ Guthman, J., ‘Fast Food/Organic Food’, 45-58.

cultural criteria of “real” or “slow”, underlining the fact that ‘foods operate as objectifications that enable and channel cultural positionings’.¹³⁶

A second problem arises from discourses embedded in representations of the past as a guide to a more sustainable future. Such discourses implicitly assume that cultural reality is continuous. As Zubaida and Tapper have argued, belief in a historical permanence is shared by those ‘drawn to explanations in terms of origin and the assumption of cultural continuity in the history of a people or a region’.¹³⁷ As this article demonstrates, artisan bread represent a mixture of tradition and innovation, physicality and symbolism, mechanization and craftsmanship, endogeneity and exogeneity, myths and realities.¹³⁸ By offering nostalgic appropriations of foodstuffs, these networks uphold the binary, moralistic rhetoric surrounding “good” and “bad” foods, while simultaneously reinforcing the belief that foods from the past, whether heritage traditional sourdough or ‘forgotten flavours’, hold the key to solving the ills of an industrial food system epitomised by its ‘receding reality’. In promising salvation and reality through “slow” and “real” foods, these discourses overlook the inventiveness inherent in any skilled production and craft, most notably in artisanal baking and cooking.

Through their criteria for ‘forgotten flavours’ and production methods for real foods, Bread Matters and Slow Food perpetuate the very sense of “placelessness” and “disembeddedness” they seek to uproot. The promotion of a “reality” in “real bread” anchored in the celebration

¹³⁶ Cook, I. and Crang, P., ‘The world on a plate: culinary culture, displacement and geographical knowledges’, *J. Mater. Cult.* 1 (1996), 132.

¹³⁷ Zubaida S. and Tapper R., (eds.) *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East* (London: Taurus, 1994), 7.

¹³⁸ Tregear, A., ‘From Stilton to Vimto: using food history to re-think typical products in rural development’, *Sociologia Ruralis* 43 (2003), 91-107, cited in Bowen S. and De Master K., ‘New rural livelihoods or museums of production? Quality food initiatives in practice’, *Journal of rural Studies* 27 (2011), 81.

and re-enactment of a bucolic view of the past necessarily excludes those who do not identify with or know that past, and those who do not have time for “real bread” baking. The growing call for “reality” in foods, and the belief in their capacity to re-embed us in “reality”, asks for further investigation. The discourse of “real bread” encourages constructions of moral bakers and eaters while condemning others to unreality and timelessness. The production of food, and including baking bread, is an untidy process. Those bold enough to manually engage in culinary activities ought to be assured that the very act of creation is one of producing reality.

Chapter 6- The role of the Ark of Taste in promoting pinole, a Mexican heritage food

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1- Introduction

Food historian Rachel Laudan writes of pinole that it ‘gives me shivers up the spine. When I eat it or drink it, I am transported back through the millennia to travellers, warriors, muleteers’ ([Rachel Laudan, 2006 website](#)). Pinole is a Mexican pre-Hispanic foodstuff that strongly evokes the past. Made of toasted and ground kernels of corn with sugar, cinnamon or vanilla, it is usually prepared as a hot drink by adding water or milk and can also be eaten directly in its powdery form. Pinole was one of the main energy sources for the Aztecs and could be stored as emergency food for four or five years – in comparison to dried corn, which usually lasts for a year. During the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica, Native Indians were documented to have shared pinole with stranded Spanish conquistadores on the brink of starvation ([Pinole Weebly website](#)).

Pinole is also associated with the diet and athleticism of the Tarahumara community of north-western Mexico, which is renowned for its long-distance runners. In 2012, pinole made from heirloom blue corn officially became an ‘endangered flavour’ and was entered into the Ark of Taste, an online catalogue of heritage foods selected and promoted by the global social movement and organisation, Slow Food. In this instance, heritage foods are understood as

‘the set of material and immaterial gastronomic elements linked to production, the agricultural sector and a collective regional heritage’ (Bessière and Tibère, 2011 quoted in Bessière, 2013: 279). The Ark specifically sponsors pinole produced by Amigos de Ozolco, a cooperative in the small isolated village of San Mateo, Ozolco, in central Mexico. Slow Food's aim, along with Amigos', is to extract pinole from its ‘ghostly existence on the edges of commerce’ (Rachel Laudan, 2006 website) and transform it into an internationally celebrated and distributed heritage food.

Pinole's rediscovery as an international heritage food can be traced back to a group of Mexican transmigrant workers in the United States who sought to bring it from the ‘edge of commerce’ to a more central role in their lives as indigenous migrants, and in their hometown, as a profitable commodity. In so doing, they initiated a process of heritagisation, whereby ‘the concept of cultural/immaterial patrimony is being applied to local foods in diverse ways and market circuits’ (Grasseni, 2011). Pinole was thus valued as a typical pre-Hispanic indigenous heritage food produced in Ozolco and endorsed by Slow Food.

In comparing the discourse of local, trans-local and extra-local actors around pinole, issues emerge that underline the dynamics at work in the process of heritagisation. I adopt a meaning-centred and micro-level approach, framing my discussion within Bessière's theory (2013) on the ‘construction of heritage’ to investigate the discourse of actors amongst local, translocal and transnational organisations postulating pinole as a heritage food. In so doing, I seek to shed light onto the role of translocal² actors whilst challenging the habitual perspective that pits global actors against local actors (Bordi, 2006). Actors strategically *construct* the heritage of pinole and recontextualise the foodstuff in both time and place. Heritagisation emerges as a process that (i) enables a range of actors to assign new

values to pinole by constructing narratives of the past; (ii) reinforces notions of peasant essentialism and its presumed values through nostalgia for pre-capitalist modes of production; and (iii) facilitates the appropriation of notions of authenticity and identity which promote the interests of various actors.

Literature on the heritagisation of food tends to dichotomise the interests of actors, between those of government, corporate or elite entities on one hand, and local or regional communities on the other (Finnis, 2012). Research on food systems, notably in development studies and geography, further investigates notions of sustainability and identity. Numerous scholars within anthropology, food studies, tourist industry and cultural studies have examined the role of the Slow Food movement as it reconfigures production methods and the very landscapes of the marginalised producers it claims to protect (Leitch, 2000 and Leitch, 2003; Lotti, 2009; MacDonald, 2013).

Though this article is grounded in place-specific data, its arguments speak to larger issues and concerns over capital expansion and the universalising effects of globalisation on the heterogeneous repertoire of local cultural meanings and practices. It seeks to redress the gap within this body of work to develop a deeper understanding of how the changing dynamics of capitalism drive global actors in promoting heritage foods with repercussions throughout the food system and notably, for economically marginalised rural areas. I expand upon previous anthropological studies on globalisation, examining the demand for, and consumption of ‘authentic Mexican’ food driven by the nationalistic nostalgia of the displaced (Kearney, 1995 and Bordi, 2006) and cultural geography, development studies and rural sociology on the role that transnational organisations such as Slow Food play in supporting and promoting the production of heritage foods (Leitch, 2003, Lotti, 2010 and MacDonald, 2013). Using the

heritagisation of pinole as a case study serves to scrutinise the complex and at times, conflicting interests of the local and translocal actors whose livelihoods are tied up with the foodstuff. Mexican transmigrant workers emerge not as mere consumers, but as actors driving the construction and production of heritage food.

The first two sections of this article describe the research methods and situate the pinole case study within the academic body of literature on the heritagisation of food and the development of marginalised rural areas. The third section outlines the origins of the pinole project within two organisations: one set up by Mexican transmigrants in Philadelphia, and the other by farmers in Mexico. Jacinthe Bessière's concept of the 'construction of heritage' (2013), and her tripartite sequence of heritagisation, provides the lens through which to analyse these organisations and the role of Slow Food in process of constructing pinole into a heritage.

The following discussion underlines the normative claims in Slow Food's discourse on heritage products, as formulated through the Ark, and contributes to an understanding of Slow Food as a global heritagisation institution. The similarities and discrepancies between the understandings of heritage food by local, translocal and the international organisations' are teased out throughout. The final section seeks to draw conclusions from the discussion and outline potential solutions to the issues that emerge between the interaction of global, local and translocal actors.

2- Methodology

This article is based on data collected throughout a broader multi-sited ethnographic study (Marcus, 1995) conducted in Turin, Italy; London, UK; Ozolco, Mexico; and Philadelphia, US. The choice of methodology was based on the belief that ethnography ‘reveals the role of organizations, institutions, and networks, and the mechanisms of coordination and control, involved in this development’ namely ‘production and consumption’ (Pratt, 2004: 125).

Aware that ‘(A)cademic and ethnographic research has entered the sphere of the public domain, with discursive impact on local communities and their cultural expression, on ethnic and cultural identities, and eventually on heritage production at the local, national, and international level’ (Kuutma, 2009: 8), I sought to investigate the aims of actors at different levels (local, translocal and international) in the process of heritage production and cultural policy-making. To this aim, I spent an aggregate of five months living with small-scale farmers in Ozolco, a small village on the slopes of the active volcano Popocatepetl in the Puebla region of Mexico between 2013 and 2014. During two weeks in June 2014, I also shadowed members of Blue Corn Alianza, an organisation linked to Amigos that sells pinole to an American clientele in South Philadelphia.

Over 30 in-depth interviews were carried out during this research, and enriched my notes from participant observation. Participants included the Ark of Taste commissioner, the founders and members of Amigos and Alianza, the leaders of Slow Food Mesoamerica, and Ozolcanian small-scale corn farmers. The ethnographic research was supplemented by grey literature, including the Alianza and Ark websites, brochures from all the organisations concerned, and reports by Mexican authorities and think tanks. The aim of my discussion with participants was to obtain the information and clarifications required to further understand the role and implications of the Ark and transnational food projects such as the

pinole project, in articulating a global notion of gastronomic heritage. The second aim of these interviews and participant observation was to identify

the social actor or group (that) ‘heritagises’, selects, effects a classification and emphasises a value that no longer exists, in the context of a society that is anguished by the loss of its own remnants or heritage (Bessière, 2013: 277).

For Bessière, the initial identification of heritage goods emerges from the ‘heritage realisation’ of local actors (Bessière, 2013: 282). Heritagisation emerges most often from a ‘situation where actors are confronted and distanced from one another’ (Bessière, 2013: 283). These local actors first acknowledge and recognise a shared ‘inherited conscience’ that springs from familiarity and a common evaluation of the object under consideration (Bessière, 2013: 278) as well as a shared concern for a ‘lost value’ and the anxiety that springs from the loss of one’s ‘own traces’ (1998: 28). Articulating food as heritage necessitates ‘relational essence’. In other words, actors must share the knowledge and recognition, or the ‘heritage awareness’ that the food under consideration is of great importance (1998: 28). Actors then identify ‘collective heritage objects’, a process at the root of the construction of social value. Finally, the heritage in this food ‘must be legitimized in order to be genuine’ (1998: 28) This allows actors to articulate an identity and to construct unity of a particular group associated with that heritage (Bessière, 1998: 27). In the subsequent sections, this article applies Bessière’s theorisation of heritagisation (‘heritage realisation’, identification and legitimisation) to the pinole project case-study.

3- Food as heritage: local resource and commodity

In 2010, Mexican gastronomy became the first cuisine to be designated an Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO. Research around the heritagisation of food globally has been

increasing ever since ([Sammells, 2014](#)). This academic interest reflects the growing number of contemporary issues in, and shifting behaviours towards, the global agri-food system and the global South ([Sammells, 2014](#)). Heritage foods are increasingly in demand *and* on offer, most notably within the tourist industry ([Tellström et al., 2006](#)). As Grasseni affirms, we have entered an ‘age of global heritage’ whereby ‘a certain amount of standardisation of traditional food systems is required in order to offer local products on a wider market basis’ ([2011](#)).

What drives this process of heritagisation? According to the literature in sociology and cultural geography, the notion of heritage acts as a guarantee of constancy, historical rootedness and order amidst continual change ([Bessière, 2013](#)) for individuals alienated from the fragmentary nature of postmodern societies ([Waite, 2000](#)). Today, heritage is ‘actively implemented in policies globally’ ([Kuutma, 2009](#): 6). According to recent research, heritage plays an

important role both in national and international culture-orientated politics from rather contradictory aspects – it serves the elites and general public to fuel national pride, whereas cultural traditions and suppressed history have become powerful tools for previously dominated regions or social strata ([Kuutma, 2009](#): 6).

This article contributes to the ‘alternative geographies of food’ ([Whatmore and Thorne, 1997](#)), rural sociology and food studies by mapping the ways in which the heritagisation of food gathers different actors – underlining the role of hitherto discarded translocal actors (transmigrant workers) in shaping the food landscape – and highlighting how their conflicting discourse leads to the dissolution of their collaboration.

The growing demand for heritage foods mirrors a wider desire to recontextualise the products of increasingly complex and obscure food systems (Finnis, 2012 and Littaye, 2015). As the sociologist Bessi re notes, ‘to speak about and promote gastronomic heritage is emphasising the link with history; history is indeed a necessary condition for a product's success and the reason for which a product can be considered a conveyor of cultural identity’ (2013: 280).

Increasingly, the process of heritagisation has become a focal point in development studies and rural sociology that have demonstrated that, through a symbolic and semantic shift, heritagisation can help foods move from a marginal³ position to a more prominent one in discourses and diets (Finnis, 2012). The re-discovery or re-imagination of foods as ‘heritage’ aims at their revalorisation, and is instigated by actors with a diversity of goals whose main commonality lies in trying to preserve culinary traditions from being ‘unhinged’ (Wilk, 2006: 14).

The process heritagisation speaks to a reengagement with notions of locality (Massey, 1994 and Massey, 1994), identity and sustainability (Finnis, 2012: 6). It is linked to identity formation (Bessi re, 1998 and Bessi re, 2013), a means for addressing fears of food standardisation (Poulain, 1997), national identities (Guy, 2001), food aesthetics and taste (Meneley, 2004 and Miele and Murdoch, 2002), and artisanal food productions (Leitch, 2003 and Paxson, 2006), marketing tool by retailing institutions (Tellstr m et al., 2006), and by political and social movements such as Slow Food (Lotti, 2010) that ‘seek to come to terms with desire and pleasure of consumption’ (Pietrykowski, 2004: 319). The majority of these studies have thus focused on societies with ‘fragmentary natures’ namely, Europe (Bowen and Master, 2011) with a strong focus on Italy and France (Grasseni, 2009, Grasseni, 2011 and Fischler, 1988) and on grassroots initiatives in the US (Allen and Hinrichs, 2007).

With regards to the global South, studies pertaining to the political and economic dimensions of heritagisation have explored the role of food as a site for contesting social and economic systems or for reaffirming ethnic, national or indigenous identities in an international forum (Wilk, 2006, Bordi, 2006, Lind and Barham, 2004 and Stanford, 2012). They view the heritagisation of local products as an anchor for local action and as a source of development for isolated and marginalised communities (Escobar, 1998). Heritagisation is thus a means for re-conceptualising notions of authenticity and locality acts as a strategic means to pursue economic, political and social goals (Bendix, 2009).

