



An institutional analysis of the role of three Italian organizational networks – Coldiretti, Slow Food and Genuíno Clandestino

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Abstract

The present study compared the repertoire of collective actions of Italian organizational networks - Slow Food, Genuíno Clandestino and Coldiretti - for the development of short food marketing circuits in the context of the food corporate regime. Using concepts from the Theory of Social Movements associated with the debates on Alternative Food Networks and Short Food Supply Chain, the 'in loco' research was carried out in the months of June and December 2019 through observation of the experiences of commercialization and interviews with their representatives. In addition, since that period, public opinions have been collected from their leaders, analysis of public documents, as well as the study of scientific articles related to the theme. The results demonstrate that despite the 'buon cibo' theme being central to the Italian identity, each studied organizational network carries out differentiated strategies for the construction of short food supply chain, which do not always converge or dialogue in the perspective of countermovement from the food corporate regime.

Keywords: Short Food Supply Chains; social movements; collective action repertoire.

Análise institucional do papel de três redes organizacionais italianas – Coldiretti, Slow Food e Genuíno Clandestino

Resumo

O presente estudo comparou o repertório de ações coletivas das redes organizacionais italianas - Slow Food, Genuíno Clandestino e Coldiretti - para o desenvolvimento de circuitos

curtos de comercialização de alimentos no contexto do regime alimentar corporativo. Utilizando conceitos da Teoria dos Movimentos Sociais associados aos debates sobre Redes Alimentares Alternativas e Circuitos Curtos de Comercialização, a pesquisa 'in loco' foi realizada nos meses de junho e dezembro de 2019 por meio de observação das experiências comerciais e entrevistas com seus representantes. Além disso, desde esse período, foram realizadas coletas de opiniões públicas de seus dirigentes, análise de documentos públicos, bem como o estudo de artigos científicos relacionados ao tema. Os resultados demonstram que, apesar do tema 'buon cibo' ser central para a identidade italiana, cada rede organizacional estudada realiza estratégias diferenciadas para a construção de circuitos curtos de comercialização de alimentos, as quais nem sempre convergem ou dialogam na perspectiva de ser um contramovimento ao regime alimentar corporativo.

Palavras-chave: Circuitos curtos de comercialização; movimentos sociais; repertório de ações coletivas.

Análisis institucional del papel de tres redes organizativas italianas: Coldiretti, Slow Food y Genuíno Clandestino

Resumen

El presente estudio comparó el repertorio de acciones colectivas de las redes organizacionales italianas - Slow Food, Genuíno Clandestino y Coldiretti - para el desarrollo de circuitos cortos de comercialización de alimentos en el contexto del régimen alimentar corporativo. Utilizando conceptos de la Teoría de los Movimientos Sociales asociados a los debates sobre Redes Alimentarias Alternativas y Circuitos Cortos de Comercialización, la investigación 'in loco' se llevó a cabo en junio y diciembre de 2019 a través de la observación de experiencias comerciales y entrevistas con sus representantes. Además, desde ese período se han realizado recopilaciones de opiniones públicas de sus líderes, análisis de documentos públicos, así como el estudio de artículos científicos relacionados con el tema. Los resultados muestran que, a pesar de que el tema 'buon cibo' es central en la identidad italiana, cada red organizacional estudiada lleva a cabo diferentes estrategias para construir circuitos cortos de comercialización de alimentos, que no siempre convergen o dialogan en la perspectiva de ser un contramovimiento al régimen alimentar corporativo.

Palabras clave: Circuitos cortos de comercialización, movimientos sociales; repertorio de acciones colectivas.

1 Introduction

Given the recognition of negative externalities associated with hegemonic food systems (VIEIRA et al., 2021), which McMichael (2016) calls the 'corporate food regime,' short food supply chains (SFSCs) have gained increasing space among consumers (MUÑOZ, 2019). In essence, SFSCs seek to value quality attributes (GOODMAN et al., 2011) associated with location, region, specialty, nature and/or new associative networks (MARS DEN, 2000), which can be developed to be different from a standardized diet which originates from industrial agriculture (DAROLT; ROVER, 2021).

SFSCs open new opportunities for a heterogeneous group of farmers to offer their production in a viable manner to a public of people who, more and more, value the origin of their food. In other words, many consumers change their purchasing stance from "food from nowhere" to "food from somewhere" (McMICHAEL, 2016), which allows them to develop value judgment criteria based on their own knowledge, experiences and/or images perceived about the food quality.

