Markets? Movements and Overflows: Insights from Food Agencing

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Resumo

The performative perspective has considered markets as ongoing constructions. Based on this assumption, markets are in movements. Thus, this work aims to explain these market movements, considering the process of framing, overflowing, agencing and translation. The food markets were used as object and especially the movement that occurs between fast and slow food markets. The paper analyses how Slow Food is represented in the market and can be seen as an overflow in opposition to fast food frame, in which the socio-technical elements are agency for the construction of this new frame. Besides that, as an ongoing process, both market movements (Fast Food and Slow Food) present the ability to translate socio-technical elements, entangling and disentangling them.

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Abstract
The performative perspective has considered markets as ongoing constructions. Based on this assumption, markets are in movements. Thus, this work aims to explain these market movements, considering the process of framing, overflowing, agencing and translation. The food markets were used as object and especially the movement that occurs between fast and slow food markets. The paper analyses how Slow Food is represented in the market and can be seen as an overflow in opposition to fast food frame, in which the socio-technical elements are agency for the construction of this new frame. Besides that, as an ongoing process, both market movements (Fast Food and Slow Food) present the ability to translate socio-technical elements, entangling and disentangling them.
Keywords: performativity; market movements; overflow; slow food.

1. Introduction

The Constructivist Market Studies understands markets as ongoing constructions (Nenonen et al., 2014), i.e., markets are in constant formation (Kjellberg, 2008; Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007). The concepts of framing, overflow, agencing, and translation proposed by Callon (1998, 2005) and Cochoy, Trompette and Araujo (2016) reveal this constant formation and a possible market's movement.

Using this perspective, we sustain that food markets are not stable. On the contrary, they are part of a dynamic construction involving multiple elements (human and non-human) that are entangled and disentangled and constitute the practical efforts of several agents (who have heterogeneous characteristics and resources) framing socio-technical enactments (Callon, 1998).

The globalized world nowadays displays standardization in certain lifestyles. However, movements and ideologies arise to break this paradigm, bringing to society new ways of behaving, and, especially, different ways of consuming. Fast food has emerged and framed as a fundamental symbol of globalization, but anti-globalization movements are gaining support and drawing worldwide attention through books, boycotts, and demonstrations (Gaytán, 2004).

In a characteristic dialectic of late modernity, the diffusion provided by centrally controlled global corporations and low-cost standardized fast food has catalyzed public attention to products that are considered *natural*, *local*, *traditional*, and produced through *fair* working relationships, as well as *sustainable* agricultural practices.

In this context, a new market is being framed: the Slow Food has been hailed, even by very pessimistic critiques of the dynamics of globalization, as a significant example of resistance (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). Therefore, it can be inferred that today the typical food market is characterized by many changes that show the emergence of a new paradigm of consumption and supply (Nosi & Zanni, 2004). Slow Food appears to play a role in what has typically been defined as *critical*, *alternative*, *ethical* or even *political* consumption (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). This new paradigm could be seen as an overflow, creating a new agency of socio-technical elements opposed to the one established until then.

Scholars well documented study on Slow Food (Chrzan, 2004; Donati, 2006; Gaytán, 2004; Hall, 2012; Labelle, 2004; Lee, Packer, & Scott, 2015; Lee, Scott, & Packer, 2014; Nosi & Zanni, 2004; Pietrykowski, 2004; Pollan, 2003; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010; Simonetti, 2012; Williams, Germov, Fuller, & Freij, 2015), many of them expressing the importance of the movement and its ideology, but none addresses the issue of market's performativity and its movements.

In short, markets are "[…] ongoing socio-material enactments that organize economized exchanges" (Nenonen et al., 2014, p. 272), and these exchanges are entangled in multiple novel elements able to cause change (Callon, 2005). These changes are studied according to Callon's proposals: framing, overflowing and reframing.

As claimed by Callon (1998), it is unlikely for the actors to achieve the complete framing, emerging overflows which cause the barriers to become permeable. In other words, the overflow is an outcome "[…] of imperfections or failures in the framing process" (Callon, 1998, p. 251). The framing, generating a possible overflow and consequently, an attempt to reframing (Callon, 1998, 2005; Geysmans, Krom, & Hustinx, 2017; Kjellberg, 2008; Onyas & Ryan, 2015) while agencing socio-technical elements and translating them to be framed, generate a market's movement. Therefore, this paper aims to explore the market's movement based on the food market.

Specifically, we describe the dynamics of the food market, evidencing Slow Food as a new frame in which fast food overflows were translated and the socio-technical elements were agencing.

The research is divided into five sections. After this introduction, section two presents the theoretical grounding relating to Constructivist Market Studies, framing and overflowing. Section three depicts the food market, with the Slow Food movement, its members' characteristics, describing the stance of Slow Food versus the traditional food consumer lifestyle and showing the (possible) impact of Slow Food on daily food. Section four describes the trends in food movements in moving, and, in conclusion, section five covers the final considerations.