At both a local and international scale, food companies and rural areas have seized the opportunity to brand and market heritage foods for their growing attractiveness (Lin et al., 2011 and Okumus et al., 2007). As a consequence, this process has brought concerns within rural sociological studies over the ‘commercialisation of tradition’⁴ (Leitch, 2003) and the process of ‘Disneyfication’⁵ whereby the countryside and customs central to rural identity become ‘living museums for visitors from the city, a kind of “rurality under glass”’ (Barham, 2003). The literature on heritage foods has remained focused on the global North, in part due to the academic tendency to view heritagisation as a response to feelings of alienation typical of post-Fordist Western societies: ‘divorced from their origins through urbanisation and population migration, such senses of pride and place have to be created’ (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999: 590), a trend this article seeks to redress.

Social food movements have sparked debates between scholars who consider them new tools for expanding capitalism (DeLind, 2002), and those who perceive them as viable alternatives to the mainstream food system (Goodman, 2003). Some of these movements have gained

international momentum (such as Via Campesina or Slow Food). Slow Food gathers many central tenets of other popular food movements such as Fair Trade, organic food and localism, and combines notions of ‘eco-gastronomy’, sustainability and workers' rights. Whereas previous work on Slow Food has analysed its role in consumer identity formation (Pietrykowski, 2004), in defining an aesthetics of food (Miele and Murdoch, 2002), and in the politics and practices of ‘slow living’ (Parkins and Craig, 2006), relatively little has been written on the heritagisation process led by Slow Food's Ark of Taste, its online catalogue of heritage foods.

Despite the wealth of literature on food and its heritagisation, gaps remain. In rural sociology, research on migrant workers and food has centred on their *consumption* of ethnic food to maintain or reclaim ethnic identity (Wilk, 2006), not on their active (translocal) role in shaping the food landscape by initiating projects. Though studies in translocality have recently burgeoned, appearing in geographical work on transnationalism (Tolia-Kelly, 2008 and McFarlane, 2009) and underlining the importance of ‘local–local’ connections during transnational migration (Conradson and McKay, 2007), translocal voices are startlingly absent from the food studies. Studies on Slow Food have considered its impacts on producers and consumers but failed to acknowledge its growing role as a global institution defining standards of gastronomic heritage. Though the academic literature has had a tendency to portray labour as a ‘passive victim of restructuring processes’ (Cumbers et al., 2008: 369), merely responding to the demands of ethical consumption, local producers constantly negotiate their relationships with international movements and organisations to gain access to global markets. By combining findings and conceptual tools from anthropology, geography and rural sociology, this paper seeks to address the gaps mentioned in this section with a multi-disciplinary approach to further our understanding of the

heritagisation of food, the actors who initiate this process and those who benefit, are empowered by or are overlooked by the articulation of a local food as a global heritage.

4- Pinole project: heritage as pride and economic survival

To unveil the role of local and translocal actors in the global heritagisation of pinole necessitates ‘analysing how heritage is selected and identified [which] involves measuring the catalyst mechanisms that spark a “heritage realisation” among local actors’ (Bessière, 2013: 282). In a unique fashion, this section applies Bessière's analytical lens – formulated in relation to local initiatives – to a translocal organisation: the pinole project. In so doing, it draws out three key steps in the process of the heritagisation of pinole (explored in the methodology section) namely: heritage realisation, identification and legitimisation. The analysis of these actors is based on Doreen Massey's view of places that ‘may be imagined as particular articulations of social relations, including local relations “within” the place and those many connections which stretch way beyond it’ (Massey, 1999: 22).

Pinole's heritagisation is intrinsically linked to the displacement of Mexican migrant workers to the US. As Bessière claims, the ‘heritage realisation’ of a food emerges, in part, from a confrontation whereby ‘local’ actors are forced to reassess their position within the world (2013: 282). In the case of pinole, this realisation occurred in Philadelphia amongst transmigrant workers from Ozolco who, displaced in a foreign land and struggling with sentiments of alienation, wanted to reaffirm their indigenous identity, gain a sense of pride in their hometown, and curb Ozolco's youth migration to the US (Littaye forthcoming). Indeed, Ozolco has experienced one of the highest in the world: it is now estimated that between a fourth and a third of Ozolcanians now live in South Philadelphia (Amavizca-Ruiz et al., 2014). Consequently, Ozolcanians in Mexico *and* in Philadelphia have gained an

understanding of Ozolco from an increasingly global perspective. As a result, the heritagisation of pinole was first ‘constructed with a sense of otherness, meaning that it occurs via an encounter with a form of social diversity that forces actors, at some point, to reposition themselves and rethink their value system ... critical in the construction of a social value’ (Bessière, 2013: 282).

The ‘heritage realisation’ of pinole started with the ‘relational essence’ migrants experienced. The pinole project emerged from a previous endeavour, Construyendo Puentes Transnacionales (Building Transnational Bridges, hereafter CPT) whose mission, supported by a \$300,000 grant from the charity foundation Hispanics in Philanthropy, was to preserve the cultural identity of and create economic opportunities for Ozolcanians both in Ozolco and in Philadelphia. As its name suggests, this project also sought to preserve ties and a certain unity between displaced Ozolcanian communities and their hometown.

Though sparked by the pressures of living in a foreign land, the heritagisation of pinole sprung from migrants' desires to reclaim their indigenous roots, a process that was driven by Ozolcanian natives, *outside* of Ozolco. The identification of pinole was linked to the dislocation of Ozolcanian migrant workers for whom pinole evokes childhood memories of their hometown, a process Holtzman calls the ‘gastronomic memory of diaspora’ (2006: 367). As Seremetakis states, ‘nothing tastes as good as the past’ (Seremetakis, 1996: 1):

It is an intimate product. It is an antoje. One that is ancient. It was one not worth even valuing. But it was a sweet that grandmothers or mothers would do as a treat when they were feeling good, when they felt like making something sweet for the children. They would roast the corn, grind it themselves and then add some cinnamon and

sugar to it. So the taste is associated with their mothers or grandmothers when they were happy and wanted to do something nice (interview with Roberto 09.05.2014).

As Bessière states, ‘(A)t the heart of the identification of heritage there is a familiarity, a form of recognition, an “inherited conscience”’ (Bessière, 2013: 278). Carlos, an Ozolcanian member of Alianza living in Philadelphia, admits that his interest in Mexico's history and his roots began once he left Ozolco. He states of the pinole project: *‘It's about patrimony, it's about the foundation of humanity’* (interview 10.05.2014). In this sense, the memories Roberto (another Alianza member quoted above) associates with pinole are ‘used creatively, allow unusual connections’ that ‘have the capacity for confronting not only the boundaries of ethnicity but the ghosts of “mainstream” identity as well’ (Duruz, 2005: 66).

A handful of Ozolcanian migrant workers formed the organisation Alianza from CPT to sell, in the US, pinole produced in Mexico by members of Amigos. Alianza and Amigos were designed to be interdependent organisations and form the pinole project whose aim, as with CPT, is to support Ozolcanians on either side of the border by producing pinole in Ozolco and selling it in the US. Roberto states that he discovered his ‘Aztec’ roots after having settled in Philadelphia and *‘realised I had lost something, part of my soul’* (interview 09.05.2014). Pinole played an intrinsic part in this rediscovery. These findings echo Bessière's assertions that ‘building up heritage’ occurs ‘within a society stressed by the loss of its own traces’ (1998: 28).

According to Bessière, ‘heritage elements would produce and reproduce identity and unity’ (1998: 27). CTP enabled Ozolcanians to strengthen ties across national borders, consolidating a form of unity and the pinole project, born of CTP, further reaffirmed their identity for both

Ozolcanians in Mexico and in the US. This is an important feature as Ozolco is considered backward even by its neighbouring towns, and by other Mexican migrants in Philadelphia, and Ozolcanians are doubly isolated as migrants in a foreign land and as Mexicans from a remote village: they are pejoratively labelled ‘goats’ because they live at a high altitude on the slopes of Popocatepetl.

José, the founder of Amigos who returned to Ozolco after working for seven years in Philadelphia, was initially distraught by the lack of international knowledge or recognition for his birthplace. Young Ozolcanians also disregard their birth town:

Before I went to Terra Madre, I searched Ozolco in Google. There was nothing about us. That made me feel bad. It's like we don't exist. I wanted a project that was going to put us on the map. Like an entry on Wikipedia ... It's worse because young kids here say that Ozolco is ‘shit’. They want to go to the US because they think they will have big cars. It hurts you know, when someone says your hometown is shit. I want that to change. (interview 8.10.2013)

As earlier research has shown, heritagisation can help set regions and cultures on the map: it is linked to the process of ‘localisation’ whereby certain regions and cultures are both celebrated and protected on the global stage (Bowen and Master, 2011).

Specifically, the project was integral to the articulation of transmigrants' indigenous identity, invoking ‘both inclusion and otherness’ (Fischler, 1998 in Caplan, 1997). By promoting pinole as a heritage food from Ozolco, migrant workers could boast of their hometown as a site of cultural heritage *and* reclaim their indigenous roots (by contrast, farmers in Ozolco refrain from referring to themselves as indigenous Mexicans). As Alianza claims, pinole is a way for Ozolcanians in Philadelphia to feel more ‘pride in their indigenous traditions and to

be able to share these with North Americans’ (Alianza brochure, author's translation).

‘Mexicanness’, [Gutiérrez Vivó \(1998\)](#) states, is a process that recreates a feeling of pride in belonging that sets Mexicans apart from the rest. Pinole is now presented as ‘heritage’ to an American mainstream audience, a strategy that reconfigures migrant identities in temporal terms and refers to pre-Hispanic traditions to secure a sense of authenticity. But paradoxically, ‘authenticity necessitates that the ethnic group essentialise and spectacularise themselves in order to attract customers’ ([Cook et al., 2010](#): 3).

In Bessière's words, the production of pinole lies ‘Between tradition and modernity, specificity and general appeal’ that, through its ‘organisational’, ‘mobilise actors in networks of local legitimisation’ ([2013](#): 283). The establishment of the pinole project thus enabled Ozolcanians to find a legitimate source of revenue (for both farmers and migrants). It was Slow Food's enlistment of pinole within its Ark though that put the foodstuff on the global map of heritage foods.

5- Peasant essentialism

Pinole became an Ark product in 2012. There are, however, discrepancies between the Ark entry for pinole and the narratives of Alianza and Amigos. Many of these discrepancies occurred as a consequence of the discourse of Slow Food, its guiding philosophy and its online catalogue, the Ark of Taste.

Slow Food, as its name suggests, is an international movement and organisation initially created in reaction to the expansion of fast food outlets in Italy. Its motto is ‘good, clean and fair’⁶ food. Its main objectives are the education of ‘good’ taste, the defence of the right to

material pleasure, and the preservation of endangered flavours. Its ethos has attracted over 100,000 members in over 130 countries: a self-coined ‘virtuous globalisation’. In 1996, Slow Food created [The Ark of Taste, 2014](#), which identifies exceptional foods and drinks at ‘risk of extinction’ ([Pietrykowski, 2004](#): 315). The Ark aims to preserve ‘lost tastes’ whilst rekindling their traditional food cultures, promoting ‘edible biodiversity’ of ‘exceptionally good’ and ‘forgotten flavours’ ([Petrini, 2007](#)). It can be summed thus:

The Ark of Taste is an online catalogue that is growing day by day, gathering alerts from people who see the flavors of their childhood disappear, taking with them a piece of the culture and history of which they are a part. (Ark of Taste website)

The Ark includes foods and drinks strongly associated with a particular region, which also qualify as ‘endangered products’. At the time of this article's publication, there were 2225 products listed under the Ark.

Pinole was registered as ‘Blue Cornmeal’ in the Ark, a title more evocative to an international audience. Despite the origins of the pinole project within the Ozolcanian transmigrant community in Philadelphia, the Ark does not mention the role of Alianza in pinole's rediscovery. It refers though to Amigos, which it claims, emerged from a desire to preserve Ozolco's biodiversity:

The cooperative of rural production was formed in the community of Ozolco in 2009, which was named Amigos de Ozolco (Friends from Ozolco), who have been striving to preserve and promote their native blue corn since the start. They wanted to develop and commercialise traditional blue corn products like the pinole or cornmeal (good). (Ark of Taste website)

Though members of Amigos agree that the pinole project was also conceived to preserve traditional strains of corn from Ozolco, their primary aim was to curb youth migration from

Ozolco (*personal communication*). In this sense, the Ark's entry only partially represents the pinole project's mission: it details the economic and marketing benefits Amigos offers though does not mention the role the organisation is designed to play in reducing migration:

The cooperative Amigos de Ozolco produces and sells the cornmeal and blue corn tostadas (whole tortilla-chip), since they are the producers and final sellers, they are eliminating the middleman and receiving a fair pay directly from the buyer (fair). Besides this, they are also demanding and buying blue corn produced in their community, by assuring a fair payment not the conventional market prices for the blue corn. (Ark website)

Slow Food's discourse reinforces a certain 'peasant essentialism'⁷ (Bernstein, 2006) whereby the *modern* and the *traditional* are opposed. Briefly, peasant essentialism is a global perspective that rests upon polarised concepts of the global market and local community (Hayden, 2003) whereby the culture of peasants is one untainted by a capitalist ethos. This view is reflected in the Ark's entry:

The agribusiness market is consuming this value added food chain carried out by small-scale producers. Their response to this problem is for the small scale producers of San Mateo Ozolco, who are standardising their traditional process of cultivating and processing the native blue corn and by characterising the grain varieties and identifying the many unique attributes and health benefits it has to offer... (Hayden, 2003)

Slow Food endorses a static view of tradition and reinforcing notions of 'peasant essentialism' pitted against what it sees as a morally reprehensible food system whose priority is profit maximisation. Slow Food's peasant essentialism promotes bucolic ideals epitomised in its Manifesto:

Our century, which began and has developed under the insignia of industrial civilization, first invented the machine and then took it as its life model... That is what real culture is all about: developing taste rather than demeaning it... Slow Food guarantees a better future. (Slow Food website)

The resulting binary opposition between small-scale farmers and agribusiness has had a tendency of overlooking the plurality of – at times – contradictory goals and intentions of the diverse actors who initiated pinole's heritagisation. The Ark bases Amigos on ‘a model of ethnic identity that presupposes a kind of pure Past, out of which “ethnic” [and “traditional”] cuisines emerged, fully formed’ (Heldke, 2003: 242). As Kuutma points out, the politics of heritage making are ‘never neutral, it is all about choice that is implicitly and explicitly dependent on a notion of purity, whereas it shuns the existence of, and qualities related to, hybridity’ (2009: 9). Pinole, articulated as a heritage by translocal actors, sold in the US yet produced within Mexico, is a hybrid product. In addition, as widely documented though, Mexican gastronomy itself is a result of a number of influences during the political turmoil of the 20th century that gave rise to mestizo (or hybrid) culture and cuisine (Pilcher, 1996) and has ‘its roots in local foodways but also transcend them ... having been international for centuries’ (Sammells, 2014: 145).

Transmigrant workers do not believe Slow Food has supported the pinole project. They already established the translocal networks between Amigos and Alianza before pinole became an Ark product. This process was aimed at reviving Ozolco's economy. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett reminds us, people ‘are not only cultural carriers and transmitters ... but also agents in the heritage enterprise itself’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004: 58). Members of the pinole project are not anathema to modernity nor do they reflect pre-capitalist modes of

operation. To the contrary, they are eager to integrate the global economy by modernising their machines of production and offering a financially competitive product.