The proliferation of open-air markets, consumer groups, decentralized associations and cooperatives, experiences of urban agriculture, local consumption and appreciation of traditional foods allowed the creation of innovative SFSC trajectories (GOODMAN et al., 2011; GAZOLLA; AQUINO, 2021). In this aspect, it is possible to observe how different organizational networks take on a leading role in the social construction of new food markets (MUÑOZ et al., 2021), which become spaces for the struggle for economic redistribution and, at the same time, for recognition of new values associated with innovative forms of food production and consumption (OLIVEIRA et al., 2020; PORTILHO, 2020).

Historically, the literature that analyzes social movements has emphasized their conflict with National States as a central *modus operandi* of collective action. Such interpretations reinforced the stereotypical view of social movements in relation to the ‘subversion of order’ and the power struggle through a ‘political revolution’ (MUÑOZ, 2019). Nevertheless, in addition to conflict and other ‘repertoires of contention’ – which remain relevant in the midst of so many social inequalities –, associations, volunteering, the work of non-governmental organizations, and encouragement of conscious consumption, institutional activism, among others, demonstrate the need for a broader look at the ‘repertoire of collective actions’ of contemporary social movements (TARROW, 2009; SILVA et al., 2017; CARVALHO et al., 2022).

Through the linking between actors, social spaces and repertoires of collective action, it is possible to observe the formation of organizational networks around certain political causes, which also make it possible to mobilize people and, therefore, trigger changes in the existing social order (SCHERER-WARREN, 2006; FLIGSTEIN; 2021). Food and everything related to food has gained relevance, as a political cause and a link for different collective actions (MUÑOZ et al., 2021).

In this context, Italy has been a locus of important initiatives that seek to build new relations of production and consumption around food, and the ‘Gruppi de Acquisto Solidale’ [Solidarity Purchasing Groups] is one of the most recognized international experiences in this sense (GRAZIANO and FORNO, 2012; BALDI et al., 2019). It is no coincidence that Italy stands out for its strong identity that associates its territory with good food (*il buon cibo*). Gastronomy that values food beyond human energy needs is part of the Italian tradition (ANJOS and CALDAS, 2017; 2019). The country offers a rich diversity of typical products associated with certain geographic identities, with emphasis on wines, cheeses and pasta, which constitute a rich Italian cultural heritage and are important attractions for the tourism economy (GARIBALDI and POZZI, 2018).

From this background, this article aims to understand how different Italian organizational networks organize their repertoires of collective action for the development of SFSCs in the face of the crises generated by the corporate food regime. Thus, three organizational networks were selected, namely: Slow Food, Genuíno Clandestino, and Coldireti. In addition to this introduction, the article is subdivided into four sections. The second section will develop the central theoretical argument, that is, how the SFSCs are strengthening themselves with the crises created by the *modus operandi* of the corporate food regime and opening spaces for the leading role of different organizational networks of farmers across the globe. The third section will highlight the methodological aspects of this article and the key

analytical variables. The fourth section will present the three organizational networks analyzed, while the fifth will analyze and discuss their SFSC experiences, based on the proposed theoretical construct. Finally, the final considerations outline the main conclusions and indications for future studies.

2 Crises of the corporate food regime and opportunities to strengthen short food supply chains from family farming

Dietary regimes:

The way food moves from farmers to consumers has changed radically since the Industrial Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century, following the profound transformations of national economies up to today's globalized capitalism. Initially limited to a spatially local and temporally immediate dimension, food has become commodity that circulate globally. Industrial management techniques have made it possible to mitigate the problem of perishability, bringing them closer to the logic of durable consumer goods. This panorama of transformations in food systems is analyzed through the theory of 'Food Regimes' (McMichael, 2016), which considers the existence of three periods: 1. First food regime, established at the end of British hegemony (1870 - 1914); two. Second regime, centered on American hegemony after World War II (1947 - 1973); 3. Third food regime, which was formed from 1980 onwards, with a liberal productivism and corporate characteristic.

McMichael (2016) defines the current period as the 'Corporate Food Regime.' This is the food regime adapted to the neoliberal globalization project, where there is the hegemony of transnational business conglomerates, which determine their strategies regardless of national borders. Thus, there is a close correlation with financial capital that influences the control of rules, speculation on agricultural prices and the use of new technologies in a direct manner (MUÑOZ et al., 2021).