2. Theoretical Grounding: The Market Performativity

The fundamental principles of the Slow Food movement seek a sustainable, fair and faithful objective, but the realities perceived by each actor can be seen differently when this type of movement interacts with others in the market. Assuming that reality is a relational effect, it is produced and stabilized in simultaneous interaction between material and social elements (Law & Urry, 2004). This draws attention to the performative view of markets, emphasizing that actors and elements shape them with their everyday mundane practices (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007), highlighting their actions and interactions form markets, and can be seen as "[…] ongoing socio-material enactments that organize economized exchange" (Nenonen et al., 2014, p. 272).

The Constructivist Market Studies perspective draws on Science and Technology Studies and shows markets are formed continuously (as per the ongoing results) (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007). Using this perspective, we sustain that food markets are not stable. On the contrary, they are part of a dynamic construction involving multiple elements (human and non-human) that are entangled and disentangled and constitute the practical efforts of several agents (who have heterogeneous characteristics and resources) framing socio-technical enactments (Callon, 1998).

Thus, to analyze the market movements, we present the guiding concepts within the performance perspective: 1) framing, overflow, and reframing; 2) socio-technical agencing, and 3) translation.

Initially, Callon (1998, 2007) presents the concept of performativity by showing that economics performs shapes and formats the economy, rather than observing how it functions. From this perspective, the author proposes the idea of framing, overflow, and reframing, evidencing the present proposition that the market is not static and is in constant movement.

Callon (1998, p. 250) evidences that "to negotiate a contract or perform a commercial transaction effectively presupposes a framing of the action without which it would be

impossible to reach an agreement". Thus, the framing process does not depend only on actors themselves, but also on their being rooted in various physical and organizational devices (Christensen & Skærbæk, 2007).

In general, "the frame establishes a boundary within which interactions-the significance and content of which are self-evident to the protagonists-take place more or less independently of their surrounding context" (Callon, 1998, p. 249).

Despite this, it is unlikely for the actors to achieve the complete framing, emerging overflows which cause the barriers to become permeable (Callon, 1998). In other words, overflows are outcomes of incomplete, imperfect or failures in the framing process, in which, by definition, it makes selective inclusions and exclusions (Çalışkan & Callon, 2010; Callon, 1998). This concept was studied under the concept of the externality of economists, in which overflows include the externalities (positive and/or negative) that are produced during the framing attempts (Callon, 1998).

Another important element of market movements and for framing refers to the socio-technical agencing. In general, the notion of market agencing is a way of describing the various entities that pragmatically promulgate calculative devices and shape consumer behavior (Cochoy et al., 2016).

Callon (2016, p. 12) sustains that "market agencing refers to the collective action structured by socio-technical devices and intended to establish successful bilateral commercial transactions and to promote their proliferation". Thus, Onyas and Ryan (2015) use the term "agencing" to refer to the efforts involved in market shaping, and therefore, the socio-technical agencements making up markets.

Specifically, "agencements are arrangements endowed with the capacity to act in different ways, depending on their configuration" (Çalışkan & Callon, 2010, p. 9). Thus, the market loses the notion to be a given structure and becomes an agencement, implying that it is enacted by a range of agents and actions (Geysmans et al., 2017).

Besides these concepts, a third element is evidenced in the market movement: translation. In view of the possible creation of the real (Cochoy, 2010; Roscoe, 2013), it is assumed that something that at a given moment has a certain meaning, at another time, may not be that, or even undergo a change in its meaning (Hagberg, 2016). It is against this background the dynamic changes/adaptations called translation are applied. The concept of translation was first developed by Callon and Latour (1981), Latour (1984) and Callon (1984), and later applied to market studies by Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006, 2007), and denotes "[…] the basic social process by [sic] which something - an idea, a rule, a text, a product, a technology, a claim – is [sic] spread across time and space" (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2007, p. 144), emphasizing the continuity of the displacements and transformations (Callon, 1984).

Czarniawska and Sevón (2005, p. 5) emphasize that "[…] a thing moved from one place to another cannot emerge unchanged: to set something in a new place or another point in time is to construct it anew". In a similar way, Lamb and Currie (2012, p. 219) define translation as "[…] the process in which ideas and models are adapted to local contexts as they travel across time and space". These approaches are consistent with Latour (1984) and Callon (1984) and show the understanding about translation as a process that leads to heterogeneity and slightly unpredictable outcomes.

The translation process refers to how something is spread, and to be spread it is reproduced, and from this reproduction new elements and characteristics are added, transforming it into something else (Solér, Baeza, & Svärd, 2015). Callon (1984) stresses that translation is a process even before becoming a result. Thus, to spread, certain practices have to be adapted to a local situation or to adjust to heterogeneous element conditions. Emphatically, "translation involves creating convergences and homologies by relating things that were previously different" (Callon, 1981, p. 211).

Using the translation process in market studies, Kjellberg and Helgesson (2006, 2007) state that markets consist of continuous translation processes that link exchange, representation, and normalization practices into semi-cyclical and reversible chains that intersect and interfere among the practices.

In summary, attempting to framing produces overflows and consequently, an attempt to reframing (Callon, 1998, 2005; Geysmans et al., 2017; Onyas & Ryan, 2015). In addition, due to the agencies' calculative capability (Callon, 1998; Callon & Muniesa, 2005), they are capable of assembling the socio-technical elements and translating them to entangle in frames. Thus, this arrangement has highlighted the market's movement, taking as an object the food market, focusing the Slow Food movement. Slow Food, fully described in the following section, presents as an example of markets' movements. With the attempt of framing the food market, overflows emerge, in which these socio-technical elements are agencing and translated in order to establish a new frame.

