Navigating Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges

Knowing through Cittaslow

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Abstract

This thesis argues that a conceptualisation of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges provides a new way to think about contextual conflicts of understanding in everyday life. The project was developed with the UK branch of the international network of Slow towns, Cittaslow. It involved working on in-depth qualitative case studies with support from collaborative partners and alongside diverse stakeholders and residents of member towns. Cittaslow represents an attempt to make new accommodation with a changing world, using a vision that incorporates the benefits of modernity while simultaneously valuing the traditional life-skills and human-scale quotidian needs of town residents. Arising from an original proposal which emphasised method, the project evolved to draw in the philosophy of the Slow Movement, re-imagining Slow as an analytical and methodological approach that can be used to critique power relations produced by the dominance of 'fast' narratives. The thesis develops a theorisation of Slow and 'fast', and interprets knowledges in the light of these understandings. Findings from fieldwork are discussed to shed light on the idea of 'conflicts of knowing': where different ways of understanding the world are afforded various degrees of credibility, impacting their potential for agency. The research revealed that some knowledge systems come to dominate and delegitimise others at the expense of local identities and livelihoods – with the potential to also impact environmental and economic factors. The discussion reframes previous analyses of Cittaslow and introduces a craft perspective as an aspect of Slow. This allows an exploration of acts of 'making': how research is made; how the field is made; how local knowledges are made; and how Slow identities are made – or sought to be made. It proposes the geographical analogy of navigating (as with a compass) as an alternative to applying a template (as if reading from a map), and suggests these concepts allow new understandings to emerge. Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges are analytical and conceptual framings that can reveal subtle power dynamics without entrenching superficial differences. Instead they reveal where hidden continuities underlie apparently oppositional categories, and so invite a re-imagining of where mutually beneficial synergies might lie.

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Notes and glossary of acronyms

Cittaslow is a name that combines two words, one in Italian and one in English. Città can mean town or city, but it is translated as 'town' in this text as membership requires a population under 50,000. As a guide to pronunciation, città sounds similar to the English word cheet**ah**, but with an emphasis at the end. The word 'slow' is capitalised throughout when referring to Slow philosophy and related concepts, but otherwise is in lower case; however quotes from other sources do not necessarily capitalise the word. 'Fast' is in single inverted commas to problematise the term and acknowledge where its use relates to the particular conceptualisation developed in this thesis. All photographs are taken by the author unless otherwise attributed. All quotations from field interviews are from 2014 unless otherwise attributed.

ANT – Actor Network Theory

ARCI – Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana

ASA – Association of Social Anthropologists

ASCT – Atlantic Salmon Conservation Trust

BFSCo – Berwick Salmon Fishing Company

CBPR – Community Based Participatory Research

ERDF – European Regional Development Fund

FCC – Flintshire County Council

IUCN – International Union for the Conservation of Nature

MSE – Multi-sited ethnography

MSW, 3SW, 2SW, 1SW – multi-sea-winter, three-sea-winter, two-sea-winter, etc. (of salmon)

NISR – Newcastle Institute for Social Renewal

PAR – Participatory Action Research

RH&S – Ralph Holmes and Sons

RTC – River Tweed Commission

TF – Tweed Foundation

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis is the outcome of a research project that has evolved through several iterations in the course of its development. At the time of joining as the researcher, I was largely innocent of any meaningful understanding about Cittaslow, but a proposal was already in place that had been drafted with input from the board of Cittaslow UK. This original proposal had a clear methodological emphasis, anticipating that the researcher would engage immersively with "the field sites and life-worlds of the actors involved" to "critically analyse the concept of co-creation" and realise its potential. Also expressed was an aim to explore the "conceptual significance of a convivial politics" to find ways of reaching "under-represented population groups". Elements of that proposal are still recognisable as underlying themes in the current thesis, but through the process of learning about Cittaslow – coming to an accommodation with its vision and philosophical leanings, working with its 'reps' (their term), and meeting the residents of its various member towns – the emphasis shifted a good deal.

Initially, during scoping visits to the six towns (across Wales, Scotland and England) whose membership of Cittaslow has intersected with the research period, I was struck by certain repeated comments. On one hand there were difficulties: reconciling Cittaslow goals to work within UK local government structures, or translating the complex narrative of Slow into accessible enactments applicable to local conditions. On the other hand, there were positives: particularly expressed through the passionate commitment of those with whom Cittaslow values resonated.

For a mix of practical and epistemological reasons it quickly became clear that the accepted model of co-creation was not going to work (elaborated in Chapter 4), but, from the dilemmas that this realisation created came a framing that first made sense on the ground, and then continued to become more convincing as on-going fieldwork unfolded.

From early on it became apparent that there was some kind of conflict in how different actors were understanding and interpreting the world. This could be seen in the struggle within town councils to convey and justify the value of Cittaslow membership, but became even more evident when I started following up the focussed case studies in two member towns. My approach to these studies was to go to the towns, read the local press, make observations, and talk to a variety of people (flowing from initial introductions through Cittaslow board members) to try and discern shifts in the local situation that were felt to be significant to local people – and that also resonated with Slow values and aspects of the original proposal.

An added element in these choices, that I was perhaps not fully conscious of at the time, was my own way of seeing which had been at least partially conditioned by my previous self-employment as a jeweller working with precious metals. This, I came to realise, meant I was sensitised to an awareness of the kinds of skills that come with practice: that rely on experiential knowledge held as much in the body as in the mind, and that are learnt, passed-on, and enacted through a degree of improvised and collaborative judgement, based on an understanding of situated context. That crafted way of thinking highlighted discrepancies with more instrumental approaches reliant on following a linear progression of steps, predicated on a theoretical progression towards targeted outcomes. So, through a combination of all these factors, my attention for the field studies settled on two apparently very different sites: one coalescing around stall-holders in a street-market, and the other around a long-extant but declining livelihood of net-fishing for salmon.

Superficial categorical dissimilarities between three key 'sites' of study (Cittaslow UK, the market square, and the river) I argue, are unsettled by substantive underlying similarities. In each case there can be seen a clear 'conflict of knowing', where alternative (Slow and crafted) ways of understanding the world are suppressed or afforded reduced levels of credibility by 'fast' discourses that dominate established regulatory and policy-making institutions and their protocols. From the experience of navigating this evolving research experience has come a framing for the thesis of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges.

1.1 Rationale

The thesis does not set out to champion Slow, but to unpack the validity of Slow as a way of knowing and thinking. It contributes new understandings of (and for) Cittaslow, and makes an offering towards broader research practices.

Slow thinking is synthesised into methodological practices to see if alternative dynamics are revealed. Empirical discussions are structured around identifying Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledge systems as they manifest in issues affecting Cittaslow towns; and questioning how they are created, held, shared, resisted, and validated. This problematic of 'knowledges' has emerged through the research process, and was not pre-existing within the Cittaslow UK imaginary.

Case studies identify two knowledge systems that hold expertise profoundly and temporally embedded in place and local socialities, but vulnerable to being marginalised and disenfranchised because they are either invisible to, or incompatible with dominant established, credentialised knowledges. The knowledges in these contexts were found to be

doubly vulnerable because they were often not acknowledged as knowledge systems at all, and if they were, the expertise they held was not considered to be relevant to now. In the stories presented, Slow knowledges made real-world contributions to economic and environmental sustainability in their localities, but were not provided with a supportive legislative/regulatory climate – either because they were assumed to be self-sufficient and detached from the concerns of specific local decision-makers due to a mobile and liminal identity, or because other interests were prioritised.

The thesis therefore sets out to establish certain lines of reasoning. Firstly, to acknowledge Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges as knowledge systems. Secondly, to admit a power differential between knowledge systems. Thirdly, to argue for the importance of giving credit and status to those who enact Slow knowledges through practice: without that, the knowledges die out along with the livelihoods that hold them, and potentially valuable local expertise is lost. So fourthly, a problem is established: to explore ways that could allow conflicting knowledges to speak to, and hear each other.

Such accommodation could grow from finding common interests and synergies (or 'hidden continuities'), but 'fast' knowledges are inflexible – they resist alternative imaginaries. The challenge, therefore, is to find the entry points. This thesis does not claim to solve this dilemma, but takes steps towards establishing a way of looking and thinking that could offer alternative solutions. In terms of Cittaslow, it could be that one role for the organisation is to use the local, convivial, contextual knowledge and skills of its members to find and consolidate such entry points.

The thesis provides an understanding of Slow and 'fast' and crafted knowledges that is not about advocating a single approach or specific discrete actions – but about growing contextual understanding and knowledge that can persist and be passed on. This provides a novel conceptualisation both to Cittaslow and to literature on the subject.

1.1.1 Research questions

- What are Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges?
- Can a conceptualisation of the above usefully contribute to:
    - Theoretical understandings of Slow?
    - Research practices?
    - Cittaslow?

- How might an exploration of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges through Cittaslow add to broader understandings about how knowledges are created, held, shared, resisted, and validated?

1.2 Chapter summaries

Chapters 1-4 present a theoretical, contextual, conceptual and methodological underpinning for the thesis.

Chapter 1. Introduction.

Chapter 2. This chapter theorises the way 'fast' and Slow are used in the thesis by providing a review of broad concepts and theories in literature that shed light on propositions made about knowledges. A framing of 'Slow research' is introduced, which includes conceptualisations of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges and offers two key ideas that underlie both the empirical and methodological content of the work:

- *Hidden continuities:* an idea arising from a craft perspective that advocates placing attention on the embodied skills and complex interconnections encountered in the field. This way of seeing unsettles presupposed categorical distinctions and totalising tendencies produced by 'fast' thinking. It can reveal common interests or synergies within 'conflicts of knowing', bringing the potential to accommodate one perspective with another.

- *Navigation-not-mapping:* Related to the above; this refers to a responsive research approach that seeks to take its bearings from the 'field' terrain as it is encountered, using informed judgement and improvisatory skills, rather than proceeding along a linear, or at least pre-mapped, trajectory regardless of what is discovered along the way.

Chapter 3. This provides context in three ways. First it gives an overview of the Slow movement and Cittaslow's place in it. Second, it expands on interpretations of autochthony and conviviality as key tenets of Slow philosophy that have informed the methodological and analytical approach within the thesis. Third, it critically reviews prevailing analytic trends in existing academic literature on Cittaslow, showing both how the thesis aligns with and departs from these critiques.

Chapter 4. This chapter first engages and synthesises various approaches to fieldwork, collaboration and engagement. It then builds a reflection on the creative and crafted practices of research, and finally provides an outline of what was done to generate findings.

The methodological discussion engages with conceptual work done in Chapters 2 and 3, providing a critique of aspects of the original inherited proposal (that focussed on co-creation), and of alternative approaches considered. It is suggested that collaboration need not only exist as a formal process, but can equally take the form of an ethical and reflective position that accepts knowledge taken from the field is not the researcher's alone, but is a product of dialogic interactions with interlocutors. The discussion concludes that 'the field' is something that must be crafted.

Chapters 5-7 present findings and analysis based on empirical work. Chapters are conceived conceptually around Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges to show how this framing can be analytically productive in diverse contexts. They reveal how 'conflicts of knowing' arise when hidden continuities are ignored, and how asymmetries of power are implicated. Chapter 5 provides contextual understanding of Cittaslow UK necessary to interpret the case studies in Chapters 6 and 7. Each case employs distinctive methods emergent from the uniqueness of local contexts, however, they are methodologically unified by the principle of navigating 'the field' to uncover hidden continuities and knowledge systems.

Chapter 5. 'The field' in this case was defined by an exploration of the workings of Cittaslow UK to provide a contextual underpinning relevant in interpreting the studies presented in Chapters 6 and 7. It shows how Cittaslow operates across a diversity of local contexts; how its membership seeks to enact Slow principles (guided by the Cittaslow goals); how its effectiveness is aided and obstructed by local government protocols; and its resultant capacity to make a difference within member towns – and have that difference recognised. Understandings of Cittaslow UK are complemented by observations from the Cittaslow International Assembly 2014.

Chapter 6. In this case 'the field' came together around the refurbishment of a town square in Mold, a project that had been significantly initiated and sustained by the local Cittaslow group. The analysis places particular focus on the experience of stall-holders in the twice-weekly street-market held in the square, revealing a 'conflict of knowing' between standardised notions of place-making and regeneration (with the formal 'marketing' language that accompanies them) and the autochthonous knowledges embodied in quotidian economic practices. The chapter shows how the institutions that are meant to enact Slow are also vulnerable to dominant 'fast' discourses, rendering the street-traders' knowledges invisible.

Chapter 7. Here 'the field' was made by following stories, knowledges and inter-connections between people with diverse perspectives on the practices and regulation of salmon-fishing on the river Tweed. The Cittaslow group had acted as a hub for local residents who were concerned at the disappearance of a traditional livelihood from the area: net-fishing. A 'conflict of knowing' is revealed between the handed-down, embodied and experiential knowledges of the net-fishers who historically stewarded the river, and the scientific and quantitative interpretation of the regulating bodies. The chapter shows how 'fast' discourses can permeate regulatory institutions, with the result that holders of long established rights and skills can become easily disenfranchised.

Chapter 8. This discussion chapter prefaces the conclusion. It draws on previous chapters and findings from fieldwork to highlight substantive underlying similarities between three key 'sites' of study (Cittaslow UK, the market, and the river) and draw out the 'conflicts of knowing' that can be discerned there. It suggests the importance of acknowledging intangibles, and questions the degree to which differing knowledge systems can find accommodations to influence one another.

Chapter 9. The conclusion consolidates a conceptualisation of crafted knowledges. It reflects on the utility for Cittaslow of an imaginary that includes Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges – but suggests the work may have a ubiquity that allows it purchase to critique forms of knowledge more widely.

Chapter 2. Thinking Through Slow, 'Fast' and Crafted Knowledges

This chapter starts by introducing principles proposed to underpin Slow research, bringing the ideas of Slow and 'fast' knowledges (after Orr, 1996, 2002) and suggesting that a conception of 'crafted' knowledges can transcend this apparent binary. By incorporating elements of Slow philosophy into methodological and analytic aspects of the research process itself, new framings can be innovated.

The chapter then reviews a range of literature relevant to the framing of knowledges, and sets out what can be construed as 'fast' for the purposes of this project. Alternative perspectives are then introduced that evoke crafted skills and navigation.

2.1 Slow and 'Fast' Knowing.

Cittaslow philosophy values the uniqueness, individuality and diversity of its member towns, underlining the importance to sustainability of local practices, knowledges, skills, products and culture. In his 2002 book *The Nature of Design*, the political environmentalist David Orr extended the philosophy of Slow by proposing the concept of 'Slow knowledge' (also see Orr, 1996).

Orr introduces this idea (2002:35) with an example, citing a £24m project in Bali in the 1980s to improve agricultural outputs and seek year-round productivity by substituting the traditional cycles of fallow and harvest with a programme of building dams and canals, and buying pesticides and fertilisers. This replaced a system of village co-operatives, linked by a network of temples dedicated to a water-goddess and operated by 'water priests'. However – as a result of the 'improvements' – productivity declined, pests increased, and the local social structures began to unravel. It turned out that the priests had fulfilled the function of master-planners, co-ordinating the finely tuned traditional agriculture to keep it running productively. We are told that the priests subsequently resumed control and productivity returned.[1]

Slow knowledge, Orr suggests, is filtered through cultural maturation: shaped and calibrated to fit a particular ecological and cultural context – often through the patient and painstaking accumulation of knowledge over generations. Wisdom, not cleverness, is the proper aim of learning, he proposes. 'Fast' knowledge he characterises as driven by technological change and globalised economics. It can be positive and powerful, but is often generated to serve a need or justify a position (which means it can frequently be called up in the service of profit)

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[1] Based on work by Lansing J.S. (1991) *Priests and Programmers*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press

[2] Interestingly, given the evolutionary line of Slow philosophy (see Chapter 3), Smith acknowledges the lineage of such 'communities' as growing from craft corporations of

creating power structures that hold alternative paradigms and worldviews at bay (see also Mirowski writing on neoliberalism, 2014b).

Certain assumptions are associated by Orr with 'fast' knowledge. These include: only what can be measured counts; there are no significant distinctions between information and knowledge; and, forgotten old knowledge will always be superseded by newer, better knowledge. Where 'fast' focuses on solving discrete problems, Slow aims to avoid problems through familiarity with context, connections and patterns – it is driven by doing things well, rather than doing them quickly. The pitfalls of 'fast' stem from an over-developed belief in human omnipotence, the pitfalls of Slow can be parochialism and resistance to needed change.

Power differentials between knowledge systems mean that ways of knowing that conform to Orr's Slow knowledge can often broadly be equated with Foucault's subjugated knowledges that are low in the hierarchy:

> I believe that by subjugated knowledges one should understand (…) a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. I also believe that it is through the re-emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges (…) which involve what I would call a popular knowledge though it is far from being general commonsense knowledge, but is on the contrary a particular, local, regional knowledge (…) that it is through the re-appearance of (…) these disqualified knowledges, that criticism performs its work.
>
> Foucault 1980:82

Fieldwork for this project demonstrates that – as Foucault predicted – the legitimacy of these knowledges are indeed found to be challenged by often arbitrary ideas that are deemed to constitute "a science of one kind or another" (1980:83) via:

> [T]he claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects.
>
> Foucault, 1980:83

This thesis proposes that, following Foucault (1980) and Orr (1996; 2002), Slow knowing can offer a counterweight to dominant 'fast' discourses that are embedded in neoliberal market-led, technology-driven ways of seeing.

Orr's proposal of Slow knowledge, however, can easily be equated with traditional knowledge, which can in turn fall victim to accusations of being out-dated, irrelevant, or somehow frozen outside of contemporary experience. My thesis supports Orr in arguing that this need not be the case, and that such bodies of knowledge have usually evolved to be responsive, adaptive and crafted. Furthermore, it argues, such knowledges can have relevant and powerful applications in responding to contemporary issues of cultural, economic and environmental sustainability To honour the co-creative roots of the project, I have placed aspects of Slow philosophy into relationship with Orr's conception of Slow and 'fast' knowledge – and apply the resultant conceptual framing to the methodological and analytical research process. What emerges is an interpretation of Slow and 'crafted' knowledge as a means to critique both Cittaslow, and the 'fast' factors that it seeks to challenge.

2.1.1 Crafted knowledge (positioning myself)

When I came to study social sciences (having trained in the arts and worked as a jewellery designer/maker for some years) I was exposed to a very different way of seeing the world. When two disparate conceptions converge, it can lead to surprising outcomes. From this fusion has come a thesis that values the study of the social, yet proposes the importance of placing attention on the crafted skills that people apply In their everyday lives. This way of seeing, I argue, reveals continuities that can lie hidden as a result of the application of conceptual categories which create divisive boundaries and edges. Phenomena that may otherwise be invisible or ignored can be rendered visible by reconfiguring one's thinking and looking – putting on one's slow spectacles, you might say – in order to see and take account of Slow and 'crafted' knowledges (adapted from Scott, 2012:xii, putting on anarchist glasses).

Hidden continuities

The concept of hidden continuities is integral to crafted thinking. In taking on an academic research project I found that my craft training very much conditioned my approach: the things I paid attention to during fieldwork, the ordering of tasks, and how I encountered the literature. The way one engages the world as a maker means attempting to negotiate and manipulate the structural, chemical, physical and aesthetic properties of materials to achieve certain, socially constructed, ends. It means using skilled and taught processes, often in an explorative and improvisatory way. The practitioner learns that no relationships, categories, materials or artefacts exist in a single, discrete, stable state, nor are their interactions entirely predictable.

> …the abstract concept of materiality, I argue, has actually hindered the proper understanding of materials (…) as they circulate, mix with one another, solidify and

> dissolve in the formation of more or less enduring things. We discover then that materials are active.
>
> Ingold 2011:16

For a parallel commentary and further insight into this logic, and the conception of hidden continuities, the reader is here invited to read Appendix B, where I draw on my own experience and use the process of making a silver ring as a reflection on what informs my ontology. I also aim to demonstrate that, while some identities of the category of inert object that we call a silver ring are well established in the literature (such as its place in a cycle of commodification, e.g. Appadurai, 1986; or as a social signifier in a gift economy, e.g. Malinowski, [1922] 2002) such representations depend upon seeing it as an artefact: discrete and bounded. The person who makes the ring must conceive of things very differently, taking into account both the "raw physicality of the world's matter" and the "socially and historically situated interpretation of matter transformed into artefact" (Ingold, 2013:27).

> The question 'what are you making' leaves almost everything about their craft unsaid and implies a certainty about ends and means that, in practice, is largely an illusion.
>
> Hallam and Ingold, 2014:2

As an anthropologist Ingold has written a good deal about the attempt to bring the perspective of 'maker' into the practices of researching and writing in the social sciences (e.g. 2000; 2011a; 2011b; 2013; Hallam and Ingold, 2014). Acknowledging that this crafted way of seeing the world does not sit well with bounded taxonomies, Ingold makes a case for seeing neither persons nor environments as discrete entities, suggesting they should rather be conceived of as an "indivisible totality" (2000:19) constituting a singular developmental system. Ingold suggests that this way of seeing implies an 'entangled' world. I go further, arguing for a conceptualisation that accepts continuities. The only strands, levels, networks or divisions that can be deemed to exist, are the result of acts of categorisation.

Embodied knowing

As described in Appendix B, a craft practitioner must employ what I call 'embodied' knowing: using skills that cannot be conveyed by abstract ideas alone, they can only be learnt and applied through doing. The whole body and all the senses are engaged in holding the knowledge. Ingold calls the same phenomenon 'knowing from the inside' (2013). With practical tasks, he argues, you can't be told how to do it – you have to discover for yourself by actually doing it. An explanation of the process can impart some information, but as one finds

out the minute one tries to perform the task, it is only a pretence of knowing, giving "no guarantee of knowledge, let alone understanding" (2013:1). Drawing on his early fieldwork with the Saami of North-Eastern Finland who lived by fishing, hunting and herding, he describes this experience of learning, not as being told how to do something, but being told how one might find out. This formative exposure, Ingold says, went on to guide his later thinking and preference for one philosophy over another. I note the same effect in my thinking from having worked as a craft practitioner, and Ingold's encounter with what I would call a 'crafted' knowledge system, led him to identify similar gaps in research practice to those that my experience as a jeweller has highlighted. It is no coincidence that Ingold, like Orr (1996, 2002), distinguishes between information and knowledge.