Although capable of providing a global circulation of food and commodities increasingly quickly, cheaply and on large scales, the corporate food regime has been causing different crises due to its significant socio-environmental impacts (RAJÃO et al., 2020; VIEIRA et al., 2021). These processes have been causing profound problems for urban and rural populations worldwide. For urban populations, issues of food safety and public health have represented growing concerns about what reaches the family table. The abusive use of pesticides and food ultra-processing have caused a worrying increase in obesity and obesity-linked diseases (heart disease, hypertension and diabetes). For rural populations, the process of deterritorialization of agriculture – which disconnects and decontextualizes production processes and regional cultures – has reduced the resilience capacity of agroecosystems and the communities' sociocultural fabric. In summary, there is a high social and environmental cost not internalized in the 'successful' [sic] corporate economic activities of the corporate food regime (MUÑOZ, 2019; DAROLT; ROVER, 2021).

An important part of the problem generated by the corporate food regime is its need to encourage long food supply chains. This process requires the presence of numerous intermediaries who specialize in one or more stages of the agro-industrial chains (OLIVEIRA; BATALHA, 2021) and, therefore, are anchored in a large-scale industrial agriculture model. One piece of evidence of this process refers to the

growing phenomenon of ‘supermarketization,’ that is, the way in which the retail sector has taken control of the food supply, defining quality criteria, determining food diets, and appropriating the largest portion of added value (NIEDERLE; WESZ JUNIOR, 2018).

The new face of this is the entry of e-commerce corporations, such as Amazon and Alibaba, into the food marketing scene. According to Wilkinson and Rama (2018), there is a new hegemony of global retail companies thanks to the computerization of commercial processes, which allows refined knowledge of consumer habits. Through research techniques that are based on approaches from marketing, psychology, sociology, and anthropology, among others, large business conglomerates seek to understand and shape consumers’ eating behavior and the factors that determine their preferences to create competitive advantages (MUÑOZ, 2019).

Thus, differentiation strategies aimed at valuing healthy and organic foods, own brands and functional products, in addition to own corporate certification and traceability processes have become increasingly common in the search for the creation of profitable market niches (OLIVEIRA; BATALHA, 2021 ; GAZOLLA; AQUINO, 2021). Ultimately, they seek to provide greater added value for business conglomerates while seeking to meet the consumers’ desires and needs without necessarily transforming the dominant production model.

Social movements and organizational networks:

However, a significant part of the heterogeneous universe of family farmers, in different parts of the globe, is unable to participate in the corporate food regime in a viable manner because of the inability to produce on a large scale, lack of capital for investments, power asymmetries, and non-capitalist rationalities that are intrinsic to it, among other variables (MUÑOZ, 2019). Given this, countless collective actions – that is, “ways in which people act together in pursuit of shared interests” (TARROW, 2009, p. 51) – are constituted with the perspective of representing countermovements to the *modus operandi* of the corporate food regime. Their repertoires of collective action highlight the role of family and peasant farming, whether denouncing the contradictions of the corporate food regime or building survival strategies adapted to their way of life (MUÑOZ et al., 2021).

Repertoires are “limited, familiar, historically created arrays of claim-making performances that under most circumstances greatly circumscribe the means by which people engage in contentious politics” (TILLY, 2006, vii). Historically, social movements have their practices based on conflict and the orientation of demands towards the State. From the second half of the twentieth century onwards, new forms of collective action called into question the exclusivity of conflict as a repertoire of contestation of social movements around the world. The fight for civil rights, issues of gender, race, defense of ecology and/or style and quality of life represent the diversification of collective actions, given that they demand gradual changes in sociability and culture through persuasion and construction of consensus (TARROW, 2009).

One of these repertoires of collective action refers to the creation of organizations (GEHLEN and MOCELIN, 2018), which elaborate ideologies and

mobilize people and resources in favor of common objectives and construction of collective identities (TARROW, 2009). However, an important change in the understanding of social movements is in relation to their analysis as a homogeneous, coherent, and independent actor. Silva (2014) points out that social movements are like networks in flow that trigger diverse repertoires of action, depending on contextual and organizational factors. This relational character of social movements and the interdependence between agents and interactions with the spaces where strategic action fields are developed – which are quite fluid and present important relationships of interdependence among themselves – strengthens the idea of network as a propositional concept used by collective actors, generating a new form of organization and action: the organizational network (SCHERER-WARREN, 2006; FERRAZ, 2019).