3. The Food Market: Slow Food Movement and its Members' Characteristics

The Slow Food movement is a non-profit foundation with over twenty years of history, and more than 100,000 members in 150 countries around the world (Lee et al., 2014). Its philosophy is based on the statement clearly established by its main founder, Carlo Petrini, as a set of principles articulated in three words: good, clean and fair (Schneider, 2008).

Good food is defined as tasty and diversified, produced to maximize its flavor, as well as highlighting its bonds to a geographic and cultural region (Schneider, 2008). To compose this, the movement comprises two other characteristics that are also involved, such as clean and fair food. The former is connected to the ability of these foods to be sustainable and help preserve rather than destroy the environment (Lee et al., 2014; Schneider, 2008). The latter relates to food production in a socially sustainable way, with an emphasis on social justice and fair wages (Lee et al., 2014; Schneider, 2008).

Slow Food stands at the crossroads of ecology and gastronomy, ethics and pleasure, opposing the standardization of taste and culture, and the unrestricted power of the multinational food industry and industrial agriculture, in the belief that everyone has the fundamental right to find pleasure in good food, and consequently the responsibility to protect the heritage, tradition, and culture of the food that makes this pleasure possible (Hall, 2012). So, the most distinctive feature of Slow Food is Eco-Gastronomy, such as the combination of concern for the environment with the pleasures of food preparation and consumption (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010).

The Slow Food movement emerged in Italy in the mid-1980s, the philosophy of which is supported by the understanding of pleasure as a right and not as a privilege, which places cultural and ecological diversity at the center of its ethic of taste (Donati, 2006). With these combinations, the movement hopes to produce gastronomes and food industry professionals capable of protecting and promoting even more high-quality food that is good, clean and fair. Thus, the Slow Food gastronomic model is similarly focused on both the biological and cultural aspects of food production and consumption, as well as assuming a similar multidisciplinary approach (Schneider, 2008).

Slow Food seems to be one of the *new* social movements that have emerged alongside post-industrial capitalism and globalization (Schneider, 2008). Slow Food carries with it a concept of territory that refers not only to specific geographic locations, but rather a sense attached to the French word *terroir,* which refers to the combination of natural and human factors, namely soil, water, slope, height above sea level, vegetation, microclimate, tradition and cultivation practice. These combinations brand a unique character to each small agricultural locality and the foods that are being grown or raised, made and cooked in that locality (Petrini,

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2003; Schneider, 2008). The movement promotes local and regional food cuisines, arguing that taste is a sensation capable of development. It seeks to educate taste by exposing local and regional foods, and by appreciating the bond between food choices and biodiversity (Pietrykowski, 2004). To promote sustainability and even preserve this regionally produced food, Slow Food keeps working with specific communities of small producers (Schneider, 2008), protecting and promoting sustainable local ecology, agronomy and gastronomy systems through the construction of viable local markets (Chrzan, 2004).

In addition to territorial concepts and the construction of local markets, the movement is also built on aspects of food and its central importance. Pietrykowski (2004) synthesizes that the philosophy of Slow Food focuses on the pleasures of the meal table. Slow Food advocates recognize that the pleasure of good food is a source of connection to others and to the environment (Labelle, 2004; Lee et al., 2014; Pollan, 2003). The table represents material culture - the culture of kitchens and food - and serves as a metaphor for the shared community. The conscious pleasure of food and drink expands the concept of consumption beyond the pleasure of physiological reproduction. For the author, this pleasure of the table is seen as a key element in cultural reproduction. For example, it is stated that the pleasure "preached" by Slow Food "is not a hedonistic act that is an end in itself". Instead, it should be combined with "consciousness and responsibility, study and knowledge", because "gastronomic pleasure, if not methodically taught, is halved" (Simonetti, 2012, p. 173).

As observed by Lee et al. (2014), consumers and members of the movement have extensive knowledge of food and food cultures around the world, and when they are traveling elsewhere, they develop a taste for reading local recipes. Food is an important component of the lifestyle of Slow Food members, who practice the philosophy of the movement in their daily lives, which could be considered part of their habits (Lee et al., 2015). Thus, the members' eating behavior while traveling tends to be similar to their behavior at home. Consequently, Slow Food members have realized that everyone has the right to choose what to eat each day, defending food as a way to understand other cultures. These members share similar values summarized as consumption of good, clean and fair food (Lee et al., 2014). So, the movement defends the autonomy of table pleasures, seeing the preparation and pleasure of good, clean and fair food as a rejection of industrial agriculture and fast food (Schneider, 2008).

Slow Food, like many ethical consumer projects, requires time dedicated to research and interpretation of food information in order to obtain ethical products; consumers are required to gain an understanding of how (slow) ethical foods are produced and why they may be worth a price (and time) considered premium, given the inconvenience involved in buying food outside the main markets (Low & Davenport, 2007; Williams et al., 2015; Young, Hwang, McDonald, & Oates, 2010). Thus, Slow Food establishes a connection between the purchase of food and the understanding and appreciation of the conditions under which it is made, showing knowledge of the food and the production process are both important (Pietrykowski, 2004).