A second inconsistency thus arises between the discourse of the Ark and that of the pinole project with regards to farmers' desires to integrate the 'modern' food system. They are striving to bulk up, expand and increase the mechanisation of pinole's production by purchasing larger machines and standardising their products with the aim to sell to large retailers such as Wal-Mart in Mexico. Perhaps the most striking incongruity though between the Ark's description of pinole and the narratives of the pinole project lies in the issue of fair pricing. Pinole's description in the Ark makes claims about the fairness of the Amigos cooperative. When the project began, selling pinole offered the prospect of consolidating Ozolco's local economy as Amigos sought to buy blue corn from Ozolcanian campesinos at a fair price. As its brochure states, Amigos aims:

To market pinole towards national pastry and gastronomy industries. And promote proper use of remittances and foster better ties between commercial contacts in the food industry of the United States (author's translation).

Alianza and Amigos officially share a discourse embedding the heritage of pinole into the capacity for economic survival and social ascension in the face of an incursion of cheap American corn. When Amigos and Alianza were created, they agreed to purchase *analmud* of blue corn (a four kilogramme unit) at the fair price of 24 pesos, almost double the domestic market price. The business plan written in November 2011 for Alianza included the 'fair price' of corn and estimated a profit for both organisations by the second year.

A fair price would encourage and sustain commercial agricultural production in Ozolco and thus stimulate the local economy and curb emigration. In 2013 though, members of Amigos

agreed amongst themselves, without notifying Alianza in Philadelphia, that they would reduce the price at which they bought corn and peg it to the domestic market in Puebla. Amigos argues that it lowered its purchasing price to be competitive within the market. The leader of Slow Food Mesoamerica disagrees, stating that the organisation would still make a profit if it paid corn producers a ‘fair price’ (personal communication). Slow Food has ceased its involvement with Amigos. After two years in operation, the pinole project has almost halved its buying price and now pays 12 or 13 pesos an almud of blue corn at the time of this article's publication.

6- Aesthetics of safeguard

Within Slow Food's discourse, notions of ‘peasant essentialism’ are interlocked with the ‘aesthetics of safeguard’ (MacDonald, 2013). The Ark of Taste disseminates a particular philosophy inspired by the ‘aesthetics of safeguard’ first postulated by the French philosopher Michel Lacroix in manuscript ‘Noah's Principle or the Ethics of Safeguard’ (Lacroix, 1997).⁸ In continuation with the previous paragraphs, this section demonstrates how the divergence between Slow Food's ethos and the pinole project's goals can undermine the Ark's claims.

The founder of the movement Carlo Petrini uses metaphorical and biblical terminology (MacDonald, 2013) to refer to regulatory requirements of food production (such as European Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards) that he perceives as a *flood* whose ‘storm ahead herald death and destruction’ so that Slow Food ‘build the Ark as soon as possible’ (Petrini, 2007: 2). The Ark symbolises a ‘protective receptacle for quality products that should be saved from the deluge of standardisation and worldwide distribution’ (Petrini, 2001: 2). The Ark is

aimed at preserving heritage foods from the ‘sacred fire’ of hygiene ([Petrini, 2001](#)) that has caused ‘the degradation of the small producer’ ([Andrews, 2008](#): 152).

Lacroix's philosophy extols the need to conserve elements of the past, considered inherently good, by preserving traditions and questioning the ethos of the ‘myth of Prometheus’ which encapsulates man’s impulse to innovate ([1997](#)). It responds to ‘modernity's sense that the present needs to re-forge links with a past that appears to be severed and lost in the changing world’ ([Kuutma, 2009](#): 8). Lacroix, and Slow Food, reinforces the dialectic of tradition vs. modernity, past vs. present, nature vs. technology ([Tibere, 2009](#)) that does not adequately reflect the hybrid and translocal nature of the pinole project:

The conceptualisation of heritage claims a fixed identity, whereas the dynamics of cultural expression appears antithetical and irreconcilable with the stasis of heritage. ([Kuutma, 2009](#): 10)

Slow Food's reference of the past aims at evoking a particular sets of values – rather than with specific temporalities:

A few years ago, before the arrival of industrially processed foods in the community, the cornmeal was considered a staple food. Nowadays, this traditional meal doesn't have the same importance as before. (my emphasis, Ark of Taste website)

The imprecision of temporal references echoes Herzfeld's claim that there is a ‘global hierarchy of value’ ([2004](#))⁹ – that Slow Food reinforces and disseminates – whose ‘very vagueness constitutes one source of its authority ... while it often appears as a demand for transparency and accountability’ ([2004](#): 3).

The vagueness of the Ark obscures (even though it is inherent within) the criteria of standardised heritage that the movement can at times impose (Lotti, 2010; [MacDonald,](#)

2013). Ark products are selected according to Slow Food's principles: to promote and preserve a specific cultural production of taste, memory and identity (Meneley, 2004 and Miele and Murdoch, 2002). They must be produced 'in limited quantity and reflect the unique characteristics or identity and history of a region' (Ark of Taste website), effectively reflecting a 'historical consciousness' through the production of foods from the past (Sutton, 2001):

Products must be linked to a specific area, to the memory and identity of a group and to local traditions (Ark of Taste website).

Despite the requirement of culinary expertise that these criteria demand, the application procedure has been democratised: '(A)nyone can send a nomination, regardless of their profession, age or country' (Sutton, 2001).

Individuals working for Slow Food though generate most applications for Ark products. For example, the pinole entry was drafted by the current Mesoamerican Slow Food leader; all Mexican Ark products have been identified by leaders of *convivia*¹⁰ in Mexico as most small-scale producers of artisanal, traditional or heritage foods are unaware of the Ark of Taste.¹¹ For an Ark product to be listed, an online form is filled out, listing the unique characteristics of the food product. It is then sent to and approved by the International Commission in Bra, Italy. Slow Food members ultimately decide what qualifies as traditional, authentic and heritage food *and* deserve to be safeguarded. Though aimed at celebrating and preserving foods from around the world, Slow Food's discourse disseminates particular notions of quality that are 'wrapped up in questions of moral economies and with the imagination of Europe's future as much as its past' (Leitch, 2003: 30). The movement is thus responsible for establishing a universal list of criteria for determining which foods *it* considers as heritage, shaping the global 'heritage-scape' (Di Giovine, 2009).

As Napier demonstrates, knowledge needs to be framed¹² before it can be ‘bought or sold’ (Napier, 2002: 289).

The Ark of Taste, as an online list of heritage goods, is Slow Food's ‘tool for channelling attention and resources to certain cultural practices and not to others’ (Hafstein, 2009: 108).

As an international actor, Slow Food has influence over which foods are selected as exemplars of cultural heritage of particular communities *and* what items around the world are nominated as heritage. Heritage is a social construction that is spearheaded by an ‘authorized heritage discourse’ (Smith, 2006). This (naming) power is reflective of a wider trend that privileges the discourse of those who ‘critique the dominant food system and identify an alternative approach’ (Gottlieb and Joshi, 2010: 6) in comparison to small-scale food producers' narratives.

As a result, the movement's articulation of ‘the past’ of foods, their cultural significance and the communities they support, is privileged *and* legitimised on the global stage. The last step within the heritagisation of pinole (Bessière, 1998) is thus the legitimacy it gains as an Ark product, conferred by Slow Food *even though* the final stage of heritagisation propagates a narrative at odds with that of its first stages. In other words, the process of heritagisation gathers various actors with differing understandings of heritage, acting at multiple levels (local, translocal and international) and responsible for different stages of the process of heritage. This procedure though has led to the factious divide between these actors.

7- Tensions between movement and project

Slow Food's description of pinole paints an image of Ozolco as village cut off from globalisation, steeped in its traditional ways and suffering from the changes rooted in 'modernity', symbolised by the incursion of 'fast' or 'processed' foods. This section explores the common goals of the movement and the pinole initiative as well as the ways in which members of the pinole project resist Slow Food's particular articulation of pinole.

Producers are instrumental to the Ark's mission. They are considered as 'bearers of culture' (Petrini, 2001: 2) with invaluable tacit knowledge necessary for the preservation of heritage foods:

The movement understands that every set of genes on its Ark of Taste encodes not only a set of biological traits but a set of cultural practices, as well, and in some cases a way of life (Pollan, 2003: 76).

Positioning small-scale traditional producers at the centre of Slow Food's mission has differing effects. Slow Food's 'aesthetics of safeguard' is intertwined with a naturalist aesthetic, linking food to culture as well as to nature. According to Slow Food's rhetoric, Ark products have an innate 'capacity to qualify products as cultural' and the ability 'to reproduce nature, community and tradition' (MacDonald, 2013: 1). In this sense, Slow Food underlines the indispensable role that these actors play in the food system and to a larger extent, in cultural and (agro-)biodiversity preservation. Similarly, Alianza member Carlos believes that Alianza is *'the Mexican dream, realised in the US ... because the original maize (of pinole) is Mexican, the identity is Mexican'* (interview 10.05.2014). For Slow Food and the pinole project, pinole acts as a 'projected testimony' (Bessière, 2013) through which a certain

continuity and knowledge is passed on and in which notions of heritage and tradition act as guides for the future.

As mentioned in the previous section, Slow Food appears on the global stage as an increasingly authoritative institution of heritage denomination. The process of heritagisation though is still instigated at a local or translocal level, supporting Sammels claims that

although regional, national, and even “world” heritage claims are political and operate from the top-down, heritage claims around food are ultimately understood, valued, and really “worked out” by social actors in their everyday practices and interactions on the ground. (2014: 110)

As Bendix has stressed, there is the need to understand the process of heritagisation ‘by studying the role of the economic utilisation of heritage’ (Bendix, 2009 in Kuutma, 2009: 8). The pinole project was initiated (intrinsically linked to the heritagisation of pinole) to revive Ozolco's economy and incentivize Ozolcanian youth to stay in their village instead of migrating to the US. In a similar fashion, the Ark was conceived to bring international recognition to obscure local products so that their producers may have access to an international, niche consumer base. Pietrykowski writes:

while there is the danger of idealising the toiling of laborers past, to the extent that unique tastes and products can be produced only through craft production techniques, Slow Food attempts to provide a market rationale for the continued use of such technologies (2004: 316)

According to members though, the inclusion of pinole within the Ark, though beneficial for putting Ozolco ‘on the map’, did not bring significant financial benefits. As the evolution of the pinole project demonstrates, the movement's involvement does not guarantee success.

José, the founder of Amigos, was the only member to have engaged directly with Slow Food. He travelled in 2012 to Terra Madre¹³ to promote Amigos and pinole with the leader of Slow Food Mesoamerica. Though José is an ardent supporter of Slow Food's philosophy, he was disappointed by his experience:

Right now I see Slow Food like McDonald's. People who work in Slow Food are a little on top really, far away from the reality of campesinos. They give orders like they were in a McDonald's. (interview 08.10.2013)

His engagement with Slow Food's event further strained the vulnerable bonds between members of Amigos:

To be honest though, I regret going to Terra Madre. The experience was incredible, I got to meet a bunch of people and travel in Italy. But when I got back, people thought I was a snob for going. There was jealousy amongst the people from Amigos. I wish I hadn't gone now (2004: 316).

Terra Madre, the global event aimed at bringing small-scale producers together to collaborate, was partially responsible for members and producers of the pinole project to clash. Amigos has seen rifts amongst members, some eager to pursue Slow Food's ethos of 'good, fair and clean' pinole and others who departed radically from the movement's principles: the pinole project failed to rally members together towards a similar goal. Emilia, one of the only female members of the pinole project living in Ozolco, said there were several members she did not get along with:

The issue is that some work more, some work less and still get paid the same. That's why it's easier to work individually. I can work when I want, leave when I want ... I don't like groups ... There is a problem of loyalty, confidence and values. The group

here in Ozolco is disbanding. There is a really big divide ... We all want to make money but we forgot the solidarity between us, the goal for which we started the project in the first place ... The question of loyalty, of companionship etc. has been forgotten (interview 12.10.2013)

Emila's comment was made in reference to the diminishing Amigos' membership, which initially began with 28 members and now only counts four active members. As a result, in over three years, Amigos has made only two shipments of pinole of no more than a ton each to the US and are now focusing on markets within Mexico rather than extending their product overseas. During the recent Terra Madre in 2014, Slow Food did not invite members of Amigos to showcase their product.

8- Cognitive coordination

The previous two sections have analysed the discrepancies that arise from Slow Food's articulation of pinole and different narratives emerging within the pinole project. The following section broadens the discussion to the elements that need to be taken into consideration when global institutions seek to support local or translocal heritage based-food initiatives.

Heritage is a means for reinterpreting the past as contingent upon present issues (Lenclud, 1987). As pinole demonstrates, these include issues of biodiversity and cultural erosion, the consequences of migration for those displaced, and the burden on rapidly depopulating rural communities. Pinole can be seen through Jacobsen's tripartite lens of food as nature, as commodity, and as culture (2004). Despite the range of values and understandings embedded in pinole's heritage and regardless of being local (in Ozolco), translocal (Ozolco's migrant

workers) or extralocal (Ark of Taste), ‘actors tend to purify distinct aspects of food (as signifier), claiming a specific trait to be its essence, and hence ignoring other aspects or taking them for granted’ (Jacobsen, 2004: 62).

The risk inherent in the heritagisation of pinole lies in the incompatibility of different uses and geographies of pinole, such as in Nicaragua where it is considered a national drink (Pinole Weebly website). The tensions that lie between the stories of pinole formulated by Slow Food and the pinole project are reflective of a wider phenomenon in the global production of heritage (that includes sites, monuments etc.) whereby heritage is a product of various and at times disjointed interpretations (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996).

As Kuutma demonstrates, ‘heritage is a project of ideology that is dependent on ambivalent temporal entanglements: though claiming diachronic rootedness, it is a product of the new that “has recourse to the past” (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995: 369)’ (2009: 10). As heritage production institutions such as UNESCO and Slow Food gain further global cachet, their discourse acquires greater authority in defining authenticity, tradition and heritage (Sammells, 2014; Chrzan, 2004; Siniscalchi, 2013). Slow Food in particular is ‘(re)defining and imagining places that characterizes the field of “typicity”’ (Siniscalchi, 2013: 299).

Despite its efforts to preserve diversity (cultural, agricultural or other), the Ark contributes to a process whereby ‘even “diversity” can become a homogeneous product. So, too, can tradition and heritage: the particular is itself universalised’ (Herzfeld, 2004: 2). In this sense, the Ark contributes to what Michael Herzfeld defines as an ‘increasingly homogeneous language of culture and ethics’ that ‘is everywhere present but nowhere clearly definable’ (2004: 2–3). Products listed in the Ark, such as pinole, are undergoing a narrational universalization, increasingly identified as global heritage rather than Ozolco's heritage.

Beyond its discourse, the risk that Slow Food poses to small, local projects such as the pinole project is obscuring the complexities of history and politics (such as Mexico's rich mestizo culture and gastronomy) in the effort to construct or sustain the particular image of traditional community (Bendix, 2000). This tendency conceals the role of translocal actors in shaping the global production of heritage and of the economy of food, further obscuring their existence and the struggles they face. As the case-study of pinole demonstrates, globalisation is a 'contested process' where the impact of transnational food actors such as members of Alianza in Philadelphia, 'conditions' rather than 'determines' (Marsden et al., 1996: 367) the actions of members of Amigos, in Mexico.