> Information, in itself, is not knowledge (…) Our knowledgeability consists, rather, in the capacity to situate such information, and understand its meaning, within the context of a direct perceptual engagement with our environments.
>
> Ingold 2000: 21

Making and thinking: knowledge as practice

In *The Craftsman* (2008), the first of Richard Sennett's (as yet unfinished) trilogy on Homo Faber, or human as maker, he makes a case for making as thinking. The second (2012) extends the argument to considering the skills and craft of co-operation. The third will explore further the theme of craft and the environment, arguing that the things we make and why we make them (which includes both the social and the material) need to change. Sennett's argues that all skill – even the most abstract – begins as bodily practice, and that technical understandings develop through the powers of imagination creating an intimate connection between hand and head. Sennett proposes that the term craftsmanship "may suggest a way of life that waned with the advent of the industrial society – but this is misleading" (2008:9). It encompasses all ways of life that include skill, commitment and judgement.

My experience as a craft practitioner meant that during fieldwork I noticed things in a particular way, being drawn to explore the practical, enacted skills I encountered: those that are passed on and learnt by doing. However, Such tacit ways of knowing are by definition hard to write about – they cannot be easily transformed into text because the knowledge lies elsewhere – and as a result, it becomes all too easy to see craft as something that is essentially performative rather than cognitive: as a way of *manifesting thought*, rather than a way of *thinking*.

Ingold, like Sennett, argues that making *is* thinking. In crafted knowledge systems every work is an experiment, not in the scientific sense of applying a hypothesis and recording its success,

but in a process where the practitioner starts with some knowledge and a plan, then tries things out to see what happens; because in a continuous world the flux and shift of factors is so complex that things rarely go exactly as expected. "To remember how materials were understood in the days of alchemy", Ingold says, "forget chemistry" (2013:29). Materials in this way of thinking are not understood by what they are (objective properties), but by what they do (subjective qualities). The understanding of properties and qualities is not something projected onto a material, but something that grows from intimate sensory and gestural engagement. It is realised in terms of practices. This analysis can be applied not only to the example of crafting with materials, but equally to human social systems and their interactions with complex environmental systems.

Within any field of practice, knowledge is held collectively and evolves through human interactions. As a jeweller, skills are generally learnt in a communal 'workshop' setting through a type of apprenticeship: by watching and being shown how, by collective discussion and observation, and then by learning for yourself how it feels in the body. Again, it should be noted that these principles can apply more broadly to any technical tradition. The continuity of each relies not only on information being exchanged, but on social and trusting relationships "between more and less experienced practitioners in hands-on contexts of activity" (Ingold 2000:37).

Both Ingold (2013) and Sennett (2008) draw our attention to the difference between the theorist who makes through thinking, and the practitioner who thinks through making. As Sennett says, "[h]istory has drawn fault-lines dividing practice and theory… modern society suffers from this historical inheritance" (2008:11). I argue that the Cartesian division between mind and body has left a legacy that is accentuated by our 'fast' audit/information culture, which also promotes quantitatively legitimised and privatised knowledges. Those trades and crafts whose skills and *knowledges* depend on collectivity, or cannot be simply codified into text and figures can quickly become delegitimised, whilst *information* that is easily quantified becomes magnified to the status of knowledge.

Capturing embodied knowledge?

The idea of embodied or tacit knowledge is not new. Merleau-Ponty (1962) suggested a continuum between inner and outer reality constituted through embodied sensual experience. That is to say, mind and body are both produced by, and produce, embodied sensual experience; and embodied sensual experience both produces, and is produced, in the world. There is a need, therefore, to recognise an "autochthonous sense of the world that is constituted in the exchange between the world and our embodied existence" (quoted in Toadvine [online]

2016:np). Polanyi, a Hungarian chemist, made a significant contribution to the social sciences in his books about tacit knowledge (1958, 1966). The preface to Personal Knowledge (1958/1962) introduces his enquiry as being into the nature and justification of scientific knowledge, starting with the rejection of the ideal of scientific detachment and universalised knowledge. Tacit knowledge is presented as being intensely personal – yet not therefore merely subjective – as all acts of understanding involve the participation of the knower. Knowing is discussed as an action that requires skill and trust, and that is passed by practice in a particular context and through regular human interaction. The practice of skills and the skills of conviviality are highlighted by him as critical forms of tacit knowledge: though by their nature these knowledges are hard to articulate and to transfer by words or text, which means they often fall outside the reach of systematic explanation or analysis. (The concepts of 'autochthony' and 'conviviality' are central in Slow philosophy and are discussed further in Chapter 3.)

Smith (2001) writes specifically about knowledge in the information age, and makes a distinction between tacit (know how) and explicit (know what) knowledge. Her distinction can be related to that between Slow and 'fast'. She suggests explicit knowledge tends to be technical, systematic, codified and hierarchically stored – whereas tacit knowing is something intuitive and co-operative. The main way to capture tacit knowledge is by joining a 'community of practice'[2] where transfer is based on trust. Significantly, people are not always aware of the tacit knowledge they possess, nor how valuable it can be to others. By the same token, others may not be willing or able to recognise its value, especially if they do not have some form of shared experience without which it is hard to comprehend another's thinking processes (something which emerged strongly in fieldwork, and which predisposes such knowledge systems to be vulnerable or ignored in hierarchical social structures).

Pink too wrestles with the difficulty of evoking and arguing work that attends to the senses, noting that writing (particularly when constrained by disciplinary norms) is limited in its ability to communicate the directness of sensory and emplaced experience:

> Sensory ethnographers developing academic or applied interventions, who wish to situate their work within the existing trajectories of their discipline, are faced with two challenges. The first is to seek appropriate (perhaps new) ways to

[2] Interestingly, given the evolutionary line of Slow philosophy (see Chapter 3), Smith acknowledges the lineage of such 'communities' as growing from craft corporations of metalworkers or masons in classical Greece; with a continuing evolution through craft guilds from the Middle Ages to the present day (2001:318).

> communicate about their own and other people's sensory knowing (…) The second entails involving these more experiential engagements in the production of work.
>
> Pink, 2009:133

Ingold (2013) suggests the making and telling of stories is the way to bring practice-based knowledges into the reach of explanation and analysis. This thesis, however, is not concerned with finding ways of codifying tacit knowledge (Smith 2001) or of weaving stories in order to analyse the content of those knowledges (Ingold, 2013). It doesn't seek to explain and analyse *what* market traders or salmon fishers know (see case studies in Chapters 6 and 7) – but rather to argue for the *importance* of what they know and its relevance to their local contexts. This includes the contribution they make to the livelihoods, wellbeing, economies and identities of their towns – but also the potential for larger environmental and policy insights that can only be made if the practices that nurture such knowledge are allowed to continue, and the validity of the knowledge is taken seriously. Their knowledges should not be invisible, disqualified or disenfranchised simply because we can't know what they know, or can't codify it sufficiently. Authochthonous, Slow, convivial and crafted knowledges can offer significant insight and expertise that should be sought and valued by policy-makers and those who regulate the natural and social environments within which they have evolved.

2.1.2 Crafted knowing – a bridge between Slow and 'fast'

I argue that processes of doing and making are as much a way of thinking and knowing as they are a physical enactment. This analysis is applied to the ways of knowing that were drawn out in field studies as much as to the current research process itself. Processes of conceptualisation and improvisation are key in any practice, and they draw together intellect and experience in a way that unites the mind and the body. Improvisatory, empirical, heuristic approaches to problem-solving permit an encounter that is open-ended and unscripted, allowing unanticipated routes to open up, and innovative imaginaries to be introduced. Crafted approaches bridge Slow and 'fast' by identifying the hidden continuities that underlie conflicts of knowing.

Crafted and Slow knowledges are equally as cognitive, imaginative and questioning as explicit, scientific or academic knowledges; and they equally test and hypothesise through social exchange and knowledge-sharing (also called peer-review). The thesis therefore argues the importance of having an approach that can identify where such knowledges are 'happening', and that recognises the value of them continuing to be enacted. Such knowledge systems are integral and crucial to the convivial and autochthonous sustainability of cultures, livelihoods and ecosystems – locally, nationally and globally. The aim of researchers should not be simply

to capture or codify them, but to actively seek out the expertise and insight which those who practice them can provide. The key, then, is to draw attention to where such Slow or 'crafted' knowledges are ignored and silenced.

This thesis proposes that the introduction of a conception of crafted knowledges acts to break down the apparent binary between Slow and 'fast'. Slow knowledges as defined by Orr are, by their nature, crafted knowledges: but crafted knowledges are not confined to traditional knowledge systems. The characteristics of a crafted knowledge system can equally be found in many contemporaneous contexts: often lying hidden within 'fast' protocols and fields of practice – although the drive to seek quantifiable legitimacy minimises and elides their contribution.

2.2 Aspects of 'fast'

There are various characteristics and interpretations of 'fast'. In order to establish an understanding of how it can be construed for the purposes of this thesis, key aspects are discussed below.

2.2.1 Borders and edges

Once an edge has been drawn or a space enclosed – it becomes easier to measure, count, quantify and qualify whatever falls one side or the other of that edge – creating the illusion of controllable and calculable attributes and outcomes. Once measurements have been gathered, it becomes easier to claim proof of legitimised knowledge (or truth) backed up by ordered and authoritative 'evidence'.

In December 2012, Richard Sennett delivered a lecture at Newcastle University called 'The Architecture of Cooperation'. His theme was 'edges' and he presented an argument about geographical, urban and social spaces: how architecture can lead behaviour. In Sennett's 'edges' thesis he defined the term 'border' as something that can be both porous and resistant: an ambiguous condition, a 'soft' zone of activity, a space where political processes can play out across permeable membranes. By contrast 'boundaries' were defined as barriers: territorial and 'hard' – that speak of science, certainty and truth. The social sciences, he asserted, tend to privilege hard over soft. Sennett chose the terms 'soft' and 'hard', but 'slow' and 'fast' could be equally applicable. The hard and fast world operates boundaries where once there were borders, one example being the tendency of multi-national chain-stores to edge-out what once were permeable spaces for politics and co-operation on heterogeneous high streets.

Sennett's talk concluded with the observation that apparent clarity makes us distracted. Ambiguities and smudges, on the other hand, make us attentive because they require us to think, focus and respond. So, when thinking about and designing our spaces (conceptual as well as physical) – far from seeking mechanisms to strengthen communities (in other words, strengthen boundaries) – we should be finding ways to blur such divisions. It takes boldness, he said, to dwell in and exploit ambiguity. In its own way, this is something the Slow movement, and this thesis, attempts to do.

Mapping space, counting time, and measuring everything

Geographical approaches, by their nature, lay emphasis on spatiality. It is hard to consider space without proffering divisions, borders, edges, categorisations and taxonomies of place. Of course it is sometimes useful and necessary to create such divisions in order to work through ideas – but it must always be remembered that these are bounded constructions superimposed (I argue) on a continuous world. Social spaces, too, are often portrayed as consisting of a range of discrete social objects or things. If reified, such simplifications can lock in unhelpful assumptions.

As Foucault reminds us in his discussion of *Questions on Geography* (1980:63-77), many of the words being used in this thesis are geographical metaphors (scapes, horizons, sites, fields, subjects, spheres, territories, domains, and so forth) and often imply control or hierarchy of one kind or another. Territory, for example, comes from a Roman term denoting land under the jurisdiction of a city; region comes from the Latin 'regere', to command; and province comes from 'vincere' (to win), i.e. a conquered territory. Words can therefore subtly alter the values ascribed to the thing they are seeking to describe. Interestingly, 'territory' is the term chosen by Petrini (the founder of Slow Food: see Chapter 3) and the Slow movement to describe their relationship with the land, although 'territorio' in Italian also resonates with the French term 'terroire' which broadly refers to the unique set of environmental factors that affect a specific crop in a specific habitat (Petrini 2001; Mayer and Knox 2010; Parkins and Craig 2006). The use of such linguistic metaphors, then, already starts to constrain the understandings it is possible to draw from in attempts to describe and analyse social and geographical spaces.

Mapping, a related activity, can compound them. Elsewhere in this chapter I touch on maps and mapping in more detail, but to summarise: Scott evokes maps as "state simplifications" (1998:3) that enable much of the reality they depict to be remade; Stengers talks of the dangers of seeking to 'map' one knowledge onto another (2005); and Latour (1986) identifies mapping as a process of creating immutable mobiles, with the act of superimposing one onto another increasing the possibility of control and domination.

> This is precisely the paradox. By working on papers alone, on fragile inscriptions which are immensely less than the things from which they are extracted, it is possible to dominate all things, and all people.
>
> Latour, 1986:29

Harvey connects the development of mapping to the Renaissance, as something that became economically and politically necessary to facilitate the search for new territories, to reflect property rights (quantifying objective distance, boundaries and ownerships) and in order to codify the "confused system of legal rights and obligations that characterised feudalism" (1990:245). He cites other technologies that also altered the human relationship with time and space, offering the chronometer (literally, time-measurer) as one such candidate: a tool that can measure time and longitudinal position upon the space of the earth's surface.

> It meant that the idea of time as 'becoming' – a very human sense of time (…) was separated from the analytical and scientific sense of time (…) The Renaissance separated scientific and supposedly factual senses of time and space from the more fluid conceptions that might arise experientially.
>
> Harvey, 1990:244

Massey (2005) voices frustration at the division perpetuated (even in the social sciences) between time and space, as if time is merely sequential, and space only materially dimensional – when both are interdependent in our social spaces, and both are filled with power relations. "Globalisation", she says, "in its current form is not the result of a law of nature (…) it is a project" (2005:5). Terms like 'developed' and 'developing' countries, for example, convert space into time, and are used to perpetuate a grand narrative of progress that denies the possibility of simultaneity whereby differing contexts might hold the potential for their own alternative and unique futures. Mirowski [2014a, 2014b) writing about neoliberalism, underlines how the creation of borders and edges are indicative of the building of ideological edifices, creating the illusion of bounded entities with controllable attributes and outcomes. When citizens are replaced by customers, he says, it requires a need to create numerous audit devices that facilitate (especially economic) accountability and management (also see Harvey 1990:3). Ritzer (2013) underlines the role of "non-human technology (that is, technology that controls people rather than being controlled by them)", warning that: "rational systems inevitably spawn irrationalities" (2013:15). Such examples of phenomena that seek to alter, control and measure the relationship between time, space and people fall under Harvey's coinage of 'time-space compression' (1990), and for the purposes of this thesis can be broadly construed as 'fast'.

2.2.2 Neoliberalism and globalisation

Neoliberalism is a contested term that has changed its meaning over time, and is used inconsistently within academic writing to describe various phenomena including economic reform policies, development models, an academic paradigm, or an ideology (Boas and Gans-Morse, 2009). It is not, however, within the scope of this thesis to offer a detailed examination of these contested terms therefore I will briefly discuss some definitions provided by others who have explored and critiqued the phenomenon more fully, so as to characterise the main aspects of what might be experienced as 'fast' for the purposes of a discussion of Slow.

Neoliberalism and globalisation are connected and arguably key aspects of the 'fast' backcloth before which the Slow movement has unfolded. The extract below is from an interview with Carlo Petrini, the founder of Slow Food, following the financial crisis of 2008:

> In this false global economy, the people have always been told they are marginal and irrelevant," he says. "The real pirates were these derivatives. Finally, they are crashing. This is a historic and epic moment. We are now waiting for a new school of economic thought. But these new schools can only emerge, like plants, if you prepare the ground. There has to be a new humanism if this ground is really to be ploughed: a change in values and a change in the idea of what money means and what richness is."
>
> http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/feb/04/slow-food-carlo-petrini [accessed 19-04-14]

Harvey (2005) introduces neoliberalism as:

> …a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade (…) It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world."
>
> Harvey 2005:2-3

That values and assumptions arising from neoliberalism permeate many aspects of our quotidian lives across scales from the global to the intimately personal is not in question. The dominance of global free market capitalist thinking is so ubiquitous that its key tenets become broadly embedded in belief systems about what is possible, what is realistic, what is efficient,

what is economic – and so forth – until it can be hard to imagine an alternative. I suggest that the Slow movement is part of a re-imagining.

From state control to McDonaldisation

James Scott (1998) points to diverse twentieth century failures in state planning that in part arose out of the need to make things, systems and populations, legible and measurable: to simplify in order to facilitate control. The high-modernism of the post-war/cold-war period evolved then with certain key characteristics, which include the administrative ordering of nature and society combined with an overweening confidence in scientific and technical progress to expand the demands of human needs through the mastery of nature. Scott recognises that the type of authoritarian states discussed in his book are largely vanished – and yet that the same ambitions are still evident in large-scale capitalism (see also Ritzer below) as an agent of homogenisation and simplification, saying "a market necessarily reduces quality to quantity via the price mechanism and promotes standardization" (Scott, 1998:8). This, Scott contends, amounts to a belief system that borrowed legitimacy from scientific practice, but failed to apply the critical and sceptical 'scientific' scrutiny that might temper its self-belief. He employs the metaphor of a map:

> These state simplifications, the basic givens of modern statecraft, were, I began to realize, rather like abridged maps. They did not successfully represent the actual activity of the society they depicted, nor were they intended to; they represented only the slice that interested the official observer. They were, moreover, not just maps. Rather they were maps that, when allied with state power, would enable much of the reality they depicted to be remade.
>
> Scott 1998:3

These same principles can be enacted by businesses as much as by nations. The Slow movement first crystallised its identity in protest at the opening of a McDonalds, so it is perhaps pertinent to consider interpretations of 'fast' and its links to neoliberalism with a summary of George Ritzer's definition of 'McDonaldization' (2013:13-15), the dimensions of which include adherence to four basic principles. Firstly, efficiency: following steps in a predesigned process to achieve the fastest possible method for getting from one point to another (for example, from being hungry to being full, that is, instant gratification). Secondly, calculability: emphasising the quantitative aspects of products and services in systems where quantity becomes the equivalent of quality (bigger is better, or time is money). Thirdly, predictability: the assurance that products and services will be the same over time and in all locales (the homogenisation of a world in which there are few surprises). And fourthly, control: as reinforced by technologies,

furnishings, limited options and management structures so as to reproduce the three previous factors of efficiency, calculability and predictability (for example in McDonald's case, in order to make sure customers pay, eat, and leave quickly). McDonald's did not invent the ideological principles underlying these 'rationalising' practices, but the company can be seen as a supremely well-adapted product of a neoliberal society that reveres and rewards such approaches. Miele (2008:147) characterises McDonaldisation as something akin to Latour's concept of the 'immutable mobile' (1986, 1987), a made object that can be moved about (mobile) but stays the same: like a map, for example (see Scott above and maps throughout).

As earlier acknowledged, the term neoliberalism is used in many ways, but Scott's interpretation of it as primarily a belief system or ideology – a faith – is the one that is most pertinent to this discussion, as exemplified by Milton Friedman in 1951:

> Ideas have little chance of making much headway against a strong tide; their opportunity comes when the tide has ceased running strong but has not yet turned. This is, if I am right, such a time, and it affords a rare opportunity to those of us who believe in liberalism to affect the new direction the tide takes. *We have a new faith to offer; it behooves us to make it clear to one and all what that faith is.*
>
> Friedman, 1951:90 (added italics)

Friedman claimed neoliberalism was a return to nineteenth century individualism and argued that there was now "widespread recognition of the extent to which centralized economic control is likely to endanger individual freedom and liberty" (1951:90). The citizen, he proposed, could be protected from the state by a free market. Mirowski, however, counters that this is a sleight of hand that fakes a tradition in order to mask the true intentions of the project: not to weaken the state, but to 'retask' it in a way that imposes a vision of society which renders the state open to the dominance of the market.

> Far from trying to preserve society against the unintended consequences of the operations of markets, as democratic liberalism sought to do, neoliberal doctrine instead set out actively to dismantle those aspects of society which might resist the purported inexorable logic of the catallaxy [economy], and to reshape it in the market's image
>
> Mirowski, 2014b:12

The pivotal strategic means for achieving this, Mirowski proposes, has been via the foundation of think tanks. First was the Mont Pelerin Society (convened in Switzerland in 1947), but also in the UK came the Institute of Economic affairs (established 1955) and transnationally, a

"'mother of all think tanks' to seed their spawn across the globe" (2014b:18), The Atlas Economic Research Foundation.

Mirowski (2014a, 2014b) seeks to show how neoliberalism is a doctrine that gains its persistence through its ability to mutate over time and space, whilst simultaneously creating 'immobile' templates that constrain the development of alternative systems that might challenge it. The hypothesis that the 'efficient market' is the only way to cope with a globalising world does not work because markets do not "come equipped with supernatural powers of truth production" (2014a:101), on the contrary, they are self-serving. "There is no such thing as 'the market' as monolithic entity" (ibid), instead markets are multiple and adaptive according to their own needs, as echoed by Sennett:

> The cunning of neo-liberalism in general, and of Thatcherism in particular, was to speak the language of freedom whilst manipulating closed bureaucratic systems for private gain by an elite.
>
> Sennett, 2006:2

So, despite there being obvious connections linking neoliberal policies and practices to the world economic crisis of 2008, it doesn't appear to have dented their spread. Far from seeing the crisis as a sign of failure, those who propagate and benefit from the dominance of market forces have instead used the financial meltdown to extend their reach still further (Mirowski, 2014a, 2014b; Sparke, 2015).

Like Mirowski and Sennett, Chomsky (1999) also highlights evident contradictions between the aims of democracy and freedom that are claimed by neoliberal theorists, and the outcomes that are actually produced. McChesney, in the introduction writes:

> Neoliberalism is the defining political economic paradigm of our time – it refers to the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise their personal profit.
>
> The neoliberal system has an important and necessary byproduct – a depoliticized citizenry marked by apathy and cynicism.
>
> McChesney in Chomsky 1999:7/10

This brings the discussion onto the effects such a dominating discourse has on the populations that must live with its consequences. Mayer (2007) raises some warning flags as to how the interaction with neoliberalism in urban governance can shape the dynamics of movements

(Cittaslow, say) that contest it. Examples she offers include: how being tied into a discourse of 'civic engagement' can unintentionally mobilise an impulse towards voluntarism and community work for a neoliberal agenda; how such impulses can even co-opt and diffuse dissent to the extent that they become "manufacturers of consent" (2007:109); or that such organisations may produce successful participatory planning locally, but then find their local governance capacities are constrained by financial or privatisation policies.