Slow Food is directly linked to the aspect of slowness and, according to Gaytán (2004), the metaphor of *slowness* is used to distinguish the snail as a representation of the goodness that is associated with those whose lifestyle choices resist the *modern world* and the desire to seek new tastes. Some of the more obvious practices associated with slow living include cooking and sharing a meal instead of buying fast food, growing fruits and vegetables instead of buying them from supermarkets, or even cycling rather than driving (Parkins, 2004). Slow Food members avoid contemporary consumer habits that they feel threaten particular cultures and culinary practices. They believe that, when people are able to savor pleasurable foods, when they learn about their production and appreciate the social and economic ties between producer and consumer, they will be more likely to buy such foods, preserving the farms and businesses that produce them as well as regional livelihoods that create local cultures and societies (Chrzan, 2004).

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Many of the members are linked to an attempt at becoming a more sustainable society. Botta (2016) mentions aspects of sustainable communities, putting them in an *alter ego* view of society. They are offering changing attitudes toward time to allow for a more holistic, less hasty lifestyle. It demonstrates that sustainable communities have a unique slow living model; and that the comparison of these models indicates an evolutionary path in line with the apparent world trends in other domains of Western culture. Thus, their definitions fit many characteristics of these communities into a slower lifestyle or Slow Life. The conscious use of time through *slow* practices builds *slow individuals* who invest meaning and value in every day as they seek to differentiate themselves from the dominant hasty culture (Parkins, 2004).

3.1 Slow Food Versus the Traditional Food Consumer Lifestyle

The practice of buying, cooking and eating food is a feature of daily life (Pietrykowski, 2004). The traditional consumer's food lifestyle is strongly linked with globalization, and his/her eating habits are directly related to this globalized lifestyle.

The name, *Slow Food* is used ritually and rhythmically in an attempt to create a connection with a structured belief system that is in opposition to a (not very well defined) process or entity called *Fast Life* (Chrzan, 2004). This opposition to Fast Life is also established via the defense of "material pleasure" - a pleasure that takes the form of food (Gaytán, 2004). Slow Food's rejection of Fast Life connects organizations' concerns about culinary issues with other broad efforts to retard life and retreat from the invasions of globalization and capitalism (Schneider, 2008).

It is likely, however, that even without the strong language of the Manifest, the term *Slow Food* would resonate among most listeners, since terms like fast-paced and fast food have become powerful clichés that describe modern life well; Slow Food opposes this language, with its declared fidelity to a calmer, more graceful and pleasant past (Chrzan, 2004). In this passage, the contemporary lifestyle is seen as a problem, while Slow Food is a solution to it. Those who adopt this lifestyle called "Fast Life" are portrayed as incapable of resisting the forces of modernity; they are usually described as "greedy" and do not appreciate what they consume (Gaytán, 2004).

For Slow Food, fast food represents diminished taste, family deterioration, and the collapse of tradition (Gaytán, 2004). They describe the fast food consumer as a "barbarian", "stupid and sad" and even a victim of a "virus", almost literally suggesting a dehumanized man (Simonetti, 2012), which ends in understanding of the necessary desire to resist this dominant Fast Food culture by searching for obscure local and regional foods and cuisines that evoke a cultural patrimony that should be part of the habit constitution (Pietrykowski, 2004).

Fast food relates ideologically to an industrial society, based on the repetitiveness and phantasmagoria of goods reproduced identically in a serialized schedule, while Slow Food aims to be the opposite of a type of food consumed quickly and without quality, preferring to preserve biodiversity, reinforcing taste and promoting pleasure through all five senses (Calloni, 2013). Schneider (2008) adds that Petrini and the Slow Food movement focus on the impoverishment of food and culinary traditions, and also on the performance of the capitalist logic of speed in this impoverishment. All this demonstrates the need of consumers to understand the importance of food in their lives, favoring the traditional regionalism and old food customs to achieve the desire of resisting a lifestyle considered fast.

It is just the notion given by the Slow Food movement to a daily fast lifestyle that is currently globalized. However, some aspects are left aside by the movement, and they have significant value in the choice of the traditional lifestyle. In many cases, people who are very busy with work only find time to eat while walking or chatting because of the time shortage for a proper meal, or because they are employed during a night shift when many shops and

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restaurants are closed (Calloni, 2013). Given these motives and ways of eating, such a consumer ends up, most of the time, seeking some convenience. Foods, such as Street Foods that provide fast food, bring and symbolize this convenience, it is being represented as fast, convenient to eat, and affordable (Choi, Lee, & Ok, 2013).

These overlooked aspects and prejudices prevent Slow Food from recognizing that fast food, as well as other mass products, attract consumers, not because of their lack of culture or the hypnotic influence of the media and advertising, but because it is at a low price and can be consumed quickly by people without much time and/or money. It is not realized that such a way of life cannot be accessible below a certain level of income and, therefore, cannot be the basis for a "new development model" (Simonetti, 2012). Even though the Slow Food contingent knows about the existence of this decision-making about how to eat, these difficulties, or even preferences that many consumers choose, the movement seeks to combat this practice and tendency in the way of eating.