It is from this change in interpretations about social movements that one recognizes how their repertoire of actions also focused on economic objectives. In other words, for several contemporary organizational networks, markets represent a strategic tool in promoting development and social inclusion (PORTILHO, 2020; FLIGSTEIN, 2021). In fact, in the last two decades, countermovements to the expansion of the corporate regime opened spaces for the social construction of markets that strengthened the presence of SFSC (MUÑOZ, 2019).

New food markets have pointed towards the ‘quality turn,’ according as the agri-food issue incorporates quality as an essential attribute for regulation of economic transactions. As several studies demonstrate, nowadays there is a growing trend towards differentiated productions, originating from different organizational networks of family farmers, which take into account the characteristics presented, for example, in artisanal, traditional, homemade, colonial, organic, agroecological, supportive, geographically indicated, sustainable, religious, non-GMO, vegan, and fair trade products (NIEDERLE; WESZ JUNIOR, 2018; PORTILHO, 2020; OLIVEIRA et al., 2020; GAZOLLA; AQUINO, 2021). In general, these organizational networks have used SFSCs to reach their consumers.

According to Marsden et al. (2000), the crucial aspect of a SFSC is the fact that a product reaches the consumer’s hands with information that allows them to know where the product was produced (place), by whom (producer), and in what way (production system), in order to transform an anonymous product into a product with a known and valued origin. The authors identify three central SFSC modalities: 1) Face to face, where the consumer buys, in person, a product directly from the producer/processor. In this type of commerce, authenticity and trust are mediated by personal interaction; 2) Spatial proximity, where products are produced and sold at retail in the specific region (or place) of production, and consumers are informed of the “local” nature of the product at the point of sale; 3) Spatially extended: where value and meaning carry information about the place of production and those who produce the food translate value and meaning for consumers who are outside the region of production itself and may not have personal experience of that region. Here, information on labels and certification becomes more relevant.

Markets built through the collective action of organizational networks are potential spaces for struggle for recognition of values associated with traditional or innovative forms of production and consumption (FLIGSTEIN, 2021). Also, markets articulate infrastructures and institutions that not only maintain economic

exchanges, but reinforce mechanisms of trust and reciprocity (MUÑOZ, 2019), key variables that differentiate long chains from short chains.

3 Methodological aspects

The study was carried out in Italy during the research visit period of one of the authors of this work at the Dipartimento di Scienze Agro Ambientali e Territoriali de l'Università Degli Studi Di Bari Aldo Moro, Puglia, for two non-consecutive months, between June and December 2019. The research project aimed to carry out an exploratory analysis of SFSCs, with a view to identifying experiences of Italian peasant agriculture – which, roughly speaking, refers to the notion of family farming in Brazil – and which was organized by different networks farmers' organizations.

Primary data were collected through technical visits, direct and non-participant observation, audiovisual records and field notebooks, participation in technical events, as well as by the application of semi-structured and unstructured interviews with researchers, experts, food market agents and other relevant actors in Italian peasant agriculture. The bibliographical analysis and interviews resulted in the identification of three organizational networks – Coldiretti, Slow Food and Genuino Clandestino – which were selected as research objects of this study. This enabled an exploratory analysis of their SFSC experiences and interviews with representatives of the visited economic experiences. Table 1 summarizes the proposed analytical exercise and the categories used in the theoretical framework of this article:

Table 1 - Summary of the analysis categories used in the study

Analytical exercise	Categories
Analysis of the SFSC strategies of three organizational networks in Italy – Coldiretti, Slow Food and Genuíno Clandestino – in the face of the corporate food regime.	1. Origin motivation; 2. Central actors; 3. Main political causes; 4. SFSC modalities; 5. SFSC objectives and strategies.

Source: Elaborated by authors (2022)

Considering that Coldiretti, Slow Food and Genuíno Clandestino are organizational networks that defend political causes and express themselves publicly to promote their collective actions articulated with the SFSCs, this study was also anchored in an analysis of secondary data from documents, videos and interviews made available by their representatives in the media on the Internet and, in particular, on their virtual social networks, such as websites, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram, in the period between 2020 and 2022.¹

¹ The Covid-19 pandemic and the global public health crisis (especially in Brazil) impacted and prolonged the research schedule.