The devolution of the pinole project ultimately lies in the lack of a 'cognitive coordination' (Callon et al., 2002) between the actors involved in the heritagisation of pinole, whose understanding of the values of pinole's heritage diverge and at times, conflict. In practice, such a coordination would have permitted Slow Food, well established in the US, to play an instrumental role in helping the pinole project by securing a consumer base, supporting producers through its expertise in marketing and publicity (Leitch, 2009). As demands for heritage goods increase and small-scale initiatives are created around the world, global actors have the opportunity to coordinate a 'constellation of characteristics' or a 'set of points of reference which goes beyond the actors as individuals but which they nonetheless build and understand in the course of their actions' (Storper and Salais, 1997: 16). This criteria list would acknowledge the process of heritagisation as one 'characterised by a spontaneous equilibrium between conservation and endless adaptation' (Bessière, 2013: 286).

By recognising that the ‘invention of tradition’ (Hobsbawm, 1983), translocal relations and hybridity may be the roots of the heritagisation of food, the movement Slow Food can facilitate the legitimization of a new global understanding of heritage that can redress the asymmetry of the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ (Smith, 2006). In other words, altering the discourse of international movements or institutions such as Slow Food can be the first step towards disseminating knowledge and bringing awareness of the socio-economic plight of small-scale food producers, conceivably leading to the empowerment of discarded actors such as transmigrant workers within the discourse of global heritage. Applied to the particular case of the pinole project, this would entail an acknowledgement of the hybrid and translocal nature of the heritage project that was born from a desire to further integrate a market from which they have been excluded as well as strengthen relations that have been jeopardised by the geographical displacement this market has prompted. The synchronisation of narratives between global actors and local as well as transnational ones is essential – though by no means sufficient – for the coordination of their mutual efforts in striving to perpetuate the dissemination of knowledge and the production of heritage goods.

9- Conclusions

The heritagisation of pinole is an uneven process arising from an interplay of a plurality of actors at different scales (micro and macro) in diverse geographical locations: Mexico, the US and Italy. Through the combination of different fields of study, this article contributes new insights into the process of heritagisation of food. This article discussed the ‘heritage realisation’ of Ozolcanian migrants', a process intrinsically linked to their displacement and discovery of a shared ‘inherited conscience’ of their indigenous identity which leads them to reaffirm their roots through the celebration of pinole. As the pinole case study shows, local, translocal and global actors play an active role in constructing food as heritage, transforming

it from a local resource into a global commodity through various enmeshed discourses, which highlight certain actors' prerogatives to the detriment of others.

Understandings of heritage differ depending on geographical scale and the socio-economic concerns actors strive to address by marketing pinole as a heritage foodstuff. By integrating translocal actors within this study, this article has sought to contribute to studies in alternative geographies of food by combining research on translocality, cultural studies and rural sociology. In so doing, it demonstrates how understandings of heritage are reflected by the multifunctional designations used by transmigrant, local and international actors to legitimise their struggle with global issues: the loss of biodiversity, the homogenisation and corporatisation of the food system, disappearing gastronomic diversity, migration and disempowerment of small-scale farmers, displacement of Ozolcanian youth.

Unpicking the assertions regarding pinole's heritagisation by Slow Food and the pinole project has simultaneously contributed to migrant studies as it unveils the entanglements and interdependence of local, translocal and international food projects in the promotion of a local product sold transnationally and marketed on an international scale. The pinole case-study, though limited in scope, underlines how the heritagisation of food necessitates the coordination of various actors at different stages of the process yet paradoxically, demonstrates how the divergence of discourses leads to the dissolution of these actors' working relationship.

Through discourse analysis of the pinole project and Slow Food, 'heritage' emerges as an advantageous cultural construction in which various tropes compete and obscure one another.

Particularly, this article has sought to demonstrate how a discourse can have implications for the actions of the various actors involved in the heritagisation of pinole. In so doing, it outlines the problems that arise with the Ark's discourse that lay claim to veracity and transparency in its over-promotion of traditional characteristics, dismissing the importance of technical evolution (Bessière, 2013: 285), market competitiveness and adaptability. The movement's idealisations of the past, vague temporal references and the glorification of pre-capitalist values cumulate in a narrative that excludes an entire group of actors responsible for the heritagisation of pinole, namely transmigrant workers. As a global actor conferring international legitimacy to pinole's heritage, Slow Food is in a unique position to draw international attention to the plight of members – local *and* translocal – of the pinole project.

These burgeoning findings invite further anthropological, sociological and geographical studies to map the interrelations of – and power play between – local, translocal and international actors in the formulation of heritage. In this ‘age of global heritage’ (Grasseni, 2011), research is needed to investigate which stories of heritage are heard, legitimised or discarded in order to establish which actors does the construction of heritage empower, benefit or hinder.

Chapter 7- The multifunctionality of heritage food: the example of pinole, a Mexican sweet

This article was submitted in February 2016 to the Journal of Peasant Studies. It is presented here in its original format.

1- Introduction

Pinole, a Mexican sweet made of corn, is increasingly difficult to find. It is made from cornmeal ground from toasted kernels to which is usually added sugar and cinnamon¹³⁹.

Pinole was once part of the standard Mexican diet. As urban migration grows in Mexico, fewer households prepare or eat traditional foods, relegating pinole to obscurity. A group of campesinos (peasant farmers) in the indigenous village of Ozolco, perched on the volcano of Popocatepetl in the region of Puebla in Mexico, is now striving to counter this growing erasure and promote their local variety made with the region's native blue corn.

The 'pinole project' is a heritage-based food initiative formed from two distinct organisations that were both founded in 2008: the business Amigos de Ozolco (hereafter Amigos) in Mexico, and the cooperative Blue Corn Alianza (hereafter Alianza) based in Philadelphia that seeks to revive the production of pinole and distribute the sweet in markets across North America. The project is comprised of Mexican members living on either side of the border of Mexico with the US. Through a process referred to as the heritagisation, 'the concept of cultural/immaterial patrimony is being applied to local foods in diverse ways and market circuits' (Grasseni 2011). As argued in this article, the heritagisation of pinole is rooted in the

¹³⁹ Pinole can also refer to just ground toasted corn in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

plight of displaced migrant workers, and the impoverishment of their rural community. The process is given different meanings by actors on both sides of the border, who construct a discourse around the pinole according to their (economic and social) interests which creates differences and ultimately, the weakness of the project. As this article argues, these discourses are tied to – and articulate – divergent notions of place that Ozolco represents.

Based on ethnographic research, this article provides a discursive comparison of local farmers in Ozolco with those of transmigrant workers in Philadelphia, US. Following Cristina Grasseni's central hypothesis that 'within circuits of heritagisation food is being rediscovered and reinvented' (2011), this article integrates the study of translocal actors into its analysis of 'alternative geographies of food' (Whatmore and Thorne 1997), bringing into conversation the 'economy of qualities' (Callon et al. 2002; Ponte and Gibbon 2005) literature with that of translocality (McFarlane 2009; Conradson and McKay 2007; Brickell and Datta 2011).

The first section provides a brief description of the methodology used in this article. The following reviews the literature, situating the current studies amongst the extant body of research. In so doing, it develops its theoretical framework, bridging conceptual tools from anthropology studies on the heritagisation of food borrowed from Jacinthe Bessière (1998, 2013) and Cristina Grasseni (2011), and geographical tenants of Doreen Massey's conceptual lens on place (1994, 1995). In identifying the gaps in the literature, this section outlines the contribution it makes. In the next sections, the article provides a discursive analysis of the two organisations of the pinole project. It underlines how, despite shared origins, members of the pinole project view the foodstuff differently: they rediscover, reinvent, essentialise or commodify pinole according to their socio-economic, and geographical contexts. In so doing, various 'senses of place' (Massey 1994, 1995) emerge from the discourses actors articulate.

Through a comparative analysis of these discourses, this article seeks to tie constructions of place with interpretations of the past, underlining the role that translocal actors play in the construction of the ‘alternative geographies of food’ (Whatmore and Thorne 1997). This research responds to the ‘need to “ground” the study of transnationalism in specific empirical research’ (Crang et al. 2003, 438) by giving an ‘analysis of commodity culture (that) provides an alternative way of advancing our understanding of contemporary transnationality’ (Ibid.). Following a summary of this article’s findings, several suggestions for further research are detailed in the concluding section.

2- Methodology

The research presented in this article emerges from extensive multi-sited ethnographic research on the organisations Amigos and Alianza. Between 2013 and 2014, data was collected over an aggregated five months spent in Ozolco living with my host family, shadowing various members as they went about their daily activities to the *campo* (farm), helping with the cultivation of corn and other vegetables. I also carried out participant observation in the Amigos workshop, learning to make pinole, paying close attention both to the methods involved in production, and the stories producers told of the foodstuff. I spent two weeks interviewing members of Alianza in Philadelphia. The primary objective of this research was to examine the role of members of Amigos and Alianza in the heritagisation of pinole through their own narratives. The research focused on a sample of Ozolcanians currently or formerly involved with the pinole project in Mexico and the US. Questions focused on recollections of pinole as a childhood sweet, perceptions of its significance for Mexican culture, Ozolco’s community, indigenous heritage, and of its role in Amigos and Alianza.

I carried out informal, semi-structured and in-depth interviews with members of Amigos and Alianza. Interviews were supplemented by textual analyses of the official discourse of the pinole project, sourced from their website, Facebook page, pinole's entry in the Ark of Taste (a list of heritage food of the Slow Food movement), and brochures. Using a snowballing technique, I interviewed 21 individuals and households. Most respondents were current or former farmers between 30 and 50 years of age, with active roles in one of the two organisations. Respondents were predominantly male due to the snowballing exercise, and the preponderance of male actors in the pinole project, though efforts were made to interview as many women as possible. This bias in the sample reflects the nature of both migration and of farming communities in rural areas, and could not be overcome due to the financial and time constraints of the research project. All interviews were conducted in confidence and the names of interviewees were withheld by mutual agreement.

3- Literature Review

Till recently, research on heritage foods was skewed towards Europe (Bowen and de Master 2011). Heritage products are strongly linked to their place of origin (see Massey 1994, 1995; Bessière 1998). Heritage can thus act as an anchor in societies relatively distanced from their origins through urbanisation and population migration (McIntosh and Prentice 1999, 590). Studies also demonstrate how heritagisation can be a source of economic revival in marginalised rural areas, notably through the development of rural tourism (Bessière 1998, 29). Projects to promote these foods tend to affect rural spaces, leading to new development policies, tourism, or the restructuring of the agricultural sector.

Heritage-based food projects can thus be interpreted as

[an] attempt by rural areas to localise economic control' by 'increasingly adopting cultural markers as key resources in the pursuit of territorial development objectives ... [and] revalorise[ing] place through its cultural identity. (Ray 1998)

Some scholars celebrate these initiatives as platforms for indigenous or rural identity reaffirmation, as these initiatives can embed or create pride and reaffirm a sense of place through their perceived 'authenticity' (McIntoch and Prentice 1999, 590). They demonstrate how the heritagisation of food can enable the conservation and transmission of skills as well as the revival of a common memory associated with a particular place (Bessière 1998). Studies of typical products (Bauman 1998) underline how foodstuffs also allow producers to reaffirm territorial and indigenous identities (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014; Waitt 2000). Others have taken a more nuanced stance, arguing that the notion of 'authenticity' linked to heritage foods has attracted adverse, though lucrative, tourism and media exposure as well as the commodification of communities, and their traditions (Jenkins et al. 2002; Bowen and de Master 2011; Grasseni 2003; Lind and Barham 2004; Lotti 2010). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's seminal work theorising heritage underlines how the process of heritagisation is interwoven to that of commodification (1995). That which is considered heritage is typically commodified, and conversely, commodities often taken on the aura - or are marketed - as the heritage of a particular group. Heritage, as a platform for the meanings and values of is also a platform for 'degree of self-folklorisation and the acceptance of a performed identity of the authentic peasant' (Grasseni 2011).

Lois Stanford (2012) observes the effects of Mexican governmental projects in support of *gastronomía tradicional* on indigenous rural communities. Mexican women market themselves by wearing folk costumes at food fairs and other touristic events where they were invited to perform traditional cooking skills. These costumes are no longer commonly worn

as they hinder everyday activities such as farming and gardening. In these studies, the heritagisation of food tends to lead to the commodification of culture, creating new discourses and circuits of image-construction:

there is a thin line between the genuine sense of loss that local operators bring up when they mourn the disappearance of unique recipes, regional products and traditional know-how, and the promotional celebration, to the point of exaggeration, of local custodians of taste or rather masters of food. (Grasseni 2011)

Heritage products have garnered anthropological, geographical and social scholarly scrutiny on a local (Tellström et al. 2006; Feagan 2007) or global (Sammells 2014; Kuutma 2009) level. Alison Leitch demonstrates how the transformation of Colonnata lard into a heritage product led it to become a 'new symbol of a national and international movement around the politics of food production and consumption in the new Europe' (2003, 448). She warns of the effects of the 'commodification of tradition' whereby certain foods are appropriated and patented by particular sets of actors to access niche markets. In her study of Basque foods, Ariane Lotti (2010) shows that typical products are both standardised and commoditised by being put into international circulation. The intangible aspects of Basque culture, heritage, and embeddedness rooted in these typical products are thus assigned a monetary value (Lotti 2010, 70). Food is inherently tied to the construction of identities, both individual and collective (see Bourdieu 1984; Fischler 1993; Bessière 1998). In this sense, the commodification of heritage foods is coupled to the commodification of rural or indigenous identities (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014).

Though the heritagisation of food has produced a rich literature analysing the social, cultural and economic effects of producing and promoting heritage foods, gaps remain. Despite

multiple studies on migrants' nostalgic longings for their home cuisine (Sutton 2001; Bardenstein 2014), there is little documented about the effects of translocal networks on the heritagisation of local foodstuffs and translocal actors' role in the articulation as global heritage. Campesino narratives in particular tend to be dismissed in favour of the discourse of those who 'critique the dominant food system and identify an alternative approach' (Gottlieb and Joshi 2010, 6). Collecting their narratives and analysing their discourses is rooted in Gottlieb and Joshi's work (2010) who argue that stories can illustrate the various experiences stemming from food injustices and the ways the latter may be overcome. This approach embraces a livelihoods' perspective that offers, to quote Ian Scoones, 'an important lens for looking at complex rural development questions' as it requires 'a basic recognition of cross-scale dynamic change and second, a more central place for considerations of knowledge, power, values and political change' (2009, 194).

