

# The Political Rise of the Food Movement Online

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**Abstract.**

Food movements rise up around the globe and wish to globally connect and stimulate the public by spreading information and knowledge in order to become politically recognized and 'raise awareness' through online media. This research focuses on the development of organizations like the Youth Food Movement and their networks, their capabilities, influences and achievements, especially through the analysis of their use of new and social media. With national and international examples of 'fighting the system', it will argue that though new and social media are a great tool to reach the goal of a sustainist future with pure, honest and local food, to gain political power there is more needed than being Internet savvy.

**Key Words:** Politics, Society, Movements, New Media

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## 1. Introduction

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 2012, my Facebook page showed a message of the Youth Food Movement, an organization that wants to increase the production of pure, honest and local foods, announcing that our largest supermarket Albert Heijn had decided to cut back 2% of their cost price, leaving Dutch farmers with at least 2% less of an income. The Youth Food Movement therefore decided to give themselves (or, as they write, 'ourselves') a 2% discount while grocery shopping at the Albert Heijn. The name of the demonstration 'Jokers plakken, boeren pakken! 2% korting', is directly derived from Albert Heijn's famous discount action 'Jokers plakken', where one can collect so called Joker stickers, put them on any product you want and get a 10% discount by showing the stickered item at the register. The Youth Food Movement calls Albert Heijn's decision to give themselves a 2% discount a "stakeholder's action with too much power" (Youth Food Movement 2012) and states that it is not be the



1. *Jokers Plakken, Boeren Plakken demonstration sticker. Source: Youth Food Movement Vimeo Account 2012.*

Albert Heijn that beholds power, but the consumer. The demonstration on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September at the Dam in Amsterdam comes with at least 1000 2% discount stickers, with which the people who have clicked the button 'Attend' on Facebook will give themselves a discount in the nearest Albert Heijn. On the twelfth of September, only 146 of the 2333 people have shown to be present, mainly because the announcement was only made one day prior to the demonstration itself. But for everybody who had to miss it, the demonstration will evidently be filmed and put on the YFM's Facebookpage that week. They stimulated people to print their own stickers and organize their own demonstrations. This, to show that their initiative is a call for action: their demonstration at the Dam on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September should just be an example. Though the movement's demonstration shook up the public, results became only obvious after a different demonstration organized by local farmers themselves. Albert Heijn backed out, stating that 'Albert Heijn never meant for the discount to be powerfully pushed through without conversation' (Albert Heijn 2012) and suddenly stood open for conversation. The question of course remains whether Albert Heijn would have done the same, if it were just for the Youth Food Movement sticker demonstrations.

This example of how the food movement is trying to make more people aware of the power of large corporations and the need for local production, is one of the many that got me thinking about their development. Since the adaption of new media, social networking has been a great tool for all sorts of social movements to 'raise their voice' and recreate the public sphere. However, this thesis will argue that though new and social media are a great tool to reach the goal of a future with pure, honest and local food, to

gain political power it seems not yet to be enough. The research will focus on the development of national and international organizations like the Youth Food Movement and their networks, their capabilities, political influences and achievements, especially through the analysis of their use of new and social media. The importance of this research lies in the idea that the activating role of new media in recent riots and revolutions (like the Arab Spring or the protests against Poetin in Russia), is received in at least two different views. Some very optimistic, some very critical, some almost pessimistic about the concept of the Internet democracy that is created since Web 2.0 and enlarged since the use of social media, as can be read further along in chapter three. Some critics think the current food movement is not even something new and will maybe even pass without something revolutionary happening. Peter Scholliers for example, food historicist at the VU University of Brussels, claims that maybe we think it is new because we live in the moment: it happens right now, and it happens in a way that is adapted to our modern communication technologies. Through applications, information websites, online articles and even online games, we are over flown by information about what we must or must not eat. This information responds to social, economic and environmental crises and is therefore an important force for social change (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011, 113), which brings us to the second reason this research got started: very little is written yet about these food movements and the way they use social media to stimulate us changing the current and dominant food system.

The interest for this topic comes from an earlier research (Lie Fong 2011) concerning the new term 'sustainism' and the book 'Sustainism: the New Modernism' by sociologist Michiel Schwarz and Joost Elffers (2011). In this manifest, Schwarz and Elffers describe how with the use of new communication technologies and the need to globally connect, the world will become sustainist in the next ten to twenty years. Everybody will share information in a global form, yet use only local commodities and trade business and knowledge in an honest and democratic way. But, my research concluded, in order to reach this utopian form of a new world, obstacles like the digital divide and the dark side of 'sharing everything' online nowadays still contains too many risks.

The rise of food movements and their wish to globally connect and stimulate the public by spreading information and knowledge in order to become politically recognized and 'raise awareness' is one of the many examples Schwarz and Elffers 'saw' to happen. Their optimistic manifesto, in their statement a written claim that describes everything that is speedily developing around us, has made me gain interest for new developing organizations like food movements that in essence see the sustainist view of Schwarz and Elffers as an ultimate goal. By forming communities and introducing the world to the food movement, even several sub-movements have been popping up around the globe. Like with many other civil society organizations and non-governmental organizations, the Internet seems to be a fundamental element in attracting people and spreading the movement's social message. According to food movements like the Youth Food Movements, our food system needs to become more traditional and pure, less processed, grown by local farmers, and the best way to spread the word is to take things global, for example by using a social medium like Facebook. The movement, and

especially the Youth Food Movement, use social media and new communication technologies that facilitate the use of new and social media, like Smartphone's, social media apps and tablets, and by doing so they try to build an image of themselves and the food they represent and crave for as local but global, as connected, communicative and sustainable (Schwarz & Elffers 2011). They advocate for pure and honest food that is locally grown or produced, but shared globally through the use of modern technology.

According to Noortje Marres, the characteristics of movements, networks and organizations like these lie in their tendency to structure partnerships among other social movements or even governmental institutions to decentralize and distribute their ways of working (Marres 2003). By using email and making websites to 'raise awareness', 'share knowledge' and 'built partnerships' (Marres 2003), these movements have shown their trust in working with communication technologies over the last couple of years. Still, Marres writes, to define these organizations as info-networks or social networks does not quite sum up their goals, since it is not just the proliferation of information or collaboration among actors through networks that civil society organizations (CSO's) or, in this case, food movements want (Marres 2003, 3). Instead, to become important in public debates and have political influence even, it is necessary to focus on the articulation of the issues these movements want to address. For food movements to address issues concerning the food system created by the government and large corporations, what is the role of new media in their political practice and how is it integrated in their goals (socially, informational and on an articulate level, as Marres says)?

### **1.1 Methodology and key concepts**

As said before, this research will focus on the rise of food movements that are similar to the Youth Food Movement, as will be made clear in chapter 2, their political influence online and their network capabilities through the use of new and social media in order to reach a society in which food has become more pure, honest and local. This will mainly be done by the use of a descriptive and discursive research to analyze the observable fact that the food movement is using social media as a (political) tool. To complete the analysis, I will explore the food movement discourse, which will include the most influential speakers of the food movement today, like Michael Pollan, Marion Nestle, Frances Moore Lappé and agro ecologist, political economist and lecturer Eric Holt Gimenez. Because the topic of this thesis involves the mediation of the food movement, it is important to also use several theories from the new media discourse. These theories belong to older media theory like Carl Sunstein and Noortje Marres' analysis of issue-networks and on the other hand, new theories from Yochai Benkler, the online noopolitik theory by David Ronfeldt and John Arquila and Leah Lievrouw's research on activist media.

The second chapter will explain that these, usually, young movements or (cooperate) organizations that secure food provision, exist of four different types, according to Eric Holt Gimenez (2011): neoliberal, reformists, progressive and radical. Progressive movements seem to be more known then others: the Let's Move!

campaign and the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution are international examples that belong to this type of movement. They aim for a structural change in our food system and use their creativity and energy to fight world hunger and environmental pollution. By spreading their ideas and articles online and developing applications for Smartphone's, they seem to be directing in a certain way that has similarities with future that Michiel Schwarz en Joost Elffers foresaw in their manifest. According to Gimenez they could even gain political power by representing themselves and gather and inform members by becoming social and info-networks in order to change the system. To discover the mediation of their discourse, the second and third chapters will make clear how 'online' these movements are in spreading their message, in any way possible. New and social media will therefore be discussed as political and activists instruments.

Furthermore, the confusion that is present because of the different types of movements and the different relations to governments will become clear through the examples. This so called framing will include the twisting of trending words like sustainable, good, pure and honest, but will also make different goals clear of different stakeholders. Even though food movements strive to create a certain stability in what we know about food, about what is right or wrong, governments are not yet interested in working together with them. This subject will be discussed by the use of a case study about Michelle Obama's Let's Move! Campaign in the fourth chapter. The differences in interests that are shown in this case study are an example of why these issue networks to not yet have enough power already.

As exact Dutch examples, I will primarily use three branches of the global food movement in the fifth chapter: the Dutch version of the Slow Food Movement, the Youth Food Movement and Nieuw Vers. I choose to observe these three, because they seem to have the most supporters in the Netherlands and are directly linked to bigger movements abroad. Especially the Youth Food Movement can be a perfect example of how these movements are trying to involve a new generation of civilians through new ways of communication, like Facebook, Twitter and Vimeo. These movements will be discussed further along to clarify in what way they are politically operating online and what results they have achieved in order to reach their goal. By exploring their overall goals, needs, capabilities and influences and thereby also their flaws, this paper will eventually create a clearer overview in food movements and discover the potential of the use of new media in issue networks concerning food and politics, which will be described in chapter six and the conclusion.