Political scientist Wendy Brown (2005) argues that neoliberalism has heralded an end of liberal democracy. She posits a reminder that it is important not to reduce neoliberalism to solely economic policies with 'inadvertent' social and political consequences. There are aspects of the ideology that reach beyond the market, to politically erode liberal democratic institutions and practices:

> In popular usage, neoliberalism is equated with a radically free market: maximized competition and free trade achieved through economic deregulation, elimination of tariffs, and a range of monetary and social policies favourable to business and indifferent toward poverty, social deracination, cultural decimation, long-term resource depletion and environmental destruction.
>
> Brown, 2005:38

Brown argues that although many spheres are affected, it is not the case that all become literally marketised. Rather, in applying the model of market rationality to all domains of human activity, even where money is not an issue, then people are always treated as market actors. They become 'homo oeconomicus' and the link is made between the global enactment of these policies and economic processes, and the resulting effects produced on personal and individual experience.

The neoliberal individual

Sparke (2015) identifies ten neoliberal commandments, key principles that have become entrenched and normalised around the globe as a one-size-fits-all template to ensure the reproduction of the conditions for its survival:

> 1) Liberalize trade; 2) privatize public services; 3) deregulate business and finance; 4) shrink big government; 5) reduce taxes on business; 6) encourage foreign investment; 7) constrain unions; 8) expand exports; 9) minimize inflation; and 10) enforce property rights.
>
> Sparke, 2015:no pagination

So in a competitive, borderless, globalising world, what is the effect of these free market policies on a more local or personal scale – and on the individual?

Foucault contends that the production of the individual is simultaneously one of the prime effects of power, and the element through which power is articulated. "The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle". Therefore "certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals", and individuals that fall subject to such power become normalised according to its rules (1980:98).

> Neoliberalism defines a certain existential norm. This norm enjoins everyone to live in a world of generalized competition; it calls upon wage-earning classes and populations to engage in economic struggle against one another; it aligns social relations with the model of the market; it promotes the justification of ever greater inequalities; it even transforms the individual, now called on to conceive and conduct him or herself as an enterprise. For more than a third of a century, this existential norm has presided over public policy, governed global economic relations, transformed society, and reshaped subjectivity.
>
> Dardot and Laval, 2013:3

As market-models infiltrate across a wide range of social arenas, it can be argued, drivers are created towards disenfranchisement, precarity, and self-accountability at a personal and local level. Those who are perceived as operating outside of these marketised rules become demonised as unacceptable or irrelevant (Sparke 2015; Mirowski, 2014a, 2014b). The expectation is that individuals must constantly and entrepreneurially remake and rebrand themselves, accepting full responsibility to maximise and promote their own social capital - habits, food, education, leisure and so on (Sparke 2015, Putnam 1995) - and to shoulder the associated costs and debts. The result of these pressures is a fragmentation of personal identity, as described below by Mirowski with this characterization of the neoliberal everywoman:

> …she is simultaneously a product to be sold, a walking advertisement, a manager of her résumé, a biographer of her rationales and an entrepreneur of her possibilities. She has to somehow manage to be simultaneously a subject, object, and spectator. She is perforce *not* learning about who she really is, but rather, provisionally buying the person she must soon become. She is all at once the business, the raw material, the product, the clientele, and the customer of her own life.
>
> Mirowski, 2014a:108 (original italics)

The individual: humanism and neoliberalism

As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, parallels can be drawn between the Renaissance and our own time. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries humanism represented a blossoming of the individual, much as capitalism has in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Renaissance Humanism turned away from seeing divine will as an overarching explanatory paradigm and looked inwards towards the personal to develop meanings in a more secular world, meaning there was a breaking down of medieval block institutions, to be replaced with emerging disciplinary institutions such as the arts and humanities (foundational distinctions that continue to exist in educational institutions like this very department). In our neoliberal capitalist times existing block institutions such as unionised labour forces and overarching cultural analyses like Marxism have similarly been broken down.

Harvey (1990:240) has argued the lineage from Renaissance Humanism to neoliberalism. The status of the individual is a key component in both. He connects artistic and scientific developments in Renaissance Italy with the beginnings of the Enlightenment project, influenced in particular by a change in the representation of space and time.

> The connection between individualism and perspectivism is important. It provided an effective material foundation for the Cartesian principles of rationality that became integrated into the Enlightenment project.
>
> Harvey 1990:245

2.2.3 Representations

This section will discuss implications to understanding and knowledge of acts of representation. These include the translation of a three-dimensional object to a two-dimensional surface, the transmission of ideas and belief systems, and the transcription of scientific data.

The perspective of the individual

Perspective is the term applied to the conventions of how space is represented pictorially in two dimensions on, say, a canvas or a screen. Central or linear perspective is an invention of the Italian Renaissance. It is a way of re-presenting three-dimensional objects ordered on a two-dimensional surface to give the impression of their height, width, depth, and position in relation to each other. Importantly, the visual rationale is organised around the f*ixed viewpoint of an individual observer*, with everything around then falling logically under this mathematical, totalising unity (Harvey, 1990). Once constructed, what you see is presented as a 'true' representation of reality, not the product of a superimposed hierarchy or mythology.

This centralising perspective departs from earlier common forms of perspectival representation. One such is 'hierarchical' perspective (common in mediaeval art) where the size, position and relationship of objects relate to their conceptual importance within the meaning of the image – so, for example, the most important person is depicted larger than other people, perhaps at the size of an adjacent building. In ancient Egyptian art, 'orthographic' perspective was favoured, whereby separate elements within an image are depicted according to differing projections and planes in order to better describe their most characteristic attributes – giving the often parodied representation of humans with their heads in profile and their shoulders full frontal, for example. Aerial perspective (exemplified in traditional Chinese depictions of landscape) uses gradations of hue, saturation and sharpness to create the illusion of distance, due to the increasing atmospheric body of air through which the object is being viewed.

Arnheim suggests that the development of central perspective represented "a dangerous development in Western thought, marking a scientifically orientated preference for mechanical reproduction and geometrical constructs in place of creative imagery" (1974:284). Once representation becomes fixed in this way "the anchoring of the frontal plane can be experienced as an obstacle to free movement in space" (1974:267). Suddenly the individual is privileged at the centre of a world where all vanishing points relate to the single location in space and time where the imagined viewer stands.

So dominant has this way of seeing become, that a present-day viewer may be inclined to look at earlier forms of representation and conclude that they were somehow 'wrong' or naïve, and have now been superseded by a more 'correct' and sophisticated perspective.

> [The viewer] must realise that there are different solutions to the problem of representing three-dimensional objects in a two-dimensional plane. Each method has its virtues and its drawbacks, and which is preferable depends on the visual and philosophical requirements of a particular time and place
>
> Arnheim, 1974:113

Arnheim calls for more enlightened tolerance, describing central perspective as so "violent and intricate a deformation of the normal shape of things" that it required "no look at reality, no validation by the visual properties of the actual physical world". It is a way of seeing that came about "in response to very particular cultural needs" (1974:283). Foucault's *Order of Things* (1997) can be interpreted as a whole treatise on the contradictions thrown up by attempts since the sixteenth century to classify and taxonomise a world of continuities. He too reminds us that order will appear:

> …according to the culture and the age in question, continuous and graduated or discontinuous and piecemeal, linked to space or constituted anew at each instant by the driving force of time, related to a series of variables or defined by separate systems of coherences…
>
> Foucault, 1997:xxii

The particular trope of centralised perspective, then, can be seen as a mathematical game that sprung from a period preoccupied with a search for ordered and correct descriptions of nature that carried "scientific standards of exactitude and truth", in line with the conceptions of the time (Arnheim, 1974:113).

Tropes, truths, tabulations…or hidden continuities?

This thesis argues that similar critiques can be levelled at the representations produced by the application of tropes emergent from free-market capitalism, which present the perspective that *there is no alternative* way of functioning within a globalised world. In the case of the market, the motives for creating 'rational' and ordered metrics that exclude alternative conceptualisations are not born of a search for accuracy of representation or explanatory clarity, they spring from neoliberal motives of power, control and profit – and, unfortunately, the representations used to serve this agenda seem to be powerfully persuasive. Foucault (1997) presents the view that, in a world that is fundamentally continuous, the search for order by creating linguistic and representational taxonomies (or visual conventions or quantitative metrics) necessarily leads to discontinuities of understanding. But in such cases, what becomes

key is not necessarily the accuracy of a representation, but how easily the generated image takes a hold of the imagination:

> But in order to outline this rhetorical space in which nouns gradually took on their general value, there was no need to determine the status of that resemblance, or whether it was founded upon truth; it was sufficient for it to strike the imagination with sufficient force.
>
> Foucault, 1997:145-6

The words above are taken from a section sub-headed 'Continuity and Catastrophe' in which Foucault suggests that two ways of seeing – one concerned with classifying and tabulating, and one with the "onward urge of all beings throughout its [nature's] continuity" (1997:150) – are not oppositional, but rather requirements that are complementary in the process of building knowledge. While that may be so – the dangers of allowing the tabulation to become dominant 'truths' are manifest, and I argue it is important to hold the continuity in mind at all times when making any attempt at representation (and any attempt to critique a representation).

Representation and scientific truth

A critique of the creation of market and technology driven perspectives that frame the world within certain constrained tramlines is here briefly discussed with regard to the practice and evaluation of scientific research.

Jasanoff (2004) writing on the relationship between scientific knowledge and political power develops a theme on the 'idiom' of co-production based on the understanding that the ways in which people seek to organise and control the world are contingent on and inseparable from their ways of knowing it. She argues that scientific knowledge becomes embedded in representations, discourses, institutions and social identities, perpetuating certain world-views and marginalising others. Jasanoff suggests that research designed with co-production in mind can include more voices and mitigate against "linear, unidirectional causal explanations for complex social phenomena" and stories of scientific progress (2006:12). In a 2014 interview[3] she adds, "a research programme is always embedded in a normative understanding of what are the right questions", but by extending the vocabulary of the traditional social sciences, the dialogue can include not just the world as it is, but the world as you want it to be:

[3] http://www.futureearth.org/blog/2014-jul-23/be-inclusive-you-need-more-voices-qa-sheila-jasanoff [Accessed 16-09-16]

> I think there could and should be more creative ways to marry interpretative social science, moral philosophy and hard core natural science in generating those research programmes. I don't know in advance what they would look like!
>
> Jasanoff, 2014

Jasanoff goes on to give an example that resonates with Orr's characterisation of Slow knowledge (1996, 2002) and chimes with other calls to take local environmental knowledge into account (Sutherland, 2013, 2014; Campbell and Butler, 2010; Nygren, 1999; Nightingale, 2013) especially with regard to present day dilemmas of anthropogenic climate change (Ruddiman, 2003; Castree, 2014a, 2014b) and the neoliberalisation of nature (Reid, 2014; Castree, 2014, 2008a, 2008b).

> Ask people what concerns them and then also draw on their sense of what it is that's going wrong. So if they say that we didn't leave the fields fallow in the way that our grandfathers did, don't write that off immediately as superstition, but actually look to see if there is something in the fact that the fields were left fallow.
>
> Jasanoff, 2014

2.2.4 'Fast' science

Stengers' 1997 book, *Power and Invention,* which deals with the necessity of taking risks in science rather than seeking justification through truth claims, has an introduction written by Latour. It is a very poor science, he says, "the one where scientists master all the inputs and outputs and leave the objects no other freedom than the ability to say 'yes' and 'nay'!" (1997:9). These manifestations of science can easily be seen as operating hard, fast and impermeable boundaries, and in recent years Stengers herself has engaged with the idea of Slow, particularly in the context of doing academic research. For example, in her talk: *A Plea for Slow Science*[4] *(*2011), she argues that good science should be about quality of research rather than the narrow criteria used to evaluate it in the current 'knowledge economy' of universities. She calls explicitly for resistance to "fast, competitive, benchmarked research, which is seemingly unavoidably becoming the norm". Stengers' is only one voice amongst many already cited that make this connection between the 'fast' drivers of our times, and the scientific project. But it is not only a recent observation. Polanyi's concerns (1952) regarding the ideal of 'scientific detachment' have already been cited in relation to Slow research.

[4] Talk at the Free University of Brussels (2011) available on YouTube at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BuiQDrViJPw [Accessed 8-11-2015]

In 1972, Gregory Bateson identified a tendency amongst qualitative researchers to attack scientific thinking, attributing this to frustration at seeing social and behavioural phenomena conflated and overlaid with assumptions that are carried over from physics and mathematical understandings of cause and effect. He illustrated with an example of the possible outcomes of kicking a dog.

> In general in communicational systems, we deal with sequences which resemble stimulus-and-response rather than cause-and-effect. When one billiard ball strikes another, there is an energy transfer such that the motion of the second ball is energized by the impact of the first. In communicational systems, on the other hand, the energy of the response is usually provided by the respondent. If I kick a dog, his immediately sequential behavior is energized by his metabolism, not by my kick.
>
> Bateson 1972:409

So, if simple reductionist models of cause and effect do not describe communicational complexity, then the resulting analysis is likely to be flawed, false or even dangerous.

Like Bateson, Chomsky (2001) too identifies a tendency amongst qualitative researchers to question scientific research methods. He mounts a spirited defence of the scientific process titled, *What is wrong with science and rationality?* It is a coruscating attack, particularly on some within the social sciences where (he says) understanding and insight are thin and it is therefore easier to get away with "dogmatism and falsification[s]" (2001:104) that simplify and caricature what science is, in a mistaken attack on the attempt to make rationalisations. I do not wish this current work to seen as one such attack, so in its defence is offered the observation that Chomsky's position is not as contrary to my argument as it might at first appear. The strengths of the scientific process that he highlights, are in fact, surprisingly similar to the embodied experiential and collective process of generating crafted knowledge discussed earlier.

> Science is tentative, exploratory, questioning, largely learned by doing (…) More advanced work is to a large extent a common enterprise in which students are expected to come up with new ideas, to question and often undermine what they read and are taught, and to somehow pick up, by experience and co-operative inquiry, the trick (which no-one begins to comprehend) of discerning important problems and possible solutions to them.
>
> Chomsky 2001:103

The abandonment and rejection of these values, he argues, is a failing of 'left intellectuals' that both contributes to, and reflects, a triumph of the culture of power and privilege. He connects this failure to moments when activism and mechanisms of challenge become weakened.

> During periods of popular activism, many people are able to discern truths that are concealed by the cultural managers (…) When activism declines, the commissar class, which never falters in its task, regains command." (2001:109)

Interestingly, Chomsky's defence of science brings him back full circle to acknowledge that there is validity in questioning some enactments of scientific rationality (echoing e.g. Stengers 1997, 2011, and Latour 1997).

> …the critique of 'science' and 'rationality' has many merits, which I haven't discussed. But as far as I can see, where valid and useful the critique is largely devoted to the perversion of the values of rational inquiry as they are 'wrongly used' in a particular institutional setting.
>
> Chomsky, 2001:109

This thesis proposes that Slow thinking might be considered as one small mechanism of challenge to whatever characteristics of 'now' exist that allow a dominating elite to control the discourse. There is significant resonance with findings from case studies that reveal equivalents to Foucault's 'disqualified' knowledges (1980:82) or Scotts's 'hidden transcript' (1985,1990): a term he uses to describe the manner in which subordinate individuals subvert power in ways that are hidden from public view and dominant power holders, frequently demonstrating that theoretically sophisticated ideas need not always be expressed in articulate prose.

2.2.5 Drawing things together

Latour (1986, 1987, 1993, 1997) makes the case that (as Chomsky argues above and Polanyi, 1952, expressed) the actual practice of science is something much more embodied, heuristic and experiential than is implied by the scientific (arte)facts that emerge through processes of transcription and translation as 'immutable mobiles'. His 1986 work subtitled *Drawing Things Together* is useful to perform exactly that function in this section.

He first argues that there is no meaningful distinction between 'prescientific' cultures, methods or societies (here also read those that rely on local and embodied knowledges) and those that are 'scientific', which are neither cleverer nor more rational. However, although there is not a natural boundary, there is a border between them that is arbitrarily enforced – and such divides "do not provide any explanation, but on the contrary are the things to be explained" (1986:2).

These divides are constantly disproved, he asserts, but yet are tenaciously maintained in order to reinforce the status of science: the way to investigate them is to look for empirical explanations.

Craftmanship is central to his explanation, such as the craft involved in writing and representing (often visually). Perspective is equally central as "an essential determinant of science and technology because it creates 'optical consistency', or, in simpler terms, a regular avenue through space" (1986:7). Latour additionally cites another way in which linear perspective is used as an enabler: it allows things that might be mythological or religious to be rendered in the same way as 'nature', so that all subjects are given common ground through optical consistency, and can be changed from representation to projection. This is the process by which 'immutable mobiles' are created. Hence, images, figures, diagrams or graphs become forms of 'inscription' that are used as tools of persuasion to imply truth. Without them, it is much harder to convince, and so the invention of this visual language is necessary to make a divide with the messy past of the scientific process, "chemistry becomes powerful only when a visual vocabulary is invented" (1986:13).

Anthropological practice can also be analysed this way, and the traditional ethnographic approach, Latour suggests, is almost antithetical to gaining understanding (see discussions of ethnography in Chapter 4). As soon as the subject of study is constructed as 'other', the process begins of creating immutable mobiles (mapping, listing, counting, categorising) in order to make the findings readable and presentable – and at that point "once this first violence has been committed" (1986:15), it is already too late to ever understand alternative ways of living and seeing. In processes of simplification:

> Scientists start seeing something once they stop looking at nature and look exclusively and obsessively at prints and flat inscriptions (…) Bleeding and screaming rats are quickly dispatched. What is extracted from them is a tiny set of figures. This extraction (…) is *all that counts*.
>
> Latour, 1986:15 (original italics)

The reason it is so important to work on inscription rather than the complexities of the real world – the sky, the river, the people – is because inscriptions have certain properties that create the possibility of control and domination. Inscriptions are mobile, immutable and flat: "In politics as in science, when someone is said to 'master' a question (…) look for the flat surface that enables mastery – a map, a list, a file, a census" (1986:19). The scale of an inscription can be modified at will: this "is the cause of most of the 'superiority' of scientists and engineers" (ibid) who can talk about atoms or galaxies or chromosomes or international

trade, all presented at the same size. Inscriptions can be infinitely reproduced and recombined: they can be reshuffled, or superimposed one on the other, even if of entirely different origin and scale – so a geological map can be combined with a printout of a commodity market, for example – and, of course, these inscriptions can then become part of written text. Finally, the most powerful property of all (Latour says) is that once these renderings become two dimensional, they can merge with geometry – as with perspective – so that three dimensional objects can be manipulated in two dimensional space such that:

> To go from 'empirical' to 'theoretical' sciences is to go from *slower* to *faster* mobiles, from more mutable to less mutable inscriptions (…) everything, no matter where it comes from, can be converted into diagrams and numbers.
>
> Latour, 1986:20, (added italics)

From 'fast', back to Slow

Latour's assertion in the quote above is that everything can be converted into diagrams and numbers – and that the process of moving from empirical to theoretical amounts to a change from *'slower'* to *'faster'*. Latour's choice of the terms 'slow' and 'fast' are contemporaneous with the inception of the Slow movement and, whether in direct reference or not, indicate an intuitive sympathy with the deeper implications of those words.

What emerges from research using a Slow lens in the field supports the validity of Latour's distinctions. Whilst any real-world context can certainly be taken as the starting point for the process of conversion into inscriptions – in so doing, essential knowledge and understanding is lost, obscured, elided and dismissed. Looking for Slow and crafted knowledges reveals the sleight of hand in the process of conversion. Field studies for this project exposed how embodied, experiential knowledge has to exist within an enacted and crafted practice, and cannot be captured in any meaningful way through acts of inscription. For sure, elements of it can be partially represented, and it can both inform and be informed by 'scientific' processes, but it is a different way of knowing that cannot be defined as 'like any other' (Stengers, 2005).

Unfortunately it does seem to be the case that in certain very significant contexts, such as regulatory and policy-making processes, the scientific inscriptions are indeed "all that counts" (see above, Latour, 1986:15). As Latour argues, we should not be using capitalism to try and explain the evolution of science and technology, but questioning the use of immutable mobiles in science and technology in order to explain something about economic capitalism.

This discussion is relevant to the findings of the thesis in several ways. The action of dominant discourses to 'hierarchise' (Foucault 1980:83) other knowledges, the use of metrics to simplify

and 'black box' complexity (Latour 1993, 2005), and the mapping of universalised templates onto local and specific conditions (Stengers 2005) have all been revealed through the application of a Slow lens in field studies. Aspects of the debate open to valid and useful critique earlier identified by Chomsky (2001) are addressed in this thesis. That is, to make a distinction between the processes of rational enquiry, and the application of 'wrongly used' values, categories and metrics in some contexts. The aim is not to simplify or caricature the enquiring student of science or the practice of science, but to question how expertise is framed (Eden et al, 2006) and which agendas are being served when the credibility and authority enjoyed by scientists and quantitative metrics are evoked.

To be specific, the intersection between science, rationality and neoliberalism is the area that has been revealed as problematic by the application of a Slow lens. Where the metrics and vocabulary of natural science are conscripted into the neoliberal narrative, our bodies, the natural world and the state are rendered more responsive to the impulses of the market, as connected by Mirowski (2014b) to Foucault's biopolitics/power thesis.

2.3 Hierarchies of knowledge and alternative navigation skills

The matter of how something is communicated and of what is being communicated come together in Foucault's *Power/Knowledge* thesis. He identifies that whole sets of local and low-ranking knowledges can become subjugated or disqualified (Foucault 1980:82) by uneven power distribution. Dominant discourses, he argues, act as unitary bodies of theory that seek to filter, order and 'hierarchise' other knowledges in the name of "some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects" (1980:83). For Foucault power is something that circulates through infinitesimally small capillaries and mechanisms that affect people's daily lives, and truth-claims are a means of gaining power. Power, he argues, can be critiqued by seeking out such 'disqualified' knowledges.