4- Situating Ozolco

San Mateo Ozolco means 'old road' in Náhuatl, the indigenous language of the Puebla region in Mexico. Small, and poor, the village is located on the slopes of one of Mexico's largest active volcanoes, Popocatepetl. Though steeped in tradition, Ozolco's population do not self-identify as indigenous. Around 52% speak an indigenous language, mainly Náhuatl, that has purposefully not been taught to younger generations. 31% of Ozolco's population are illiterate (INEGI 2010). A single main road divides Ozolco from north to south. A church situated in the main plaza welcomes 88% of the population who identify as Catholics. Ozolco has a single small clinic, and only 49% of the population receive health services (Ibid.). The most recent census, in 2010 (ibid.), found that of the 754 households in Ozolco, only 376 had access to electricity, potable water and drainage though, thanks to remittances, the majority had a television, while many owned a car or a van. The economy and many of the traditions

of 'peasant-like' individuals still living in rural villages are heavily subsidised by these remittances from migrant relatives (Kearney 1996, 21). In this sense, though many deplore the separation of families undergo due to migration, remittances are overwhelmingly welcomed as they have allowed Ozolco to develop, build a school and significantly improve their daily lives (Littaye 2015). In 2012, the first mobile phone antenna was erected, which allowed Ozolcanians to finally use mobile phones in their village.

Ozolco's population typifies David Barkin's claim that the peasantry continues to support the social traditions and organisations of rural areas where farming is central to ways of life (2002). Ozolcanians, working outside Ozolco, in Mexico or abroad, send remittances though there are no official data on what these represent to the local economy (for my host family, remittances provided half the household income). Most migrants from the state of Puebla are going as undocumented workers to the US. Remittances are a source of change in the rural community's demographics as it is predominantly the young men who work outside the country to send money home. Remittances are also means for maintaining traditional practices, most importantly subsistence farming, which are otherwise untenable in a modern economy. The pinole project exemplifies this paradox: it seeks to consolidate transmigrant relations between Philadelphia and Mexico as well as preserve the rural campesino lifestyle in Ozolco.

Ozolcanians are amongst the most prominent migrant communities in Philadelphia. According to Kilpatrick's article in 'Philadelphia Weekly', between 1995 and 2006, Ozolcanians represent 750 to 1,200 of the Mexicans based in South Philadelphia. They represent a fourth to a third of Ozolco's population, which numbered about 2,700 in 2010 (CONEVAL 2010). Men as young as 14 and up to 50 years of age represent the greatest

proportion of Ozolcanians who have migrated to the US, reflecting a phenomenon apparent throughout Mexico:

This age is associated with the onset of what the traditions of the community dictate as “productive age” and culminates with the physical impairment for crossing or when children become old enough to be able to cross the border and take their father's place as migrants. (Calderon 2012)

According to Amavizca Ruiz et al., Ozolco suffers one of the worst adolescent migration drains in the world (2014). Alarmed by the number of young Ozolcanians arriving to the US, migrant workers in Philadelphia formed Grupo Ozolco (hereafter GO) in 2000 as a support network. To retain youth in Ozolco, GO raised funds to build the first and, to this day, only high-school in Ozolco. After their success, members of GO were eager to turn to the root causes of youth migration in Mexico: the lack of employment opportunities for young people in rural areas, precipitated by the incursion of cheap, subsidised, and genetically modified American corn (Fitting 2011; Baker 2012) as well as the dismantling of production subsidies for corn after the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and further legislation aimed at neoliberal economic restructuring (Henriques and Patel 2004; Hernández 2008).

As José, the co-founder of Amigos states, *‘there are boys of fourteen, fifteen who come to the US. It’s dangerous in the streets of the United States. It’s not like here, where you can play in the street and nothing is going to happen to you’*. José, a 36-year-old Ozolcanian, lived in Philadelphia for seven years and supported the creation of Alianza, before returning to Ozolco in order to set up Amigos. Both projects were set up with a \$300,000 grant from the charity foundation Hispanics in Philanthropy with which permits and licences were obtained,

in large part thanks to the leader of a community centre in South Philadelphia at the time (Littaye 2015). According to José, the pinole project was born from the desire to create alternative economic possibilities for youth in Ozolco, and deter young men from migrating whilst in their early teens.

5- Transnational bridges

Though the pinole project was rooted in the desire to curb youth migration, it brought together actors whose priorities differed widely according to their socio-economic and geographical contexts. Its two constituent organisations emerged from a series of earlier social and cultural groups pursuing differing aims. The heritagisation of pinole, by its very nature, is a unique platform for the articulation *as well as* the pursuit of a multiplicity of goals as it is an inherently multifunctional process (Littaye 2015), reflecting the varying priorities of the project's members.

The pinole project emerged from a group called Construyendo Puentes Transnacionales: Building Transnational Bridges (hereafter CPT). The latter strongly emphasised the transnational character of pinole, bridging Ozolco's economy and members to those in Philadelphia. As José expressed, '*it was always meant to be a translocal project... to connect people here [Ozolco] to there [Philadelphia]*'. CTP eventually morphed into Alianza in 2008, now a cooperative. Adrian, a 35-year-old unmarried migrant who has lived in the US for the past 14 years, was amongst one of its first members. Initially, he supported his friend José in a project that would stand as '*an example for Mexicans of unity and dialogue and bridges between people*'.

The creation of Alianza coincided with the establishment of Amigos in Ozolco. Amigos was in charge of the production and commercialisation of pinole in Mexico, whilst Alianza distributed the foodstuff in Philadelphia. According to the Alianza website, CTP was formed to ‘support Ozolcanians on both sides of the border’, providing them with a viable livelihood and contributing to the development of Ozolco’s local economy, as well as preserving its rural countryside and traditions. Pinole, as the website claims, offers the opportunity to ‘commercialise a native product’, ‘contribute to Mexico’s economy’ and finally, to ‘make a profit’ (Alianza website). This rhetoric reveals how pinole embodies a broader set of relations, and becomes a window on the social, demographic and ecological catastrophe of neoliberalism (McMichael 2008, 11).

6- Essentialising pinole

Some members of Alianza cherish the legacy embodied in pinole, and strongly identify with its indigenous roots. As their stories show, heritage ‘refers to a capital of specific, singular resources aimed at ensuring the perpetuation of the group while feeding its own collective dynamic founded on a certain cultural, historical, even geographical identity’ (Rautenberg 2003 quoted in Bessière 2013, 277). Fifteen years ago, Manuel crossed the border undocumented, with his wife and two sons. Since, he has had another son, the only member of the family with an American passport. When asked about Alianza, of which he is a member, Manuel says ‘*it is not about money. It’s about patrimony, it’s about the foundation of humanity*’. For Manuel, pinole is ‘*about blue corn*’. When questioned about the heritage of pinole, Manuel says: ‘*the original maize is Mexican, the identity is Mexican*’. By designating pinole as a heritage food, these translocal actors imbue the foodstuff with the ‘material and immaterial elements of food cultures’ as a ‘shared legacy or a common good’ (Matta 2013)

that Alianza members perceive in a common ‘corn culture’. He has since set up a restaurant with his brothers in South Philadelphia named Blue Corn Restaurant.

The question of legacy is a recurring theme amongst Alianza members. Despite making money and supporting his family in Ozolco through remittances, Adrian recalls that something: ‘*was missing from (his) soul*’, a sentiment that surfaces in others’ discourses. As Adrian says: ‘*Here I am eating fries and drinking coke, eating like Americans... why am I a Mexican?*’. After migrating to Philadelphia, he became preoccupied with learning about his indigenous roots. He grew increasingly concerned about his status as a Mexican migrant, which led him through a process of re-discovery of his origins as an indigenous campesino, a characterisation many in Ozolco do not identify with as they perceive indigeneity as a source of backwardness and embarrassment. His displacement brought him to question this shame, and revalue his indigenous heritage. He says, ‘*I am depressed that it took migration to another country [for me] to appreciate the richness of Mexico... But I don’t know how to make the others understand the richness in Mexico*’. As he understands it, ‘*pinole is intimate... it is my legacy!*’. As Adrian puts it:

My mom or my grandma used to make it for me when I was a kid. She didn’t have to. She only made it when she was happy... when she wanted to do something nice for us. She’d just roast some corn, ground it up with some sugar and maybe cinnamon... and there... when I taste pinole, I remember my mom happy.

In Bessière’s terms, Adrian has come to a ‘realisation of heritage’ (1998). When probed about pinole, he says it ‘*is very symbolic... It is an antoje [a wish]. One that is ancient*’. The pinole project rests upon a common ancestry that he believes all Mexicans share: a pre-Hispanic and indigenous heritage. He now organises weekly Danza Azteca workshops, and performs at festivals and street events, which he admits he would never do in Ozolco. By

using Danza Azteca as a cultural performance of indigeneity — that widely functions as a pan-Indian performance rather than as more locally specific aspect of his Ozolcanian community — Adrian exemplifies Michael Kearney's notion of peasant 'hybridity' (1996, 68). 'Peasant' is an anachronism and can no longer be understood as an essentialised category but instead, recognise that individuals are constantly adjusting to adjust to changing social, cultural and economic conditions.

Pinole provides Adrian and other members, with the opportunity — impossible and unwanted in Ozolco — to creatively reaffirm indigenous roots. To these members, the pinole project is not 'a salvage effort akin to preserving a language or plant species from extinction' as described by Gade (2004), but a means for supporting and maintaining rural communities. The *culture* of Ozolco's rural and indigenous community is intrinsically linked to the cultivation of native Mexican corn; safeguarding one implies preserving the other. Made from heirloom blue corn produced through traditional *milpa* (intercropping) farming, pinole helps maintain Ozolco's agro-biodiversity *as well as* its indigenous farming knowledge, ensuring the perpetuation of a pre-Hispanic Aztec legacy. Manual, Adrian and other members of Alianza members, through their displacement, have elaborated essentialised indigenous and Mexican identities in ways that are anathema to Amigos members in Ozolco. The very process of reaffirming indigeneity — absent in Ozolco — typifies Kearney's argument that actors from rural Mexico must develop multiple identities as they move back and forth between different transnational spheres looking for employment opportunities (1996).

Despite the interrelation between the survival of blue corn pinole and rural lifestyles in Ozolco, members of Amigos are mainly concerned with the monetisation of pinole. Indeed, none of Amigos' active members identified with being indigenous and some took offense at

being questioned about such matters, even though they had previously migrated, and worked in the US.

7- Amigos and the commodification of pinole

Amigos members do not question their identity in the ways that Alianza members do: it is firmly rooted in their daily life as Ozolcanian campesinos. They do not identify with pinole's association with indigeneity or Mexican heritage, though they recognise its heritagisation as a commercial strategy, turning it from a local product to a global commodity.

Juan, the current leader of Amigos, shrugs when asked about pinole's indigenous roots: *'we (family) eat it regularly... maybe once a month. It's not heritage for us. It's part of ourselves. We put the indigenous stuff on the label to help it sell... It helps a little'*. Juan understands the value of commodifying the indigenous aspect of pinole to reach an American clientele but says it does not facilitate sales within Mexican markets. When asked about the indigenous aspect of pinole, Carlos, another member of Amigos, laughs and waves his hand saying: *'it's not important'*. In this sense, pinole is exotic as a foreign, indigenous and unfamiliar product in the US, whereas in Mexico, the indigeneity of pinole does not carry the same cachet or attraction.

Unlike members of Alianza who want to sell pinole in cafes, and street events or festivals, members of Amigos unanimously believe that they need to sell to big chains for the economic success of the pinole project. They emphasise the need to standardise production to supply to large retailers. On their website, Alianza claims that pinole is an 'organic' and 'artisanal' product, prepared in Ozolco through 'traditional Aztec' methods. During my

participant observation in the Amigos' workshop, however, I saw pinole produced in bulk using machines to grind the maize.

Carlos, a member of Amigos, has offered to set up the organisation's workshop in his home. He reminds me that pinole cannot be found in any commercial store in Mexico: *'we need to sell in supermarkets around Mexico'*. He believes in the profitability of commercialising pinole using its cachet as a Mexican heritage food. Carlos is highly aware of the necessity to expand his consumer base, purchase more machines, and *'standardise'* the production of pinole so that they sell to *'big chains such as Walmart'*. In our last interview, he told me: *'Hopefully, next time you are here, we'll have a factory instead of a workshop... To sell all over Mexico!'*¹⁴⁰. Ironically, selling pinole in the US is not profitable for Amigos. According to Carlos: *'we're better off selling to Mexican clients daily than selling to the US once a year!'*. As Macario, another member of Amigos, explains, *'(W)e make more money in the US, but waste more money distributing it. In Mexico, little money, but little expenses. No. It's better to be selling in Mexico'*. More recently, Amigos has started the production of a more lucrative product for the Mexican market: tostadas (blue corn tortilla chips). Amigos now has higher revenues from selling tostadas than pinole. Since Amigos still does not have an export license, the tostadas are distributed solely within Mexico.

Though views of pinole tend to differ between members of Alianza and Amigos, some members of the pinole project share both organisations' priorities. Eduardo, an Ozolcanian who joined Alianza two years after its formation, admits that he does not know why Alianza focused specifically on selling pinole. When asked about the foodstuff, he thinks he *'might have tried it once before in Ozolco'*. Like his fellow member Manuel, Eduardo opened a

¹⁴⁰ Subsequently, Amigos built a separate factory for the production of pinole and blue corn chips in Ozolco.

coffee shop called Café con Chocolate in 2012 in South Philadelphia. When Alianza received a shipment from Amigos, Eduardo quickly sold out of products made with pinole such as muffins, cheesecakes, and pancakes as well as drinks such as hot chocolate and smoothies.

Pinole represents for Eduardo a business opportunity with the migrant Mexican population as well as Philadelphia's growing authenticity-seeking consumer base. When asked about his decision to become a member of Alianza, he answers that he wanted to help his hometown, Ozolco, by supporting commercial agriculture (as opposed to subsistence agriculture), and the preservation of native blue corn. Unlike other members of Alianza, he does not identify with the indigeneity that Adrian speaks of, nor the legacy Manuel embeds in pinole. In this sense, Manuel emulates Grasseni (2011) notion of 'self-folklorisation', understanding the need to market the indigenous aspect of pinole in his coffee shop to appeal to various markets that span from Mexican transmigrants to American *foodies*.

8- Varying conceptualisations of pinole

The divergence between Amigos and Alianza members' discourse lies in the role pinole plays on either side of the border. Whereas Alianza members want to market pinole to an American market as an indigenous heritage food, Amigos now caters to a growing consumer base in Mexico through increasing sales of popular tostadas. According to its members, the success of Amigos rests on the industrialisation of pinole production. Their priority lies in purchasing machines, expanding commerce, and selling to large-scale retailers in Mexico.

A rift has developed between the two organisations, partly due to the surprising lack of communication across borders between members, and disorganisation, despite the explicit intent of the pinole project to foster 'transmigrant bridges'. In three years, Alianza ordered

merely two shipments of pinole to the US, an unsustainably low demand for Amigos. During my first fieldtrip in Ozolco in August 2013, Amigos informants claimed that, despite efforts to render pinole economically profitable, the organisation was operating without profit. Upon my return in May 2014, the organisation was, self-reportedly, running successfully to the extent that that extra help was hired to cope with the demand from the growing Mexican clientele. The pinole project is now secondary for Amigos members, who are focused mainly on selling corn chips. Macario, the current leader of Amigos, believes that his organisation will expand '*poco a poco*' (little by little). When he retires, he hopes his sons will become the '*new bosses*' of a business large enough for them to hire more help from Ozolco's population. Amigos, not pinole, is his legacy to his children.