3.2 (Possible) Impact of Slow Food on Daily Food

According to Pietrykowski (2004), Slow Food seeks to position food as a key component in the development and maintenance of the community, seeking to disentangle food identification from its commodity status. Food nowadays is no longer the central focus within human daily life, so as Schneider (2008) proposes, the rhetoric of the new gastronomy attempts to relocate food from the center of human culture. Petrini and Padovani (2006) argue that food is much more than a simple product to be consumed, as it is linked to the notion of happiness, identity, culture, pleasure, coexistence, nutrition, local economy and survival (Schneider, 2008). In this sense, food fits as a great factor in the definition of human identity, since what individuals eat is always linked to a cultural factor, which justifies Simonetti's (2012) emphasis that *food is culture*.

Thus, it is necessary to *give centrality to food*, so that food and its production recover *the fair centrality of human activities*. Petrini (2016) and Simonetti (2012) sustain that food constitutes a major factor in the definition of human identity, because what we eat will always be linked to a cultural factor, and with such a notion given to the importance of food, Slow Food contributes to understanding of food complexity (Labelle, 2004). Consequently, the understanding is not only due to the movement itself, since it also has to be noticeable for the consumer to succeed. This is justified by the fact that the consumer can be a market actor and his/her market cognition is formed through socially constructed information systems that end up representing the market (Anand & Peterson, 2000). So, it is noted that Slow Food is beginning to be represented in an attempt to change consumer behavior towards the consumption of food produced without the exploitation of people or the environment.

In applying the structure of virtue ethics, it is demonstrated how ethical consumer projects, such as Slow Food, can reintegrate the public and private virtues into market relations by trying to change consumer preferences to achieve broader social change (Williams et al., 2015). This understanding by consumers of Slow Food ideology is starting to directly change the way of thinking of the *modern paradigm* and the attempt to exert an impact on everyday food. Such a paradigm has the characteristics of mass consumption: individuals demand low prices, large quantities, and homogeneous products, and require simple buying processes and foods of value based mainly on their functional attributes. Food consumption seems to be reduced almost to the mere fulfillment of a physiological need (Nosi & Zanni, 2004).

Encouraged by these concerns, consumers are opposed to the industrialization of the agri-food system and demand more natural processes of cultivation and processing. At the same time, Nosi and Zanni (2004) perceive the standardization of food as *organoleptic boredom* and see the increasing food homogenization contributing to a gradual loss of peoples' cultural

identity. They are, in fact, motivated by health, cultural, social, environmental, hedonic and ethical concerns that go beyond judging the simple functional characteristics of the product, and referring to its psychological and symbolic dimensions (Nosi & Zanni, 2004). As presented by Botta (2016), a sustainable lifestyle, for example, becomes increasingly attractive, even for the most conservative population.

According to Nosi and Zanni (2004), the change in thinking is heterogeneous and far from considering only the organoleptic characteristics of foods, for example, some consumers assess the quality of food, mainly based on "non-physical" dimensions. Consumers who perceive these aspects, besides the non-physical dimensions, usually value aspects, such as the experience of consumption and its inherent pleasure.

According to Gómez-Corona et al. (2017), the application of experience is directly linked to the contemporary lifestyle of consumption and involves interaction among multiple practices in the relationship between the consumer and the product. Pleasure in consumption is the other perceptible dimension, and such pleasure is reinforced by the *altruistic* or *moral satisfaction* of knowing that one's consumption has contributed less than other alternatives to environmental destruction and social exploitation. This hedonistic aspect of the change in consumption practice does not lie exclusively in the satisfaction of the desire to avoid or limit the unpleasant by-products of collective affluence, but also the sensual pleasure of consuming differently (Soper, 2007).

Given this consumption ratio, many typical food companies and producers build their strategies and have their key variables influenced by the overlapping of material and symbolic circumstances that influence sensory experience (*experience of an event*, *experience of an environment*). They plan their offer considering not only the organoleptic characteristics of the food but also the choreographic and experiential elements (the so-called *food design*, packaging, places of consumption, such as vineyards, agro-tourism, award-winning restaurants, wine bars, etc.) (Nosi & Zanni, 2004). So, an experience also resembles a competitive advantage, as more and more companies focus on creating experiences to differentiate themselves in the increasingly commoditized and competitive food and beverage market (Gómez-Corona et al., 2017).

Slow Food often faces difficulties in being implemented, and, as Williams et al. (2015) stated, both consumers and homeowners observe the issues of cost, time and inconvenience as challenges to implementing a Slow Food lifestyle, which is called the implementation gap. These difficulties, like others already mentioned, related to the non-importance given by the movement to mass consumption, also support the idea of a consumer who is traditional or standard, but not motivated only by consuming food in a functional and fast way.

Within this consumption perspective, consumers play a more active and dynamic role. On one hand, they are curious and somehow fascinated by the symbolic characteristics, embracing the historical, social and cultural values that foods incorporate. On the other, they become more demanding about the information that they can obtain on the characteristics of the foods and its transformations along with the processing phase (Nosi & Zanni, 2004). The perceived benefit from consumption varies depending on each consumption situation and its context, as well as being a fundamental part of consumer choices (Choi et al., 2013).