4 Coldiretti, Slow Food and Genuíno Clandestino: three organizational networks where food plays a central role in collective actions

Coldiretti

The Confederazione Nazionale Coltivatori Diretti [National Confederation of Direct Cultivators] (Coldiretti) is recognized as the largest agrarian organization in Italy and Europe, with headquarters in Rome and approximately 1.5 million members working in agriculture, the fishing sector, related activities, and agri-food (COLDIRETTI, 2013; 2021). Founded in 1944, in the country's fascist and post-World War II context, Coldiretti was created with the aim of providing union representation to Italian peasants (contadini), who represented the largest and poorest social class in Italy. As these had divergent interests from large agricultural companies and rural employees, an identity of direct cultivators was created, whose main income comes from family work (ANJOS and CALDAS, 2017; 2019).

With a growing incorporation of the environmental variable in the European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), in addition to the change in attitude of that society concerned with the quality of its consumed food, in 2008 Coldiretti created a Foundation named 'Campagna Amica,' which has as a central proposal to bring its associated farmers closer to end consumers, providing food of Italian origin at a fair price (ANJOS and CALDAS, 2017). This action also aimed to articulate cross-cutting themes, such as the importance of adequate nutrition, agritourism as a multi-source income, ecological preservation and the perspective of ecosystem services, people's health and well-being, as well as the valuation of territories, their cultures and ecosystems (COLDIRETTI, 2013; 2021), towards the 'quality turn' debate (GOODMAN et al., 2011).

Through the slogan "Luogo ideale di incontro tra agricoltori e cittadini" [Ideal meeting place for farmers and citizens], Coldiretti's 'Campagna Amica' organizes three fronts of action to support Italian agriculture: 1) Direct sales; 2) Agritourism; and 3) Eco-sustainability. This occurs through the following commercial strategies: a) Farmers' Markets: direct fairs where Coldiretti's associated farmers sell their productions; b) Farms: agricultural production units where consumers can buy their food directly; c) Agritourism: agricultural production units that have equipment for tourist services, such as restaurants, and that resell products and experiences related to other farms associated with the 'Campagna Amica'; d) Stores (retail points): stores in the city where it is possible to purchase products from the Coldiretti Agricultural Supply Chain, made only with Italian agricultural raw materials, tracked and controlled by a third-party certification body; e) Restaurants: commercial establishments that provide meals, food and drinks, which use agricultural and Italian products from 'Campagna Amica' in their daily menu; f) Urban gardens: city gardens that respect the principles of the 'Campagna Amica,' with the aim of valuing social aggregation, respect for seasonality, and the protection to the biodiversity of strictly agricultural and Italian products; g) Purchasing and Supply Groups: publication of a list of supplier contacts for purchasing groups prepared to respond to different logistical needs is supported; h) Villaggios: large events organized by Coldiretti, where farmers from different regions of the country come together to offer their productions for a certain period of time. All of these strategies form a network of

approximately 10,000 points in the Italian territory, which are monitored and guaranteed by the ‘Campagna Amica’ Foundation and have as a central element the valuation of fresh and safe food of Italian origin (CAMPAGNA AMICA, 2021).

Genuíno Clandestino

Created in 2010, Genuino Clandestino [Genuine Clandestine] emerged as a communication campaign with the aim of denouncing a set of health rules that privilege large agro-industries to the detriment of small and artisanal productions by Italian peasants. According to Sacchi (2015, p. 2) “the products are genuine because the raw materials used for processing and transformation are healthy, organic, fresh and -zero km, but, at the same time, clandestine because Regulation (EC) 852 /2004 on food hygiene makes its sale illegal.”