Foucault's conceptualisation is directly addressed in this project, where knowledges located low on the hierarchy are proposed to include local and indigenous knowledge systems, embodied and crafted knowledge systems, and Slow knowledge. The aim is that Slow knowing and thinking can be shown to have legitimate and significant potential in all aspects of sustainability and livelihood that should justify a place higher in Foucault's hierarchy.

2.3.1 Co-operation, conviviality and questioning the rules

Sennett's second book (2012) in his on-going trilogy on 'making' presents a political, energised argument underpinned by the understanding that individuals and groups are competent interpreters of their own experience. Having first argued (2008) that modern society has

depleted our ability to craft things, here he builds on the idea of skill to propose that modern capitalism has weakened our ability to co-operate, and that living well together – with very diverse people – takes skill and craft to achieve. This idea can be connected to the Slow principle of developing the skills of conviviality (see Chapter 3).

The twentieth century, Sennett argues, perverted co-operation into solidarity as the left's traditional weapon against capitalism (2012:279), creating an 'us against them' dynamic that invites command and manipulation from the top at the same time as seeking to challenge it. But contemporary/late capitalism, with its attendant individualism fragments institutions and encourages short-term labour, detaching power from responsibility. Now, Sennett suggests, workers cannot sustain social relations between themselves, and inequality continues to grow in neoliberal societies like the UK and US, manifesting itself in such phenomena as short-term labour and zero-hours contracts. What Sennett proposes as a more useful goal than solidarity is co-operation: a project that could blur those edges between divided and diverse groups and develop the skills to live well together.

Sennett presents this issue as the most urgent challenge facing society today and discusses how the concept and the practice of co-operation is shaped, weakened and strengthened, whilst acknowledging that it is, of course, not innately benign. His concern with making soft spaces where political processes can play out across permeable membranes is here expressed through the idea of dialogic, rather than dialectic, debate: in Slow terms, developing the skills of conviviality. Rather than taking up opposing positions and then trying to find common ground, in a dialogic exchange the emphasis is not on winning, nor even on seeking consensus, but more on seeing the very process of listening to others and speaking ones own response as a way of expanding understanding of oneself and each other: mutual understanding rather than mutual agreement. Such skills could be usefully practised/ practiced in the fine grain of local civic engagement and are equally relevant to the researcher/researched relationship.

Insubordination

Scott (1985, 1990, 1998, 2012) makes a similar case for breaking down boundaries, and the indispensible role of practical knowledge, informal processes, and improvisation in dealing with unpredictability – whilst underlining that this does not equate to an uncritical admiration of the local and traditional. Scott's most recent book, *Two Cheers for Anarchism* (2012), describes a sensibility that celebrates the local knowledge, common sense, and creativity of ordinary people whilst giving a cheer for insubordination of rules (such as poaching or jay-walking). The whole book makes a case for challenging the dominating powers of states and huge corporations. Scott goes on to say that whilst we are probably stuck with such

Leviathans[5], they can perhaps be somewhat tamed by fostering institutions that expand the independence, autonomy and capacities of citizens, offering them an opportunity to rehearse breaking rules that make no sense, and going against social pressures to conform to those norms that are neither just nor reasonable (question: could Cittaslow be such an institution?)

> I am suggesting that two centuries of a strong state and liberal economics may have socialised us so that we have largely lost the habits of mutuality.
>
> Scott, 2012:xxii

Scott goes on to argue that the much maligned 'petite bourgeoisie' class (though not a 'class' in Marxist parlance) are in fact the true anarchists, performing "vital social and economic services under *any* political system" (2012:85, original italics). In this 'class' Scott includes: shopkeepers, smallholders, peddlers, artisans, small independent professionals and traders, suggesting they represent a precious zone of autonomy in systems dominated by large public and private bureaucracies (question: could Cittaslow actors fit such a description?):

> …organized social movements are usually the product, not the cause, of uncoordinated protests and demonstrations, and (…) the great emancipatory gains for human freedom have not been the result of orderly, institutional procedures but of disorderly, unpredictable , spontaneous action cracking open the social order from below.
>
> Scott, 2012:141

Squinting through Slow glasses (after Scott, 2012)

The purpose of being engaged in the activity of social science, Scott suggests, is to "summarise, codify, and otherwise 'package' important social movements (…) to make them legible and understandable" (2012:133). Yet, he adds, the natural impulse to create a coherent narrative can obscure the confusion, improvisation, spontaneity, error and disorder that characterised the actual processes in question. He circumnavigates the problems that accompany the construction of apparently holistic representations by presenting a collection of vignettes or 'fragments' that are only revealed "if you put on anarchist glasses" and squint through them, whereby "certain insights will appear that are obscured from any other angle" (2012:xii).

The anthropologist Kathleen Stewart (2007) has written about her own attempts to reflect upon the little daily moments and sensory interactions of people's everyday lives. Like Scott (2012), and for similar reasons, she chooses to present her writing as a series of vignettes. In focussing

[5] Referring to Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

down on the small moments, movements and murmurings of everyday activity – she aims not to frame them solidly in large overarching theories, but to explore how small enactments reveal the ability to affect, and be affected by, forces that shape individual and collective lives – forces that connect the scales of intimate and global, of embodied and political.

> This book tries to *slow* the *quick* jump to representational thinking and evaluative critique.
>
> Stewart, 2007:4, (added italics)

A review by Donna Haraway on the book's cover adds, "Here are accounts of lives in plain sight, but only if we cultivate the deceptively hard practises of *slow looking and off-stage hearing*" (2007, added italics). There is a synchronicity between Stewart's focus on small moments, and Latour's notion of the 'oligopticon' as a way of seeing not everything, but of glimpsing just a little bit: partial and folded.

> Oligoptica (…) do exactly the opposite of panoptica:[6] they see much too *little* to feed the megalomania of the inspector or the paranoia of the inspected, but what they see, they see *it well*.
>
> Latour and Hermant, 2004:181, (original italics)

The ways of looking indicated by these authors are sympathetic to the idea of Slow, and have informed the approach to research and writing taken in this project. Although I knew my view would be partial and even arbitrary, my knowledge would be incomplete and my approaches may be flawed, yet squinting through an oligopticon or Slow specs could be a starting point in trying to see well, in the hope that it would reveal something that may not be an authoritative truth, but yet could give a sense of the lived experience with enough authenticity to invite insight.

2.3.2 Power: subverting visible edges to reveal hidden continuities

Slow research proposes that bounded edges obscure as much as they reveal, suggesting that peering through a Slow lens can expose hidden continuities that may lie beneath and around perceived edges such as categories, boundaries, borders, purifications and hard or 'fast' spaces.

Many of the authors engaged with in this chapter (Arnheim, Bateson, Foucault, Harvey, Ingold, Jasanoff, Latour, Massey, Mirowski, Orr, Pink, Polanyi, Scott, Sennett) consider the role played

[6] A counterpoint to Foucault's 'panopticon' as discussed in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1995)

in knowledges by the creation of categories and hierarchies and taxonomies and borders and edges and purifications and networks and entanglements, divisions, conflations, maps and perspectives of one sort or another. In this section I will say a little about the progression of thought that led to developing the idea of hidden continuities. I will explain why I am not using some key spatial conceptions (whilst acknowledging their role in informing a thought process), and point to some of the conceptualisations that authors I owe a debt to have used to express their discomfort with bounded and edged categories.

Purifications and networks

Latour (1993) introduces us to the idea of 'purifications', a simplifying practice of unnaturally hardening the boundaries between disciplines or categories. There are many dualities that he argues are characteristic and definitive of modernity, such as nature/society or human/non-human. Latour proposes that real life throws up complex hybrid issues and debates that are cross-pollinations between science, politics, nature, technology, and other classifications. These require us to recognise a new mental landscape that recognises the connections and blurred boundaries between disciplines: "…networks are simultaneously real, like nature, narrated, like discourse and collective, like society" (1993:6).

Later, Latour (2005) argues for the need to abandon an idea of the 'social' as a kind of purified property that can be applied to phenomena, measured or discovered. He aims to destabilise this usage so as to retrace social connections and associations, construing groups as uncertain, fragile and shifting. Social scientists are accused of constantly tracing and recognising the unquestionable existence of boundaries. He invites us to study not so much the imagined discrete group, but the making and unmaking of it – the word 'work' is significant in his net-works. Latour's offering of Actor Network Theory (ANT), however, implies a flattened conceptualisation of interconnectedness, giving equal importance to the human and non-human, to objects and phenomena: what counts is connectivity, and chains of interconnected locals. ANT is not used as a defining theory in this project because the nodal intersection of flattened networks is ultimately not a useful explanatory mechanism in the more continuous world I witnessed. However, ANT was certainly useful in helping to clarify my thoughts, and as a reminder that the way things *appear* to be ordered or organised is not inevitable, constant or completely comprehensible. Other of Latour's ideas have been formative in shaping this thesis, notably those of oligopticons, transcriptions, and immutable mobiles.

Entanglements

Ingold has built a body of work arguing away from cognitive and symbolic models of representational thinking towards a non-representational entangled, embodied version of being

(2000; 2008; 2011a). In *Being Alive* (2011a) he takes the ANT theory and extends it into what he playfully dubs SPIDER, which stands for: Skilled Practice Involves Developmentally Embodied Responsiveness. Whilst that is a rather forced acronym, what he is proposing takes Latour's flat network and moves it on to a conception of life as a web, enmeshed in a texture of interwoven threads and scales, emphasising the continuity of 'being'. Ingold's phenomenological reconception of the body (rather than the mind) as the storehouse of perception places us all as immersed in, and contiguous with, our environment, gathering and making meanings with our whole skilled bodies as we proceed. There is a particular logic of modern thought, he asserts, that turns pathways into boundaries within which life is contained.

> The relation is not *between* one thing and another – between the organism 'here' and the environment 'there'. It is, rather, a trail *along* which life is lived
>
> Ingold, 2011:69 (original italics)

Yet, although entanglements are more expressive of complexity than networks, as pointed out by Massey (2000) even this view relies on the intersection of cross-over points, knots and nodes. Latour's ANT and Ingold's entanglements are discussed here not because they have been used as defining conceptualisations in the thesis – but because they both raised questions in my early reading regarding the problematic use of overly prescriptive categorisations in understanding a continuous world. Sennett's lecture (2012a) on the Architecture of Co-operation, where he presented his thesis on impermeable boundaries, porous borders, and the importance of ambiguous edges in generating understanding, was also significant in that regard.

Genealogies and ecologies

Foucault's work *The Order of Things* (1997) is considered a genealogy of thought and representation, yet the work does not trace branched lines of development to create linear lines of inheritance from one to the next. On the contrary, it opens with several examples demonstrating the continuous and undifferentiated nature of the world being sifted and analysed, with meaning being attributed through the creation of ordered protocols. Ultimately it shows that such constructions may imply causal interconnections but they are not rational inevitabilities, rather they are arbitrary and contingent developments. Genealogies, he says are "precisely anti-sciences" that are:

> …concerned rather with the insurrection of knowledges that are opposed primarily not to the contents, methods or concepts of a science, but to the effects of the centralising powers which are linked to the institution and functioning of an organised scientific discourse within a society such as ours.
>
> Foucault, 1980:83-4

Applying the theoretical conception of an ecology, I suggest, is also necessarily about continuities, not categories. Bateson's *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (1972) or Stengers *Notes on an Ecology of Practices* (2005) are employing an image that acknowledges the unified complexities of an ecosystem. Bateson proposes that ideas exist like flora, fauna and myriad other environmental factors, combining in diverse ways such that some flourish and some wither. Similarly, Stengers acknowledges the importance of both habitat and crafted practice, proposing the idea of an ecology as "a tool for thinking" (2005:196) related to "scientific practices" that are "in dire need of a new habitat" (2005:183). In these cases conceptual and linguistic visualisation may be used to discuss how meaning is understood and conveyed, but, I argue, the underlying assumption being posited is one of continuities, where reductionist modelling superimposed from one context to another can easily lead to flawed understanding and asymmetries of power. As Stengers says in her discussion of physicists: "they have the social power to equate attacks against physics with attacks against rationality itself" (2005:184).

Spatial metaphors of power and resistance

Foucault's thoughts on the use of geographical metaphors and their relationship to power (1980) have been discussed earlier, and Massey, too has written on the spatialities of power (2000). She argues that the binary framings of domination and resistance require more nuanced interpretations in order to include complex interconnections and interdependencies. She suggests that simplistic spatial imagery may be "unfortunate" (2000:284) and should be rejected because, if relationships are practice (that is, they are dynamic processes), so spaces of domination and resistance are being constantly made: they are "fraught, unstable and contingent'"(2000:281).

> What is politically at issue is not the expansion of some spaces (the margins) at the expense of others (the centre), nor 'resisting' through finding/creating a 'space' where dominance is less effective, but rather transforming, subverting, challenging the constitutive relations which construct spaces in the first place (…) ways in which the spatialities of power can be reordered through practices which are more egalitarian, les exploitative, more mutually enabling.
>
> Massey, 2000:284-285

This perhaps suggests that spatialised imaginaries allow a conceptual separation of space and time that ultimately leaves no time or space to re-imagine power.

> The discourse of globalisation is functioning, not just as a description, but as a normative insistence. It gives succour to the neo-liberal mantra that there is no alternative.
>
> Massey 2000:283

Massey's alternative notion, that of simultaneity (2000, 2004, 2005), is expressed in the idea of 'place beyond place', which acknowledges the continuities that co-exist when a town (say) and its constituents are products and producers of distant, global and local relations – concrete and abstract – all at the same time.

The crafted contention of hidden continuities subverts polarising and divisive categories that might be called into service to facilitate the 'neo-liberal mantra that there is no alternative'. My findings in the research contexts analysed during fieldwork suggest that resistance is *not* primarily practiced by those apparently subordinate in power relations – on the contrary – the strongest manifestations of resistance are actually apparent in those who already hold power, and wish to maintain that status quo. Therefore, alternative narratives are resisted and true motivations obscured in order to justify the continued existence of the organs that benefit from dominant discourses. At the same time, fieldwork revealed that those that might be considered powerful in one context, with only a small shift in perspective, can equally be constructed as subordinate or vulnerable in another. By looking for Slow and crafted knowledges – by paying attention to another set of extant continuities – alternative views revealing the unstable, contingent and fraught were uncovered (Massey, 2000). Slow thinking arguably represents an alternative narrative to dominant discourses – but it would not be simple to characterise it as 'resistance' – it rather represents another way of looking that prioritises alternative values.

2.3.3 Maps, compasses, time and 'tempo'

The idea of the map in this thesis, is used to convey the sense that 'fast' maps – including systematised practices and ways of seeing – create bounded and edged artefacts that can then be transposed across time, space and context in order to reproduce and perpetuate beliefs about the inevitability and universal applicability of dominant value systems (e.g. see Scott, 1998). As a counterpoint to the map, the idea of a compass is offered as an alternative way of finding ones bearings, accommodating context and navigating through time and space – including social, economic and ideological space/times. At the 2014 Cittaslow International Assembly in Holland, Paolo Saturnini, the outgoing President, gave a speech employing the

geographical metaphor of a compass to convey his vision of the organisation as a direction-finder and driver of change (quoted in section 5.2). He proposed that through this way of seeing itself, Cittaslow could seek change "from the bottom up, without waiting for it to be done by governments and states" allowing member towns to "navigate together (…) to find a way out of a global crisis". Later chapters will question how Cittaslow UK finds accommodation with such aspirations, and whether a conceptualisation of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges can add to it.

Il tempo giusto

Arguably, where a map is a device that separates space from time, a compass is one that unifies them. A map is a fixed, bounded artefact that imposes a set of beliefs upon the user. A compass invites an improvisatory, crafted interaction, on a journey through time and space. As with Sennett's blurred, smudged and porous edges that require us to think, focus and respond (2012a), the idea of Slow invites an engaged relationship that holds within it the ambiguities of simultaneous and crafted understandings. *Festina lente* (to hurry slowly, see also Chapter 3) is an apparently contradictory statement that requires us to be attentive in order to contemplate its nuances. Il tempo giusto is an Italian saying also used within the Slow movement. Broadly it is used to indicate not that everything must slow down, but that everything should be done to its own pace – so sometimes slowing down can allow faster progress by doing things well rather than quickly. Most commonly the phrase is translated as 'the right speed' or 'the right time', but tempo has multiple meanings in Italian. It means time (extended or momentary) but can also signify a day, an epoch or a phase, a flow of movement, a rhythm or a beat, the weather or the season. Such a range of subtle shading encompasses the experience of time from an individual decisive moment, to the pace of living, motion and activity – and ultimately to the planetary cycles of the earth's climate and ecosystem.

It is a small illustration of how a nuanced, Slow way of seeing, that accepts simultaneity, ambiguity and continuities, can subvert or challenge the constitutive relations that construct our understanding of time and space – and even to suggest that there *are* alternatives, when the possibility may not seem obvious (see above, Massey 2000, 283-285).

2.4 Concluding thoughts

One aim of this thesis is to explore ways of first recognising and then valuing experientially-learned, embodied, sensory and often improvisatory knowledges as different – but just as evolved – and equally useful skills in unpicking, explaining and theorising a complex world. An attempt is made to leave room for a more fluid, transitory understanding of relationships that are not seen as natural or cultural categories, but as outcomes of constantly changing,

simultaneously concurrent and co-constituted actions and interactions. The research itself revealed many instances of attempts to fix or enforce distinctions and divisions – for example, through scientific representations, through institutions and their discourses, through language and vocabulary, and through perceived or experienced social divisions.

The Slow lens, however, invites that attention is paid to finding crafted knowledges and continuities that are hidden beneath superficial distinctions and edges – including the unexpressed or unmentioned, the not-immediately-visible, and sometimes the deliberately ignored or hidden. It notices informal processes that "slow the quick jump to representational thinking" (Stewart, 2007:4) inviting us to squint through 'Slow glasses' (to adapt Scott's coinage, 2012:xii) in order to show insights that are obscured from any other angle, with a sharper image and better depth of field. Discussion is discursive rather than dialectical, and seeks to offer 'views', 'scenes' or 'fragments' as might be revealed by shining a light from first one and then another direction – some things become illuminated, others only reveal their concealed presence by the shadow they cast.

The thesis takes concepts from Slow philosophy, incorporating them into an analytical and methodological approach. Following Foucault, the sustainable, particular, local knowledges of the Slow narrative are employed as tools with which to critique more dominant discourses such as (fast) capitalism, (unsustainable) consumerism and (multinational) corporate business models – whilst also examining Slow itself. The concept of Slow knowledge (Orr, 1996, 2002) is extended with the proposal of crafted knowledges, a conception that includes not only what might be termed traditional or indigenous knowledges, but also fits a broader set of contexts to question power relations produced by dominant 'fast' narratives. It invites an alternative way of looking and thinking that seeks to share credit with experiential local knowledge systems in the processes of making meaning and generating knowledge.

Chapter 3. A Context For Slow

This chapter provides a context for understanding Slow within the parameters of the thesis. It starts with a broad-brush sketch of how Slow manifests itself within what is known as the Slow movement. It gives a brief history of the specific development of Slow and its origins in Slow Food, then looks more closely at Cittaslow: its structure, values and key terms of reference, including a discussion of autochthony and conviviality as interpreted within the thesis.

The second part of the chapter aims to situate Cittaslow within the range of existing literature about the organisation. It demonstrates how these academic framings have been formative in developing the thesis, but also explains where and why the current project departs from them.

3.1 What is Slow?

Since the start of Slow Food and Cittaslow, the appellation of Slow has been taken up and applied to all sorts of fields of human endeavour, growing into what has come to be known as the Slow movement. These various cultural manifestations are not a co-ordinated product, or controlled by any single organisation, yet the idea appears to have the fluidity to accommodate and adapt to differing contexts. A blossoming of diverse forms have emerged in response to a common set of 'fast' pressures that are perceived to be directing human effort towards self-interest, targets, metrics, profit, efficiency, technology, fragmentation and the ever faster production of 'information' – whilst losing sight of the qualitative and collective aspects of human life such as convivial enjoyment, skill, sensuality, continuities and the production of 'knowledge'. Broadly speaking, advocates of Slow seek to offer alternative ways of approaching human activity, politics and everyday life that are no less efficient or effective, but which value quality and sustainability over quantity and short-term outcomes.

The box below shows a diverse selection of Slow publications and websites that illustrate facets of the 'movement':

Slow universities
Responses to the marketisation of higher education: a culture of audit and surveillance with pressure to chase indicators that focus on quantity not quality

A Manifesto for Slow universities by Brian Treanor, Professor of Philosophy, Loyola Marymount University, USA: http://faculty.lmu.edu/briantreanor/slow-university-a-manifesto/ [Accessed 24-10-16]

O'Neill, M. (2014) 'The slow university: work, time and well-being.' *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 15(3), 16

Rose Bird, D. (2013) Slowly writing into the Anthropocene. *Text* Special Issue 20, 1-14

Berg, M. and B.K. Seeber (2016) *The Slow Professor: Challenging the Culture of Speed in the Academy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Slow watches
Brand and marketing concept using watches with only one hand: "Stop chasing the second and focus on the moment instead." https://www.slow-watches.com/ [Accessed 24-10-16]

Slow science
Manifesto: with the motto, "Bear with us, while we think". Arguing the need for time to think, time to fail, and time to develop "unsteadily, with jerky moves and unpredictable leaps forward." https://slow-science.org/ [Accessed 04-09-16]

Slow journalism
Delayed Gratification: Website and printed quarterly publication. Revisits the events of the previous three months to see what happened after the news agenda moved on, providing "intelligent, curated, non-partisan news coverage" as an antidote to "reprinted press releases, kneejerk punditry, advertorial nonsense and churnalism". http://www.slow-journalism.com/ [Accessed 24-10-16]

Slow television
Norway's public service broadcaster has screened twelve-hour programmes showing a burning woodstove and a jumper being knitted. *BBC4 Goes Slow* is an occasional series of hour-long programmes that have included a composite of the dawn chorus, and crafts such as glass-blowing and blade-forging

Slow democracy
Book: "Politics may be fast, but true democracy is slow, inclusive, deliberative, empowered, and most of all, local."
Clark, S. and W. Teachout (2012) *Slow Democracy*. Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing

Slow craft
Blog and forum for discussion around the contribution of contemporary craft to the philosophies presented within the Slow movement.
https://makingaslowrevolution.wordpress.com/ [Accessed 24-10-16]

Slow technology
Some responses to computer aided design and human/computer interactions. Applying Slow design principles to media that could otherwise coerce the user into 'fast' thinking due to assumptions designed into the technology.