The conventional consumers start from a few principles for a change in their food lifestyle. The rise of foods with labels stating organic in supermarkets, the growth of local farmers' markets attest to consumers' desire to avoid industrial food traps (Schneider, 2008). The workshops and exhibitions of the Slow Food movement, featuring special products and taste skills, challenge conventional ideas that good food comes fast and cheap (Labelle, 2004). Thus, the fast life of these people begins to experience a slowing in the way they feed themselves, at which point Slow Food links their philosophy to engaging, leading and originating market practices, gradually motivating the change.

4. Food Movements in Moving Markets

After the presentation of the Slow Food movement, we explain the different market movements based on the socio-technical elements of Slow Food and Fast Food. Firstly, the establishment of a new frame in the food market: Slow Food. As presented by Chrzan (2004, p. 120), this new frame has socio-technical elements standing "[…] in opposition to a (not very well defined) process or entity called *Fast Life*". The latter, called Fast Food, has socio-technical elements represented as fast, convenient to eat, and affordable (Calloni, 2013; Choi et al., 2013; Tinker, 1999).

Thus, there are several ways to acquire food in the globalized lifestyle, one of these being the use of Street Foods (Troesch, Weber, & Drewnowski, 2017). Street Foods are ready-to-eat foods and beverages prepared and/or sold by vendors or hawkers, especially in the streets and other public places (Privitera & Nesci, 2015). Scholars (Ekanem, 1998; Gupta, Khanna, & Gupta, 2018) recognize that Street Food is framed in elements of consumer convenience.

Tinker (1999) reveals the Street Food multidimensionality based on being fast, convenient and cheap. On the other hand, fast food, junk food and other foods consumed by traditional and fast-living consumers are often what is taken as a notion of food provision, but they actually are different framed products (Privitera & Nesci, 2015). Firstly, Calloni (2013) shows Street Food is associated with the memory of the past when poor people could eat cheap food only in the street. According to Calloni (2013), the smaller and poorer the family, the greater the percentage of their food budget spent on Street Food, and this correlation reveals the common entanglement about street food.

This combination of Street Food and Fast Life equates street food to fast foods or even presents it as a replacement of these. However, over time, the socio-economic association begins to be related to the organization of contemporary life, differentiated among the time dedicated to work, care and entertainment (Calloni, 2013).

In this way, it is possible to observe that the socio-technical elements of this frame are translated by Slow Food representing diminished taste, family deterioration, and the collapse of tradition (Gaytán, 2004). Besides, the slow food movement describes the fast food consumer as a "barbarian", "stupid and sad" and even a victim of a "virus", almost literally suggesting a dehumanized man (Simonetti, 2012). In other words, attempting to frame the mainstream market, overflows emerge and they enable a new frame, being these socio-technical elements agencing, reconfiguring and transforming the mainstream market into a sustainability market, as observed by Onyas and Ryan (2015).

By translating Fast Food as related ideologically to an industrial society, based on the repetitiveness and phantasmagoria of goods reproduced identically in a serialized schedule (Calloni, 2013), the socio-technical agencing establishes the Slow Food as opposite of a type of food consumed quickly and without quality, preferring to preserve biodiversity, reinforcing taste and promoting pleasure through all five senses (Calloni, 2013), with its declared fidelity to a calmer, more graceful and pleasant past (Chrzan, 2004).

In addition, Slow Food has much representativity and impacts in many ways the perception and form of consuming food. For instance, entangled globalization as a threat to eating food, the movement uses it as an opportunity to broadly promote the culture of excellence (Nosi & Zanni, 2004). Chrzan (2004, p. 131), sustaining that "Slow Food has the opportunity, through name recognition and use of the Internet and standard informational sources, to create a space for public dialogue and action that can alert citizens to the weaknesses of the current food system". Thus, it is simple to observe that even criticizing many aspects of globalization and many of the consumers who are adept in terms of the globalized world of food, Slow Food needs non-human elements to promote itself, and the Slow Food movement is tied to the information tools of the globalized world. Although members associate industrial and modern

practices with the negative aspects of contemporary lifestyles, modern technologies are needed to promote Slow Food as an international movement (Gaytán, 2004).

Thus, although Slow Food is an opposite framing based on overflows from Fast Food, Slow Food uses socio-technical elements similar to the Fast Food, that is, globalized, modern socio-technical elements that are agencing for the entanglement of this frame.

The Slow Food movement has been diffused via modern consumption and the globalized market. Food becomes more important, and through elements or practices, it manages to establish itself as local food. Using the example of Counihan and Van Sterik (2012) about pizza globalization and citing that the simple idea of a bread dish with tasty toppings, simple in shape and size, adaptable to various ingredients, has potential roots everywhere, which often generates the development of a local dish. Thus, even a dish considered by many as being of the fast food type can have elements of the Slow Food movement when using elements entangled in movement.

Thus, the movement manages to take advantage of elements of the rapid lifestyle consumption to promote and provide some of its ideologies and practices, even though there is a different perception on the part of the consumer regarding the foods being provided. It is a way of bringing or persuading the typical consumer and other market actors to the Slow Food side, which leads to a modern actor or a conventional consumer being placed at an intersection.