According to interviews carried out, the origin of the ‘Genuino Clandestino’ Movement is directly linked to the ‘Campi Aperti’ Association, founded in 2007 in Bologna, Emilia-Romagna. This association has its origins in the late 1990s, from a need for collective actions by farmers in the city of Bologna to promote the debate on ‘food sovereignty’ and ‘organic farming,’ besides resisting as peasants instead of becoming rural entrepreneurs from a capitalist profit-maximizing perspective. In their charter of principles (Campi Aperti, 2021), they highlight the following elements that guide their actions: relational economy; short supply chain; organic farming; participatory certification systems; environmental sustainability; peasant agriculture; fair and transparent prices, and solidarity economy networks. In this sense, one denotes a clear discursive opposition to the corporate food regime (McMICHAEL, 2016) when they position themselves explicitly against food that travels thousands of kilometers to be sold, which depend on “cold chambers for days and days, produced with unknown methods in unknown areas, with extremely high costs in terms of resource use and environmental pollution” (CAMPI APERTI, 2021). Furthermore, they criticize the phenomenon of ‘supermarketization’ in a strong manner, insofar as they argue that markets become spaces in which it is possible to build new social relationships in a way that is distinct from “the dominant paradigm of impersonal consumption in soulless places like supermarkets” (CAMPI APERTI, 2021).

Through the motto “Change agriculture to change the world,” the Genuino Clandestino movement seeks radical changes in contemporary food systems. Thus, they consider the land not as a mere economic resource, but a providing and generous source of food that needs to be taken care of; seek to transform the business-consumer relationship into a relational economy between producers and co-producers; reject the commercialization of audit certification processes to promote participatory certification systems; promote the defense of ‘good nutrition’ with food originated from the territory; defend the paradigm of agroecology to guide production and consumption models, and promote accessible and self-managed training courses. In short, the members of Genuino Clandestino seek a new and more integrated, resilient, creative, and stimulating lifestyle. The project for food sovereignty is economically sustained through the direct sale of its production, normally in small markets, where producers obtain fairer remuneration for their work

and consumers buy products of different quality and at affordable prices (Genuíno Clandestino, 2021).

Slow Food

Finally, the last organizational network object of this study is ‘Slow Food,’ which has its origins in 1986, after a demonstration carried out by activists against the installation of a McDonalds fast food restaurant, in a famous square in the city of Rome, Italy. Its initial efforts sought to highlight how the frenzy of an efficient, productive life anchored in the values of an industrial economy broke with the simple, slow and wise way of life of human beings. As a consequence of this, in 1989 the Slow Food was founded in Paris, France, as an international organization, with the proposal of “[...] defending regional traditions, good food, gastronomic pleasure and a slow pace of life [...]] and against the unlimited power of multinationals in the food industry and industrial agriculture” (SLOW FOOD, 2021). Slow Food’s approach is based on a concept of food quality defined by three interconnected principles, that is, good, clean and fair:

GOOD: a diet of fresh, seasonal food that satisfies the senses and is part of the local culture; CLEAN: production and consumption of food that does not harm the environment, animal welfare, or human health; FAIR: practice of prices that are affordable to those who consume and remuneration conditions that are fair for those who produce (SLOW FOOD, 2021).

According to Birochi et al. (2019) and Gentile (2016), Slow Food uses the following strategies to achieve its objectives: i) catalogue, with description and attraction of foods, seeds and techniques that are about to disappear (Ark of Taste); ii) valuation of socio-biodiversity products, through territorialized agri-food productive networks that help artisanal food producers to preserve their traditional methods and their final products (Fortresses); iii) broad alliance between family farmers, peasant and traditional communities, with renowned chefs and eco-gastronomy practitioners (Cooks Alliance); iv) support for the marketing of small local producers who sell directly to consumers in urban areas, through ecological production and products free from genetically modified organisms (Local Region Markets).

Furthermore, Slow Food promotes Responsible Consumption Groups and the Communities that Support Agriculture (CSA), given that they use self-management principles and promote proximity and trust between the parties involved. In short, Slow Food seeks a new meaning in relations of production and consumption, fighting against the standardization of taste and culture, and for a “world where everyone can have access to and consume food that is good for those who eat it, good for those who produce it and good for the planet” (SLOW FOOD, 2021).

5 Matches and mismatches between the SFSCs of Coldiretti, Genuíno Clandestino and Slow Food

Table 2 summarizes the organizational networks selected for the study based on five analytical categories, which will be analyzed below: 1. Origin motivation; 2.