Hallnas L. and J. Redstrom (2001) 'Slow Technology – Designing for Reflection.' *Personal and*

Ubiquitous Computing 5:201–212

Odom, W., R. Banks , A. Durrant , D. Kirk , J. Pierce (2012) 'Slow technology: critical reflection and future directions'. *Proceedings of the Designing Interactive Systems Conference*, June 11-15, 2012, Newcastle Upon Tyne. UK [doi>10.1145/2317956.2318088]

Slow living
The Idler: a company aiming to help people to "lead more fulfilled lives". They produce a quarterly magazine of the same name, guide books, and run online courses and live events. Their symbol is a snail: http://idler.co.uk/academy/ [Accessed 24-10-16]

Carl Honoré: a Canadian journalist, leading advocate of Slow, and author of several books on the subject of slowing down including *In Praise of Slow* (2005), and *The Slow Fix* (2013). See for example: http://www.carlhonore.com/podcasts/
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L0-QedkG5CQ
http://www.ted.com/talks/carl_honore_praises_slowness.html [Accessed 24-10-16]

Spoof Slow
The International Institute of Not Doing Much: The Institute is located in the County of Rompshire at Crumpetworthy Hall, and works under the "timeless wisdom of *festina lente"*. Members must adhere to a series of rules, the first of which is agreeing not to overdo it. http://slowdownnow.org/ [Accessed 24-10-16]

From Slow Food to Cittaslow: philosophical and ideological roots

Certain characteristics of both Slow Food and Cittaslow are visibly influenced by the political and cultural concerns of those who led the way in its earliest incarnations. As Slow Food evolved, much was drawn from direct experience of co-operation within small local organisations, and more explicitly from the co-operative movement and local organs of the Italian Communist Party. Both credentials display a left-wing inclination and an awareness of the fine-grained practical skills and difficulties associated with building and maintaining functional working groups. The radical history of Slow is not immediately obvious on the surface, and this philosophy that values taste, good quality products, and the cultural and environmental aspects of life, often appeals to a rather middle-class and conservative (with a small 'c') mind-set in UK contexts. This, however, shouldn't be allowed to mask what is radical about the vision.

Carlo Petrini, the founder of Slow food was born in 1949, Studied Sociology at Trento University in the 1970s, then (with friends Piero Sardo and Alberto Capatti) started organising cultural activities in their home town of Bra. These were initially developed through ARCI[7], an

[7] Established in 1957: Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana or Italian Cultural Recreational Association

organisation affiliated with the Italian Communist Party, which acted as a kind of umbrella organisation for the many volunteer groups and workers' co-operatives that enjoyed a strong tradition in Italy since the nineteenth century (Van der Meulen, 2008). Petrini also wrote on food and wine for two left wing daily papers: *Il Manifesto* (run by a co-operative of journalists) and *L'Unità*.

In the 1980s they started a co-operative group known as the 'Friends of Barolo'[8] (Barolo being a wine of the Piedmont region) that aimed to promote wine, food and tourism. Concerned by what they perceived as a loss of identity in the area, this group formed the nucleus of what would become Arcigola, (constituted, July 1986) which would soon transform into Slow Food. Several elements in the gestation of the organisation are acknowledged in the playful name of Arcigola (pronounced Archi-gola). First, it nodded to its roots in ARCI, then it connected the prefix 'arci' with Milan's *La Gola* magazine, to which many of those founder-members contributed. 'Gola' means throat or gullet, and by extension something akin to appetite, enjoyment or gluttony for food. *La Gola* was a food and wine magazine that approached the topic through Epicurean philosophy, sociology, literature and anthropology, and was published by an editorial co-operative group of young intellectuals. So, in short, the meaning of Arcigola was something like: 'arch-gluttony'.

> Slow Food endorses the primacy of sensory experience and treats eyesight, hearing, smell, touch, and taste as so many instruments of discernment, self-defence and pleasure. The education of taste is the Slow way to resist McDonaldization.
>
> Petrini, 2001:69

Arcigola emerged in response to the first McDonalds in Rome – the second in Italy – opening its doors on the famous Spanish Steps in March of that year. (As a personal aside, I note that 'arci' could also make reference to the 'golden arches' of McDonalds – although this resonance is not recorded in the literature as a deliberate pun.) The fledgling group protested outside with bowls of pasta to state their case against this "symbol of new American imperialism" (Petrini 2001:26). The aim was determinedly not to adopt a strategy of head-on confrontation with the multinational, but rather to draw attention to the rich diversity of a regional gastronomic culture, supported by production methods that maintained local traditions and livelihoods. The distracted experience of McDonalds dining is intended to be convenient, predictable and centrally controlled, regardless of location (Ritzer [1993] 2013), and with its insistent banner announcing standardised food, aesthetics, spaces and behaviours, the outlet was perceived as

[8] Libera e Benemerita Associazione Amici del Barolo: the Free and Meritorious Association of Friends of Barolo

the embodiment of 'fast' capitalism. As a counterpoint to the globalised uniformity of 'fast' food, the new name of Slow Food was coined.

The 'Manifesto dello Slow Food' was first published in November 1987 in *Il Gambero Rosso* (The Red Prawn) a food and wine magazine associated with *Il Manifesto*. On the tenth of December 1989, the Slow Food Manifesto was released in a Paris theatre, Arcigola was renamed as Slow Food, and the symbol of the snail was adopted.

Figure 3.1 Slow Food logo

Slow Food now has more than 100,000 members worldwide[9]. The international headquarters are located in Bra, where, in 2004, they founded the University of Gastronomic Sciences. Petrini still writes as a journalist for the newspaper La Repubblica and, amongst other plaudits, was named in The Guardian as one of the "50 people who could save the planet" (05/01/2008).

The idea for a network of towns following Slow principles was first launched at the Slow Food World Congress in Orvieto 1997, by Carlo Petrini. In 1999 Cittaslow was founded, and the Cittaslow Charter was signed by Petrini and the mayors of Bra, Orvieto, Positano and Greve-in-Chianti.

Figure 3.2 Cittaslow logo

3.1.1 Cittaslow: Context and key terms

Cittaslow set out to apply the principles of Slow Food to small towns (the Italian word città means either town or city). Cittaslow is a curious portmanteau word, half Italian and half

[9] Source: http://www.slowfood.com/our-network/

English, open to multiple pronunciations, and not self-evident in its meaning. The slightly incongruous linguistic union somehow parallels tensions in the whole model. It is not a simple concept to translate. Whilst Slow seems intuitive to grasp in relation to food, it is harder to define in relation to towns, and this is one of the particular problematics of Cittaslow. Slow Food addresses itself directly to aspects of our sensate bodies such as how we eat and what we eat (sustenance and sustainability being etymologically connected concepts), but Cittaslow seeks to situate the whole philosophy within the tramlines and strictures of local government institutions.

The membership operates through a network of small towns loosely held within the transnational movement: 225 towns across 30 countries (as of June 2016). There are three tiers of governance: firstly, the international (headquartered in Italy); secondly, the national (for example Cittaslow UK, made up of representatives from all UK towns); and thirdly, the local (that is, the individual member towns). The membership stretches from South Korea to North America, from Iceland to Australia, from South Africa to Poland. Remarkably, the model has shown enough fluidity to enfold these varied cultural situations. Cittaslow UK was established in 2004.

The whole organisation is co-ordinated by Cittaslow International from Orvieto, Italy. They convene an annual International General Assembly to which all member towns are invited, at which decisions are made regarding the strategic development of the movement, and at which key office bearers and an International Coordinating Committee (made up of representatives from the various national networks around the world) is elected. The Coordinating Committee meets up to three times a year in different member towns, to discuss and share practices, as well as dealing with on-going management of the project. Cittaslow International has also established special interest committees to consider policies relating to specific objectives of the movement.

Cittaslow interprets Slow principles to address aspects of town life such as environmental protection, conservation of historic buildings, promotion of local traditions and active community participation in the life of the town. They have developed a set of goals or objectives (see Appendix A) with respect to these values, which member towns are expected to positively address in order to enhance the quality of life they offer for residents, businesses and visitors. The question implicit in Cittaslow philosophy is: what would it mean to put quality of life at the heart of local policy development?

Cittaslow in its own terms: Rete internazionale delle città del buon vivere

The appellation above translates roughly as, 'an international network of towns where the living is good'. In its Charter document (updated 2014) Cittaslow explicitly acknowledges its roots in the Slow Food philosophy. A group of four mayors whose towns had 'distinguished themselves' in espousing Slow Food principles got together, and reimagined themselves as Slow towns:

> …an international network of the Cittaslow, which decided together to live their mutual experiences, starting from a shared code of concrete and verifiable behaviours, broadening attention to a good table, quality of accommodation, services and urban fabric (sic[10]).
>
> Orvieto, 15 October 1999, quoted in Cittaslow Charter, 2014

Cittaslow situate themselves quite clearly in relation to globalisation, and a desire to evolve new ways of dealing with both the challenges and opportunities it brings. The underlying principles of this new approach are identified as nurturing the unique identity of place, sharing knowledge, and valuing culture as something that is open to all.

> The development of local communities is based, among others, on the ability to share and recognise their intrinsic specific traits, of regaining their own identity, visible from outside and deeply lived within.
>
> Globalisation, although representing an opportunity of exchange and circulation, has a tendency though, to flatten-out the differences and hide the features typical of the individual communities, proposing pedestrian average models that do not belong to no one and generate, inevitably, mediocrity. But a different need is spreading, of new solutions that go toward research and spreading of excellence, without necessarily turning it in an elite event, but instead, proposing it as a cultural event, and as such universal [sic].
>
> Cittaslow Charter 2014:21

As discussed by Pink (2012) part of Cittaslow's reach is down to its online identity. Online mechanisms permeate the Cittaslow imaginary in a fluid interaction with its sensory and embodied understanding of human values. In a speech given as outgoing President at the 2014 Cittaslow International Assembly, Paolo Saturnini drew a distinction between the material

[10] Cittaslow documents are generally produced in Italian alongside a translation in slightly eccentric English.

world – which he equated with 'hardware' – and intangibles like culture, values, knowledges and traditions – which he called 'the software of the world'.

> Nel software del mondo c'è la nostra storia, ci sono le nostre conoscenze. Il software del mondo è importante come l'acqua che beviamo, come l'aria che respiriamo. Non possiamo permetterci di perderlo!
>
> In the software of the world is our (hi)story, there lie our knowledges. The software of the world is as important as the water that we drink, as the air that we breathe. We cannot allow ourselves to lose it. [Author's translation]

Living well

The extract below is taken from the Cittaslow International website. The Slow philosophy and its conception of what constitutes good living is rooted in Italian history and culture, both recent and ancient.

> Good living means having the opportunity of enjoying solutions and services that allow citizens to live their town in an easy and pleasant way.
>
> Living slow means being slowly hasty: 'festina lente' latins used to say (…) in other words, looking for the best of the knowledge of the past and enjoying it thanks to the best possibilities of the present and of the future (sic).
>
> http://www.cittaslow.org/section/association/philosophy [Accessed: 26-04-14]

Certain aspects of Slow philosophy can be traced back, to Renaissance Humanism, and arguably beyond that, to classical antiquity. The phrase *festina lente*, (see quote above) is a Latin version of a classical Greek saying, and is central to Slow philosophy. It is usually translated into English as 'make haste slowly' or "proceed quickly, but with caution" (Miele, 2008:150), and it sums up the principle of seeking balance, harmony and especially moderation as moral virtues central to the appetites and emotions in classical Greek philosophy (Parry, 2014). Erasmus, the Renaissance Humanist classical scholar, included it in his collection of Greek and Latin proverbs known as the *Adagia* (1500-1536), saying *festina lente* was recorded as a favourite saying and guiding principle of several Roman Emperors, and was often represented with the symbol of a dolphin and anchor.

> The anchor, which stays and moors a ship and keeps it in place, indicates slowness. The dolphin, the fastest of all animals, and the animal of keenest reflexes, expresses speed.
>
> Desiderius Erasmus : *Adagia* II, 1, 1: *Festina Lente*.
> http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/speude/ [Accessed 4-10-16]

Extracts below further illustrate the identification of those who have been instrumental in developing Slow values and principles with precursors in Renaissance Humanism and classical philosophies.

> The model for the ideal city is the late-medieval and Renaissance one, with the piazza functioning as a centre of social aggregation. Europe has to remember its roots and acknowledge the historical role its cities have played in the construction of its identity.
>
> Stefano Cimicchi (2003) speaking as Mayor of Orvieto and President of Cittaslow International (quoted in Parkins and Craig, 2006:78)

> The ideal of balance was the foundation for the philosophical, medical, and dietetic treatises of Greek and Roman antiquity, so it made perfect sense that this value system was revived by the culture of renaissance humanists. For the humanists, classicism was a philosophy of life, as well as the philological study of texts.
>
> Massimo Montanari (quoted in Petrini, 2001:22)

> There has to be a new humanism if this ground is really to be ploughed: a change in values and a change in the idea of what money means and what richness is.
>
> Interview with Carlo Petrini
> http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/feb/04/slow-food-carlo-petrini
> [Accessed 19-04-14]

The discussion above illustrates how the development of Slow philosophy has been articulated by the organisations that have defined it – Slow Food and Cittaslow. In tracing an evolutionary lineage for Slow back to classical roots via Renaissance Humanism, we encounter an interesting counterpoint to earlier discussions that also situated the origins of neoliberalism in pre-enlightenment developments of the Italian Renaissance (see Chapter 2). A genealogical complexity is revealed descending from that humanist blossoming of the individual – in one case leading to an impulse towards materialistic, economic and rationalistic interpretations –

and in the other, bringing a focus on human flourishing and agency to pursue an ethical imperative to live well and make the world a better place for all.

3.1.2 Autochthony and Conviviality

Within the vocabulary of Slow there are two terms that, although not in common English usage, have been singled out in this thesis as revealing some of the connections and tensions that exist within the Cittaslow philosophy.

> *Autochthony* comes from the Greek: autos meaning self, and chthonos meaning soil; and literally means sprung from the soil (as the Athenians claimed to have done). It implies something that belongs, that has formed in its present position, has grown from the land, and is somehow 'natural' to the place. It is used to describe the specificity of local traditions, culture, produce, architecture, cuisine and so forth. However, it can also carry connotations of indigenous or entitled (and can therefore be seen in relation to terms of 'non-belonging' like in-comer, migrant or colonist).
>
> *Conviviality* comes from the Latin: con meaning with, and vivere meaning to live; and so literally means living together (as Rome's foundation myth describes offering asylum to all comers). In the Slow Food movement small locally-formed committees are known as 'convivia' and the word convivial is used to invoke the sense of communal celebration and enjoyment of the senses that is part of the Slow ethos. It can be seen in an almost opposite sense to the more negative connotations of autochthony: that of bringing diverse peoples together and finding how to be welcoming, how to accommodate difference, and how to live well alongside each other.

Closely linked to the notion of autochthony is that of 'territorio' or territory. Carlo Petrini defines its use in Slow Food as equivalent to the French term 'terroire'

> …the combination of natural factors (soil, water, slope, height above sea level, vegetation, microclimate) and human ones (tradition and practice of cultivation) that gives a unique character to each small agricultural locality and the food grown, raised made and cooked there.
>
> Petrini 2001:8

However, in shifting the focus from food to towns the interpretation of the word territory must be expanded, linking it to more geographical considerations of space and power (for example, Foucault 1980; Harvey 1990; Scott 1998; Ingold 2000; Latour and Hermant 2004; Massey 2005; Sennett 2012: see Chapter 2). In unfurling the resonances of autochthony and

conviviality I treat them as abstract concepts that can be used to theorise and critique Cittaslow in a way that departs from existing literature about Cittaslow (see section 3.2 below). Conviviality can be connected to themes of co-operation and skill and can problematise simplifying terms such as 'community' as analytical categories. Autochthony can be connected to themes of territory, belonging, and authenticity to critically problematise notions of legitimacy. Central to my interpretation of autochthonous and convivial knowledges are considerations of time: long, Slow, deep time, but also human-scale evolving understandings.

The localised forms autochthony and conviviality take are intimately interconnected, in that they arise from precise social, cultural and geographical contexts. It requires the fostering of crafted and embodied skills in order to negotiate both complex social diversities, and to understand, interpret and work with, local 'terroire'. Throughout the thesis I will refer back to the tensions in these terms – not as thesis and antithesis, but discursively and dialogically.

Existing theorisations

Autochthony has not been widely theorised, although there is some engagement with the term in anthropological writing where it is generally associated with notions of 'indigenous peoples', ethnicity and nationalism. Kuper (e.g. 2003, 2006) has questioned the term as employing outdated anthropological constructions based on essentialised 'primitive' societies. Zenker (2011) challenges this and utilises the term to discuss the links between individual, territory and group; but still connects it to struggles that emerge around place of birth, migration and the claiming of territory or rights from the state.

I depart from these theorisations to develop meaning from its use within the Slow movement, extending this as an analytical lens to identify the embodied skills and knowledges that come from living and sensing and working in a particular situated context – in this case, the small towns of Cittaslow UK.

Existing theories on conviviality largely see it as a take on multiculturalism or inter-racial relations, and it is almost exclusively considered in a city or urban context (Noble 2013; Karner and Parker 2011; Gilroy 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Hall 2012). Gilroy, for example, contextualises conviviality within post-colonial thinking, as the cohabitation and interaction of different races in urban working-class localities, where the post-colonial incomer is "hostage to a discourse on migrancy, which is entirely xenophobic and exclusionary in character" (2006:3). Hall takes Gilroy's definition too, quoting his usage as "a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity, but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not" (Gilroy, 2006b in Hall, 2012:19). Noble notes that conviviality has also been identified with an idea of 'cosmopolitanism' (2013:165), although it is suggested that such an identity

more often refers to global elites who move between exotic cultures, and so inhabit a kind of meta-cultural position (Hannerz 1992:252).

The convivial skills that are applied in Cittaslow UK towns, however, are not manifestations of a metropolitan context (nor a multicultural one in this obvious sense). They are more sensibly understood as emplaced within, rather than across, cultures – focussing on interpersonal relations – sometimes between long extant, but not easily visible, social divisions in small towns (divisions that more than one of my contributors in more than one town described as 'tribal'). Shades of a different kind of 'cosmopolitanism' could be seen in the dynamics of how practices are developed and shared across the international network of small towns, offering a more-than-local perspective to specifically local issues, but Noble's interpretation does not map well onto Cittaslow. Conviviality in this context is particularly applicable to small town settings and focuses on skills such as "everyday diplomacy" (Sennett 2012:221), civility and co-operation.

This thesis, therefore, will add to current definitions of conviviality and autochthony, arguing that, in the context of Slow, the particular lineage running back through Italian culture, with influences from Renaissance Humanism, classical Rome and Greece, invites an alternative understanding. The concepts of autochthony and conviviality are used to draw out a sense of how people feel attachment to locality and place. It will propose that part of identity-making comes from embodied knowledge. That is to say, through bodies of knowledge and skills used in everyday contexts that are experienced, learned, remembered, and passed on through sensory and non-written interpretations of the world – and which emerge from the peculiarities of being, living, acting and enacting in a particular situated environment or context. Body, place, knowing and temporality combine in such a way that they mutually inform each other. If one follows through this logic, it becomes difficult to theorise these 'sites' of experience as individual or scalar entities, therefore they are considered as aspects of conviviality and autochthony which offer evidence of underlying continuities lying beneath common categorisations.

Autochthony, conviviality and Slow philosophy then, are taken here as ways of knowing – skills to be used for navigating the world that account for the intimately embodied, and the locally contextual alongside globally affective influences. The thesis builds a conceptual framework that uses autochthony and conviviality, Slow 'fast' and crafted knowledges as tools that can reveal otherwise ignored aspects of Cittaslow towns, allowing a critique of the organisation and its members' endeavours to navigate power relations produced by dominant 'fast' narratives.

3.2 Situating Cittaslow: existing frames of scholarly analysis

This section looks at a range of literature about Cittaslow, demonstrating how existing academic framings have been formative in developing this thesis, but also explaining where and why the current project departs from them.

The Cittaslow place is a small town with a population under 50,000, and often significantly lower. For this reason I call them 'Slow towns' rather than 'Slow cities' (as it is frequently translated) and only briefly allude to literature situated in a body of work about the urban and the city. I suggest that a conflation of small town contexts with urban theories risks obscuring what is potentially important or unique about the organisation and its philosophy. Cittaslow offers a complex vision that reveals continuities ranging from the intimately embodied to the globally connected – placing a focus on taste, enjoyment, craft, skill, conviviality and autochthony. The broad scope of Cittaslow's concerns does not sit easily within structured classifications and analyses, and the struggle to accommodate this breadth can be seen in much of the literature that addresses it.

Starting with the foundation of Slow Food in 1989, and of Cittaslow in 1999, a small but growing body of critical literature has emerged on Cittaslow and the Slow movement. This academic writing sits alongside literature produced by practitioners from within these organisations (such as Petrini 2004, 2007; Van der Meulen, 2008) and a burgeoning parallel commentary from others who have embraced the philosophy of Slow and are applying it to various conceptions of everyday life (for example, Honoré, 2005, 2013). It seems the movement is new enough, and its message is flexible enough, that there little consensus on what exactly it is. In this section I identify existing key trends in the scholarly analysis of Cittaslow.