## 1.2 Background: The interaction between food, economy, politics and society

*"Food touches everything. Food is the foundation of every economy. It is a central pawn in political strategies of states and households. Food marks social differences, boundaries, bonds and contradictions. Eating is an endlessly evolving enactment of gender, family, and community relationships"*  
(Counihan & Van Esterik 1997, 1)

This 1997 quote from Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik's reader 'Food and Culture' holds the meaning that food is a cultural as well as it is a political or economical subject matter. They describe how humans have always seen food as something to share, something to create solidarity with, whether in wealth or poverty. What we eat, how we prepare it, what we mean to say with it defines who we are, what our culture is and what is custom in our environment. It can also identify stability in our economy, the role of agriculture, capitalism, democracy and even our environment. For example, since a couple of years, scientists, newspapers and gradually also more and more governments have been pointing out some great concerns: global warming, the increasing shortage of fuels and energy and the food crisis. Micheal Pollan writes that over the last thirty or forty years, food has finally been made visible, especially politically speaking, while it was something people never really thought of before, especially in Western countries. As a journalist, writer and philosopher, Pollan has published a manifest about food, with his well known mantra: 'Eat food. Not too much. Mostly plants' (Pollan 2011a). With this manifest and many other online articles about food and food politics, Pollan tries to convince the reader to stop eating processed foods and start eating like 'your great-great-grandmother' did, in order to live a long and healthy life. Pollan is also a supporter of the food movement and their goal to change the food system, because according to him 'cheap food has become a pillar of the modern economy that few in government dare to question' (Pollan 2011b). People, and especially western people, did not have to think about their food, where it came from and what exactly it was made of and gladly so. After the war, farmers quite quickly increased their productivity due to cheap fossil fuel and different, more encouraging policies in agriculture (Pollan 2010). When all of this went well, the period of influence under president Nixon stimulated the harvest of corn and soy as cheap crops, which caused a rising poverty under fresh framers. Soft drinks, feedlot meat and other processed food products based on corn and soy appeared in grocery stores, followed by what we now know as microwave meals, TV-meals or home meal replacements (Pollan 2010). While this type of cheap food, or as Pollan calls it, food products, turned out to be a great success, especially in Western civilization, it has never in human history been such an easy thing to collect our daily food.

Something needed to change. Our mistrust towards our own governments created confusion among not just American people, but also the Dutch nowadays have created their own ideas about food that differ from the current food system, as will be explained in chapters 3 and 6. Together with our other developments in

infrastructure, communication and food, this mistrust has also made some developments. Like Smith, Lawrence and Richards quote Harriet Friedmann in 2010: 'food regimes arise out of contests among social movements and powerful institutions, and reflect a negotiated frame from instituting new rules' (Friedmann 2005, 232), the roots of how a society associates with food lay in social movements and subsequently in powerful institutes like governments. Friedmann describes how for example the industrialization was responsible for the industrial food regime between 1947 and 1973. Nowadays, it is not just the purely social movements that try to lay down a base for new rules, but the upcoming food movements. How this base will develop differs per country and civilization; factors like culture, history, agricultural traditions, economy and political systems are essential in understanding the need for change, as will be shown in chapters 3 - 6.

But wherever you are, to change the food system, Marion Nestle, the Paulette Goddard Professor of Nutrition, Food Studies and Public Health at the New York University, writes, you have to start yourself by 'voting with your fork' (Nestle 2011) and thereby taking social responsibility. Nestle discusses food policy in her monthly column for *The Chronicle* (2011) and according to her, today's food movements offer plenty of room to do so, and you can set an example by making it socially acceptable to discuss and care about food. To start with yourself and spread the word from there on is quite simple nowadays; it only takes a Facebook status update to share your opinion with the world, as will be fully described in chapters 2-5.

Even though food movements, Nestle, Pollan, but also famous TV cook Jamie Oliver who started his own online movement to give others a voice too, use mediated tools to put food back on the political and social agenda, the food movement is also aware this is not a simple task. For example, there will always be the dilemma of choosing your own health over choosing your great-grandchildren to have a wealthy planet to live on in the future. Because where food movements want you to eat biological, local and natural, governments and large farm industrials all over the world are anxiously investing money in research on so called technofood: producing food that is part nature, part technology, in order to feed the billions of people that will soon live the Earth (De Bakker & Dagevos 2010, Ojah 2012, CAFNRNews 2011). A power related difference that will be further shown in chapter 4 and 6. Another, more simple, dilemma is time and money. Pure and honest foods seem to have the reputation of being expensive (Veerman, 2012) and difficult to cook: prices of foods that were based on corn and soy, like processed foods, are a lot cheaper, whereas according to Pollan prices of fresh products have increased since the eighties (Pollan 2010). However, the conversation about food is endless. Still, food movements are trying to break down the current food system, and they use just the thing for it they don't want to see back in their food: technology. From giving easy recipes about 'local forgotten veggies' to Nestle's online call to vote with your fork and the Slow Food Movement application that finds honest and pure food in your neighborhood, the will to become connected through technology and share the foodmessage seems to have increased.

## 2. The rise of food movements: food issues and media

Before 1996, Stewart Lockie writes in his 2006 research on organic foods and media discourses about food scares, very few articles about sustainability or biological food could be found. In contrast with the Albert Heijn example where the public picked up the news before mass media did, articles that hardly got any media attention barely reached the public through the TV news or the papers and were especially never supported by the government. News about food or food scares mostly concerned large scale food industrial issues like the mad cow disease in Europe or accidental food poisoning caused by food producers or processors (Lockie 2006). This did, in the UK, lead to an increase in organic food sales in the late nineties, but was at its turn being put down by the biotechnology industry that used print media to state that "food scares related to generic engineering and other industrial agriculture technologies are irrational and have cynically been manipulated by the organic food industry for its own commercial ends" (Lockie 2006, 5), an opinion that will be critically discussed further in chapter 6.

Tim Knowles, Richard Moody and Movern G. McEachern in their 2007 research on European food scares and their impact on EU food policy also write that the term 'food scare' made its first appearance in print media not until the mid 1980s, concerning Tylenol tablets that contained cyanide (Knowles, Moody & McEachern 2007). Since then, it seemed as if more and more newspapers started to get an interest in subjects concerning biological and agricultural environments that involved food (Lockie 2006, 314). Since the term 'food scare' never really had a real definition, the term was applied to any food safety incident that received media attention, which turned a safety issue into a scare (Knowles, Moody & McEachern 2007). Results were that a lot of the content was framed: although the media back then wrote about food and environmental problems, the newspapers' fingers were pointed at governments and farmers. According to Lockie, consumers were nowhere to be seen as actors that could influence or solve their own food or environment problems.

Yet, when certain food safety scandals yet again occurred in both Europe and the United States, industrial food production became target of more and more critical and grassroots journalism (Pollan 2010, Lockie 2006). Types of food products that slipped into our system and we started seeing as actual food, like fast food, junk food and genetically modified foods or even hybrid foods, were coming under attack from a variety of directions. The research of Knowles et al. for example showed that over the last twenty years only a few food scares have been picked up by the media, but that there is an increase in food scares that are related to foodborne diseases (Knowles, Moody & McEachern 2007). A recent case of a food safety scandal, is the well known example of the McDonalds Happy Meal Experiment. Several people (Manhattan artist Sally Davies and nutritionist Joann Brusco) bought a McDonalds Happy Meal and kept the French fries and burgers on a shelf for six months and Brusco for a year. Davies photographed the meal every day for six months and noticed the apparent indestructibility of the kids meal: 'The first thing that struck me on day two of the experiment was that it no longer emitted any smell. And then the second point of note was that

on the second day, my dogs stopped circling the shelf it was sitting on trying to see what was up there' (Davies in Dailymail 2010). Bruso too claims that no flies or other insects were attracted to the Happy Meal that lay on her shelf for a year and on the last day still looked almost exactly the same like the first. 2010 research showed that all McDonalds products have about seven E numbers, including calcium peroxide, sodium acid pyrophosphate and preservative sodium benzoate, which preserve the golden brown color of the fries and bun and the 'freshness' of the pickle (Bruso in Dailymail 2010).

Another, Dutch, example is the Dutch organization foodwatch. foodwatch is a non-governmental organization that stands for one's right to safe and good food and consumers freedom of choice. According to foodwatch food industrials have the duty to properly inform consumers about their products; if not, foodwatch will do it for them. Their most recent and well known article is focused on Unilever's Becel Pro-activ: a butter with a so called beneficial effect that lowers your cholesterol and prevents you from getting any heart diseases. foodwatch argues that this has never been proven; in fact, the product, that is actually really a medicine and should only be sold at a pharmacy on prescription, can even create a higher risk for heart disease and the medicinal ingredients have been disapproved by the European Food and Safety Authority (foodwatch 2012). Nevertheless, the butter is still available in grocery stores.

The McDonalds and foodwatch examples show that people today are eager to find out for themselves what is in the food that characterizes our Western civilization. They try to find out themselves what is best for consumers and their environment and by doing so, they began to unite. An overall name to give this resistance, is the global food movement. One might also say movements 'since it is unified as yet by little more than the recognition that industrial food production is in need of reform because its social/environmental/public health/animal welfare/gastronomic costs are too high' (Pollan 2010). Pollan analyses that this list of issues is the main difference between social movements and food movements: 'Where many social movements tend to splinter as time goes on, breaking into various factions representing divergent concerns or tactics, the food movement starts out splintered' (Pollan 2010).

Gimenez created a food movement political table to make a clear overview of the sort of different food movements or food supply organizations there are here today, which can be found in appendix A. Pollan describes that the four different kind of politics and the many different kinds of organizations that operate under these politics, are actually still a big mess. Where some have poverty and hunger as main issue, others see these subjects as business opportunities and turn resolving them into competitiveness (Pollan 2010). Since all groups have a different list of priorities, a different target group and perhaps even different values, they can cross each other in an unpleasant way.