Central actors; 3. Main political causes; 4. SFSC modalities; 5. SFSC objectives and strategies;

Table 2 - Analytical categories of the organizational networks under study

Categories	Organizational networks		
	<i>Coldiretti</i>	<i>Genuino Clandestino</i>	<i>Slow Food</i>
a. Origin motivation;	-Union representation and defense of the rights of direct cultivators.	-Fight against legislation that privileges the large food industry.	-Fight against an industrial way of life and defense of regional traditions, focusing on food.
b. Central actors;	Direct cultivators/ <i>contadini</i> ; -Unionists.	- <i>Contadini</i> /people migrating to rural areas.	- <i>Contadini</i> /people migrating to rural areas; -Chefs.
c. Main political causes;	-Political representation; -Better conditions for agricultural producers; -Defense of the interests of its members; -Sustainability.	-Food Sovereignty; -Biological Agriculture/ Agroecology; -Against the unlimited power of multinationals in the food industry and industrial agriculture; -New production and consumption relations; -Participatory certification systems; -Radical transformation of food systems; -Sustainability.	-Defense of the slow pace of life; -Defense of regional traditions, good food and gastronomic pleasure; -Against the unlimited power of multinationals in the food industry and industrial agriculture; -New production and consumption relations; -Radical transformation of food systems; -Sustainability.
d. SFSC modalities	-Direct Fair; -Retail point; -Agritourism; -Sale on the property; -Restaurants; -Events; -Collective vegetable gardens; -Collective purchasing.	-Direct Fair; -Sale on the property; -Community that Sustains Agriculture (CSA); -Responsible consumer groups; -Events.	-Direct Fair; -Sale on the property; -‘Ark of Taste’ -Restaurants with exquisite cuisine; -Responsible consumer groups; -Community that Sustains Agriculture (CSA); -Events; -Pedagogical tourism.
e. SFSC objectives and strategies	-Zero km; -Food of Italian origin; -Bring together small producers and consumers; -Generate income for members; -Professional marketing campaigns.	-Zero km; -Bring together producers and co-producers; -Territorialization and rooting of food markets; -Value socio-biodiversity; -Fair prices; -Agroecology and food sovereignty. -Relational economy, reciprocity and trust.	-Zero km; -Good, clean and fair food; -Nutrition education; -Value socio-biodiversity; -Territorialization and rooting of food markets; -Alliance between peasant communities and chefs; -Professional marketing campaigns; -Relational economy, reciprocity and trust.

Source: Elaboration by authors.

a. Origin motivation:

It is possible to observe a similarity between the original motivations of Genuíno Clandestino and Slow Food, insofar as there is a questioning of industrial agriculture and defense of the peasant way of life. But there is still an important difference between these organizational networks: Genuíno Clandestino emerges from the production dimension, while Slow Food emerges from the consumption dimension. In turn, Coldiretti has its origins in historic union struggles for defense of the interests of direct cultivators, which lead it to act as an arm of the Italian State (ANJOS and CALDAS, 2017).

b. Central actors:

It is possible to observe, once again, a similarity between Genuíno Clandestino and Slow Food, insofar as people who migrate to rural areas are catalyzing agents of these aforementioned organizational networks. In addition to them, other social actors assume centrality, especially those who see the maintenance of rural traditions and the peasant way of life as a path to development. As Slow Food emerges from the consumption dimension, it is possible to observe an important participation of chefs as social actors in this organizational network. On the other hand, the Genuíno Clandestino has in its farmers (*contadini* and people who migrate to rural areas) a stronger leading role in their collective actions that fight against the ‘oppressive’ legislation of industrial agriculture. Coldiretti’s central actors are unionists and direct cultivators/*contadini*, that is, they have a historical trajectory with land and agricultural production, anchored in union organizational structures.

c. Main fight causes:

On the one hand, Coldiretti’s central fight causes (TARROW, 2009) are the defense of its union members, improvement of the quality of life of these populations, which necessarily implies greater integration with the markets, whatever they may be. There is a concern to develop economic enterprises from its associates that have viability conditions in the value chains, which in other words means the search for increasing professional qualification and productive specialization (MUÑOZ, 2019).

On the other hand, Genuíno Clandestino and Slow Food have as their main cause the questioning of the *modus operandi* of the corporate food regime (McMICHAEL, 2016). Putting it another way, they defend new relations of production and consumption that can enable socially and ecologically sustainable ways of life against the unlimited power of large food industries. Despite this similarity, the two organizational networks also fight for different causes, as Genuíno Clandestino follows different agrarian social movements that defend agroecology, food sovereignty, and the participatory certification system.

In the contemporary context, the literature demonstrates that such agrarian social movements remain important for being able to represent resistance and new possibilities to the *modus operandi* of food systems (SCOONES et al., 2018; CARVALHO et al., 2022).