3.2.1 Urban Development Theories

Attention has often been directed at the urban planning potential Cittaslow offers, characterising it as a transferrable model of sustainable urban design or economic development (Knox, 2005; Mayer and Knox 2006; Knox and Mayer, 2009; Knox and Mayer 2010; Carp 2012; Knox, and Mayer 2013; Radstrom, 2011; Pink 2008).

Knox (2005) for example, draws attention to theories such as New Urbanism that are concerned with 'place-making' where designers build new squares and townscapes as part of a heritage industry, creating convergences of identity that arguably make them part of, rather than responses to, globalising tendencies. Cittaslow, he argues, is more aligned with the social (rather than built) construction of place, where 'fast' is linked to unprecedented rates of change

resulting from capitalism. Knox characterises Cittaslow as a grass roots response to a 'fast' world in which "local authenticity and ethnic identities" (2005:5) become more valued the more universally the 'fast' world permeates, thus strengthening counter cultural movements. Within this urban development framing, sustainability agendas are broadly linked to issues of design, consumption, resource use and economic opportunity (Knox 2005; Mayer and Knox 2006) and Cittaslow is characterised as a powerful marketing tool for towns.

Radstrom (2011) argues that Cittaslow practices, which place emphasis on autochthonous crafts, skills and livelihoods, highlight a failure in planning and urban theory analyses. Like Knox she questions the importance of place-making, and she goes on to make a case for place-sustaining instead:

> The danger is that by not focusing on place-sustaining, planners will be doomed to a continual cycle of place-making which will always aim, but may not succeed, to re-create the original sense of place. The maintenance of a sense of place may not be obvious and might only be noticed in its absence, when places are left unsustained.
>
> Radstrom, 2011:108-9

She underlines the importance of maintaining a vernacular identity to avoid the creation of 'everywhere communities' and characterises Cittaslow towns as being connected by a philosophical Slow layer that proliferates via a ripple effect, uniting them through a continuity of philosophy about their own unique identities, rather than uniformity (2011:104). Throughout, Mayer, Knox (2006, 2013) and Radstrom (2011) make a consistent case that small towns are under-represented in urban and planning literature (see also Pink 2009a; Servon and Pink 2015, Bell and Jayne 2006).

Response

This project moves away from those sustainable design and planning approaches that cast Cittaslow as a useful marketing tool, and which are largely situated in a body of writing about the urban and the city (neither of which entirely fit with Cittaslow). Instead I consider a perspective framed by geographical, anthropological and crafted approaches. Nevertheless, aspects of these analyses have been helpful, especially in introducing ideas of place-sustaining, and in highlighting the particular challenges to small town life that accompany unprecedented rates and scales of change and technological connectedness over recent decades.

3.2.2 Resilience Theory

Cittaslow has been considered by some social scientists through a lens of resilience theory (Carp 2011, 2012; Pink and Lewis 2014). Resilience is a framing couched in the idea of behavioural change or resistance in response to crisis. Originally the theory emerged from mathematical and natural sciences (Davoudi, 2012; Davidson 2010) studying predictability and control by looking at linear behaviours in ecological systems subjected to perturbation. Its application to the social sciences developed largely from work by Hollings and Gunderson (e.g Hollings, 1973; Gunderson and Hollings, 2002), who employ the terminology of variables, scales, levels and sites to enquire where adaptive feedback cycles might occur. In recent years resilience theory has been increasingly applied to the study of complex social systems (Brown 2013).

Resilience theorisation relies on assumptions of thresholds and 'tipping points', of a stable 'natural' state from which a deviation can be judged to happen at a particular temporal and spatial time using subjective indicators, and on the existence of consistent connective structures that enable feedback (Davidson, 2010). It proposes three possible responses to disruption: first, resilience is the ability of a given system to absorb disturbance and subsequently to resume its original form without change to the initial system. Second, adaptation is the ability to reduce exposure to, or minimise impact from, a particular perturbation of the system. Third, transformation is the result of a sudden collapse, equivalent in societal terms to circumstances that cause the breakdown of multiple institutions or structures that characterise a social system. However Davidson suggests that applying a framework that originated in the ecological sciences to social systems is "of limited utility" (2010:1146) and makes the point that - of these three possible responses - resilience is not necessarily always the best.

Carp (2011, 2012), like Knox, Mayer and Radstrom, approaches Cittaslow from an urban planning perspective, directing her comments at environmental professionals, and asserting that we are in the middle of a global slow disaster (2011): a crisis to which resilience is the best response. In order to achieve social and ecological resilience, she argues, the way resource system management is conceived needs to change. Carp's argument, though, is not narrowly focussed on the resilience framework, and she introduces a complementary framing that considers how valuing different types of knowledge could achieve this, drawing particularly on Orr's (1996, 2002) proposal of 'slow knowledge' and the unique significance of pleasure in Cittaslow's approach.

Pink and Lewis (2014) also engage with resilience theory acknowledging, however, that there can be challenges associated with the transferal of concepts across disciplines, one of which (in

this case) being a loss of capacity to analyse the political. Their paper seeks to re-frame resilience in the light of Ingold's anthropological writings on craft and making (e.g. 2013, 2014) and entanglement (e.g. 2000, 2008, 2011a), suggesting a focus on how forms of resilience are experienced, and so emerge to cast light on modes of indirect activism. The authors admit the problem of 'binarisms' promoted by concepts of contestation and resistance, suggesting rather that resilience is 'made' through the relationality of things, narratives flows and processes. They specifically signal their departure from studies that "define Cittaslow through practices of local resistance, alternative temporalities, globalization and reactive deceleration" (2014:696), challenging terminologies of territorial scales and boundaries. The inclusion of these qualifications reflects the difficulties of adapting the breadth and complexity of Cittaslow to an arguably reductionist theoretical framework. Additionally I would argue that the imaginary of catastrophe and resistance that are central to this conception are not broadly compatible with the gentler approaches held in the philosophy of Slow, as illustrated by Petrini (2001), the founder of Slow Food, who asserts that head-on confrontation is not the preferred path.

> That is not the slow style. Our choice is to focus our energies on saving things that are headed for extinction, instead of hounding the new ones we don't like.
>
> Petrini, 2001:26

Davidson does not write about Cittaslow, but her critique of resilience theory as applied to complex social systems throws up interesting resonances with Pink and Lewis' argument. Like them, Davidson (2010) highlights human agency and collective action as additional aspects where resilience theory's roots lumber it with a lack of analytical capacity. She lists five features of human agency in a given system which resilience theory is "woefully insufficient" to shed light on (2010:1143). Firstly, when people take action to protect their own interests it can lead to disruption elsewhere or 'elsewhen', so impacts are not obviously visible within that system. Secondly, having the power to take action is unequally distributed. Thirdly, human beings imagine: and that creativity can drive towards the realisation of improvements (or detriments) in quality of life and sustainable living. Fourthly, technology allows humans the capacity to perceive changes at larger scale and longer term than immediate sensory abilities and experience allow, providing the potential to consciously ameliorate circumstances. And fifthly, collective action allows these potentials to be realised. The potentialities of co-operation and innovation therefore make it untenable to scientifically define ensuing trajectories after 'perturbation' in complex social systems.

Response

As noted above, Pink and Lewis (2014) register some concerns regarding recurrent theoretical representations used to analyse Cittaslow in the literature, and their paper constitutes an important contribution to writing on the subject. They problematise categories of distinction and scalar hierarchies, a concern which this thesis picks up and takes further. However, resilience theory is not engaged with in this thesis. For reasons discussed above, I argue that there remain certain inherent contradictions built into its forms of conceptualisation that are unhelpful. The difficulty of reconciling these with the complexity of how Cittaslow is manifest can be seen in the following extract from Pink and Lewis' paper, which precedes a passage about the forging and *crafting* of relationships:

> Simultaneously the Slow movement inhabits a domain extended beyond particular localities where global and local, digital and material, flows of people, things, capital, power, resources, discourse, and forms of activism become mutually interwoven in complex and changing ecologies of place. (Pink and Lewis, 2014:696)

The multiplicity of imaginaries conjured up by the use in a single sentence of descriptors such as 'domain', 'localities', 'flows', 'interwoven' and 'ecologies' could be seen as evoking conflictual conceptions of relationality that include: stratified and scalar categories, territorial boundaries, continuous streams, entangled threads and genealogical orderings. As a response and a counterpoint to such evident difficulties, the current project extends Pink and Lewis' introduction of a 'craft' perspective as a means of revealing the simultaneities and continuities that can lie hidden beneath bounded metaphorical categories.[11]

3.2.3 Slow and 'fast'

Almost all scholarly writing on Cittaslow situates the organisation in narratives of 'slow' and 'fast' – as does this thesis. The various conceptions and contestations are briefly reviewed below along with a clarification as to how the apparent binary is subverted in the current project.

[11] As a late addition to this discussion (Feb 2017) a forthcoming Routledge publication is announced by Davidou, Bohland, Knox and Lawrence: *The Resilience Machine*. They argue the use of resilience theory is not a useful public policy objective and risks "becoming another carrier of neoliberal ideologies, policies and practices with negative implications for social justice and democracy". http://www.urbanresilienceresearch.net/2017/02/09/the-resilience-machine/

Commonly the 'fast' world is characterised as relating to processes of homogenisation and globalisation linked to effects of rapid change, telecommunication technologies, transnational industries, capitalism, and neoliberal approaches (Knox 2005; Mayer and Knox 2006; Knox and Mayer 2010. 2013; Miele, 2008; Parkins 2004; Parkins and Craig 2006). In Knox's early writing on Slow (2005) he links speed to notions of the developed world and Slow to those of the undeveloped world:

> The 'slow world', on the other hand, consists chiefly of the impoverished places and regions within less developed countries and accounts for about 85% of the world's population.
>
> Knox, 2005:9

By 2013 Knox and Mayer's interpretation is more nuanced, presenting Slow as a reaction to change on an unprecedented scale at an extraordinary rate, and to the unwanted side effects of global commodification, fragmentations of identity and loss of social ties, resulting in a network society dominated by flows of capital, ideas and people.

Miele (2008) broadly takes a similar understanding of 'fast' but couches her analysis in Latour's Actor Network Theory, science and technology studies, and material semiotics. She characterises Cittaslow as creating borders against the spread of the 'fast life'. Slow then, is a set of fluid technologies for producing Slowness differently in each place. That is: *mutable* mobiles, rather than 'fast' *immutable* mobiles as illustrated, for example, by McDonaldisation (see Ritzer [1993] 2013). Slow is therefore presented by Miele as falling into a discrete category oppositional to 'fast', and producing practices and spaces that are "recognisable as Slow, and opposite to fast, in a specific locality at a specific time" (2008:147).

As an extension of 'fast', Cittaslow has additionally been situated as part of a cultural studies analysis in a deceleration narrative (Tomlinson 2007; Parkins and Craig 2006; Parkins 2004). Here 'slow communities' are seen as expressions of resistance to the accelerated pace of modern existence in the global everyday (Parkins and Craig, 2006), addressing ways of life that have become increasingly marginalised because they are excluded from dominant expressions and structures of modern living. In this context Parkins constructs slowness as "a deliberate subversion of the dominance of speed" (2004:363) using "an unusual amalgam of pleasure and politics" (2004:372). Tomlinson's (2007) cultural analysis, on the other hand leans heavily on a review of websites related to the Slow movement, and he interprets Cittaslow's place in a modern deceleration narrative differently. He sees it as not politically focussed, but couched in cultural values and employing a "politely dissenting discourse" that "generally avoids picking a fight with large social forces" (2007:148). Cittaslow, he argues, is therefore not engaged in any

direct challenge to a 'condition of immediacy' (Tomlinson's key thesis about how fast capitalism and media technologies saturate the everyday cultural experience). This view is not supported by the present research, and Tomlinson's contention that Cittaslow is limited to bourgeois Western enclaves is countered by Pink and Servon (2013) as missing the point:

> Indeed, it is by situating Cittaslow theoretically within a narrative of modern Western capitalism and deceleration that its transformative potential is rendered ineffectual.
>
> Pink and Servon, 2013:455

Servon and Pink (2015) invoke the term 'glocal' (as coined by Robertson in 1994, cited 2015:330) in order to make the argument that globalisation is not inevitably a driver of homogenisation and is not necessarily in tension with localisation. Cittaslow, they suggest, invites a form of gentle engagement with forces of globalisation, not resisting them, but challenging the neoliberal assumption that growth is the key to successful development. This study of Spanish Cittaslow towns shows that they do not seek to mimic or compete with each other through branding and marketing – but use Cittaslow to reinforce existing identities and help hold the local:

> Globalization is neither a menace nor a panacea; it is a complex process of social, cultural, economic and political connectedness that must be approached at a high level of complexity and abstractness.
>
> Khondker 2000:18, and quoted in Servon and Pink, 2015:330

Response.

Pink and Lewis (2014) question the framing of Slow as oppositional or resistant to a 'fast' modernity located within a "reactive strain of deceleration within a wider process of a speeded-up culture" (2014:697). Their objection is partially to the apparent binary, but is also based on ethnographic findings that Cittaslow leaders do not describe their work that way, rather describing it as protecting the uniqueness of their existing ways of living (Pink and Servon, 2013, and others). This position is consistent with my own ethnographic findings, yet I have nevertheless found it analytically useful to think about Slow and 'fast', not as oppositional categories, but conceiving Slow thinking as able to reveal hidden continuities that subvert the categories and boundaries imposed by 'fast', transposed and universalised ways of seeing. Thus, the need to understand Cittaslow through specific experiences of place (Pink and Lewis 2014) is not lost in this conception, but is consolidated.

3.2.4 'Community' and 'activism'

It is not uncommon to see the word 'community' used in analyses of Cittaslow, nor to hear it spoken by members of Cittaslow when discussing their local context. Pink (2008b) argues that the term 'community' is not an analytically useful category in considering Cittaslow because the 'socialities' that produce action are differently constituted. The "senses of belonging and connectedness between and amongst individuals in the towns" (2008b:185) are built around multiple interpretations of more complex and nuanced, sensory and emotional relationships. Pink describes socialities as: "different sets of concrete (and in this case face-to-face) social relationships that develop around actual activities", and are evidenced by "forms of contact that may have varying intensities and durations (…) and other material and sensorial elements" (2008b:172).

Response

My findings are entirely in line with Pink's contention that the Cittaslow model does not produce something that could usefully be called a community, and therefore it is not the action of a community that produces outcomes in Cittaslow towns. This is an example of how the use of simplifying bounded categories do not do meaningful work in revealing how 'hidden continuities' within social dynamics are the more subtle conduits for producing action. Parkins and Craig (2006) argue that Cittaslow can drive processes of change – and indeed I have found evidence to support this. But using the simplifying characterisation of a community as the key actor masks the dynamics of how Slow values permeate through diverse capillaries of influence to produce results. Problematically for Cittaslow, however, the result can be that even when these subtle interactions produce results that are tangible and visible within a town, they are not always easily traced back, so credit is not apportioned to Cittaslow and its effects in the town.

This speaks to a problem repeatedly identified by Cittaslow representatives early on in my scoping: that of how to make Cittaslow's work more visible and more measurable. It is not a dilemma to which there is an easy answer, particularly in light of the style of gentle "indirect activism" (Pink 2008b:164) practiced within the towns. In talking about indirect activism (Pink 2007; Pink 2012; Pink 2008; Servon and Pink 2015) Pink's intention is to convey how Cittaslow tends to operate not through communities nor direct confrontation, but rather its followers seek to gently persuade by example, sustaining what is perceived as valuable by affecting local policies and championing everyday practices that produce agency and sociality. However, in this document I have avoided applying the term 'activism' directly to Cittaslow people and their actions, because my research has shown that the nature of Cittaslow UK

involvement means that its 'reps' do not typically see themselves as 'activists', and do not describe themselves that way.

3.2.5 Sensory Understandings of Cittaslow

Pink in particular has championed the theorisation of sensory approaches to research methodology that can take account of complex embodied responses to environment and context (Pink, 2007; 2008; 2009; 2012; Pink and Servon 2013; Pink and Lewis 2014; Servon and Pink 2015).

> In order to understand more generally how and why certain models for sustainable urban development 'fit' or appeal to local leaders, we need to look beyond approaches that account for the cultural, material, and economic. We also need to seek the unspoken, experiential, and (at least initially) invisible strands of locality and treat these as routes to knowledge about how frameworks for development might be made coherent with local ways of being.
>
> Pink and servon 2013:465

Pink describes a 'sensate' approach to fieldwork that utilizes "ideas of learning as embodied, emplaced, sensorial and empathetic, rather than simply occurring through a mix of participation and observation" (2009:63).

Writing individually and in collaboration with Servon and Lewis, Pink consciously seeks to dissociate the analysis of Cittaslow from both the 'fast/slow' dichotomy and the urban development models discussed above. They focus instead on aspects of practice, sensorial experience and activism. Here the emphasis is placed on the "relationality of things, narratives, flows and processes that traverse the local-global in between" (Pink and Lewis 2014) to show how the global and local are mutually co-constitutive (Pink and Servon 2013). Pink is an anthropologist, and she resists the creation of bounded theoretical representational categories, drawing instead on writing such as Ingold's thesis of entanglement.

> The Cittaslow example offers us a way of considering how what Ingold (2008) would refer to as an 'entanglement' – conceived as unbounded and produced through movement – might be constituted through this tension between what can be represented and what is not. As researchers, we need to be able to engage likewise with this tension.
>
> Pink and servon 2013:465

This conception enfolds the sensual and experiential – so for example – to appreciate what is meant by terroire all the senses must be called upon, not just the intellect or the emotions (Pink 2008). A multi-sensorial approach to how people experience the environment requires the acknowledgement of complexities in the world, and Pink therefore critiques the notion of individual sensescapes (like 'soundscape', 'touchscape', 'smellscape') as artificially simplified representations conjured up and rendered back to us for interpretation and consumption.

> In reality, of course, the environment that people inhabit is not sliced up along the lines of the sensory pathways by which they access it. It is the same world, whatever paths they take.
>
> Pink, 2007:316

This chimes with Ingold's later critique of an 'anthropology of the senses' as promoted by Howes (2003; 2010) which, Ingold argues, encloses the senses in reified representational boxes (2011b; see also 2011a:136). These reifications lead to the proliferation of purifications and 'scapes' (a term borrowed from the art-historical 'landscape'). Perception, however, is not sliced up in this way.

The experiential approach to studying Cittaslow emerges from its philosophy which speaks to enjoyment, taste, and a sensory, embodied connection with local terroire – but such particulars are not easy to articulate. Pink and Servon's study of Spanish member towns (2013) cites how interviewees resorted to metaphor, stories and histories (see also Ingold, 2013) to express these aspects of local identity, arguing that 'being Cittaslow' becomes a way to express the inexpressible. It allows them to invest in embodied, tacit and sensory aspects of the town that are not normally prioritised, and that go way beyond the strictly measurable or material. The Cittaslow framework, then, is not applied to the town as a regeneration process, it is something that town leaders recognise themselves within, using it to help validate their "experiential uniqueness and authenticity" (2013:465).

Response

This thesis acknowledges the intention behind such statements as Pink and Servon's (above) that remind us to be wary of creating essentialised categories, but does not follow their lead in addressing this by engaging with Ingold's theory of entanglement (e.g. Ingold, 2000, 2008, 2011a). In taking it to its logical conclusion, the argument presented here moves the idea of entanglement even further, to propose a theorisation of hidden *continuities* that are often invisible to, or elided by, the use of categorical simplifications in social science writing, but which can be revealed by looking for crafted Slow knowledges.

3.2.6 Criticisms of Cittaslow (with brief responses)

Semmens and Freeman (2012) make an assertion that academics writing about Cittaslow tend to be insufficiently critical, focussing solely on successful towns to formulate and prove theories. Their analysis of Cittaslow's progress in New Zealand concluded that it is perceived as a superfluous brand that is over-regulatory in nature, not applicable outside Europe, not fluid across contexts (as for example Miele, 2008; or Parkins and Craig, 2006; suggest), and at risk of commodifying a new kind of 'everywhere community' (see Radstrom 2011). Towns in New Zealand that joined Cittaslow, they say, perceived it as dull, and the implementation of its goals were impeded by dominating exterior factors such as their local dependence on global corporations and a lack of value for local produce. Interestingly, when I circulated the article to Cittaslow UK board members the responses indicated surprise that what they take as useful frameworks and guidelines had appeared to be interpreted as hard and fast rules, and that the very factors that Cittaslow seeks to subvert were being used to diminish its relevance.

Nevertheless, despite Semmens and Freeman's accusation to the contrary, there are criticisms of Cittaslow to be found in academic writing. Others have noted that the ideals conceived in Italy may not be universally applicable:

> What works in a charming Italian hill town may not be suitable for towns less blessed in terms of physical setting, architecture, history, climate, and cultural traditions.
>
> Bjelland, 2010:1151

Additionally the danger is noted (Knox, 2005; Knox and Mayer, 2010; Knox and Mayer, 2013) that the designation could paradoxically become a form of brand recognition within the heritage industry (the very characterisation levelled by Semmens and Freeman). Cittaslow leaders, however, are at pains to emphasise that its utility runs much deeper than superficial branding (see Pink and Servon, 2015 for example). My findings in the UK revealed that this can, indeed, be a risk – and that when the emphasis becomes skewed towards branding, then the value of Cittaslow membership is frequently questioned within local towns.

A threat of succumbing to parochialism or nostalgia is voiced in literature as a risk, but appears to be largely speculative rather than based on empirical studies of Slow towns.

> One obvious critique of the CittaSlow movement is that it could all too easily produce enervated, backward-looking, isolationist communities: living mausoleums where the puritanical zealotry of Slowness has displaced the fervent materialism of the fast world.
>
> Knox 2005:7

One case to support the observation is cited by Knox and Mayer (2010) referring to an instance where the town of Lucca in Tuscany was apparently accused of racist exclusionism. Related concerns are voiced by Tomlinson (2007), who asserts that Cittaslow is not offering a transformative model but "defending enclaves of interest" and that Slow Food is "effectively a large commercial organization linked to its own specific upper-end gastronomic industry and market" (2007:147). As discussed above, however, Tomlinson's analysis of Cittaslow is largely web-based, and his interpretations are not borne out in field analyses.