Though the radical and progressive groups overlap and have a lot in common, this research will especially lay focus on the progressive food movements. Progressive groups are described by Gimenez as the "fastest growing grassroots expression of the food movement" (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011), as they thoroughly stimulate

local and alternative food system practices. Radical movements focus more on basic rights: structural property reforms and class based demands for basic needs, like water and resources. They are slightly more represented in southern countries (e.g. South America), where there are more smallholders and landless laborers (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011). Progressive movements are namely orientated in Western countries like the Netherlands, more specifically in the middle and working class, and often apply to youth. With its origins in environmental justice, working class or anti-racism movements, progressive food movements trend DIY agriculture instead of industrial food processing and stimulate to create local farmer-consumer food based communities (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011). Today, the introduction of the Internet and the shift from the era of industrialization to the era of information have been a great factor for NGO's that want to stimulate these goals (Ronfeldt & Arquilla 2007). New communication technologies seem to have paved a way for more people to speak their minds and share their information, knowledge and culture (Benkler 2006). Debates concerning food are free to everyone interested, and food philosophers like Pollan operate freely online by publishing online articles that are quite critical towards the government and commercial food industries. People were and are still rising up and uniting in order to give resistance to the governments and other powerful institutions that want to dominate our food system, food production and food prices (Moore Lappé 2011). By offering resistance and by trying to raise awareness by showing the issues of our food system to the public and more importantly, trying to learn us how to reform our food system, the food movement can be seen as an issue network<sup>1</sup>.

To reform the food system, Gimenez says, as non-governmental organizations the progressive and radical movements should take the pace out of the neoliberal and reformist movements and bind together to pursue more politic pressure. If they would join the neoliberal and reformist movements, they would only reinforce the cooperate regime. As issue networks, or organizations that 'want to make the world a better place', that is the opposite of their goals. A few examples of organizations that at least want to make our food system in the Netherlands 'a better place', are the Slow Food Movement, their younger Youth Food Movement and the specifically Dutch movement Nieuw Vers. These three organizations all operate non-governmental and show their will to connect and share their knowledge through all sorts of media, which will be further explained in chapter 5. The Internet, its options to be socially active and community shaping, seems to be of great interest to these organizations, but regarding social media and grassroots activism, these Dutch movements are definitely inspired by foreign examples that took their message global.

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<sup>1</sup> Noortje Marres writes that in policy studies "... the issue network is defined as a relatively open network of antagonistic actors that configure around a controversial issue" Marres 2003, 8.

### 3. Use of new media: a mediated discourse

#### 3.1 As a political and activists tool

In 2006 Yochai Benkler, according to Ted.com the leading intellectual of the information age (2012), wrote that one of the differences between the networked information economy and the mass media is the cost of becoming a speaker (Benkler 2006, 224). Communication has become something where costs are no longer a barrier and can for that reason cross boundaries. Professor at the Department of Information Studies of UCLA Leah Lievrouw also describes in her 2006 article that this difference has changed the capacity of individuals to become active participants, where traditional mass media only has passive viewers or listeners:

*"Although they still play a major role in mainstream culture and politics, these firms, institutions and their interests have been challenged over the last decade as people have turned to new media technologies to extend their social networks and interpersonal contacts, to produce and share their own 'DIY' information and to resist 'talk back' to, or otherwise engage with the prevailing culture"* (Lievrouw 2006, 1)

Benkler describes this has also made it quite hard for authoritarian countries like China or Russia to maintain control over their civilians and their public spheres, but that it can also backfire on individuals when strict governments do get their control back (Benkler 2006, 224, Lie Fong 2012), which can also be read further on. Western countries that tend to be more liberal, are the places where there seems to be more room for progressive groups. As described in the second chapter, progressivism is mostly located in the global North, and one of their key themes is to prevent domination by elite and corporate interest, that at their turn will dominate political reforms and political systems (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011, 17). Progressive and radical movements will, each in their own (political or less political, like will be shown in chapter 5) way, therefore try to regulate corporate control and strive to protect civic and environmental common goods, instead of privatize them. Gimenez describes these movement do this by making governments aware and responsive of and to what citizens want, by making democracy one of their key concepts and thereby create social and economic ideals (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011). While Gimenez also describes progressive movements to be very flexible and are therefore not to be attached to one political party, it is at least possible to state that progressive movements fall under the term of noopolitik. Noopolitik is a term derived from the by French philosopher Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and Vladimir Vernadsky thought of concept of the noosphere: a 'globe circling realm of the mind' (Ronfeldt & Arquilla 2007) that is created by the deepening of our information age. It is a concept that is in contrast with traditional realpolitik, which consists of (military) power, while noopolitik relies on more ideational power.

Technical innovation, especially communication technologies, and the growth of it is one of the reasons information has become as important as it is today. Ideational power is therefore a result of this development, since with it the growth of new organizations has

increased. Progressive movements like NGOs “span the political spectrum and have objectives that range from helping people get connected to the Net, to influencing government policies and laws” (Rondfeldt & Arquilla 2007).

These NGOs often exist of people that are globally connected, form a ‘globe circling realm of the mind’ full of fibers and



networks and ‘planetary consciousness’ (Ronfeldt & Arquilla 2007). De Chardin described that, as can be seen with the several food movements discussed further in this essay, the noosphere

2. The revolutionary Get Involved Button. Source: Jamie’s Food Revolution Day 2012.

has been leaving its marks for a long time: “people from different nations, races and cultures develop minds that are planetary in scope, without losing their personal identities” (Rondfeldt & Arquilla 2007). The food movement shows to be driven by a collective moral principle, which is certainly to be found and helped by the so called infosphere and cyberspace. Non-state actors like the food movement have grown in strength and influence, and as Ronfeldt and Arquilla already described in 2007, they are striving to represent civil society and do this by using tools for monitoring and reporting. And like in other politics and civil quests, new media seem to be their new information channel.

Media have always been something that was dominated by important firms and institutions. Since quite recent developments in new media like the Internet, ‘normal’ people could also participate in mainstream media (Lievrouw 2006). Logically, it has become so much more easy to use this new media as activist new media. Internet’s architecture is far more democratic and decentralized, which makes it possible for communities and groups to have a wider and louder voice. According to Lievrouw, community groups, but certainly also cultural or political activists, like in this case the food movement, have adapted new technological and communicational developments as quickly as traditional media and the old firms have. Their ideas and bottom up genres are mostly low-



budget and are striving to motivate others in a passionate way to participate as well. This chapter will show that the food movement is keen in arranging their meet ups, activities and manifestos online. Lievrouw has called this way of new media use mediated mobilization (Lievrouw 2006, 5). This type of oppositional new media uses Facebook and Meetup.com for sociality, participation, coordinated action, and especially to arrange real

3. Screenshot Jamie’s Hangout on Google+. Source: Jamie’s Food Revolution Day 2012

or at least 'live' meetings. A good example of a food movement that uses new and social media to set up a meeting online, is the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution. Though the cook has reached fame through traditional media, new media have given him the possibility to let others raise their voice as well. On May 19 in 2012 the first Food Revolution Day was organized by the movement as a chance for 'people who love food to come together to share information, talents and resources: to pass on their knowledge and highlight the world's food issues' (Jamie's Food Revolution Day 2012). To highlight the world's food issues was actually one of the main reasons this day was initiated in the first place. Jamie Oliver is known as a strong supporter of bringing food education back under children and 'unaware' people, wanting to create a 'conscious community and understand the food choices we make on a daily basis' ( Jamie's Food Revolution Day 2012). The movement is one that uses a lot of new and social media as political tools to express the need for global connection and spread information. For this day, especially obesity was something to be discussed and the movement motivated people through the website to start discussions at home because 'we all have family and friends who could make better food choices' (Jamie's Food Revolution Day 2012). The location of the Food Revolution Day could therefore be held in every kitchen, home, or community around the world, but especially on Jamie Oliver's very own Google+



4. A collection of submitted videos shown by the movement of different kinds of people; cooks, politicians, businessmen, but also 'regular' people. Source: Jamie's Food Revolution Day 2012

Hangout. In this online Hangout (Over Dinner), Jamie Oliver had a virtual dinner party to which everyone was invited. During the virtual dinner, Oliver 'sat down' with anyone who had a message about food, simply wanted to ask Oliver a question about food or wanting to discuss food politics. Hobby cooks, farmers, celebrities, but also 'common folk', politicians and members of other food movements have 'hung out' with Jamie Oliver to speak their minds about the current food system. Another possibility is to upload a testimonial about why you support the food revolution and would like to see more food related education so people can make better food choices. Oliver's movement has said to be open sourced and therefore the website stimulates to download the Food Revolution Day e-book that shows you how to throw a Food Revolution Dinner Party. Schools, workplaces, restaurants or student leaders can organize their own Food Revolution Day party, upload their own video on the website and

raise money for food education. On August 9 2012, the movement had 45175 followers on Twitter, 280132 people who 'liked' the Food Revolution Community on Facebook, 812401 followers on Google Hangout and 3458 followers on Pinterest. And with results: Food Revolution had inspired over 60 countries in which 541 dinner parties were held (Food Revolution Day 2012). The USA in total raised 13,460.58 US Dollars, while the Netherlands raised just 38 Euros, 35 US Dollars.