Dissimilarities in conceptualising pinole's heritage caused division amongst Amigos and Alianza members. They have also led to disagreements amongst local Ozolcanians. Although Amigos identifies itself as a community food project, it divided villagers and fostered irreconcilable tensions amongst its members. Though Amigos was meant to involve and support the community of Ozolco, only 24 people joined initially. A split emerged along varying opinions about migration within the village of Ozolco (a topic which unites Ozolcanians in Philadelphia): some see it as a necessity for economic survival, others believe it needs to be addressed. The majority of Ozolcanians (including members of my host family) disliked the notion of an autonomous local economy. They believed that remittances were more beneficial to Ozolco than Amigos ever could be. Some, however, supported the ideal of a self-supporting local economy. The disagreement underlines the divergence of views held by Ozolcanians on the value imbued in pinole's heritage: as a source of (indigenous) pride, or economic livelihood. This difference stems from the varied ways that individuals find for their livelihoods, that encompass tactics in more complex economic strategies that cancel the

very notions that actors and their communities can be defined on the basis of the standard productionist types (Kearney 1996, 147). Kearney's (1996) coined the term 'polybian' to indicate how individuals adapt to changing economic surroundings with a flexibility that defies essentialist terminology.

The previous Amigos leader, José, though a fervent advocate for the financial autonomy of his hometown, recognises the importance of remittances for Ozolco. He voiced concerns at the time about the fate of remittances if the Obama administration were to pass new reforms in the US: *'Ozolco would lose its gold mine if an immigration reform would pass in the United States'*. Today, eight members remain in Amigos and five in Alianza, some of whom are not active. The reduction in Amigos' membership is due to two factors. First, the majority of members left the project, disheartened by the lack of financial return and the challenge of coping with the demands of daily work. Furthermore, according to José, certain members of Amigos proved themselves 'so difficult to work with' that other members left. Emilia, one of the only female members, says that the lack of vision in Amigos led to the demise of the pinole project:

The issue is that some work more, some work less and still get paid the same... There is a problem of loyalty, confidence and values. The group here in Ozolco is disbanding. There is a really big divide. There is harmony in Philadelphia... We all want to make money but we forgot the solidarity between us, the goal for which we started the project in the first place... The question of loyalty, of companionship etc. has been forgotten.

The pinole project was undermined from the onset by concerns and disagreements beyond the project's scope, over the (un)desirability of remittances in Ozolco. According to Juan Papail (2005), around 6–15% of remittances from Mexican migrants are invested in small

businesses which enable self-employment. In the majority of cases, as with Amigos, these businesses create a limited number of jobs that do not offer a viable income or social coverage. As a consequence, these businesses encourage others to migrate and ‘far from slowing down emigration, these investments contribute to foster it’ (Papail 2005, 336). The aim of curbing migration was disputed by the wider community of Ozolco – epitomised by the limited number of members – and, through time, was abandoned as individual members became engrossed in their own priorities. In this process, the pinole project was disbanded and fragmented in such a way that the transnational bridges it sought no longer exist. Amigos has become a private enterprise whose profits currently benefit only four families in Ozolco. Built on funds designed to benefit the entire community, Amigos is today a contentious entity in Ozolco. Ironically, Amigos is supported by members who initially sought to oppose the circularity of migration, and remittances but now profit exclusively from Amigos, effectively contributing to immigration.

9- Senses of place in heritage pinole

The pinole case-study underlines how transmigration, the reaffirmation of indigenous identity and the commodification of heritage intertwine in the process of heritagisation. This section argues that the heritagisation of pinole, an essentially multifunctional process, is a platform for the articulation of varying senses of place.

The initial aim of GO, the precursor to Alianza, was to reduce adolescent migration. With the creation of Alianza, this objective morphed into efforts to revitalise local Ozolco economy whilst preserving traditional livelihoods and agro-biodiversity. The plurality of these objectives underlines the interrelation of the issues. In its efforts to curb youth migration, the blue corn project ‘not only produces food but also sustains rural landscapes, protects

biodiversity, generates employment, and contributes to the viability of rural areas' (Erjavec et al. 2009, 45). The official discourse of the Alianza reflects the multifunctionality of the heritagisation of pinole: 'Blue Corn Alianza is a Mexican cooperative based in Philadelphia whose mission is to built transnational bridges, creating economic opportunities and preserving our traditions of San Mateo Ozolco' (*author's translation*, Alianza website).

Eating ethnic food is a reaffirmation of identity for migrants far from home (Sutton 2001; 2008). Likewise, the revival and distribution of pinole can also be a process by which dislocated migrants reaffirm indigenous identities. In this sense, their identities are not *territorially* based: they are based on their transnational relations. I would argue further that, by rearticulating blue corn pinole as a typical heritage food of Ozolco, the identity of dislocated Ozolcanian migrants is based on efforts to revalorise Ozolco – from afar – as a place of indigenous roots. As explored previously, Adrian's narrative emulates, according to Analiese Richard, a Mexican nationalistic rhetoric that promotes the story that Mexico is a 'maize civilisation', and campesinos are stewards of this heritage (Richard 2008). In this sense, Adrian typifies Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett claim that people 'are not only cultural carriers and transmitters ... but also agents in the heritage enterprise itself' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, 58).

The experience of dislocation enables Ozolcanians in Philadelphia to construct pinole 'with a sense of otherness':

it occurs via an encounter with a form a social diversity that forces actors, at some point, to reposition themselves and rethink their value system. This confrontation allows for a 'heritage realisation', which is critical in the construction of a social value. (Bessière 2013: 282)

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett emphasises, heritage embodies ‘pastness, exhibition, difference, and where possible indigeneity’ (1995, 370). Pinole morphed from a local sweet into a symbol of home, childhood and the past, Mexico and indigenous legacy for these translocal actors whose sense of self is destabilised by being immersed in a foreign country. For Manuel and Adrian, the heritage of pinole acts as a ‘resource ... to elaborate alterity and consequently identity’ (Bessière 1998). The ‘realisation’ of pinole’s heritage arose *from* the dislocation and transnational status experienced by Ozolco’s transmigrant community, underlining how the very boundaries between rural and urban spheres are blurred as individuals move between the two and, through that movement, ‘realise’ their heritage. Its cultural appropriation leads to its transformation into a symbol of identity, and ‘belonging in processes of boundary-making’ (Grasseni 2011). Through the heritagisation of pinole, these translocal actors intimate ‘the assertion of any place-bound identity [that] has to rest at some point on the motivational power of tradition’ (Massey 1995, 188).

Their discourse of Ozolco’s essential character of indigeneity and ‘maize culture’ is built through what Massey calls ‘exclusivist counterposition’ (1995, 190). Migrant workers articulate identity in terms of a ‘backward project’ narrative (Barta 2002): as transmigrant actors whose roots are in an idealised culture (and not territory) of the past, in this case associated with the ancient Mesoamerican empires. Pinole is reimagined by this transmigrant community as a ‘representing a kind of “indigenous” location, positioned as quintessentially associated with localised populations and specific traditions, rather than being imposed by outside forces’ (Finnis 2012, 8). For these transmigrant actors, heritage food acts as the ‘endorsement of “peasant life”’ that is perceived a ‘sanctuary of people’s origins, their lost roots, and the source of an improbable authenticity’ (Burguière et al. 1993 quoted in Bessière

1998, 21). This sense of loss is crystallised in Adrian's description of '*missing something from [his] soul*'.

The story that emerges from the discourse of these transmigrant actors constructs Ozolco from a history that 'still depend(s) upon the same notion of tradition, on an assumption of continuity between past and present, where the only real form of change resides in the tragedy of loss' (Massey 1995, 190). A particular sense of place arises from their discourse, one which is 'reactionary' to their displacement, 'constructed out of an introverted, inward-looking history based on delving into the past for internalized origins' (Massey 1994, 152). For the majority of Alianza members then, the pinole project represents 'introverted obsessions with "heritage"' (Ibid., 151). Paradoxically, pinole is reimagined as epitomising Ozolco's intangible heritage by actors *outside* of Ozolco. In this sense, the heritagisation of pinole is intrinsic to migration, and thus, globalisation as it emerges from a 'situation where actors are confronted and distanced from one another' (Bessière 2013, 283).

Alianza's notion of Ozolco contrasts starkly with the narratives of local Ozolcanians who explicitly reject identification with indigeneity which is strongly stigmatised in Mexico. Though the majority of Amigos members were returning migrants, they did not endorse Alianza's discourse *even* though they adopted it as a marketing tool, commodifying the values of intangible heritage embedded in pinole. As migrant returnees, Amigos members respond to the internal heterogeneity of rural households and communities and 'experienced a myriad of complex feelings upon their return as their idealised version of "home" often did not match their expectations and memories' (Prickett et al. 2012, 69). Their perceptions of Ozolco differ widely from those of their fellow migrant workers since their idealisations of home whilst migrants were confronted by reality upon their return. The very notion of

‘peasant life’ that these translocal actors formulate stand in stark contrast to the identities Amigos members and Ozolcanians in Mexico articulate. Their awareness of an increasingly impactful global era – through youth’s migration, remittances and the global competition of cheap American corn - stimulates a multitude of economic strategies ranging from remittances to selling value-added products based on their native corn such as tostadas and pinole, an approach that nullifies the essentialist categorisations of peasantry (Kearney 1996, 124) Amigos reinforce.

Unlike Alianza members, Amigos members want to standardise pinole’s production to service large Mexican retailers and expand their national reach. For Amigos’ members, the heritagisation of food is a marketing tool to gain a competitive advantage in global markets. As Grasseni affirms, we have entered an ‘age of global heritage’ whereby ‘a certain amount of standardisation of traditional food systems is required in order to offer local products on a wider market basis’ (2011). If Amigos succeed in expanding their market to giant retailers such as Walmart, pinole could potentially become a mass-produced heritage food, creating what Potter and Tilzey (2005) term ‘spaces for post-productivism within an inherently productivist agriculture... [by] map[ing] out an alternative “consumption countryside”’.

These findings echo the studies carried out by Bowen and Master (2011), Ray (1998), and Bessière (1998) that conclude that extralocal actors (such as global food companies or networks) do not value the same aspects of traditional or heritage foods as local actors. This study expands on this research by demonstrating that disagreements arise between local and translocal actors (such as transmigrants) from the same rural community. Amigos represents the main source of income for its members in Mexico whereas in Philadelphia, members of

Alianza consider the pinole project as a hobby, a marginal activity which can supplement their wages – to date, they have not made a profit from the sale of pinole in the US.

In seemingly contradictory fashion, Amigos members are more aware of the global context in which pinole circulates. As such, they understand the necessity of commodifying pinole's heritage to market it as a global commodity. Focused on the economic viability of Amigos, members do not attempt to restrict emigration: it is now a part of Ozolco's fabric, fulfilling Massey's prediction that 'over time, the social process of migration acquires its own momentum, and the structural causes of migration fade into the background' (Massey 1987, 1389). The overall failure of the pinole project is partly rooted in the success – and industrialisation – of Amigos. The pinole project did not succeed in breaking the circularity of migration as Ozolcanians are continuously consolidating a 'range of social contacts, which encourages still more migration, leading ultimately to the emergence of international migration as a mass phenomenon' (Ibid., 1374). Ozolco, in their discourse, is upheld, and constituted through translocal ties: it is 'constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus...' (Massey 1994, 154). Their multi-scalar perception of Ozolo through their economic and geographical circumstances reflects Massey's understanding of place as:

imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent. (Massey 1994, 154)

Though seemingly contradictory, the meanings attributed to pinole – and the different senses of place that Ozolco represents – exemplify the effect of hybridisation of foodstuffs described by the scholar Ivonne Bordi in her study of Marias (typically derogatory term for indigenous women) in Mexico City:

the inclination or preference to eat tortillas by hand with nixtamalised (lime-cooked) corn, has not only been a response to a taste strategy by eaters but, also, to economic strategies (of indigenous and subsistence farmers seeking access to the market), in which multiple power relations are concealed. (2006, 97)

The power relations obscured by the pinole project are those that were fostered or maintained by pinole's heritagisation. These occur at different scales such as the imbalanced local distribution of financial aid dedicated to Ozolco but concentrated in Amigos' four households, or on a macro-scale, the inequality of political and economical power between the US and Mexico, fuelling Ozolco's relentless migration.

In its analysis of the heritage discourse of the different members of the pinole project, this article argues with Massey that:

One of the problems here has been a persistent identification of place with 'community'. Yet this is a misidentification. On the one hand, communities can exist without being in the same place - from networks of friends with like interests, to major religious, ethnic or political communities. (Massey 1995, 153)

This issue is aggravated, on a macro level, by the propensity to overlook the diversity of values and identity constructions amongst campesinos by romanticising peasants' and indigenous peoples' 'cultural alterity, or overemphasizing the similarity of experiences across time and space' (Fitting 2011, 233-234). Some scholars have adopted the perspective that the interests of commerce, national governments, and elites are opposed to those of local

communities. They focus on the role of external forces, such as governments or commercial interests, in using culinary gastronomy to construct national identities (Belasco and Scranton 2002). The disparity between members of the pinole project, and ways they appropriate and use heritagisation to serve personal goals, undermines this academic trend.

10- Conclusions

This article sought to shed light on the process of heritagisation of food through the lens of transmigration. It reveals heritage as a polysemic concept, incorporating meanings and values reflective of various socio-economic and geographical contexts of members of the pinole project. It is understood as an intangible heritage, as a product that invites self-folklorisation and a commodity that can revitalise Ozolco's local economy. This plurality of understandings in turn, informs a multiplicity of practices and behaviours, that in turn become platforms for different conceptualisation of Ozolco as a place. This multifunctional aspect enables pinole's heritagisation to promote the seemingly paradoxical intentions of project members: negotiating transmigrant identity and maintaining campesino lifestyles, preserving indigenous legacy and commodifying heritage, consolidating transnational bridges, and making remittances redundant. Pinole is thus a hybrid foodstuff, platform to 'peasant hybridity' and multiple senses of place encapsulated in Ozolco.

The heritagisation of pinole provides members with opportunities to address their specific circumstances and needs: those whose identity has been destabilised by displacement to the US have sought to rediscover their indigenous roots through pinole's heritagisation, whilst farmers in Ozolco, struggling with a severe youth migration and global corn markets, imbue pinole's heritage with commercial values and treat it as a commodity. Ozolcanians in Mexico and in the US also articulate discourses that actively shape Ozolco as an essentialised or

internal place, rooted in the representations and values of pinole as a *heritage* and as a *commodity* and to essentialised notions of peasanthood. Ozolco emerges both as internal, threatened by migratory change *and* as a constellation of networks that extend beyond its borders, negotiating and adapting to the global impacts of neoliberal policies and migration. These senses of place are tied to the aims inherent in the heritagisation of pinole: to authenticate and validate the existence and practices of a culture *and* to commodify the culture itself (Lindholm, 2008). More broadly, it undermines the notion – epitomised in Alianza members' discourse – of 'corn culture' as a natural economy in opposition to capitalism.