The word 'slow' itself can carry negative connotations. Parkins (2004) notes that it can be associated with notions of a weak, prevaricating fool, whereas speed carries the seductiveness of being powerful, decisive and efficient. The task of presenting Slow as a positive is an on-going challenge raised frequently by Cittaslow UK representatives in this research.

3.3 Concluding thoughts

Taking into account the key trends in analysis discussed above, this thesis identifies areas where existing research frameworks only partially take account of the dimensions of Cittaslow, and also areas where existing analyses provide a springboard for further investigation. The thesis does not follow down the routes suggested by urban development theories, resilience theories, the presentation of fast/slow as oppositional binaries, or the use of terminologies like community and activism.

An alternative route is proposed that takes up the exploration of knowledges, of sensory and craft framings, and recognises that small towns are neither fully urban nor fully rural. The argument builds upon areas that are beginning to emerge as requiring further investigation, extending theorisation of the sensory, and the significance of craft in understanding local identities. New terms not previously the focus of scholarly Cittaslow analysis, such as conviviality and autochthony, are introduced, alongside new conceptualisations of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges, conflicts of knowing and hidden continuities.

The conceptual framework employed within the thesis has grown from an immersion in aspects of Slow philosophy, and engagement with the collaborative partners of Cittaslow UK. Slow has therefore been incorporated into the methodological and analytical framing, rather than Cittaslow being the subject of detached research and analysis. The next chapter will consider the methodological approach taken to fieldwork, which employs multi-sited ethnography "to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships" (Farzon 2009:1-2). Massey (2000) has argued, relationships are practice – they are dynamic processes. I argue that in order to follow and navigate such processes, the conceptualisation of a compass is more useful than that of a map.

Chapter 4. Navigating the Field Slowly

The first part of this chapter will tell how the methodological decisions associated with this project developed through a series of iterations from co-creation to multi-sited ethnography, conceptually framed within a perspective of Slow and crafted knowledge. It contains reflexive passages that relate the theoretical models to the positioning of the author in following these shifts. The chapter engages and synthesises various approaches to fieldwork, collaboration and engagement, building a reflection on the creative and crafted practices of research.

The second part of the chapter provides an outline of methods: what was done to generate 'findings'.

PART 1. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Taking a bearing

The networked nature of the Cittaslow organisation means that this project has an intrinsically geo-spatial underpinning, although the fieldwork has been primarily grounded in an anthropological style of research. Certain understandings of space (discussed below) have become accepted propositions in postmodern geographical thinking – and they hold within this project. If the principles below are accepted, then there is no reason why the spaces of geographic or ethnographic research should be exempted - they must become equally constructed, multi-scalar and multiple.

David Harvey (1990) developed the notion of time-space compression as something indicative of the moment, particularly in relation to capitalism and neo-liberalism. He draws on several key thinkers on space/time and social practice[12]. Harvey argues that space and time (and language) cannot be understood independently from social action (1990:225) and so power relationships are always implicated in spatial and temporal practices. He seeks to "challenge the idea of a single and objective sense of time or space, against which we can measure the diversity of human conceptions and perceptions" (1990:203). The first proposition, therefore, is that space is socially produced.

Massey elaborates on the need for an alternative approach to space, adding that, although the following propositions may seem obvious, it is still necessary to lay them out in a conscious attempt to counter the implacable tendency to create linear narratives – often in the service of neoliberal ideologies. She cites the example of the "inevitability of that particular form of

[12] Hagerstrand, De Certeau, Foucault, Bourdieu, Bachelard and Lefebvre – most of whom are not addressed directly in this thesis, but whose influence is implied and here acknowledged.

neoliberal capitalist globalisation which we are experiencing at the moment" (2005:4) where conceptions of progress and development are presented as descriptions of the world as it is, rather than the alternative analysis that they are images of a world that is being made: the product of a project rather than of inevitable laws of nature. Massey therefore offers three more propositions: that space is constituted by scalar interactions from the global to the "intimately tiny"; that it holds the possibility of multiple and contemporaneous plurality, co-existing and heterogeneous; and that it is always under construction and necessarily embedded in material practice (2005:9). This chapter relates these principles to the development of a research methodology.

4.2 From co-creation to ethnography to multi-sited ethnography

The exact framing of the methodological approach used in this project has gone through a number of iterations. The project was initially proposed and funded as an exploration of the potential of co-creation, prior to my involvement. As the researcher, I was to bring an ethnographic gaze through previous training. However, as scoping and then fieldwork progressed it became clear that neither co-creation nor ethnography (in its classic sense) were useful models to apply to this grounded situation and for a period of time I felt myself to be in a methodological wilderness. In seeking to take account of the multiplicity of the sites of study (both geographically and conceptually) and the collaborative relationships as they developed within it, I heuristically developed an approach that (I discovered later) is best expressed in terms of the relatively young meta-methodology of multi-sited ethnography first proposed by George Marcus in 1995, and developed further over recent years (for example, Hannerz, 2003, Marcus 2005, Holmes and Marcus 2006, Candea 2007, Marcus 2008, Holmes and Marcus 2008, Falzon et al 2009, Riles 2011, Marcus 2013).

Marcus attributes the evolution of the multi-sited approach in part to difficulties encountered by his doctoral dissertation students (1998:11) and identifies the PhD thesis as a strategic site of methodological innovation (see also 2005 and 2009)

> The dissertation and the process that produces it today is the most strategic site not only for seeing new norms and forms of multi-sited research in the making, by means of muddling through mistakes, and successes as well, but also for bringing about reforms of metamethod in anthropology.
>
> Marcus 2005:19

It is significant that the context within the current project – that of working collaboratively with an internationally networked organisation, in combination with using a fine-grained

ethnographic approach – produced a working method that closely relates to the model Marcus proposed, and for similar reasons. This thesis seeks to engage with the on-going development of this methodology, to critique the process via my own 'muddling through' and to provide an analysis of where and how the parameters of the approach, as so-far theorised, relate to my own findings and fieldwork experience.

4.2.1 Questioning co-creation

Co-creation does not have a fixed definition, but a lineage can be traced as participatory research practices evolved both in public service delivery (Needham, 2007) and academic – particularly health – research (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995). Co-creation is a collaborative meta-method also referred to as 'co-production', and has specific manifestations in various participative approaches such as Co-inquiry, Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR).

The original proposal for this project contained an intention to examine co-creation, re-imagining it from the fields of private and public service delivery and applying it to Cittaslow where the concern is to improve the quality of life of townsfolk, focusing on social and cultural practices. However, it quickly became clear that there were incompatibilities between these research models and the emerging shape of the 'field'.

Co-creation as public service delivery

During the late 1970s in the US, the term co-production was employed by political scientists to describe a response to public cutbacks at a time when expectations of services were rising. It acknowledged:

> …the involvement of citizens, clients, consumers, volunteers and/or community organisations in *producing* public services as well as consuming or otherwise benefitting from them"
>
> From Alford, 1998, quoted in Needham 2007:221 (original italics)

In the UK, the terms co-production and co-creation gained popularity since the late 1990s (particularly since the public service reforms of the Labour Government after 1997) as a move towards cultivating more reciprocal relationships between service users and service providers. That development can then be linked to more recent planning and policy debates concerned with promoting localism and sustainable communities - notably the Sustainable Communities Act 2007 and the 2010 Localism Bill (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008, 2011). A major criticism, however, has been that (even with the best intentions) these

terms have often been applied to practices that do not, in the end, differ much from more instrumental research models. Inflexibility of processes and limitations in analytic indicators can mean that social research engagements still emerge as only paying lip-service to the co-creative spirit (Needham, 2007; Boyle et al, 2010; Nutley, 2010).

Co-creation as academic research

Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) cite the origins of participatory research as having emerged in health research (again, in the 1970s), partly as a reaction against, or a plain frustration with, the inadequacies of 'conventional' research. The key change, they assert, lay in the attitude of the researcher and the location of the power at various stages of the research process, acknowledging it as an umbrella term under which there were degrees of collaboration. These ranged from researchers and local people working together on projects designed, initiated and managed by researchers; to researchers and local people working together as colleagues with different skills to offer, in a process of mutual learning where local people have control over the process.

Around the same time, these principles of mutual learning were crystallised by John Heron with his proposal of Co-inquiry, later developed further with Peter Reason (1981, 2006). They set out to blur the distinctions between researcher and subject – working *with* rather than *on* people. The method sought to achieve an equality between all co-researchers as far as focus, design, and production of results was concerned – with the aim that they eventually merged to become simultaneously co-researchers and co-subjects.

PAR shares many common features, emerging largely from work in an international development context in India (Cornwall, and Jewkes, 1995). It is distinct from other participatory approaches because it is driven by participants who produce, own and use the knowledge that results from it, it is collaborative at every stage and, significantly, it is intended to result in educational outcomes and some change or improvement in the issue being researched (Kindon et al, 2007; Pain et al, 2013) especially for those with the least power in society (Pain et al, 2016).

CBPR has much in common with Co-inquiry and PAR – however Banks et al (2013) distinguish CBPR from PAR because it is specifically driven by conducting research with 'communities' rather than by achieving action – and, whilst "participants in PAR are frequently members of pre-existing communities, this is not a defining characteristic" (2013:264). Communities are defined as:

> …a group of people with some (but not all) characteristics in common – for example, people who live in the same place (e.g. a housing estate, village or urban neighbourhood), or who share a common identity, interest or practice (e.g. a lesbian women's group, black young people's network and a football team)
>
> Banks et al 2013:264

Embedded in Co-inquiry, CBPR and PAR literature is an implication of a group of people having been identified from early on to work together on a research project, usually with a key facilitator (often an academic) who takes a lead in shaping the process, skilling the participants and producing the textual outputs – though often acknowledging co-authorship. Therein lies a weakness though. The assumption that there will be a ready-made audience or 'community' of people endlessly willing to step up, join in, give time, energy, consistency and commitment to a focussed project across an extended time period is no small ask.

My reservations about some of these processes come from personal experience: I was a 'community partner' on the project that produced the paper above (Banks et al 2013) and am listed as a co-author.

Reflective passage

I became involved with the project, looking at the ethics of CBPR at Durham University, through my membership of a housing co-operative situated in a 'deprived' area of Newcastle. At that time I was not involved in any academic learning, it had been twenty-five years since my undergraduate degree, and I'd been working in the creative arts in the intervening period. The experience of being thrust into a project that was framed in the language and structures of 'academic research' was quite eye-opening – and incredibly helpful in acquainting me with the strengths and weaknesses of a participatory approach, including the power dynamics and ethical challenges that can creep into to such university-led projects.

There were certainly very useful outcomes from the project and it has shaped many of my scholarly aims. I am full of respect for the academics involved and am very grateful for the support and learning I gained – but it is important to learn from the weaknesses as well as the strengths. As a 'community partner' I couldn't help finding that label particularly loaded – and therefore feeling somehow 'studied' and even simplified by certain assumptions that went with it. This manifested itself in two somewhat contradictory feelings. Firstly, being cast as a 'member of a community'

implied that I somehow represented the co-op and its members. But I felt very uneasy with that: I was only a tenant, not an employee or a delegate of the co-op; members were a disparate collection, often with little in common other than our housing provider. The opinions or perceptions I was expressing were not necessarily those of anyone else in the co-op – and anyway – what made me more a member of a 'community' than anyone else in the room? They all lived somewhere too, and had interests in common with groups of one kind or another. However their community status was somehow elided. Almost everyone besides me was present in some kind of professional academic or third sector role that somehow modified and shielded their identities – but I was just me. Which brings me to the second aspect of uneasiness: I felt exposed as an individual, being asked to be revealing about various aspects of my life that might make me 'hard to reach', yet without the institutional armour that seemed to buffer the others. Additionally, I was way out of my depth with much of the academic language that was habitually used (for example, I recall at one point mentioning my 'point of view', and then being utterly bewildered by an enthusiastic response about 'positionality' and 'reflexivity'). These are factors I wished to avoid in my research model.

Learning from co-creation…

That involvement in co-produced research was my introduction to academic research, and has undoubtedly formed many of my expectations of the research process. Key principles included: the need to be flexible and adaptable; listening across a range of registers, attitudes and backgrounds; an awareness of the ethical challenges it brings; acknowledging the importance of emotions in the process; managing expectations and remaining constantly reflexive (Armstrong and Banks, 2011; Durham Community Research Team, 2011; Pain et al, 2013, Banks et al, 2013).

Two recent reports looking at the potential and impact of co-production (Campbell et al, 2016; Pain et al 2016) have further drawn out key aspects of the approach that I hope have persisted within this project, even as it evolved. Those papers emphasise the blurring of boundaries between 'pure' and 'applied' research:

> There is a need for significant reconsideration of the presumptions and boundaries associated with current practices (…) that value new and different ways of knowing.
>
> Campbell et al, 2016:33

The focus falls on following what is at stake for the non-academic partners rather than adhering to a pre-defined set of analytical research questions, which means research design results from an on-going process of (often serendipitous) development.

> It follows therefore that a research proposal based on existing conventions that claims to be co-production is probably not really co-production, or if it is, the proposal is a charade and hence of little value in setting out the likely merits of the research
>
> Campbell et al, 2016:37

A claim is made that co-creation redefines the role of the researcher in a fundamental way "including encouraging researchers to participate in the activities of those the research intends to serve" (Campbell et al, 2016:53) – an observation that, interestingly, holds resonances with existing ethnographic practice. In that paper the term 'intermediary' is used to express this redefinition of the researcher – by way of acknowledging the (often intense) professional/friendship relationships that can result from the co-production process.

…But why it did not work here

The previous section highlights elements of co-production that have influenced or informed how this project evolved, but the two recent reports equally underline aspects (as discussed above) that made it inappropriate to this doctoral research project.

Firstly, it is complex and very demanding of time, both in the gestation and the enactment: so much so that the authors propose funding for co-production should follow a two-phase approach which includes an initial allocation for learning and agenda-setting. The extra time demanded of academics frequently ends up being unpaid – but that of 'community partners' is almost invariably so – leading to ethical concerns about the risks of 'over-asking': "This is not sustainable and cannot be held up as a model of good practice" (Pain et al, 2016:8).

Secondly, the assumption for co-production is that there is a research team providing "strong leadership (…) to hold the vision and bring everyone together" (Campbell et al, 2016:25). As a lone doctoral researcher this is very tricky to achieve, especially combined with the complex skills involved in running participatory meetings "at least as important as the conceptual

literature" (ibid, 2016:38), and then subsequently negotiating the resultant intricacies around shared ownership/authorship of the findings. A thesis is necessarily a single-authored work.

Summary

What I have sought to establish is the methodological reasoning behind choosing *not* to follow the co-creative research model, whilst acknowledging the line of descent that inevitably persisted as fieldwork evolved. In particular, the task of identifying a group or 'community' to work with as 'the academic', was neither viable nor sympathetic to the context. A collaborative relationship existed with the board of Cittaslow UK, but given the geographically dispersed nature of the membership and their already unfeasibly busy lives there was no workable co-creative option there. Additionally, an aim of the investigation included looking for hidden connections and under-represented voices within individual towns, which meant encountering people who, by definition, were unlikely to be part of organised, coherent groups; who might not see themselves as challenging overtly; and who equally may not attribute value to the importance of their own knowledges.

An additional aspect of critique in this project is to question the funding and timescale structures currently in place in order to enable a proposed co-creative doctoral research project (Pain et al, 2016; Campbell et al, 2016). This is a pertinent and salient area to draw attention to in considering how collaborative research can realistically be carried out.

4.2.2 Questioning ethnography

…and why it did not work here

What follows is a brief dissection of the classic ethnographic tradition drawing out aspects that are argued to demonstrate its shortfalls as an approach in this project. However, it should be made clear that there are still valuable attributes of the ethnographic approach that I wish to honour: the importance of fieldwork backed up by 'thickly' described case studies (Geertz, 1973); the iterative process of discovery and inference that informs continuing enquiry and allows an open and emergent learning process (rather than an investigator-controlled experiment); and the flexible, creative and reflexive elements admitted by the researcher through diverse learning processes in a research model which is often characterised by a great deal of uncertainty (Whitehead, 2004).

Ethnography is the central approach in anthropological practice, a holistic methodology that may encompass many methods. However the traditional form makes a number of implicit assumptions that are becoming harder to justify in a contemporary context: in particular, an

extended and embedded observation of a supposedly discrete and stable cultural entity, usually carried out by a lone academic from outside of that culture.[13]

Being there is a key trope in ethnography (Geertz 1988, Watson 1999), where 'the field' is identified as a discrete site that exists in distinction from *being here* which can be understood to mean back in academia (Geertz, 1988). Ethnography literally means 'the writing of culture' (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). In the traditional model an ethnographer would aim to learn like an apprentice to see the world through the eyes of a member or 'native' of a given culture (emic) in 'the field'. The ethnographer would then return to academia, where the data would be analysed and written up from the perspective of the researcher (etic) in order to in some way represent that culture as a whole, and to render the data generalizable, thus generating insight within broader theoretical frameworks.

Debate about the history and nature of ethnography and its place in evolving research practice has raged within anthropology for a number or years. Chapter 2 has discussed Latour's contention that the traditional ethnographic approach is almost antithetical to gaining understanding because the construction of an 'other' begins the process of creating simplifications and 'immutable mobiles' (1986:15). To illustrate another angle, Ingold (2011) picks up on this sense that ethnography, what it does and the way it is evoked, must be questioned. He makes a case to distinguish between ethnography and anthropology. Ethnographers, he says, "describe the lives of people other than ourselves". Anthropology, however, aims to "seek a generous, comparative but nevertheless critical understanding of human being and knowing in the one world we all inhabit" (2011:229). Later, in *That's Enough About Ethnography* (2014), he rants that the term has become debased in academia through its casual use in diverse research proposals where applicants claim they:

> …will conduct 'ethnographic interviews' with a sample of randomly selected informants, the data from which will then be processed by means of a recommended software package in order to yield 'results'.
>
> Ingold, 2014:384

This, he says, offends principles of good anthropological enquiry such as sensitivity to context, open-ended commitment and generous attentiveness – and furthermore – when research proposals are required in the name of ethnography to adhere to positivist protocols such as how many people will be talked to, for how long, and how they will be selected – then

[13] An illuminating summary of how the 'classic scene' of ethnographic fieldwork has been practiced in the past, as described by the eminent anthropologist Evans Pritchard in 1950, is given in the introduction to Hannerz 2003

anthropological research itself becomes devalued. The practice of ethnography, then, is under challenge from various angles.

4.3 Multi-Sited Ethnography (MSE)

In 2008 Marcus wrote a critical piece entitled *The End(s) of Ethnography,* questioning the on-going meaning and relevance of the approach. He acknowledged the continuing importance of the ethnographic gaze, particularly in institutional settings where doubts may arise about purely rationalistic and instrumental protocols, but pointed to a void at the centre of ethnography. The established anthropological conception of culture has lost relevance, he argued, with the only way forward, being to:

> …*follow* events, to engage ethnographically with history unfolding in the present, or to anticipate what is emerging.
>
> Marcus, 2008:3 (added italics)

The call to 'follow' events is key here, and this kind of temporality, he asserts, is more important than the traditional spatial tropes of 'being there'. His proposal is that the traditionally emplaced ethnographic field must become multi-sited, giving as much importance to the relationships *between* the sites as those within them – not in order to compare one with another, but to do something more resonant: acknowledging how they inform one other.

> The essence of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space (because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contiguous).
>
> Farzon 2009:1-2

Marcus offers MSE as a challenge to what he calls the "still regnant Malinowskian complex" (2005:4), proposing that the dominating conceptual role of 'culture' in ethnography is no longer so simply evoked, and can be replaced by an idea of "distributed knowledge systems" (2005:14) which closer reflects the contemporary 'field'[14]. This then allows the ethnographer a flexible approach that critiques the prominence of 'culture' and works through processes and locales, engaging with those they speak to in a more nuanced relationship from that of subjects, or participants.

[14] It should be noted that the practice of ethnography has been more varied and experimentally diverse than might be implied in this brief summary. For more discussion see Hannerz' article *The Long March Of Anthropology* in Falzon 2009

4.3.1 'Following' events, navigating, and crafting the field

Within earlier conventions, the ethnographic field site was seen as something substantially discrete: a 'container' (Falzon 2009) within which a particular set of social relations could be studied, and perhaps compared with the contents of other 'containers' elsewhere. Marcus writing earlier (1995) made a claim to be breaking these conventions prompted by the changing nature of the world we are studying – where looking at only one site cannot take full account of many contemporary social phenomena. His new research imaginary was framed in conversation with literature on globalisation, complexity and networks (for example, Appadurai 1986; Escobar,1994; 1991; Latour, 1987, 1993) so rather than contextualising the local in a wider 'world system' framework – that wider world now became integrally embedded in objects of study that were/are multi-sited.

> Since capitalism has been (and continues to be) a revolutionary mode of production in which the material practices and processes of social reproduction are always changing, it follows that the objective qualities as well as the meanings of space and time also change.
>
> Harvey, 1990:204

But if 'the field' is not defined simply as a distinct geographical or cultural entity, then there is work entailed for the ethnographer in the navigation or the making of it.

> Multi-sited ethnographies begin with orienting collaborations within certain sites, the interest of which is an appropriation of paraethnographic perspective. Fieldwork is actually designed in this relation with a counterpart (…) This is where ethnography is thickest perhaps, not so that an account of this site can be written, as, for example, an ethnography of expertise or elites would entail, but so that the space-time of ethnography can be created.
>
> Marcus 2005:21

The multi-sitedness within the current project is evident in the plural, yet locally specific nature of the networked Cittaslow towns – but also through the differently expressed engagements with place, connection and Slow philosophy brought by Cittaslow 'activists'; in the authochthonously specific and embodied understandings of belonging displayed by town residents; and through the multiple aspects of virtual communication by which they and we are all now connected. Multi-sited ethnography seeks to allow for the changing nature of people's relationships in the increasingly mobile and interconnected world, and includes the enjoinder to 'follow' (see above Marcus 2008:3) meaning to trace people, movements or connections;

resonances, associations or ideas; things, conflicts, metaphors, or stories. Such trails may lead through spatially dispersed sites (even though continuous in their own terms) and require skills akin to navigation and orientation, rather than those of map-reading.