Considered the many dinner parties held because of the Jamie Oliver's Food Revolution, it was not just some plain online meeting: Oliver stimulated people from all over the globe to join the conversation, but also to organize charity dinners to 'help change the way people eat' (Jamie Oliver Food Revolution Day 2012). 'Everyday' people became stimulated to spread the message by introducing friends and family to not only the movement, but to the movement's message as well. And to keep partnerships and networks of food movements like the Food Revolution going, it is obviously of great importance to have and keep a vast number of members. As a civil society organization, the central issues of a movement concern these members. According to T.H.Marshall, the citizenship members have in movements like these is "a status that is bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (Marshall 1949), which would make signing up online to the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution Day, a case of so called "digital citizenship" (Mossberger, Tolbert & McNeal 2008, 14). Mossberger, Tolbert and McNeal describe that as well as education has promoted democracy, the Internet has the same capability of promoting society, "and facilitate the membership and participation of individuals within society" (Mossberger, Tolbert & McNeal 2008, 14). They define digital citizens as people who use the Internet on a daily basis, which asks for technical competence and information literacy skills and frequent and good access. Therefore the Internet can transform citizen orientations towards politics and society and help these digital citizens to participate over the long term. But does being a member of a food movement that is quite active online as well as offline, enhance one's political interest and participation?

Research from the nineties till 2002 showed not so much. For example, Michael Margolis and David Resnick conclude in their 2000 research that even though the Internet provides a more informed citizenry, with almost a constant stream of cost free information, it turned out "the Net is now and will continue to be a boon to those who already have an active and sustained interest in public affairs" (Margolis & Resnick 2000, 212) but that by then, it was unlikely the Internet itself would cause the public to become more attentive. People who in real life would barely make the effort to vote, would therefore not be (more) interested in voting online, or be more stimulated online to vote offline. And still today, different research point out that social media like Facebook and Twitter are not necessarily a turning point when it comes to voting or civic engagement, let alone can create political participation when it was never there. Even though movements that have food or world hunger as their main subject arise around the globe and try to get more attention, Frances Moore Lappé states that, for example, Americans see the food movement as nice, but unimportant: nice for making healthy school lunches and stimulating farmers markets,

however, not necessary. Michael Pollan also admits these movements and their tools are simply not (yet) all about serious politics:

*"It would be a mistake to conclude that the food movement's agenda can be reduced to a set of laws, policies, and regulations, important as these may be. What is attracting so many people to the movement today (and young people in particular) is a much less conventional kind of politics, one that is about something more than food. The food movement is also about community, identity, pleasure, and, most notably, about carving out a new social and economic space removed from the influence of big corporations on the one side and government on the other. As the Diggers used to say during their San Francisco be-ins during the 1960s, food can serve as "an edible dynamic"—a means to a political end that is only nominally about food itself."* Pollan 2010

Still, Moore Lappé is convinced, just like the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution, the global food movement has 'the potential to transform not just the way we eat, but the way we understand our world, including ourselves' (Moore Lappé 2011), and that this power is just at the start of a political revolution. That Margolis' and Resnick's results are from over ten years ago and that Internet use is more widespread and creative now, is proven by Jamie's Food Revolution Day that uses Internet as a creative method to combat user's isolation. Though also Pollan openly realizes the current progressive food movement is not yet fit to enter serious politics, more activists in the food movement discourse seem to disagree and try to stimulate who ever crosses their way to politically 'vote with their fork':

*"The ability for individuals, acting singly and together, to exercise democratic rights as citizens holds much hope for achieving a more equitable balance of power in matters pertaining to food and health. Join the food movement. Use the system to work for what you think is right. Act alone or join others. You will make a difference."* Nestle 2012

To state that you can use the system as you wish to, Nestle tries to convince non-members or 'lazy' members to start thinking about what they politically vote for. Trough this, it seems though as if there is more stimulation to improve participation instead of civic engagement (Margolies & Resnick 2000). Still, since more and more food movements rise around the globe, and the effects of social media seem quite successful, like with the Jamie Oliver example, one can ask if civic engagement will in the future turn into active political participation. Yet, as the next chapter will show, controlling countries can redeem their control, even though social media crosses boundaries.

#### 4. Political divergence

Despite the fact that some regular consumers do not really care for a movement in Western civilization yet, the global food movement vigorously tries to make its way to the political agenda in order to create this social change. The rise of different kinds of movements has for that reason reached the attention of governments. A great example of how this works and is opposed at the same time, is Michelle Obama's own food movement. In 2008 Michael Pollan wrote an open letter to President Obama, or as he wrote: 'Farmer in Chief'. In the letter he suggests that a part of the White House' lawn should become an organic fruit and vegetable garden. Pollan also asks the president to stimulate and subsidy farming and food production according to traditional methods, instead of mass and monocultures. Obama never directly responded to the letter, but the new state secretary of agriculture did encourage the start of school gardens and coincidentally Michelle Obama started an organic vegetable garden on the lawn of the White House after it (Pollan 2011). When someone in a press conference asked Obama how to run up against mass agribusiness and what he thought of alternative agricultural models, he responded with a simple: "Show me the movement" (Bussink 2009). Pollan gladly responded to this that the movement was, and appears to be still, growing, with the strongest argument that the American and Western diet on the whole is contaminated with highly processed foods with added fats and sugars. This diet causes obesity, diabetes and chronic heart disease. Since President Obama wants to address the health care crisis in his program, he can not overlook the greatest cause, can he (Bussink 2009)?

First Lady Michelle Obama, therefore made her first steps into food politics by starting a new campaign 'Lets Move', which main purpose is to fight childhood obesity. With this campaign, she also tries to shift the debate from obesity being a personal responsibility to it being a result of how Western food is produced and marketed (Pollan 2010). "We need you not just to tweak around the edges, but to entirely rethink the products that you're offering, the information that you provide about these products, and how you market those products to our children," she states (Obama in Pollan 2010). Pollan's 2010 article still focuses on how Michelle Obama is by then the food movement's "most important ally in the administration" (Pollan 2010), because she wants to change the way the industry not only gives people sugars and bad fats but also helps to shape them by marketing tricks. As being the food movements most important ally, Obama handles it well by spreading the word of her core focus by mediating it herself: the movement vigorously uses Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Vimeo to make the public aware of the Western food habits. Other than the few food scare stories that got media attention since the word 'food scare' became a term in the eighties, the movement itself, like a lot of other movements today, has taken advantage of new media to gain attention, instead of letting traditional media decide whether or not her message is interesting enough for the public.

But by 2011, Marion Nestle, among others, notices how Michelle Obama all of a sudden has shifted her focus on changing the food system to simply stimulate children to move more. Obama does this by posting articles and YouTube videos on the Let's Move website that

explain how healthy and easy it is for kids to go outside. For example, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 2012, the website posts a YouTube video of Michelle Obama calling on local Let's Move! Communities to not only cheer for the USA Olympic team in London, but to support them by getting active. Obama motivates the communities to organize local Meetups<sup>2</sup> in towns or neighborhoods and call it the 'Local Olympic Fun Day Meetup' to "play soccer, hold relay races, go for a bike ride- whatever gets you moving!" (Schulman 2012). If there is no Let's Move! Community in your town, you can create one by simply click on your town on the map, suggest a location, what you are planning to do and use your Facebook or Twitter to spread the word.



## 999 Let's Move! communities

5. Location of Let's Move! communities around the world. Source: Let's Move! Campaign 2012

Suddenly, the "crisis of inactivity that we see among our kids" (Kohan 2011) was at the core of attention of her campaign, stating that this renewed focus was 'easier' than getting them to eat healthy foods and fight the food industry. This fundamental shift from the focus on changing the system and participate in food politics to physical fitness received a lot of criticism. Later on, a sort of explanation about Michelle Obama's sudden change of direction circled around the food movement discourse. Nestle describes how Michelle Obama has given up, and that this shift is in many ways troubling: it destabilizes healthy eating messages and is biologically not enough of a help or effective way to fight obesity:

*"Activity is important for health, but to lose or maintain weight, kids also need to eat less. [...] And discouraging them from drinking sugary sodas is a good first step in controlling*

<sup>2</sup> According to the website "Meetup is the world's largest network of local groups. Meetup makes it easy for anyone to organize a local group or find one of the thousands already meeting up face-to-face. More than 9,000 groups get together in local communities each day, each one with the goal of improving themselves or their communities.

**Meetup's mission** is to revitalize local community and help people around the world self-organize. Meetup believes that people can change their personal world, or the whole world, by organizing themselves into groups that are powerful enough to make a difference." (Meetup 2012)

body weight. But eating and drinking less are very bad for business. Food companies do all they can to oppose this advice. [...] Mrs. Obama's speech fails to mention what I'm guessing is the real reason for the shift: 'Move more' is not politically loaded. 'Eat less' is." (Nestle 2011b).



6. Screenshot of one of the Let's Move! YouTube videos to stimulate families to 'move more'. Source: Let's Move! Campaign 2012

That food companies are willing to do everything to oppose this and how large back and forward their governmental power is, is something Michelle Obama has noticed as well. Even though her old campaign had some influence (the non purpose use of antibiotics in factory farming was banned by the FDA and Tom Vilsack, former governor of Iowa, planted an organic garden at the department of Agriculture and launched the 'Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food' initiative), it has also led to some defensive reactions from agribusiness, Pollan describes (2010). The Farm Bureau, for example, has urged its members to 'go on the offensive against food activists' (Pollan 2010), while pesticide makers even stated Obama's organic garden slandered chemical agriculture and that crop protection technologies would actually be good for her vegetables. To support their offensive, the Farm Bureau<sup>3</sup> has written several critical articles online themselves. On the website of the Texas Farm Bureau a lot of critique is pointed at the discussions and dialogues involving food or agriculture that are held online, and are therefore directly to be seen and read by anyone with an Internet connection. One article written by Gene Hall, the director of the Farm Bureau's PR Division, in response to the 'rumor' that genetically modified grass had killed cows, describes: "Wow, what a feeding frenzy on the Internet. News reports and the Internet pop culture echo chamber condemned a 'genetically modified' grass - a Bermude hybrid called Tifton 85 - for producing cyanide that killed

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<sup>3</sup> "The American Farm Bureau Federation is the unified national voice of agriculture, working through our grassroots organizations to enhance and strengthen the lives of rural Americans and to build strong, prosperous agricultural communities" (FB.org 2012). As an agricultural federation, they are up to date with the newest technologies in farming and are, in contrast to what they call 'food activists' like food movements, quite positive about genetically modified food. One thing in common with the food movements, is their social media activity and their 'Foodies' sector on the website with recipes.

some cattle in Elgin, east of Austin. What a boon for anti-GMO activists!" (Hall, 2012).