Privitera and Nesci (2015) sustain that food provided by Street Food may be the least expensive and most affordable way for many low-income people to get a nutritionally balanced meal away from home. Privitera and Nesci (2015) also mention the curiosity of those whose approach to Street Food is to have new taste experiences. Thus, it is perceived by the coexistence of tastes and old and new gastronomic experiences. In addition, there is also an attitude of preservation of local tradition, and, as highlighted by Lee et al. (2015) in an empirical study, Slow Food members have a greater interest in local culture compared with non-members and less interest in comfortable places.

This accessibility, a clear characteristic of consumers with a fast lifestyle, along with the nutritional quality of the product, the search for experience, the preservation of tradition and of the past, are some of the reasons for buying products provided by Street Food. Thus, many of the Street Foods have undergone changes in their way of offering food; they have innovated how they make products and services available to consumers, largely because of their motives for buying these products, as emphasized by Slow Food. Food trucks are good examples that represent this shift or increase in new ways of supplying food delivered by Street Food, as described by Anenberg and Kung (2015), and in the recent research, Alfiero, Lo Giudice, and Bonadonna (2017). In analyzing street food from a food truck perspective, they identify two categories: Traditional Food Truck and Gourmet Food Truck, and show how these business models strengthen the connection to their territory.

These changes and adaptations observed evidenced the process of translation, in which, within the frame (e.g. Fast Food) something that at a given moment has a certain meaning, at another time, may not be that, or even undergo a change in its meaning (Hagberg, 2016). As highlighted above, after the establishment of Slow Food, with entangled socio-technical elements, changes (or translation) occur within the Fast Food due to the overflows that also occur in Slow Food. These overflows allow an agencing of the elements, generating a Fast Food reframing.

In addition to Street Food, many restaurants choose to have other elements on their menus that end up triggering added value to their dishes. Organic food is a good example of this practice. Poulston and Yiu (2011) mention that organic consumption is associated not only with health concerns but also with social, financial and environmental sustainability. The growing interest in organic menus reflects a shift in consciousness and an acceleration of the

conscious cooking movement, which introduces a type of consciousness dimension into the culinary experience (Filimonau & Krivcova, 2017).

In Poulston and Yiu (2011) findings, ascending restaurants saw an organic menu as a point of difference from a promotional perspective, and had no interest in environmental or social issues, but rather a motivation due to the *halo effect* of organic products, which brought a unique dimension to their menus, satisfying the consumer's desire for a new gastronomic experience. They have managed to keep organic food as the main type, not only for the environmentally sustainable aspects but for the quality of the product itself.

In other words, *green values* are therefore not considered a necessary element for organic restaurants, but rather they are being translated into consumer gastronomic experience. Consequently, in the Slow Food's frame, new socio-technical elements are being entangled, possibly generating Slow Food reframing.

Another point that ends up being perceived by quality restaurants is to achieve, or better, exceed the expectations of their consumers (Piqueras-Fiszman & Spence, 2015). Namkung and Jang (2007) mention that, in general, restaurants can improve customer satisfaction by offering tasty and visually attractive foods at a suitable temperature. In addition, restauranteurs recognize that customers place a high value on healthy nutritious menu items that are appropriate to their health needs (Newson, van der Maas, Beijersbergen, Carlson, & Rosenbloom, 2015). Another study by Jang and Namkung (2009) concretizes the idea that consumers want to be delighted and not only satisfied when consuming. Thus, restaurants that recognize the customer's desires/needs have identified that quality products may have to exceed expectations to generate positive emotions. This can be achieved by maintaining quality products at a level that meets or exceeds customer standards, and by providing additional effects entangled in atmospheric aspects and differentiated services (Giboreau & Meiselman, 2018).

This contemporary perspective shows gastronomic experience, quality, and several other attributes are perceived by modern food consumers; and restaurants have to or already have structured their service and products connected to these perceptions and needs. It then becomes an adaptation process carried out by restaurants, fulfilling, or rather exceeding their consumers' expectations. Therefore, the translation of the Slow Food movement comes from the efforts to use the practices already mentioned and the need to adapt them, or try to use similar practices (previously adapted to their location, sources, reality, and so on), exposing and offering forms of consumption that can, to some degree, achieve both the philosophy and the purpose of the movement, and also acquire knowledge of what motivates consumers.

The possible chance of incremental (dis)entanglement and translation is indirectly presented by Svejenova, Planellas and Vives (2010) in an empirical and longitudinal food business model in the making, using the case of chef Ferran Adrià, revealing which food business presents changes, giving emphasis to how, what, and why changes occur over time. Like the translation involved in Slow Food practices, this movement of market actors is perfectly justifiable as an adaptation to specific situations or conditions of consumers that generate new enactments outside those advocated by a type of cuisine or movement, such as Slow Food. Svejenova, Planellas, and Vives (2010) also emphasize that the business trajectory is related to diverse interests and motivations that are related to several elements and reasons that are not exclusively the seeking of profits, that is, market actors have hedonistic and emotional motivations, translating the notion of business models beyond the domain of organizations to the unity of the individual representational practice (vision/image) (Svejenova et al., 2010), and a collective and cultural representation as presented by Johnston and Baumann (2007) about food and its enactments.