Ozolco, as a place of tradition and heritage, is constructed not from common 'notion of primary and original cultural alterity' but from an 'indigeneity and peasantries [that] are made and remade in interaction with larger forces and processes' (Fitting 2011, 114). Transmigration, remittances, and the heritagisation of food are processes *continuously* shaping Ozolco. This article argues that a more nuanced approach to the study of small-scale campesinos, necessitates the incorporation of the heterogeneity of their narratives, and acknowledges the varied and active roles they play in shaping alternative geographies of food. This approach addresses the disregard for the multitude of economic strategies, the heterogeneous internal structure of Ozoloco's community and the processes of socio-economic differentiation that occur within and between the different sectors of its population (see Brunt 1992, 11) – as between Amigos members and non-members. The pinole project, though limited in scope, points to the need for scholars to pay attention to campesinos' stories as their 'narratives about the Mexican countryside are not simply words and ideas; they are an inherent part of social practice and have material effects in the world' (Fitting 2011, 32). It also demonstrates how translocal voices are part of those stories. Transmigrant communities

play an active role in shaping problematic and essentialised notions of their birth-place.

Simultaneously, this article endorses Raoul Matta's assertion that 'paying close attention to social and economic contexts informs understanding of the value-adding processes that foster food heritage, avoiding vague and premature appraisals' (2013). Notions of global heritage are thus initiated by and speak to wider issues than food alone.

Chapter 8- Conclusions

Building upon the observations articulated in previous chapters, this concluding chapter revisits the overarching research question formulated in the introduction. In so doing, it reappraises the three key questions that have guided this research and explored in the analytical chapters. Which objectives do actors pursue through the heritagisation of food? How are temporal notions of quality understood by various actors? How do these affect notions of place articulated in the discourse of heritage foods? The following sections outline responses to the questions that emerged from the analysis of the empirical data and detail the contributions that this thesis makes to agro-food studies and alternative food geographies. The chapter ends with recommendations for further research on the topic.

1- Summary

This investigation was undertaken to examine the discursive ways in which notions of time affect and shape conceptualisations of place within the geographies of food. It did this through a discourse analysis of two HBFIs linked to the Slow Food movement. Its focus on the heritagisation of food sprung from the identification of gaps in the agro-food literature, and geographies of food. The study was informed by various theoretical orientations, and sought to redress an asymmetry in the empirical research carried out on the global articulation of heritage foods. To address these issues, this research developed a discursive-based ‘cultural economy’ approach that engaged literatures on ‘place-making’ (Massey 1994; 1995; 2007; Cresswell 2014), heritage (Bessière 1998; 2013), time (Adams 1990; 2000; May and Thrift 2001), and the vast array of studies on Slow Food that span the fields of

anthropology of food, rural sociology and cultural geography (Lotti 2010; Sassatelli and Davolio 2010; MacDonald 2013; Leitch 2000; 2003; 2012; Finnis 2012; Chrzan 2004). By using diverse conceptual tools this research sought to design a novel theoretical approach to the study of place-making and quality foods. By applying this approach to the specific topic of Ark products and HBFIs, this thesis also contributed to the literatures on time and heritage, engaging them through conversations with place.

As a global institution selecting, defining and enlisting heritage products, Slow Food is shaping the geographies of food in ways that have not yet been explored. Empirically, this research aimed to integrate translocal actors in the study of the alternative quality foods, and address the imbalance of academic interest predominantly focused on Slow Food's activities and impacts in developed nations by investigating a HBFI based in Mexico. It also redressed the scarcity of research on Slow Food's heritage qualification scheme, the Ark. This thesis sought to give voice to actors who engaged with the process of heritagisation and the creation of HBFIs. In tracing the origin of the heritagisation of pinole and 'real bread', this research shed light on the role of translocal actors whose '(S)ignificant absences could be made present' (Cook and Crang 1996: 47). More broadly, this attention to small-scale food producers of heritage foods addressed the tendency in the literature to focus on dominant voices within the alternative food system (Gottlieb and Joshi 2010: 6).

To summarise, chapter 4, the first analytical chapter, provides an in-depth exploration of how Bread Matters and the pinole project were instigated, analysing the data from in-depth interviews with both founders, revealing their motives in the creation of their HBFIs, underlining the objectives pursued through the instigation of pinole and 'real bread'. This chapter also sketches a partial response to how notions of time shape the senses of place of

Ozolco and Scotland. Chapter 5 is a direct exploration of how temporal qualities associated with ‘real bread’ are understood and articulated, examining and comparing the discourses that Bread Matters and the Ark disseminate. Chapter 6 focuses on the pinole project and its heritagisation of pinole, which it contrasts with the Ark, discussing the heritagisation of food through the discourse of members rather than those of founders who were covered in chapter 4. The final analytical chapter explores how members of the pinole project may conflict and even contradict one another, revealing how heritage is an umbrella term which obscures a wide variety of understandings of place associated with Ozolco.

2- Findings

This thesis facilitates the study of the processes that lead to the heritagisation of food, the creation of HBFIs (or AFNs), the relations between global (social) food movements and place-based projects and, finally, to the power dynamics between actors which may be obscured by the singular denomination of heritage. The analytical chapters provide different theoretical and empirical angles from which each research question was approached. This section seeks to give a coherent frame to the diversity of findings emerging from each analytical chapter, organising them according to the research question they address.

2.1 Multifunctionality of heritagisation

In arguing that the articulation of heritage foods allows actors to pursue multiple objectives, this thesis makes a greater claim about the process of qualification as a *hybrid* process necessitating cognitive coordination between actors for mutual benefit, and contributing to the literatures on quality and the sociology of markets (Callon et al. 2002; Callon 2007).

This thesis outlines how the discourse of global heritage is ‘strategically deployed for political, economic, or ideological goals’ (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014: 1). The heritagisation of ‘real bread’ and pinole, outlined in chapter 4, was initiated through a strategic process in which the founders of Bread Matters and the pinole project commodified foods to secure a competitive advantage in the international wheat and corn markets. Alongside its economic advantages, heritagisation is also a means of addressing the socio-economic plight of marginalised rural areas and communities of Scotland and Ozolco. The plasticity of heritage denominations helps to tackle issues such as economic impoverishment in Ozolco and (lack of) grain sovereignty in Scotland. The polysemic nature of ‘heritage’ is interlinked with the multiple functionalities *and* the undemocratic aspect of the process of heritagisation. As chapter 4 shows, Bread Matters and the pinole project were initiated by white, middle-class educated men to pursue goals they determined *for* communities they did not belong to. The extended network of Slow Food thus reflects the broader trend identified in the literature whereby affluent well-educated white men play a disproportionate role in AFNs (Parkins and Craig 2009).

Chapter 6 expands the conversation to translocal actors in the pinole project, showing that the discourse of transmigrant, local and international actors is used to legitimise their struggles, not only with local issues, but with global and translocal ones as well. These issues include the loss of biodiversity, the homogenisation and corporatisation of the food system, eroding agro- and edible diversity, migration and disempowerment of small-scale farmers and significantly, the displacement of Mexican youth. In other words, heritagisation facilitates the pursuit of differing socio-economic goals on a multi-scalar level: local, regional, translocal and global.

An important contribution to the conversation within agro-food and heritage studies emerges from the consideration of translocality. In its focus on translocal relations between Amigos and Alianza, chapter 7 examines the objectives of the pinole project. In so doing, it underlines the discrepancies that emerge in a comparison of the discursive practices of its two branches. Local and translocal actors articulate differing understandings of heritage according to their conceptualisations of place, and are profoundly shaped by their experience of displacement or lack thereof. For transmigrant members of Alianza, who live in Philadelphia, pinole is a heritage that they are nostalgic for. By contrast, (local) farmers in Ozolco perceive pinole through the lens of the commodification of their colleagues' nostalgia, and the added value they can thereby obtain. Within the *same* network of (alternative) heritage food producers, discordant conceptualisations of heritage surface from varying socio-economic contexts and the needs they articulate. For transmigrants, there is a nostalgic longing for *home*, and a reaffirmation of indigenous, Mexican identity, whereas local farmers in Ozolco have an acute economic need for survival.

The attention to translocal voices also underlines the importance of contextualising AFNs' discourses and comprehending how the commodification of heritage and nostalgia rooted in food can be grounded by the actors who produce that food. This conceptual shift understands local producers as active actors within the food system: they not only produce local foods for global markets, but also shape the discourse of global heritage foods. Slow Food plays a role in shaping the image of marginalised producers and their communities as victims of global trade. Its rhetoric disseminates essentialist notions of indigenous Mexican culture that, through the movement's global reach, are established as the 'authorized heritage discourse' of pinole. Chapter 5 reinforces this argument, demonstrating how the past formulated by Slow Food can act as a platform for Bread Matters' call to re-establish a self-sufficient

production of grains in Scotland, a political rallying point for the autonomy of the Scottish food supply. As both case-studies demonstrate, the heritagisation of food offers the opportunity to study how a ‘single qualification opportunity’ has been captured by ‘diverse types of actor with different motivations’ (Tregear 2007: 18).

The heritagisation of food is also a profoundly political process. The comparative analysis in chapter 6 reveals the politics of heritage-making whereby narratives of the past are intrinsically tied to particular formulations and perceptions of economically marginalised, rural cultures. The Ark of Taste, by its very name, symbolises the movement’s endorsement of a ‘politics of preservation’ (Goodman et al. 2012), a stance that straddles ambiguously between ‘politics of perfection’ (DuPuis 2006) and ‘market-based social movement(s)’ (Goodman et al. 2012: 13). In the former, ‘normative, values-based localism leads to an elitist, undemocratic politics of perfection marked by problematic conceptions of social justice and civic tolerance’ (Ibid.: 13). Slow Food also encourages ‘commodity fetishism and political consumerism’ (Ibid.: 5). This point may be of interest to a wider audience of agro-food scholars – even policy-makers – as heritage-based qualification lists, such as UNESCO List of Intangible Heritage, are increasingly employed in tourism and retailing (Bessière 2013; Burnett 2003; Lin et al. 2011; Okumus et al. 2007; Poulain 2007).

2.2 Temporality and alternative food quality

As mentioned above, this thesis explores how articulations of time (past, nostalgia etc.) in heritage discourses are intrinsically linked to the ideologies, and politics rooted in the articulations of aims, goals and pursuits. The ideological characteristics of temporal notions prompts their use as qualities of (alternative) foods. Chapter 5 makes the argument that, through the heritagisation of ‘real bread’, Bread Matters pursues specific (and creative)

versions of the past. As food is essential to collective as well as individual identity and ‘alterity’ (see Bourdieu 1984; Fischler 1993; Bessi re 1998), the construction of the heritage of ‘real bread’ authenticates specific narratives of a ‘shared history’ or ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983) of Scotland, implicit in Bread Matter’s project: ‘Scotland, the Bread’.

Slow Food’s use of ‘slow’ as a food quality is partly rooted in the ideological connotation inherent in such notions of the past associated with slowness. Though expressed through a uniform global discourse, in practice this takes a myriad of forms. In this sense, this thesis aims to renew geographers’ attention to social movements as hybrid, ambiguous, heterogeneous, self-organising and decentred (Pickerill and Chatterton 2006; Amin and Thrift 2007; Bosco 2007). *Slow* explicitly introduces temporal notions of quality, against which are opposed the majority of ills attributed to modern, industrialised food systems. This is explored in depth with regard to Bread Matters, sourdough and artisanal baking skills in chapter 5. These temporal qualities, representing history or the past, are essential for the organisation’s normative claims, and are complicated by the fact that the past is of ‘a pluriform nature’ (Waitt 2000: 848). Chapter 5 considers the rhetorical use of historical permanence or continuity, deployed in the Ark’s discourse and that of ‘real bread’ as a means of qualifying ‘good’ – slow – foods. By being rooted in a static version of the Scottish past, ‘real bread’ gains a moral dimension.

By engaging with the literature on the sociology of knowledge (Borgmann 1999; Berger and Luckmann 1966), chapter 5 demonstrates how temporal notions of time are simultaneously tied to a heightened sense of reality *as well* as morality. This problematic moral dichotomisation of food, embraced by Slow Food, parallels the oppositional depiction of the

food system as either alternative or conventional, and is used implicitly to make normative claims about the alternative food system. With this argument, this thesis broadens the discussion within agro-food geographies that have failed to take into account how notions of time simultaneously inform quality, production methods, and constructions of history (Bérard and Marchenay 2008).

Despite these discursive constructions of the past, the temporal rhythms and notions describing *slow* food – as explored through ‘real bread’ baking – reveal how, in practice, slow denotes a rich variety of movements and recollections (such as *slow* kneading or fermentation), necessary for the transmission of skills. As this thesis confirms, ‘slow quality is not, then, a fixed characteristic; rather, it is fluid and malleable and tends to shift as the objects and practices move from one context to another’ (Miele 2008: 147). The contradictory uses of temporal notions in discourse and practice are rooted in an incompatibility between the ‘messiness’ of food production and the binary moralism of Slow Food’s discourse. Baking, as with food preparation in general, depends upon skill, innovation and improvisation. The dualistic and normative rhetoric of Slow Food, on the other hand, reinforces the dichotomisation identified previously, whereby the food system is divided between alternative and conventional, good and bad.

Attending to the visceral aspects of ‘real bread’ production lays bare the normative, authoritative and, ultimately, unfounded claims of Slow Food’s discourse on heritage. This finding builds on – and contributes to – new materialists’ discussions (outlined in the literature review) of Slow Food (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; 2010a; 2013; Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010; Longhurst et al. 2009). Additional research into the ‘visceral’ experiences of producers of heritage products such as ‘real bread’ and pinole would

further complement this thesis' findings regarding the heritagisation of food. Such a relational approach could address the question of heritage qualification and temporal notions, and show how the 'material characteristics, biophysical processes, and environmental factors play an analytically significant role in these socially produced definitions of quality' (Mansfield 2003: 11).

The notion of *slow*, like other temporal notions, is vague and ambiguous. This allows actors such as Slow Food to use such notions to make normative claims, a propensity replicated by other actors throughout the network of heritage food producers and members. In chapter 7, Amigos and Alianza members' notions of Ozolco's past are contrasted. As displaced migrants, Alianza members tend to remember their childhood in Ozolco with a touch of melancholy. Contributing the literature on migration (Massey 1987; Prickett et al. 2012; Sciller et al. 1992), this thesis demonstrates how such nostalgic perceptions of the past are tied to displacement *as well as* essentialised notions of place (Massey 1994; 1995).

2.3 Senses of place

As Lefebvre asks, '(W)hat is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?' (1991: 44). The ideologies promoted by Slow Food, Bread Matters and Alianza members are fundamentally tied to the notions of place they construct in relation to heritage foods. The analysis of heritage foods is framed by Massey's understanding of place (1994; 1995; 2007) which it expands through engagements with translocality (McFarlane 2009; Conradson and McKay 2007; Brickell and Datta 2011) to map alternative food geographies.

The ways in which time shapes place are as legion as the ‘various (and uneven) networks of time stretching in different and divergent directions across an uneven space’ (May and Thrift 2001: 14). Nevertheless, this thesis sought to establish the intrinsic link between notions of time and constructions of place. In so doing, it implodes the categorical dualism that has pervaded agro-food studies and that hold spatial qualities in food as separate or unrelated to temporal notions (and qualities). Through an explicit incorporation of temporal references in the analysis of narratives of place, this thesis shifts the discussion from a purely spatial focus to one which acknowledges space and time are necessarily intertwined (Massey 1994). Through this analysis, place and the narratives that construct it, are seen as central to the projects’ inception and success. In other words, the narratives surrounding Scotland and Ozolco within these HBFIs are integral to these projects’ innovation.