### Gene Hall

*Public Relations Director*

Wow, what a feeding frenzy on the Internet.

We used to depend on the media to get these kinds of basic facts right. If they don't, they are no different than the activist blogger with an ax to grind.

Follow Gene on [Twitter](#) and [Facebook](#).



7. Gene Hall's Twitter account. Source: Gene Hall @TxAgPRGuy

Gene Hall's respond to the first message of the Let's Move! campaign is not something surprising. In 2006, when Lockie researched newspaper articles about food scares and their backgrounds, discovered that "apologists for the biotechnology industries regularly used print media in all three countries to promote the view that food scares related to genetic engineering and other industrial agriculture technologies are irrational and have cynically been manipulated by the organic food industry for its own commercial ends" (Lockie 2006, 3).

Though President Obama could not wait for 'food activists' to 'show him the movement', Pollan describes how later on President Obama in response rewarded the pesticides company executive with a high-level trade post (Pollan 2010). Yet, even though the highly strict elite-like food mascots Pollan and Nestle openly write their criticism towards the Obama's, and it seems as if First Ladies are obliged to have a hobby, as long as it does not involve going against anything on the White House's business agenda, the Let's Move map shows the amount of Let's Move communities rising all over the world. Whether 'fear just sells' (Hall 2012) or people are actually willing to do something about their current food system, videos that stimulate kids to move are being uploaded and Meet Ups are being arranged online. As mentioned before, Scholliers states that the fact that social media helps to bring people together to form a worldwide community and become aware of something, seems to have a great impact on how people look at an issue. Whether the issue is a change in the food system or lack of movement among children, Let's Move! seems to have made its marks here and there. This case example of Michelle Obama's food movement shows easily the differences between the governments interests and those of the food movement. And even though it once again proved that new media can be more influential than traditional media, it also lets us see how a powerful institution can redeem its control, even though social and new media have successfully crossed borders in order to spread the message.

## **5. Meanwhile in the Netherlands**

The next Dutch examples show how food movements in the Netherlands collect members, other (financial) supporters and publicize meetings via Facebook, Twitter, online advertorials or email. Just like the Let's Move! campaign and the Food Revolution they use social and new media to gain attention, but luckily have not yet been recalled by the Dutch government. Unfortunately, they have also gained very little positive political attention either. Like many movements that focus on local farming and farmer and consumer ties, these movements are all progressive movements, which will make itself clear by the model criteria as described by Gimenez and Shattuck in 2011:

*"The eclectic 'model' for the progressive development of the food system focuses on local foodsheds (Kloppenburg 1996, Meter 2010), family farming and 'good, clean and fair' food (Petrini 2005) with a strong representation from urban agriculture and direct rural-urban linkages, e.g. farmers markets and forms of Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs). The model also works on access to fresh, healthy food in lowincome neighborhoods, explores worker-owned and alternative business models, and can even advocate for minority ownership of food businesses explicitly." Gimenez & Shattuck 2011,18.*

In order to achieve the goal of becoming a sustainist society that is filled with small communities that only produce and consume local food, but share their knowledge, ideas and information on a global scale, how successful are the Netherlands?

### **5.1 Slow Food Movement**

As a pejorative to fast food and junk food, in 1986 the Italian editor Carlo Petrini with sixty-two others inaugurated Arcigola, which later became 'the non-profit member-supported' Slow Food Movement (Slow Food 2012). What started as a resistance to the opening of a McDonalds near the Spanish Stairs, and international businesses in either way, today is one of the largest international food movements in the world. The Slow Food Manifesto, written in 1989, explains the way the movement sees its strategy and the need for a 'firm defense':

*"Our defense should begin at the table with Slow Food. Let us rediscover the flavors and savors of regional cooking and banish the degrading effects of Fast Food. In the name of productivity, Fast Life has changed our way of being and threatens our environment and our landscapes. So Slow Food is now the only truly progressive answer. That is what real culture is all about: developing taste rather than demeaning it. And what better way to set about this than an international exchange of experiences, knowledge, projects?" Slow Food Manifesto 1989*

The international mission of the grassroots organization is to provide people from all over the world access to food, experience

joy by food that is good for them, good for the people that produce it and good for the world. The movement strongly defends biodiversity to create a sustainable food production and consumption system that is friendly to the environment. To accomplish their mission, the movement uses its network potential. Slow Food tries hard to connect producers of local, quality food to consumers by organizing events and other initiatives, like dinners or cooking workshops, in order to maintain local food traditions. They spread their knowledge and information in all different kinds



of ways; they promote responsible consumption and education that is based on the understanding of taste. And this seems to become more popular. With national offices in for instance Italy, Germany, Switzerland, the USA and also Japan and a website since 2001, the movement has reached its goal of being connected with its

8. Logo Slow Food Movement. Source: Slow Food Movement 2012  
knowledge and sharing its knowledge with now over a 100,000 members worldwide (Slow Food 2012). In May 2008, Slow Food Netherlands was established, with now over 2000 members and 14 convivias (local chapters). Their job is to spread the Slow Food philosophy through activities, educational events and public outreach. One important event is the biannual Terra Madre meeting, where local farmers and food producers are presented as the Dutch Slow Food network. Members are kept updated through Facebook and Twitter, but also through the online newsletter and a print magazine that appears every four months (Slow Food Netherlands 2012).

### **5.1.1 Results**

Slow Food, and Slow Food Netherlands, appears as a quite traditional movement. The network they have build around them mostly depends on annual face-to-face meetings where people can actually meet the local producer they buy their food from. Though it can be seen as an issue movement (the main reason the movement was initiated revolved around an issue, as a sort of movement that was in opposition to what had become normal), the movement focuses more on spreading information and make their old and new members aware of a more healthy and traditional lifestyle. In an attempt to accomplish this awareness making, the Slow Food Netherlands' most popular activities in 2009 revolved around cooking and dining together (28 % of all 2009 activities), followed by visiting farmers markets. Through some lectures they try to spread the ideology of the movement, but are also still learning themselves by anticipating in workshops (Slow Food Netherlands 2010). As the 2009 report also describes, the development of really creating a local network and initiate different kinds of collaborations, actually fails during these activities. In addition, the movement is still more often than not mostly focused on adults instead of adolescents or kids.

Still, little by little, they start to get more influence from their younger movement; because movements like Slow Food seem to fully depend on their partnerships since they are not stimulated by the government, it is important to keep up with new communication technologies themselves. Since their credo is 'To change the world,

change your plate', food has to taste good, but this has to happen without causing damage to the environment, animal wellbeing and health. Local food producers deserve an honest reimbursement and to create more awareness to this, members of the movement meet in order to let local producers and consumers get to know each other better. During these meetings they share honest, good and pure food together and they organize lectures and workshops. This way, the social aspect of the movement's network is expressed in order to spread the message that an aware and responsible attitude towards food is necessary. To achieve this awareness through modern technology, the Youth Food Movement in cooperation with the Digitale Pioniers have recently developing the Slow Food Finder. This website focuses on



9. Finding Slow Food near Utrecht using the Slow Food Finder. Source: Slow Food Finder

finding good, pure and honest ingredients. By typing in the needed ingredient, like truffle, the Slow Food Finder will help to find the nearest location that sells honest and organic harvested truffle. Shop owners have the possibility to introduce themselves through the Finder, and explain how their products are produced and grown with passion and knowledge (Slow Food Finder 2012).

Even with this tool, which in the Netherlands is their only powerful new media product, the Slow Food Movement seems to focus especially on presenting local farmers, farmers markets and honest and organic grown foods in any way possible. The concept of mediated mobilization Lievrouw writes about, is therefore not applicable in this case, especially since their latest Facebook update was three months ago, May 2012. They do not use social media to arrange meet ups or other activities, but the more or less traditional form of email newsletters. Though the Slow Food Finder is a use of new media, it seems as if it is merely set to introduce people who are already familiar with Slow Food and have already decided to change something for themselves in their eating habits to local food. Therefore Slow Food Netherlands' new media activities can be barely seen as activist new media. Though the movement started out in Italy as an issue network, scarcely any hard political statements are being made today through social media. During congresses, on the other hand, the global Slow Food Movement is vigorously trying to think of ways to implement their political and policy proposals to political and institutional authorities. Since the 2009 report was kind of disappointing when it came to attracting new members and developing concrete local (and political) networks, after the congress in October 2012 it will become clear in what way Slow Food Netherlands will become more thorough with representing their goals and political statements in the (online) public sphere.

## 5.2 Youth Food Movement

The younger version of Slow Food Netherlands, is the in 2008 initiated Youth Food Movement (YFM). The YFM focuses on a more honest and more healthy food system: the Western civilization



consumes in a way that is harmful to the environment, while other parts of the world deal with malnutrition and poverty. A lot of people become alienated of food that should be natural to them, and to preserve knowledge and a piece of culture, the world should produce and consume more sustainable. The YFM in many ways has the same perspectives as the Slow Food Movement, but continuous to act more young,

10. Logo Youth Food Movement  
Source: YFM 2012

modern and political. For instance, the growing obesity of Western children, while one billion people suffer from hunger every day, is one of their main issues. Therefore, they focus more on education and making cooking and eating healthy more accessible for youngsters. With a network that exists of students from different directions, young consumers and young professionals like farmers, cooks, fishermen and producers, they try to change our current food systems in the way they learned from their older example: by having dinners together. Because you are what you eat (Youth Food Movement 2012).