In a different way, Slow Food has a fighting perspective centrally associated with defending a slow pace of life, whether in cities or in the countryside, with the defense of regional traditions, good food, and gastronomic pleasure. As Niederle and Wesz Junior (2018) highlight, in addition to the ethical criticism expressed, above all, by agrarian social movements, there is another type of dynamic that reflects an “aesthetic criticism” of the corporate food regime. This criticism does not focus on the inequity of the model, but on its inability to respond to the emergence of new lifestyles. Still according to the authors, closeness between these new styles and the rural world reveals a growing overlap between aesthetic and civic criticism. This is notable, for example, in the gastronomy movement, which first assumed a concern with the discourse of sustainability and locality, which led to the revaluation of fresh products, biodiversity and organic products and then incorporated the search for products from family farms and traditional communities.

d. SFSC modalities:

All three organizational networks practice commercial chains. Coldiretti operates with a diverse range of marketing chains, meeting marketing precepts – that is, providing better services and convenience to its customers’ needs and desires – in retail outlets, agritourism, restaurants and collective purchasing. Slow Food and Genuíno Clandestino have a diversification of marketing chains that meet alternative food networks (GOODMAN et al., 2011; ANJOS and CALDAS, 2019; DAROLT and ROVER, 2021), as they are directed at, centrally, the construction of new relations of production and consumption. Genuíno Clandestino is the organizational network that uses a smaller diversity of marketing chains.

e. SFSC objectives and strategies:

Although the three networks develop different types of SFSC, which have a certain similarity in form, the same cannot be said about their content. Coldiretti is the organizational network that most followed the central guidelines of marketing precepts and aimed to offer quality goods and services directly from peasant agriculture as a competitive advantage (MUÑOZ, 2019). To this end, Coldiretti focused on two central messages to encourage consumers: zero km (and, therefore, low ecological footprint) and food of Italian origin. These objectives are the mainspring of ‘Campagna Amica’ and its professional advertising campaigns throughout the country.

Genuíno Clandestino and Slow Food opted for other objectives and strategies for their SFSC. These two networks defend the territorialization and rooting of food markets, the valuation of socio-biodiversity, and the encouragement of a relational economy, based on reciprocity of trust. However, despite these similarities, there are important differences to point out. Genuíno Clandestino does not propose to develop sophisticated campaigns to promote its foods. Its central proposal is the fight to defend agroecology and food sovereignty, as well as the defense of affordable prices for its consumers.

Slow Food, in turn, carries out professional promotional campaigns for its different SFSCs, such as ‘Ark of Taste,’ Communities that Support Agriculture,

educational tourism, and restaurants with exquisite cuisine. In this way, Slow Food's strategies seek to promote ethical and civic behavior among its consumers while working to make its economic actions more aesthetic. Ultimately, they create products with greater added value and, therefore, consumption becomes elitist.

6 Final considerations

This article aimed to understand how different Italian organizational networks organize their repertoires of collective action for the construction of SFSC, in the face of crises generated by the corporate food regime. For this purpose, five central categories were analyzed: 1. Origin motivation; 2. Central actors; 3. Main political causes; 4. SFSC modalities; 5. SFSC objectives and strategies.

The main results presented demonstrate that, despite the differences that the studied organizational networks have among themselves, there are important elements of convergence, such as the production of differentiated foods, the promotion of different types of SFSC and the discourses in favor of sustainability. However, it is possible to observe, centrally, two distinct positions: 1) Coldiretti's emphasis on promoting short supply chains from a marketing perspective, which means guaranteeing competitive markets for its union members, and 2) promotion of alternative food networks by Genuíno Clandestino and Slow Food, in a clear context of opposition to the corporate food regime. Nevertheless, SFSC promotions occur differently: while Genuíno Clandestino offers fewer commercial options and little concern with promotional campaigns Slow Food and Coldiretti develop professional marketing campaigns in order to gain new followers who are willing to transform their production and consumption habits. Be that as it may, the three Italian organizational networks promote collective actions that seek to include and favor non-corporate farmers in Italy's food systems.

The experiences of these three Italian organizational networks can serve as inspiration for the different Brazilian organizational networks with regard to their repertoires of collective action in favor of family and peasant farming, and the social construction of markets. New and better markets for family farmers and consumers can emerge from these collective actions that promote more sustainable food systems.

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