Line, Hanks, and Kim (2016), in an empirical research, confirm that restaurant customers as consumers become satiated with food, atmosphere and restaurant service, but perceptions of these three facets of overall service quality diminish, leading to decreased

satisfaction and switching intentions. According to Line et al. (2016), this fact is consistent with the principles of hedonic adaptation, which suggest satiety with any attribute of the product/service of a restaurant causes a decrease in the general perception of quality, not only of this attribute but of the restaurant itself.

Therefore, when consumers are satisfied with a market actor (in this case a restaurant) of a given level and involved in an isomorphic standard market, customers may become more willing to seek different alternatives to meet new needs, taking them out of the previous standard. Bearing in mind that markets are multiples (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2006), and that market reality is a relational effect (Law & Urry, 2004), and an ongoing production, these new needs, and desires may be criteria for new market practices that will establish new market forms. Considering the principle of market plasticity (Nenonen et al., 2014), both market movements (Fast Food and Slow Food) could present the ability to assume and retain new forms, producing overflows and, consequently, reframing both of them.

Thus, translation of the Slow Food movement practices to examples of establishments that offer food in traditional daily life (in some cases established before the Slow Food movement started), changing them in such a way that they end up modifying practices, reframing the whole perspective of the establishment. Regular restaurants and Street Food units receive and entangle practices present in the Slow Food and Fast Food movements with the conventional practices already situated in current market actors, such that it makes them a new consumer trend, for instance, Gourmet and Conceptual restaurants with new forms of offering, serving and consuming food, or Food trucks as Street Food with purposes different from those of the traditional model. This is explained by the fact that market actors are not static, but have plastic characteristics (Kjellberg, Nenonen, & Thomé, 2018, p. 416), as "actors can also be worked on, equipped, educated, and so on", and, on certain bases, are able to take on and retain forms.

Thus, all the socio-technical elements for the consumption of food are organized to frame and reframing the Slow and Fast Food. Food Markets' movements show that overflows, due to the calculative capabilities (Callon, 1998; Callon & Muniesa, 2005), are agencing and translated. This process is observed in Street Food, incorporating socio-technical elements that were entangled in Slow Food, being also translated and agencing into Fast Food. This translation process, also occurs in the Restaurants, like the adoption of organic foods, although not entangled to Slow Food.

5. Conclusions

The research has presented earlier studies on Slow Food and connected facts of how consumption is currently established within the food field, mainly the motivations and interests of consumers. The paper demonstrates a new market's framing, Slow Food, and its socio-technical elements in opposite to Fast Food's frame (Chrzan, 2004), being agencing as *fast*, *convenient* and *affordable* (Calloni, 2013; Choi et al., 2013; Tinker, 1999).

Attempting to frame this mainstream market, overflows are emerging that enables a new framing, in which socio-technical agencing reconfigures and turns this market into a sustainable one, as well as studied by Onyas and Ryan (2015). Thus, this socio-technical agencing establishes the Slow Food as opposite of a type of food consumed quickly and without quality, preferring to preserve biodiversity, reinforcing taste and promoting pleasure through all five senses (Calloni, 2013), with its declared fidelity to a calmer, more graceful and pleasant past (Chrzan, 2004).

Although this opposition is entangled with Slow Food, it is observed that globalized and modern socio-technical elements are agencing for the construction of this frame. Exemplifying, Nosi and Zanni (2004) stress that, instead of entangled globalization as a threat to eating food,

the movement uses it as an opportunity to its promotion, with the use of the Internet and standard informational sources (Chrzan, 2004).

In addition to this agency, a process of translation is observed together, in which changes and adaptations occur, making possible its reframing. Specifically, after attempting to framing the Slow Food, with its entangled socio-technical elements (*good*, *clean* and *fair*), translations also occur in the Fast Food due to overflows from Slow Food. This is the case of the Street Food, that changes in the mode of production and services available to consumers, creating Gourmet Food Truck (see Alfiero et al., 2017; Anenberg & Kung, 2015).

In the same way, is observed in Slow Food, new socio-technical elements are being entangled, as the supply of organic foods (Filimonau & Krivcova, 2017; Poulston & Yiu, 2011). These translations, which are considered constant, enable Slow Food's reframing. This dynamic of framing the Fast and Slow Food generates overflows that stimulate the agency of new elements, be entangled or disentangled them. In addition, elements, results of possible overflows, also generate a translation, being incorporated in the frames, reframing the Fast and Slow Food.

Thus, this market dynamics is a performative act, and, at the same time, that it is able to attribute specific forms to food markets. The same can be shaped by the markets. The description of the translation of elements and practices of the Slow Food movement reveals that new markets can and are being shaped by them, and it can be understood based on the translation markets previously established.

The paper reveals that the search for experience and alternative means of food consumption makes possible the non-deprivation of a single type of consumption, in this case, aligned with a faster lifestyle. Market actors, such as companies and restaurants, approach practices that are designed to cater for consumer desires and goals when consuming food, and translate specific elements and practices from the Slow Food movement, and enact them in their own business models.

Assuming, based on Araujo and Kjellberg (2016), the intersection of practices encourages the emergence of new practices as well as changes in existing ones, the following future studies are suggested: (i) continuous study of food movements, following and analyzing future enactments in these Food Markets, and (ii) description of how translated market practices act on the market actors' plasticity.

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