Another way of 'spreading their message' is the YFM Academy. Like Gimenez states, the YFM Academy claims food can function as a perspective to change the world and its problems, since food production and consumption both have social and ecological interfaces. The Academy offers young professionals and students from the food (service) industry and agriculture a chance to learn outside their box and meet people from other disciplines. An interactive program shows them how food is produced and progressed and lets them interact with farmers, policymakers and food designers. By introducing young people to the problems, but also the possibilities of their future sector, it is the Academy's aim to show them how to change the current food system (Youth Food Movement 2012).



Besides the Academy, YFM organizes several other projects and events during the year. To preserve Dutch farming culture, YFM organizes an annual harvest festival 'Het Oogstfeest', where the new harvest is celebrated and city consumers can get in touch with their agricultural roots. Another example are the Eat-Ins: enormous, shared meals that exist of "good, clean and fair food" that people have made themselves. Different themes can be brought into consideration: bio-industry, fishing, or the back in time Eat-In that discussed the history of (Dutch) food. But the main purpose of course is to stand still by where food comes from, to 'raise awareness' and to share and discuss ideas that can improve the food system. Other projects are the Food Film Festival, Schooltuinen and Cap2013 (Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union 2013), which focuses on the "message of youngsters" that "should be heard

by policymakers and politicians" (Youth Food Movement 2012), especially because 2013 reforms will influence the way food is produced, shaped and distributed globally. Under the name of Slow Food Youth Network (SFYN), Slow Food Netherlands and the Dutch Youth Food Movement operate as an international network of young adults that would like to see a change in our food system. By introducing something that at first sounds kind of boring, SFYN tries to put emphasis on the importance of the Common Agricultural Policy, since "it decides what **you** eat" (SFYN 2012). The project states that the CAP therefore is not something only interesting for politicians and farmers, but for every European citizen. To become completely involved, informed and participating about the food that is laid on our plates and where it comes from, SFYN offers to sign their online petition to promote open and critical dialogue about CAP. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August 2012, 767 people, from Heeswijk-Dinther in the Netherlands to Kozani in Greece have signed the petition.

During a discussion on Slow Food's Terra Madre Day in December 2011 about the future of our food, all parties, Slow Food, the Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation and the European farmers organization CEJA, agreed that our food system should become more

sustainable. Yet, when trying to reach a solution the discussion became quite heated, when it turned out that attitudes towards the problem and solution were so very different. The night was a part of

icole	2012-01-25 16:36:05	Amsterdam
ann Alice	2012-01-23 21:48:11	
ann Alice	2012-01-23 21:47:21	
Bonilla-Cardona	2012-01-14 16:31:08	Stuttgart
errmann	2012-01-14 10:19:41	Radebeul
Beaufort	2012-01-13 20:30:54	Paris
Beaufort	2012-01-13 20:30:39	Paris
	2012-01-12 14:30:57	
na Wróbel	2012-01-11 17:47:14	Warsaw
rczak	2012-01-11 17:36:53	Warsaw

12. *The Cap petition. Source: Cap13 2012*

in Brussels in June 2012, the main issue revolved around the question what the impact of CAP is in the EU, but also Africa and America (Youth Food Movement 2012). YFM as co-organizer wanted to show the traps of CAP and their goal was to inform participants of the congress about the dangers of industrial agriculture. Speakers like organic farmers and milk farmers were invited to talk about alternative agriculture.

### **5.2.1 Results**

So socially and politically seen, YFM projects, and especially the Academy and Cap2013, seem much more active than the regular Slow Food Netherlands. Their goal to create "an international movement of young farmers, chefs, food professionals and - most important - consumers" (Youth Food Movement 2012) seeps through every activity: from an academy of young professionals to Schooltuinen, that focuses on teaching high school scholars and other classes to grow city gardens. As a result, their network seems a lot larger and broader

than the Slow Food Netherlands' network. Design offices, restaurants, fishermen, chefs and even an under water photographer, but also the director of foodwatch, a researcher of cattle transition processes, professors of Financial Planning, Sustainability and Nutrition and Health, philosophers, Louise Fresco, Marianne Thiemen (Partij voor de Dieren) and several journalists are openly part of the YFM network. Journalists, because the movement seems also more eager than Slow Food Netherlands to 'spread the word' and place themselves on the (perhaps, political) map through media and press, especially to promote their activities or actions<sup>4</sup> that need sponsoring. Several articles and radio news items have therefore been devoted to the movement or their activities since 2009 (Youth Food Movement 2012).

Though the Dutch Youth Food Movement is a rather young phenomenon, the website claims a lot of members of international Slow Food organizations are quite young as well. Also, even though the Dutch YFM is the first one, more YFMs rise up across Europe and beyond (Youth Food Movement 2012). Yet, detailed information about international collaborations or even connections are still missing. However, the YFM has shown fine skills in using new and social media to promote their activities and arrange meetings. Via these canals, they try to reach the young with the message that it is perhaps better to start as soon as possible when learning about food and being 'connected' (Youth Food Movement 2012).

A few great examples were in the past promoted through Facebook and Twitter, like the Strawberry FlashMob in 2010. On the 4<sup>th</sup> of July at 2 pm a so called Strawberry FlashMob would take place, somewhere in Amsterdam. Through Facebook and Twitter it would become clear



where the exact location was and why the FlashMob was organized. It turned out to be a great success: 200 people came together at Museumplein in Amsterdam and in less than 15 minutes 400 boxes of local grown strawberries were sold. The strawberries were grown by strawberry farmer Jan Robben, and the goal of the FlashMob was to let the public know that a strawberry is not just a strawberry. It is, like other fruits and vegetables, something with a background, something that is likely to be forgotten, since Albert Heijn sells strawberries that are cheaper and last longer. Breeders

13. Strawberry Mob Poster. Source: YFM like Robben suffer greatly under this development in agriculture, and by letting the public taste his organic grown strawberries, the YFM figured in the future they will want nothing else. The mysterious location, the posters and the smart use of Twitter information caused the StrawberryMob to gain a lot of attention from different kinds of media. Unfortunately, no governmental institution was part of this at all (Youth Food Movement 2012).

Another example is a more recent one named Power to the Pieper. On the first of April in 2012, the Youth Food Movement announced that a farmer named Krispijn had a great harvest. But because his

<sup>4</sup> An example is the Wonders of Waste Tour 2012: a couple of female members of YFM Netherlands take off to Rome in a van that runs on cooking fat (deep fry fat?) to raise attention for how much food we waste, and thereby raise money for charity (Voedselbank). It was also initiated to show how well used frying fat can function as fuel. (Youth Food Movement 2012)

steady buyers, for some reason, were not able to buy them anymore, he decided to give away his potatoes for free. Five hundred thousand potatoes were completely useless, while the supermarkets, as the YFM write on their website and Facebook event page, are full of foreign potatoes. So at three pm a truck rode to the Dam in Amsterdam and dumped the tons of potatoes for everyone to take. After, the YFM organization, its members and everyone who wanted to join were welcome to eat some Dutch hotchpotch.

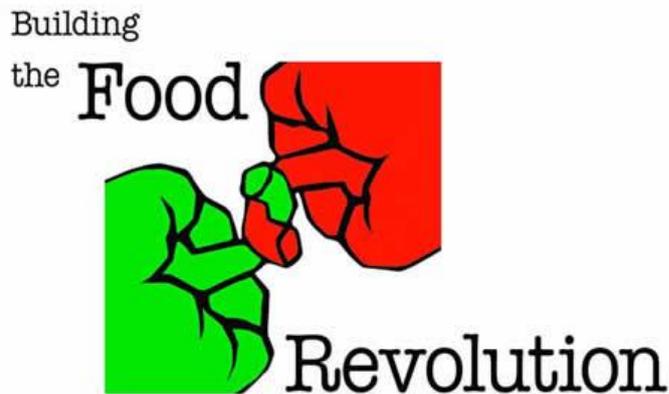


14. Power to the Pieper. Source: YFM 2012

Though Scholliers opinion on the newness of (progressive) movements like the YFM is mainly about the use of modern communication technologies, it seems that new or not, for the YFM it seems to work. Like with many young people, social media has become their way of communicating, to spread their message and to arrange activities. Though Pollan and others fear the seriousness of the food movement's political ambitions, it seems clear that both the Youth Food Movement and the Slow Food Movement have their target groups clear. They both know how to approach their groups: Slow Food through having meals with farmers and consumers, the Youth Food Movement through original and mediated actions and demonstrations. Using new media to send out a call or to simply present a new meeting, surely strengthens the concept of the noosphere and perhaps the noopolitik: something smaller than powerful institutions driven by a global, moral principle, ready to be spread under different people from all types of races and cultures: from potato farmers and young urban people that would normally never have met to the Ministry of EA&I and young cooks.