Most tellingly, different senses of place arise from the discourse articulated by members of the *same* network. Two senses of place emerge from the discursive analysis of Bread Matters, the pinole project and Slow Food: a notion of place formed from ‘social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus’ (Massey 1994: 154) that contrasts with an ‘introverted’ (Ibid.), reactionary and essentialised one. These senses of place are underlined in the findings of chapter 4 and chapter 7. In the latter, transmigration is a determining factor in the articulation of heritage, imbuing Ozolco with a nostalgic sheen as an essentialised place. This stands in stark contrast to the notion articulated by the project’s founder, explored in chapter 4. The pinole project, born from desires to support translocal communities, extols Ozolco as a place that springs from a ‘constellation of social relations’ (Massey 1994: 154). Alianza members seek to reaffirm the cultural identity of Ozolco, by emphasising the heritage that the village, indigenous farming skills, and blue corn represent. This perception of Ozolco rests upon childhood memories as ‘(A)n (idealized) notion of an era when places

were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities is set against the current fragmentation and disruption' (Massey 1994: 145). This sense of place is echoed in Bread Matters. Its founder imbued his organisation with values that portray Scotland as an example of 'competitive localisms, to introverted obsessions with "heritage"' (Massey 1994: 151).

The 'identity' of the places linked to pinole and 'real bread' is rooted in 'the past', as if this past were the 'real character of the place' (Massey 1995: 183). Inherent in this nostalgia is a feeling of loss for something which must be maintained: the tradition of baking 'real bread', or the heritage of indigenous blue corn. Heritage, as tradition (Anderson and Hobsbawm 1983), is actively built in the present (Massey 1995). The purpose of such inventions, as Massey (1995) argues, is to establish the nature and coherence of a place. Within Bread Matters and the pinole project, these narratives of place provide a foundation for the innovation of HBFIs.

Both Alianza members and Bread Matters' founder perceive their HBFIs as a response to a phenomenon shaping the alternative geographies of food: the general sentiment in affluent First World economies of 'discomforts of fragmentation, disruption and "placelessness" that have produced nostalgic longings for a secure world and for secure positionings within it' (Massey 1994: 146-147). By extending the conversation to the translocal voices of Alianza members, this thesis shows how this sentiment is also shared by displaced migrants whose

occasional longing for such coherence is none the less a sign of the geographic fragmentation, the spatial disruption, of our times. And occasionally, too, it has been part of what has given rise to defensive and reactionary responses – certain forms of nationalism, sentimentalized recovering of sanitized "heritages". (Massey 1994)

In contrast to these essential notions of place, Amigos members in Ozolco see their village as

a ‘fluid’ space shaped by migration, trade, and translocal ties. This reflects the pinole project founder’s understanding of Ozolco as a ‘constellation of social relations’ (Massey 1994: 153). Ozolco is understood as a place turned towards the world – ‘extroverted’ as Massey says – and shows ‘a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local’ (Ibid.) and as this thesis specifies, the translocal.

In attempting to answer its central research question, this thesis corroborates Massey’s assertion that different interpretations of place arise from the different socio-geographical positionings of the actors who promote them (Massey 1995). The various conceptualisations of Ozolco are rooted in various actors’ interpretations of the village’s past. As ‘external’ actors to the networks they seek to support, the founders of both Bread Matters and the pinole project understand the past of Scotland and Ozolco through the lens of the objectives they pursue by initiating the heritagisation of ‘real bread’ and pinole.

By considering places as not only spatial or geographical but also as temporal, this thesis exposes the link Massey identified between senses of place and the relationship of the past and present and that lays an alternative basis for the future (Massey 1995). The analytical lens in the study of heritage foods elucidates how places ‘stretch through time’ (Massey 1995). A discursive analysis of the objectives articulated by the HBFIs divulges the ways that actors seek to shape the future. In so doing, they link heritage foods to the past, giving moral weight, authority and urgency to the pursuit of these objectives.

The discourses surrounding heritage foods conjure multiple, ‘multi-vocal’ interpretations of the ‘past’, yet the objectives pursued by actors in heritagisation reflect their present socio-economic and political plight. To borrow Massey’s words, thinking of places as temporal

‘can help us to reinvigorate the way in which we conceptualise places’ (1995: 186).

Unpacking the various interpretations of place articulated through the discourse of ‘real bread’ and pinole points towards the conclusion that place is not – as Slow Food or Bread Matters might assert – a singular identity, a product of a coherent past. It is, instead, a platform for a multitude of stories, and a ‘conjunction of many histories’ (Massey 1995).

Conceptualising place as an interweaving of stories can help scholars avoid simply describing it as a geographical space, and to attend to the plurality of voices that may be over-shadowed by certain dominant, seductively coherent, histories. Writing of particular places as a *process* (Massey 1994; 1995) and thus, ‘temporary, uncertain’ is, as Rich Heyman (2000: 299) puts it, to ‘(K)eep . . . open the problematics of knowing beyond the end of writing’.

3- Expanding the discussion

The findings of this thesis lay the ground for further discussion. Research can be expanded productively, and rendered more interesting to the ‘heritage industry’ (Hewison 1987), by exploring the practices through which distributors, retailers and consumers in the US and the UK assess and value pinole and ‘real bread’. There is currently little social science literature dedicated to these foodstuffs despite the increasing popularity of blue corn in the US (Pilcher 2012), and the growth of the Real Bread Revolution throughout the UK (Real Bread Campaign website). In exploring the Ark and its products, this research uncovered actors that have not garnered sufficient attention in their role within the global governance of food: online lists of heritage goods and global non-state social movements. There is an academic imperative to determine how the former link to – and affect – the rural areas and communities that produce the goods about which actors claim the authority to make definitive lists and establish selection norms. There is scope for research on whether - and how - these online lists are overseen and the channels through which they are propagated and legitimised.

As the Ark demonstrates, global non-state actors instrumentally design heritage selection criteria to promote their ideals in ways that are left unexamined. According to Di Giovine, heritage denominations are the building blocks of a new world system in which geopolitical boundaries no longer matter except in the individual ‘minds of men’ (2009). There is a need for further critical analysis of the changing nature of global food governance, the actors and organisations that govern and affect the interactions in the food system, and the political and economic repercussions of the perpetual re-articulation of global gastronomic heritage; this thesis offers only one of many directions that future research may take.

Appendices

Appendix A: Criteria for Ark Products Selection

(sourced from www.slowfood.com)

- I. Products must be of outstanding quality in terms of taste. ‘Taste quality’ is defined in the context of local traditions and uses.
- II. The product must be linked to the memory and identity of a group, and can be a vegetable species, variety, ecotype or animal population that is well acclimatized over a medium-long period in a specific territory (defined in relation to the history of the territory). The primary material of the foodstuff must be locally sourced unless it comes from an area outside the region of production, in which case it must be traditional to use materials from that specific area. Any complementary materials used in the production of the product (spices, condiments, etc.) may be from any source, and their use must be part of the traditional production process.
- III. Products must be linked environmentally, socio-economically and historically to a specific area.
- IV. Products must be produced in limited quantities, by farms or by small-scale processing companies.
- V. Products must be threatened with either real or potential extinction.

Appendix B: Pre-prepared list of key questions for interviews and prompts - Terra Madre 2012

- Is this your first time at Terra Madre? Where did you travel from?
- How do you know/get involved with Slow Food? What is your role within the organisation? How are you associated with the movement?
- Have you so far benefitted from this event?
- What product(s) are you showcasing today? When was it listed in the Ark of Taste?
- How did your product become an Ark product?
- Who wrote the entry of your product now posted in the Ark? Do you think the description of your product on the Ark is accurate? If not, how so?
- Did you or your food business/project benefit from the product's entry in the Ark? Marketing? Financial..?
- Why do you think Slow Food wanted to list your product in the Ark of Taste? Do you believe their assessment correct?
- What is the story behind your product? Is it a food 'from the past'? Which heritage, if any, does it represent? Do you think it is under 'threat of extinction'? Is it important/symbolic in your community/region/country?
- Do you make this product? If not, who does? How is it made? By traditional methods?
- How were the methods of production learned/transmitted?
- How important do you think it is to transmit these skills and how would you support their survival?

Appendix C: List of Interviews

Names with an asterisk are pseudonyms. Those without an asterisk are the real names of interviewees who gave written permission to disclose their names in this research.

Interviews of Slow Food Members

	Interviewee	Status	Date	Location/Event	Format
1	Carlo Petrini	Founder of Slow Food	05.03.2012	Oxford Literary festival; TM	SSI
2	Andrea Amato	Slow Food coordinator	13.11.2012	Skype; Terra Madre	SSI
3	Valentina Bianco	Slow Food Latin America	11.09.2012	Skype; Terra Madre	SSI
4	Giada Talpo	Slow Food coordinator	28.10.2012	Terra Madre	SSI
5	Eleonara Giannini	Slow Food coordinator	28.10.2012	Terra Madre	SSI
6	Piero Sardo	President of Ark of Taste	25.10.2012	Terra Madre	SSI
7	Alfonso Rocha Robles	Leader of Mesoamerica Slow Food	2012-2015	Terra Madre; Mexico	Informal, in-depth interviews
8	Eduardo Correa	Coordinator of Mesoamerica Slow Food	2014-2015	Terra Madre; Mexico	Informal, in-depth interviews
9	Charlotte Marlbery	Leader Slow Food Scotland	2012-2014	Edinburgh Slow Food; Terra Madre	In-depth interviews
10	Hector Vasquez	Slow Food Argentina	28.10.2012	Terra Madre	SSI
11	Maria Scholten	Academic-Slow Food UK	27.10.2012	Terra Madre	SSI
12	Jorge Miguel Bellati	Slow Food producer	26.10.2012	Terra Madre	SSI

Interviews in the UK

	Interviewee	Status	Date	Location/Event	Format
1	Andrew Whitley	Founder BM	2012-2013	Terra Madre; Borders	Long interview; email
2	Veronica Burke	Co-owner BM	2012-2013	Terra Madre; Borders	SSI; email
3	Rae Phillips	Baroney Mills miller	19.06.2013	Borders	SSI
4	John Letts	Wheat farmer	19.06.2013	Oxford	SSI
5	Neil Fergus	SF Chef	19.06.2013	Edinburg	SSI
6	Connor*	Hobby-Baker	19.06.2013	Borders	SSI
7	Debra Ridell	Leader Breadshare	2012-2014	Borders	Long interview
8	Lindsay*	Part-time baker	12.04.2013	Borders	SSI
9	David*	Baker Breadshare	18.05.2013	Borders	SSI
10	Sophie*	Volunteer	18.05.2013	Borders	SSI
11	Eric*	Volunteer	20.06.2013	Borders	SSI
12	Alex Clark	Director Breadshare	20.06.2013	Borders	SSI
13	Geoff	Breadshare	2012-2014	Borders	SSI
14	Peter Richie	Whutmuir Farm	19.06.2013	Borders	In-depth interview
15	Peter Smith	BM participant	19.06.2013	Borders	SSI
16	Geoff Andrews	Author and journalist	2012-2014	London, Turin	Long interview, SSI
17	John Castley	Baker chef	05.2013	Borders	Long interview

Interviews in Mexico and Philadelphia

	Interviewee	Status	Date	Location/Event	Format
1	Eduardo*	Amigos member	29.20.2013	Ozolco	SSI
2	Manuel*	Alianza member	10.05.2014	Philadelphia	Informal in depth
3	Clementa	Amigos member	29.20.2013	Ozolco	SSI
4	Carlos Giralt	Consulate of Mexico in Philadelphia	13.05.2014	Philadelphia	SSI on the phone
5	Jose*	Amigos Leader	2012-2015	Terra Madre; Ozolco	Long interview
6	Juan*	Amigos member	2013-2014	Ozolco	SSI
7	Peter Bloom	Founder of Alianza and Amigos	12.06.2014	Oaxaca	Long interview; email
8	Adrian*	Alianza member	2014	Philadelphia	Long interview; facebook messages
9	Samuel*	Amigos members	2013-2014	Ozolco	SSI
10	Vicente Hernandez	Amigos members	2013-2014	Ozolco	SSI
11	Sandra Boyso	Amigos member	2013-2015	Ozolco	Long interview
12	Dona Delfina	Housewife	2013-2015	Ozolco	SSI
13	Marcelino	Ozolco farmer	2013-2015	Ozolco	SSI
14	Macario	Ozolco farmer	2013-2015	Ozolco	SSI
15	Carlos*	Ozolco farmer (previously in Amigos)	2013-2015	Ozolco	SSI
16	Julio*	Alianza member	10.05.2014	Philadelphia	SSI
17	Pablo*	Ozolco farmer (previously in Amigos)	2013-2014	Ozolco	SSI
18	Rudo*	Previous Alianza member	12.05.2014	Philadelphia	SSI
19	Tim Knab	Professor of gastronomy and anthropology	2013-2015	University De Las Americas in Cholula	SSI

Appendix D: Pre-prepared list of questions for interviews and prompts

Questions for Slow Food members/producers

- How did you get engaged with the [pinole/sourdough] project?
- What were your motivations for joining/creating this project?
- What is your role within the [pinole/sourdough] project?
- What do you believe is the goal or the aims of this project?
- In your opinion, what is Slow Food? What are its aims?
- What is your project's relation to Slow Food?
- Have you participated in a Slow Food activity/event?
- Has Slow Food helped your project? With money, time, expertise, contacts... etc.
- What is Slow Food's role with the [pinole/sourdough] network?
- Do you believe [pinole/sourdough] is a heritage?
- What does heritage food mean to you? Or *slow* food?
- Has the [pinole/sourdough] project impacted you, your life, other members, your community? How?
- Has the project or/and Slow Food affected your livelihood?
- What is the story of [pinole/sourdough]? Do you think it comes from the past?

Questions for Slow Food representatives

- Why did you get involved with the movement?
- Have your opinions of the movement changed since you've been working with Slow Food? and if so, how?
- In your opinions, what are the goals or aims of Slow Food?

- Do you think the movement achieves those aims? Please explain.
- What is Slow Food's impact in your region? In your country? In the world?
- What is *slow food*?
- How do you make slow food?
- Do you think slow food is heritage?
- Do you think there is an influence of Italian heritage on the vision of Slow Food? How does this manifest itself?
- Is there anything negative or harmful that Slow Food does in your opinion?

Appendix E: Consent form

My name is Alexandra Littaye. I am a doctoral candidate doing research on a project on heritage foods and Slow Food. This project is sponsored by the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of Oxford and Santander Bank. My supervisor is Dr Anna Lora-Wainwright and she can be contacted at this email should you have any questions:

anna.lora-wainwright@ouce.ox.ac.uk

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this research project. Your participation is very much appreciated. Please know that as participants in this project you have several very definite rights:

1. Your participation in this questionnaire is entirely voluntary
2. You are free to refuse to answer any question at any time
3. You are free to withdraw from the questionnaire at any time
4. This questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to members of the research team.
5. Excerpts of this questionnaire may be made part of the final research report, but under no circumstances will your name or identifying characteristics be included in this report.

I would be grateful if you would sign this form to show that you have read its contents:

_____ (Signed)

_____ (printed)

_____ (dated)

Please send me a report on the result of this research project (circle one)

YES NO

Contact details for those requesting research report

Email: _____

Address: _____

Tel: _____

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