### 5.3 Nieuw Vers

Similarly to Slow Food and the Youth Food Movement, Nieuw Vers also falls in the progressive category and wants to stimulate a better relation and a better understanding between consumers and local producers. The difference is that Nieuw Vers also focuses on the future of new food. They strive for a future where one can



15. Sign the Nieuw Vers Manifest. Source: Nieuw Vers 2012

that is mixed with vegetable proteins to slowly let Dutch consumers get used to eating less meat. Nieuw Vers stimulates high-tech gadgets to smaller our livestock and would rather see them eat lupine, instead of imported soy. Still, they stand for food that is barely processed, shared ownership of consumers and producers, a local food production cycle and the reuse of energy and fuels.

always see where food comes from, how it has been grown, packed, distributed and sold. Instead of just making all efforts to focus on eating more traditional and natural, they stimulate the production of so called hybrid meat or Pura Natura peppers, that are biologically grown on substrate instead of solid ground. Hybrid meat specifically is a good example of the new food (production) that

Nieuw Vers stimulates: meat

#### 5.3.1 Results

While the movement has a lot of things in common with aforementioned movements, it seems Nieuw Vers wants to focus on the future more than on Dutch traditional culture. In contrary to the Slow Food and Youth Food movements, Nieuw Vers is open to technology that renews our food production and consumption. Their manifest is mainly based around this subject, and with it they want to inspire people to "get out of the closet" (Nieuw Vers 2012). Just like the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution, Nieuw Vers stimulates for their 21st revolution to be open-sourced: "The principles of this manifest point into a right direction. Everybody will be self responsible and make their own concrete actions. All of these actions and initiatives together will create an unstoppable movement" (Nieuw Vers 2012). In a report called 'Challenges', the movement writes that the movement (food movement in general) already connects and inspires people from all over the world to turn fear and disbelief in the failing actions of governments and 'great politics' into positivity and strength. Nieuw Vers describes the global Occupy-movement as a great and inspiring example, together with a growing clientele in environment-friendly banking and sustainable entrepreneurs (Nieuw Vers 2012).

Instead of organizing weekly projects or activities, Nieuw Vers focuses more on recruiting supporters to sign their manifest and summons them to play their own part in the revolution. As 'eatrevolutionary', you can decide about what you eat, how this can be improved and that it takes all different kinds of disciplines to realize a new future of our food, so this 'wanting' involves everybody. Initiators Dick Veerman (Foodlog) and Sandra van Kampen (Urgenda) combine this 'call for supporters' to an action-agenda (that is also signed by the Youth Food Movement): a long-term agenda

**Bouw mee aan de voedselrevolutie. Onderteken nu het manifest!**

Naam \*

E-mailadres \*

Organisatie

**verstuur**

**Zij gingen u voor**

Het manifest is al ondertekend door 1323 personen. Zij deden dat op persoonlijke titel.

with actions that should eventually change our food system in a concrete way. Supporters can easily sign their name under the manifest on the website. Yet, only 1320 people have openly signed their name since 2010 and 47 producers of local and good food are assigned as official Nieuw Vers partners.

16. Sign the Manifest. Source: Nieuw Vers 2012

As the youngest movement of the three discussed in this paper, they seem to have the least adherents. Of course, Nieuw Vers would say that the fact that food movements are upcoming all over the world is the most important, and that they are just one small node in a growing network. Still, would it perhaps help if they would organize face-to-face dinners and activities like the other two movements?



**NieuwVers** @NieuwVers

10 juli

Biologisch geitenhouderij en kaasmakerij de Kruidenwei in Nooitgedacht maakt een aantal bijzondere geitenkazen:...

[fb.me/Bbxey0vq](https://fb.me/Bbxey0vq)

Openen

17. Nieuw Vers Twitter account promoting local cheeses. Source: @Nieuw Vers 2012

#### **5.4 Digital/political rise of the movement in the Netherlands**

These three Dutch cases represent the global food movement in the Netherlands, but are, as Pollan and Gimenez already stated, three progressive though very different movements. The Slow Food movement started out as an activist group, but turned into what now seems as a peaceful movement that focuses on having dinners together and stimulating the production and consumption of good, pure and honest foods. The Youth Food Movement seems an activist movement pur sang, constantly reacting to governmental decisions, protesting against waste of our own land and energetically trying to reach

young people by becoming more politically organised. Nieuw Vers is a movement more focused on entrepreneurs, organic farmers and small companies that produce high quality food in urban areas. All three movements use new and social media as a definite tool to spread the word of their message, but also to raise knowledge about local or traditional farming or cooking.

The first reason to use social media as a tool, is to let anyone who wants to raise their voice about food be welcome and informed. Sign buttons, Twitter feeds and the option to get involved in more political groups are perfect examples of how the Dutch food movement uses our digital culture to become easy accessible. Like or join buttons have successfully become the final step to membership recruitment. The number of members seem to have grown over the last two years for all three movements, manifestos have been spread online and discussions where open to public. Though none of these three movements are as open source as, for example, the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution, by using the Net as a tool to spread their ideals and constantly altering people's knowledge of our food system and our government, their fondness of the concept of Internet democracy seems clear. The second, but even more important reason, especially for the Youth Food Movement, is the use of social media as a tool to promote their demonstrations. The Albert Heijn demonstration described in the introduction, the Strawberry Mob and Power to the Pieper were all promoted online before even announcing a date and a location, which made it all mysterious but accessible, since anyone was welcome to join. Awareness was raised with these demonstrations, and since the Youth Food Movements actions become more bold, they gain more attention online and offline.

Compared to Nieuw Vers, the Youth Food Movement seems to have raised more attention overall. Being much more active in organizing events, demonstrations and lectures, their will to reach an honest food system seems more powerful. Still, after this analysis it seems obvious that the use of digital media by the current most active food movement of the Netherlands seems more of a tool than the reason they have become more powerful. Also, they have indeed reached more power among people, but politicians have barely shown any reaction to their online or offline activities. The next chapter will explain what other obstacles rest in the use of digital media by activist movements.

## **6. Food feud: the conflict with capitalism**

The Youth Food Movement, the Jamie Oliver Food Revolution, and other movements tend to touch their target groups through new forms of media. YouTube, Facebook, Google Plus and Twitter seem to belong to their political tools as well as new and border-crossing ways of sharing knowledge and information. Communities that revolve around food are getting bigger and more international, involving people from all ages. Still, as Gimenez writes, the progressive movements belong to Northern countries like England, the United States of America and the Netherlands. Democratic aspects in these capitalist countries have shown that it is quite easy to use the Internet as a medium to speak up and create networks that have certain issues as a central point. Still, when looking at a 1944 analysis of Karl Polanyi all these forms of social pressure and liberal demands can have just a cyclical effect on society and especially governmental

food regimes (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011). As shown in the previous example of Michelle Obama's movement, governments nor industrials are too enthusiastic about the upcoming food movements in western civilization. Especially the Let's Move! campaign has suffered from governmental and industrial pressure in the US, while the Dutch are still operating in a way which goes almost unnoticed by politicians, but is misused by large businesses. An example of how capitalism is responding to the social, liberal and alternative demands of the global food movement in the US and the Netherlands, are the many examples of large businesses that take over words like pure, honest and local. According to Pollan, Wal-Mart in the United States, but also the Albert Heijn and other large grocery stores in the Netherlands, sell organic and local food, but food activists seem to be critical about this happening. Large corporations that accept and adapt to the movement's goals are not greeted with any enthusiasm, since the movement strives towards "new economic and social structures outside of the mainstream consumer economy" (Pollan 2010). 'Beyond the barcode', as Pollan calls this, has as a goal to decentralize the global economy, but as seen on the shelves of these corporations it has quite the opposite effects. Though it may seem like an elitist and perhaps snobby opinion to immediately disapprove of 'organic' and 'local' products sold at large cooperative chains, it is not the only objection towards it. Large organic food, natural product and health product companies, described by Jay Byrne and Henry I. Miller (2012) as fear profiteers, make huge profits through the information and knowledge that is spread by the food movement. Words like 'local' and 'organic' suddenly became very popular, resulting in large companies like the Dutch Honig naming their normal asparagus soup now Limburgse Asparagus Soup, though absolutely nothing in the recipe had changed and the soup was definitely not made in Limburg. Worse examples are given in Byrne's and Miller's article which are primarily promoted through mass media, like the 'friend of the show' at the Emmy Award Winning Dr. Oz show, telling the public that 'genetically engineered crops are inadequately tested and, even worse, responsible for widespread adverse health effects' (Byrne & Miller 2012), so it is better to buy organic food. The friend of the show turned out to be anti-biotechnology activist Jeffrey Smith, and his accusations were in fact never acknowledged by scientists or the medical discourse. People like Smith and Dutch companies like Honig profit from the food movements message by using their own words like local and organic, and immediate repel words like bio-technology, just to sell their own products or create more memberships for their own activists groups. These are all causes that Polanyi talks about in 1944 and describes them as the dangers of 'double movement', a hidden form of capitalism that seems inevitable. In short a double movement means that any kind of movement can turn a whole society upside down, but with the danger that this society will fail at creating or holding on to economic or social failure, which will result in the coming back of the old regime, in one way or another. Still, "the depth, scope and political character of food regime change, [...], depends upon both capitalism's 'double-movement' and the political nature and dynamism of social movements" (Gimenez & Shattuck 2011, 113).

Though the movement worldwide keeps developing their political nature and dynamism, they reach for a goal that has many more

obstacles. An article of chef Dan Barber in the Wall Street Journal (Barber 2012) explains that, for example, being sustainable is more than just eating local products; it is about knowing the base of your land and the cuisine that will come off of it. A solution to feed thousands of people with this cuisine, is to start living in small communities where everything is sown and reaped by the people themselves, to eat less meat and stop going out for dinner in expensive restaurants (Barber in Wall Street Journal 2012). Sounds like Schwarz' and Elffers' sustainism all over again. Though Barber also calls this solution an utopia and a Walhalla, which can also mean that he actually thinks it is maybe too unlikely to ever happen, movements like discussed in this paper are forming and stimulating communities all over the world.

In the Netherlands, state secretary of Agriculture Henk Bleker also agrees that being sustainable or animal friendly has it's cons: food, and especially meat that is produced in an animal friendly way, is more often than never a danger to the environment (Foodlog 2012). And it's not just the government that is critical towards the fact that the food movement wants their vegetables and meat to be pure, honest and local. Dutch professor in sustainability Louise Fresco argues that, for example, there is absolutely nothing wrong with eating canned tomatoes, instead of fresh ones. For one, it often stimulates the export of third world countries, but Fresco also claims there are much more vitamins in preserved tomatoes (Fresco 2011). Therefore Fresco is quite critical towards Michael Pollan's statements and manifestos, although she also admits that there are some horrible food products on the market. Yet, she says, "modern food processing has enormously improved the quality and the safety of our food" (Fresco 2011). By quality and safety she means less contamination, bacteriological infections, but also better taste and nutrition. Though she agrees with him on certain levels, Fresco thinks Pollan is too passionate about prejudices:

*"Michael Pollan deserves credit for having put food on the political agenda, where it belongs. His intentions are no doubt honest, although his scientific statements are often simplistic. For example, he asserts that we have replaced sun-based agriculture with fossil-fuel-based agriculture. But, of course, all agriculture is sun-based."*  
(Fresco 2011)

The different opinions of US food movement frontman Pollan and Dutch sustainability expert Fresco is something that represents the difference between two countries fighting the same battle in a different way. Though both western and progressive, different backgrounds and (agri)cultural values seem to have influenced our point of view. Whereas Dutch are more progressive in terms of moving forward, and like Nieuw Vers being open to different technologies like the research of grown meat in Utrecht, Eindhoven and Maastricht, Pollan still clings on to his mantra of eating like your great-grandmother did. Also, where Pollan sometimes can seem as idealistic as Schwarz and Elffers are, Dutch professor Scholliers and Bleker for example tend to look at the food feud in a more realistic way, stating that we only think of the food movement as new because of modern day communication technologies. And the dilemma discussed in chapter one, of beholding our nature's wealth

has so many contradictions, as Bleker says, which is probably one of the reasons his ministry subsidies farms that are protective of the environment, animal welfare and are sustainable (Rijksoverheid 2012). But the US based food movement seem to have more reason to become more fanatically about changing their food system. Farmers there do get financial support to stabilize their income, but mostly big farms and large businesses receive the most money, while small family farms get left out (Peel 2012). This has caused opponents of the US farm subsidies to believe that political gain is the only reason there is a farm subsidy, especially since small, local farms can barely benefit from a law like that, leaving the food movement disappointed.

So will there ever be a solution in capitalist, Western countries? Or will the food system eventually fall back into its old habit again? After seeing all of these contradictions and struggles, it seems clear that putting food on the political agenda is a step in the right direction, but not enough to gain political power in the US or the Netherlands. As explained in the introduction, to become more politically involved, there is one thing more important than just wanting something, raising awareness and make acquaintances (Marres 2003). To better understand the role of technology networks and the politics of civil society, it is significant to understand that within an issue network, the people concerned are connected by the issues. Therefore, to become politically active, the labeling, defining and translating of the issues is central (Galloway 2004) because it shows "how CSOs intervene in, or seek to dis-embed their activities from, extended networks of governmental, for-profit and non-governmental actors" (Marres 2003). Like the table of Gimenez shows in appendix A, there are already four different kinds of food movements. Each kind has its own organizations, networks and communities. The Dutch examples discussed in this paper all have more or less the same definitions of their central issue: they want more good, pure, and honest food in small communities with good relations between farmer and consumer. Yet, every movement has its own activists identity: where the Youth Food Movement focuses more on involving youth in politically loaded actions, because young farmers and cooks are our future, Nieuw Vers has a whole different idea of future. Nieuw Vers stimulates, though with the same central issue, more hybride food (the reason why it is called Nieuw). They see the solution for their issue in the future, instead of wanting to go back to old fashioned farming, like the Dutch Slow Food movement does. Like Gimenez also wrote, progressive food movements need to have one goal. To become politically serious, there needs to be a collective principle.

Pollan also knows that putting food back on the political agenda is only the first step. He writes that to this day "the food movement can claim more success in changing popular consciousness" (Pollan 2011), instead of actually shifting the political and economical forces that shape our current food system. Still, Pollan and Marion Nestle seem to stimulate going through like this, because after all it's better to do something than nothing at all. And whether the food movement is something new or not, it is sure that modern communication technologies have led the speakers go abroad and become more widespread than in the past.

## **7. Conclusion: Can food movements rise up to political standards by powerfully using new media and thereby change the food system?**

The central question in this thesis focused on the role of new media in the political practice of food movements to make clear that being 'online' does not create enough power yet to truly convince governments of their vision. The use of new media show that progressive movements all want sort of the same thing to be resolved, in an overall same way: by being globally connected, but to stay local as well. Though all movements have different precise approaches, all movements, from the Netherlands and abroad, use new media to raise new members. There are online manifestos to which people can sign their name, online hang outs with celebrities where 'normal' people can raise their voice and explain their opinion about food to famous cooks and politicians. There are events and congresses organized that are live streamed in which students and others can openly debate with policymakers and agricultural European boards. Everything has been made easy to attend, even when you are in a whole different country.

And fact is, that when Polanyi did his research on the double movement phenomenon in 1944, there was no Internet or social media whatsoever. People were less globally informed and connected than they are now. This effect seems rather successful: Dutch movements find sympathizers across borders, and UK movements raise money on a global scale. So it is not unthinkable that this time neopolitics can beat realpolitics or capitalism and money making bio-industries. But, to also be critical towards the idea of an utopia that is created through being globally connected and the constant sharing of knowledge and information, we must also be very careful in idealizing the use of new and social media. Like Cass Sunstein (2001) argues that the Internet can definitely frame the way issues are seen, just like traditional media used to: by discussing and sharing information with only those who hold similar views, an online community or movement reduces exposure to other ideas. By communicating only with others who share their beliefs, it is possible for food movements to accidentally screen out information that challenges their predispositions. Also, by stating that they are open to everyone who cares about food, they seem rather disapproving of large chain stores who let people who are not familiar with the food movement try to adapt to their standards by selling actual local food (whether sustainable or not). The Michelle Obama vs. the American Farm Bureau Federation case study is a good example, because it shows the battle between craving for traditional grown food and the actual large farming business, that states that in theory they have more concrete ideas for feeding the world in a sustainable way. Why is there so little willingness to collaborate there?

When looking at this research, the differences between the online presence of US and Dutch food movements are enormous. The US food movement is more fanatic in online attacking and criticizing the US government and large corporations, while the Dutch use new media as a plain tool to promote demonstrations and manifestos. Several critics think therefore there is still too little achievement and too little action taken by these food movements in order to really change anything drastic about the way we eat. The criteria that are set up for the food movements solution are very

different and unstable. Because it is ok for the movements to arrange their activities and meetings through social media. But if the average grocery shopping citizen does not even know the movement or its demands, the number of members or informed citizens will stay small, since there is no collaboration with governmental decisions and no toleration at all for large businesses. In my opinion, even in the way the larger food movements use their new media skills to promote their own goals, everything seems one sided. It is therefore important, to speak like Gimenez, that there will be a more open attitude towards civilization, but also towards industrial farming. In this way, information will be spread among many more factors than 'foodies' or local farmers. There are more decisions to make about food and the future of our food than to just want it to be honest, local and pure. Little steps have to be made to achieve the development of small communities and a global information sharing sustainist world, and it will be important to become a trusted movement that is open to other stakeholders to do so.

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Appendix A

Overview of food supply/food movements by Eric Holt Gimenez 2012

Politics	Neoliberal	Reformist	Progressive	Radical
Debate	Food Co.	Food security	Food Justice	Food Sovereignty
Most important organizations	International Finance Corporation (World Bank); IMF; WTO; USDA; USAID; GAFSP; Green Revolution/CGIAR; Millennium Challenge; Global Harvest; Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Cargill; Monsanto; ADM; Tyson; Carrefour; Tesco; Wal-Mart	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); FAO; HLTF; CFA; CGIAR; IFAP; mainstream Nieuw Vers; Slow Food; some Food Policy Councils; Worldwatch; OXFAMAMERICA; CARE; Feeding America and most food banks and food aid programs	CFS; Alternative Nieuw Vers & many Slow Foods chapters; any organizations in the Community Food Security Movement; CSAs; many Food Policy Councils & youth food and justice movements; Coalition of Immokalee Workers and other farmworker & labor organizations	Via Campesina and other agrarian-based farmers' movements (ROPPA, EAFF, ESAFF); International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty; ATTAC; World March of Women; and many Food Justice and rights-based movements
Orientation	Corporate/Global market	Development/Aid	Empowerment	Entitlement/Redistribution
Model	Overproduction; corporate concentration; unregulated markets and monopolies; monocultures (including organic); GMOs; agrofuels; mass global consumption of industrial food; phasing out of peasant & family agriculture and local retail	Mainstreaming/certification of niche markets (e.g. organic, fair, local, sustainable); maintaining northern agricultural subsidies; 'sustainable' roundtables for agrofuels, soy, forest products, etc; market-led land reform; microcredit	Agroecologically-produced local food; investment in underserved communities; new business models and community benefit packages for production, processing & retail; better wages for ag. workers; solidarity economies; land access; regulated markets & supply	Dismantle corporate agri-foods monopoly power; parity; redistributive land reform; community rights to water & seed; regionally-based food systems; democratization of food system; sustainable livelihoods; protection from dumping/overproduction; revival of agroecologically managed peasant agriculture to distribute wealth and cool the planet
Approach to food crisis	Increased industrial production; unregulated corporate monopolies; land grabs; expansion of GMOs; public-private partnerships; liberal markets; microenterprise; international sourced food aid; GAFSPF - The Global Agriculture	Same as neoliberal but with increased middle peasant production & some locally sourced food aid; microcredit; more agricultural aid, but tied to GMOs & 'bio-fortified/climate-resistant' crops; Comprehensive Framework for Action (CFA)	Right to food; better safety nets; sustainably produced, locally sourced food; agroecologically-based agricultural development; Committee on World Food Security (CFS)	Human right to food; locally sourced, sustainably produced, culturally appropriate, democratically controlled; focus on UN/FAO negotiations

	and Food Security Prog.			
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