Criticism of MSE, and 'craft' as a response

However, there are critiques of this methodological conceptualisation. For example, Hage (2005) argues that it is not necessary to conceive of a multi-sited field when it can be thought of as a single site that is geographically discontinuous. No doubt this has particular pertinence to his own research context writing on migration and diaspora, but in the present context it may carry overtones of a somehow self-evident or given field, rather than one constantly under construction.

Candea (2007) offers a second critique:

> I will suggest that whereas the strength of the multi-sited imaginary lies in its enabling anthropologists to expand their horizons in an unprecedented way, its weakness lies in its lack of attention to processes of bounding, selection, and choice (…) that reduce the initial indeterminacy of field experience into a meaningful account.
>
> Candea 2007:169

His main criticism is that there might be an implicit assumption of 'holism' within the idea of a multi-sited field – in other words, an assumption that there is a complete picture 'out there', which can now be totally accounted for. Candea lays the charge that in multi-sited ethnography 'the cut' is not made, nor explained in defining the site, attributing this to an assertion that the limits of the site are out of the ethnographer's hands.

I couldn't disagree more. I argue that I have brought something to the multi-sited model that challenges the charge of holism: the application of Slow crafted thinking, which brings the lens of making. Crafting the field involves recognising the continuities all around us, but yet choosing to follow only some aspects that 'do the work'. That is to say, the task is not to stretch the field out infinitely in every direction until the whole is captured, but to craft the shape of the emergent multi-sited field by applying unfolding insights to make collaboratively and theoretically and aesthetically and data informed choices that are improvisatory in process, but flexible in their ability to become.

The third body of criticism centres around an uneasiness with the possible horizontality of 'following', which might lead to a resultant loss of depth from the ethnographic enquiry (Falzon

2009:7). This invites a consideration of place, time and space. At one time the ethnographic field was defined as an extended stay in one place, and its size was refined using the human (walking) body as a yardstick (Falzon 2009:6). So, by removing the extended emplaced timescale, or in changing the scale – does that risk removing the depth? Or, as Strathern (2004) argues, does it only mean that rather than losing detail, different details are encountered? In the current project, instead of connections being defined by a walking body, the spaces of the field (for both myself and my collaborative interlocutors) are connected by means of car, email, mobile phone, or search engine, altering the parameters of human circumambulation. Times have changed, and the shift invites a rethinking of methodology: if the connections between people in our study are mobile or dispersed, then surely the researcher must follow, creating a kind of participant observation of the same field of experience. And if, as Falzon remarks (2009:9), their connections are shallower, then understanding that very shallowness could be a form of depth. Additionally, I would argue that the introduction of these flexible and dispersed connections can also extend the time-frame within which relationships are enacted – thereby extending the depth or breadth of relationships because one is not dependent on being in the geographical 'field' to be amongst it. In sharing those connections (as collaborators) it could be argued we are co-producing space through a plurality of settings that might include everyday incidental interactions in a pub or workplace; may be virtual, telephonic or within an organised meeting; and could be located in shared ideas, understandings, knowledges or even sites of conflict.

By 'following' – deciding what is and is not part of the field – the researcher takes responsibility for the production of that field, making an aesthetic 'crafted' decision that is informed by scholarly literature, disciplinary methodological practices, and unfolding insights on the ground. And so I have taken Marcus at his word: what he calls "the professional craft of fieldwork" (Marcus 2009:181) is approached from the perspective of a craft-worker. Such a step influences where the attention falls, informs how insights are construed, affects how collaboration is conceived, and how research is constructed (see Appendix B: Making a silver ring).

Was 'the field' of my making? Or made by those I talked to? Neither and both must be the answer. It is a collaborative alliance of sorts, combining bottom-up actor-centred ethnographic practices with top-down choices made by the ethnographer. It certainly wasn't a 'found object' that preceded my arrival, lying waiting to be discovered. It was only loosely defined in research aims before proceeding. It is not that the multi-sited ethnographer is compelled to follow outwards towards ever greater "trans-local 'cultural formations' " (Candea 2007:178) until they can reconfigure some imagined whole – it is that they are freed to follow the

formations that are meaningful to the framing within which they are working – and that same 'following' is decided by the ethnographer, *and* emergent from the continuing field research, *and* informed by the understandings of those to whom s/he speaks.

Reflective passage

The diversity of interpretations and critiques this model has provoked only illustrates the multiplicities and complexities with which researchers are faced in the contemporary field, and the consequent difficulties of working within existing research conventions. I struggled hideously with my data until I came across the multi-sited imaginary. The data (to momentarily reify it into a personality) seemed to be telling me how it wanted to provide meaningful sense, but the methodological and analytical approaches I had so far encountered didn't allow it to speak. It bulged and kicked to be free of framings such as traditional ethnography, or network theory, or co-creation, or socio-economic analyses. I knew I wanted to acknowledge hidden continuities – but categories, boundaries and networks resisted that. I knew I wanted to acknowledge those I'd spoken to as more than subjects/participants – but not in the way that co-creation is commonly framed. I knew my data was telling me something interesting that I never set out to find nor imagined would result – but it was more about conceptions of understanding and value than about the mechanics of a small town community movement. The edges of my site were not hard and fast – they were soft and Slow: they blurred and shifted and faded into sfumato…

> Yet I wonder if it is not a recurrent characteristic of multi-site ethnography that site selections are to an extent made gradually and cumulatively, as new insights develop, as opportunities come into sight, and to some extent by chance.
>
> Hannerz 2003:207

4.3.2 Multi-sited ethnography, collaboration and para-ethnography

In changing the relationship of the researcher with those they talk to, the logical extension is to call into question certain terms that have defined ethnography, and language that has treated those involved as scientific objects (I have tried to avoid - or at least to problematise - my own use of such terms throughout).

"Can we still speak about performing a 'participant-observation' of the 'object of study' in 'the field'?" Marcus asks (2008:4). He cites collaborative practice as a specific challenge to the classic 'scene' of fieldwork. Forms of collaboration have (of course) always been there in ethnographic field research – or how else has could ethnographers have learnt about local culture from the members of that culture? However, the representation of that collaboration has tended to be distorted, marginalised and suppressed in the final production of ethnographies (i.e. in the writing-up). Where once the 'subject as informant' had to tolerate the ethnographer's agenda, now a more dynamic role is called for, where "the subject is back and fully in our post-structuralist faces" (Holmes and Marcus 2008:84).

The collaborative relationship that is proposed in multi-sited ethnography has been termed, para-ethnography. What was an exercise in description and analysis, becomes a deferral to subjects' modes of knowing. And within this shift what was once referred to as the 'subject' is now more appropriately thought of as a counterpart or interlocutor "with whom an intellectual conversation can unfold" (Holmes and Marcus, 2008:83).

> Paraethnography is not merely a matter of identifying a new ethnographic subject – an accomplished autodidact. Rather, it opens far deeper questions about how culture operates within a continuously unfolding contemporary and where everyone, directly or indirectly, is implicated in and constituted by complex technical systems of knowledge, power, health, politics, media, economy etc.
>
> Marcus 2005:27

Much of Holmes and Marcus' work has predominantly been with 'experts' within arguably elite communities of knowledge such as in banking, large corporations or NGOs, who effectively conduct ethnographic research (broadly defined) within their own situated discourses.

> In this view, multi-sitedness arises from how one sort of subject (often experts but not necessarily) sees the world versus how another, the anthropologist, sees the putatively same world
>
> Marcus 2005:14

The case with the present research project is slightly different. One would not think of Cittaslow representatives, nor most of the people I spoke to during field studies, as forming an elite. Nevertheless I argue that the para-ethnographic approach is extremely relevant. My collaboration has been with people who are experts in their own lives [Sennett, 2008, 2012b] and in observations of their own local context. They acted as intellectual partners – interlocutors – already using their explorations and understanding of local conditions and

dynamics (research, broadly defined) as integral to their local practices. Their engagement with Slow is an attempt to reinterpret their locality, to question existing knowledge and discourse, and to generate new understanding and action.

The role of today's ethnographer has changed. It is no longer a shift from emic to etic. It would also be redundant to simply parallel the work one's collaborative para-ethnographic partners were doing within their own situated discourses, and the role is not to 'critique' or add higher meaning to that. The purpose of such collaborations is not a simple division of labour – where an investigator-controlled project seeks to blend academic and non-academic expertise. The aim is to integrate the interlocutors' analytical acumen and insights in order to define the issues at stake and how to explore them, producing a research product that is legible and constitutive of the conceptual work done together.

> Ethnography advances today by deferring to, absorbing, and being altered by found reflexive subjects – by risking collaborative encounters of uncertain outcomes.
>
> Holmes and Marcus, 2008:84

So this calls for an "unfamiliar and perhaps uncomfortable re-negotiation" of one's own framework (2008:92) working within a much more complex idea of self-definition or authority. To an extent the collaborative researcher of the information age must blend into the operating ethos of partner organisations, and in doing so cannot quite avoid the "once deprofessionalising move of 'going native'", perhaps even negotiating the waters of possible complicity (2008:85, 87). So there is a dilemma (and one which even now, I am still wrestling with the complexity of how to write about). The ambiguity of collaborative research means I have effectively been a member of the Board of Cittaslow UK for four years, and my position in the field has been affected by that. I have not made scientifically detached, neutral and objective observations of what exists, I have corralled the 'values' of Slow to define the paths I followed. Holmes and Marcus identify a need for 'the still lone ethnographer' to seek to remain in control of their research by:

> …construct[ing] models of fieldwork as collaboration *for themselves*, models that let them operate with their own research agendas inside the pervasive collaboratories that define social spaces today.
>
> Holmes and Marcus, 2008:85 (original italics)

> In the case of multi-sited projects, the limits of ethnographic writing conventions further constrain their possibilities. Perhaps multi-sited fieldwork and research design anticipate a certain writing problem of a complexity that exceeds the

> conventions that still hold the ethnographic genre's identity in place – such as the trope of 'being there' (…) The fact that the textual needs for writing multi-sited ethnography might exceed the capacities of the ethnographic genre means not that multi-sited research designs should change, but perhaps the sense of what the written ethnography might be (…) what is needed are practices of composition somewhere between fieldnotes and finished texts. In other words, far from diluting ethnography, multi-sited projects show potential of returning the focus of ethnography to the materials that projects produce – they put ethnography back in ethnography, so to speak.
>
> Marcus 2005:25

Summary

The original conception of this doctoral research enterprise proposed to examine the practice of co-creation as an approach that offered a conscious attempt to shift assumptions of 'insider' and 'outsider' (or 'self' and 'other', or emic and etic) to a relationship that was - to a degree - collaborative. However, as the field unfolded it became clear that model did not quite fit with the context as it revealed itself, yet nor did a classic ethnographic approach. I needed a research design that took full account of collaborative working, yet without the specific formalised relationships demanded by co-creation. At that point, and after some significant debate and reflection, the idea of multi-sited ethnography was drawn in.

4.3.3 Collaboration as 'activism'

The particular aspects of the evolving data and findings that pushed towards the multi-sited model were significances that arose repeatedly due to the differing status attached to alternative types of knowledge, particularly heuristic systems developed in conversation with physical and experiential livelihoods – what I call embodied, crafted knowledge – and often Slow knowledge (see Orr 1996, 2002). My 'following' took me away from the specific Cittaslow sphere of influence to investigate autochthonous knowledge systems within member towns that *relate* to the Cittaslow philosophy, but are not there in response to it, nor necessarily engaged with it. Nevertheless, there was a complex knowledge matrix that emerged from the 'object of study'. The choice to move away from studying only the workings of the Cittaslow branches did not depart from engaging with the values of Cittaslow, and so remained in touch with the "knowledge protocols" of the representatives of the organisation (Marcus, 2013:205). Furthermore, as the field extended (particularly in Berwick) I ended up creating actual

interventions that took the form of calling meetings and engaging with policy-makers[15] in collaboration with those I'd encountered through doing ethnography. The politics of fieldwork arguably lies in the making of such choices.

> The object of collaboration is to move the study to other places, imagined, but not literally visited by collaborators and eventually to bring ethnography back as inputs to those collaborations… fieldwork is not simply a schedule of interviews but is very often stage managing in collaboration connected events of dialogue and independent inquiries around them.

Marcus, 2005:22

This type of interaction raises the idea of activism. Marcus argues that activism arises as a contingent effect of the movement among sites and levels of society, and is central to the strategy of asking and pursuing questions among the multi-sited constituencies. However, it does not take the form of "the traditional self-defined activist role claimed by the left-liberal scholar for his or her work"(1995:113). Rather it is something specific and circumstantial to the conditions of doing multi-sited research itself, connected to the anthropology of value and the ethical position of the anthropologist (2013:200).

> The need for active sense making, often without known to be reliable criteria, is incessant. There is a lot of figuring it out as these subjects go. So it is about knowledge making, rather than knowledge holding. So what these subjects DON'T know, and often know they don't know, is critical – and different than the simply conceived "enlightenment subject."

Marcus 2005:17 (original capitals)

The notion of activism is nuanced further by Annalise Riles (2011), who coined the term 'collateral knowledge' as a result of engaging with the multi-sited model over her ten years of ethnographic fieldwork in the Japanese derivatives market**.** She defines collateral knowledge as knowledge produced by the ethnographer that runs alongside that of interlocutors, which is trying to feed back meaningfully to collaborative partners. In her case she was using her legal background to generate such knowledge.

> The value of this disparate work for my interlocutors is that I suggest ways of thinking about problems of concern to them and ways of engaging their various publics, produced recursively and relationally, that at once strike at the heart of

[15] Scottish Government representatives: Wild Fisheries Reform Team

> what matters to them and yet would not have been thinkable outside the ethnographic conversation.
>
> Riles 2011:6–7

An outcome of the complex interactions encountered in field studies for the present project was a form of emergent and blended knowledge that is not quite the same as Riles' 'collateral knowledge' where she entered as something akin to an expert consultant. In this case I was able to form alternative interpretations of issues affecting my interlocuters through my differing experience, and through speaking across socially constructed borders that may otherwise have constrained local actors. These interpretations arose from a blending of our understandings specific to a time and place.

Methodology to Method

In constructing what para-ethnography means for this project I had to accommodate the parameters of doctoral research, which necessarily involve a lone researcher producing a monographic research product. Although a collaborative relationship was established with the board of Cittaslow UK, the nature of the organisation means that it is geographically dispersed with no central headquarters, nor any unified administration, making the established academic model of co-creation unwieldy. The way each member town manifests its adherence to the goals and philosophy of Cittaslow is extremely diverse and, even within each town, affiliations with Cittaslow initiatives are disparate and varied. Instead the research design evolved through scoping visits to every member town where I was hosted by local residents and introduced widely to the people, events and issues that were meaningful to them. Concerns with the operation of Cittaslow UK, Cittaslow International, and locally evolving conditions were noted (i.e. using the interlocutor's acumen and insights to define what is at stake) and these observations were then examined for areas of intersection with elements of Slow philosophy in order to refine the focus of field studies – and, to an extent, the analytical framework. It is at this point that the effect of merging the ethnographic gaze and the collaborators' perspective may be perceived as blurring boundaries (or going native) but, as previously argued, whilst such smudges may increase complexity they can also enhance nuanced insight. To this extent the experimental aim was that my ethnographic exploration be nested here within the knowledge protocols of Cittaslow, yet operate independently.

In the writing up of this thesis empirical fieldwork has been presented in three chapters: one around the enactments of Cittaslow UK, one coalescing around a field study in Mold, and one around a field study on the Tweed. Further empirical material is used to support the discussion in Chapter 8. The methods used in each of the three empirical chapters are diverse, but the

guiding methodological principles are consistent throughout. The idea of 'following' is combined with that of navigating, using the compass of Slow and crafted knowledges to identify autochthonous and convivial enactments in Cittaslow towns. This approach reveals something that appears paradoxical: simultaneously highlighting where there are hidden conflicts of understanding, and also illuminating where invisible continuities underlie superficially distinct interest groups and asymmetries of power.

The emphasis within this methodology has been on 'making the field' in collaboration with partners or interlocutors who are seen as experts in their own contexts, but who would not be defined as elite experts, as has been the usual model for para-ethnography. The boundaries and edges around these roles have become blurred, but arguably more nuanced – and different types of knowledge are key.

Multi-sited ethnography has been complemented and extended by the conceptual addition of a crafted perspective. In the enactment of writing up a multi-sited ethnography, the appearance of a single site may be projected – but the process allows openness through its multiplicity. If at some point the whole becomes unified, then that is an act of creativity.

> In short, anthropological writings are (…) fictions, in the sense that they are 'something made,' 'something fashioned'.
>
> Geertz, 2000:15

PART 2. METHODS

4.4 Introduction to methods

Part 1 of this chapter has given an in depth discussion on the nuanced choices and decisions made regarding the intersection between theory and methods in approaching the field. Part 2 will outline the research design and methods as they emerged from, and contributed to, methodological considerations discussed in part 1. This section is split into subheadings that reflect different stages, but do not imply that these stages were sequential or discrete. Processes throughout were cyclical and iterative. Themes were identified from the outset and throughout the project, informing subsequent field, theoretical, conceptual and representational decisions. These themes continued to evolve: some emerged earlier or later, some metamorphosed, some grew in significance, and some atrophied. Nevertheless all left their traces in the form of what came after – a palimpsest of layers, like under-painting on a canvas: not obviously visible in the finished product, but still informing what came next.

The first section addresses how the field was engaged and studied. The following section expands on how the research was designed in order to provide a framework for collecting and analysing data, and summarises the key research pathways followed. Next there is an explanation of the focus of case studies, and the choices made regarding who to speak to and how. There follows a consideration of data management, analysis and writing, concluding with final reflections on ethical considerations and dilemmas.

4.5 Engaging the field

Research strategy

The research aimed to explore how members of Cittaslow UK navigate a situated and complex context, both applying and creating knowledge under the influence of the Cittaslow organisation and its philosophy; and to identify where Slow principles were enacted within their towns. This project takes the form of a multi-sited ethnography built around Slow and crafted knowledges, with two geographically distinct, focussed field studies embedded within a larger participative project working alongside members of Cittaslow UK.

Essential to qualitative, ethnographic and participative, research is a reflexive awareness of the 'self'. This extends to how one perceives oneself, how others perceive one, how these change contextually, and how one's identities become socio-spatially constructed by these subjective perspectives. I bring my own history, experience and transported knowledges to the project. In particular this has meant paying attention to the embodied and crafted aspects of the knowledge systems that were studied.

Research Design

A research design provides "a framework for the collection and analysis of data" (Bryman, 2008:31). The overall research design was multi-sited and multi-scalar across the entire project, and involved building an on-going iterative understanding of the contexts within which actors were operating, including (but not limited to):

- Cittaslow International
- Cittaslow UK
- Cittaslow individual towns
- Town clerks and local governance in Cittaslow towns
- Situated case studies in two Cittaslow towns
- Places, institutions, policies and regulations that impacted upon local case studies

The research design addressed objectives identified by the board of Cittaslow UK, themes arising from scoping, and pathways that emerged as a result of applying aspects of Slow philosophy to the field. Fieldwork approaches followed trails that addressed separate actors within Cittaslow's sphere of connectivity, each employing multiple methods. They did not proceed sequentially with one stage following the other, each pathway overlapped and inter-related to allow progressive theory building, cross-referencing and triangulation in analysis.

This enquiry drew on immersive, collaborative and ethnographic techniques with a particular focus on Slow and crafted knowledge systems as lenses through which to view particular contexts and to enhance the depth of focus.

Ideas of Slow knowing (Orr, 2002) and Slow thinking were introduced to reveal and critique local power/knowledge dynamics (Foucault, 1980). Interpretations and applications of Cittaslow philosophy were then being critiqued from the perspectives of three groups in the field: those directly involved with interpreting and promoting the Cittaslow message; local epistemological, ontological and cultural systems that resonated with the Cittaslow message; and institutional, regulatory and governance systems that impacted upon these contexts. Additional to this was the fourth perspective of the researcher.

Responding to the concerns of Cittaslow

The original proposal (framed in collaboration with Cittaslow UK) expressed an aim "to find ways to reach under-represented population groups". To honour this, one strand of investigation specifically sought to engage town residents who were *not* already involved with Cittaslow, but who's contextual situations resonated with Cittaslow values such as conviviality and autochthony. Case studies were selected with this in mind, and focussed on traditional livelihoods that had contributed significantly to the local economy, unique identity, and social cohesion of the towns. In Mold this was the renovation of a square where a twice-weekly street-market is held, and in Berwick the net-fishing industry.

During scoping Cittaslow representatives and town residents repeatedly mentioned concerns about how local government structures and funding impact on Cittaslow's viability. This strand of investigation was developed through desk-based research, on-going conversations with my Cittaslow partners, and a series of semi-structured telephone interviews with the Town Clerk of every member town.

4.6 Stages of research

What follows is a brief breakdown of 'stages' of research, although they did not operate as discrete sequential steps.

Scoping

The aim was to familiarise myself with the Cittaslow organisation: its members, the towns and their residents, their understandings of Cittaslow – and for them to familiarise themselves with me.

From the beginning I embarked on a scoping study. I attended all Cittaslow UK quarterly Board meetings (held in York), and national events such as *Cittaslow in the City,* a public gathering held in London in 2012 that was attended by Pier Giorgio Oliveti, the Director General of Cittaslow International. I conducted an online sweep for references to, and websites of, the UK network, and started to build an understanding of the international organisation's online presence. I was helped by the then Cittaslow UK project officer (a post that no longer exists) who sent me various archive documents, membership lists, contacts and information.

As part of the collaborative relationship, during the first year I was invited to all the UK member towns, and visited Aylsham, Diss, Berwick, Perth and Mold, staying a few days to a week in each. At that early stage Llangollen was not yet a member of the network, but whilst staying in nearby Mold I travelled and spent a day there hosted by a local councillor who was leading the bid to join Cittaslow. On all these visits I stayed in the homes of local residents and Cittaslow representatives. In each town I set out to meet with as diverse a cross-section of people as possible, who had come across Cittaslow in whatever way, and who had formed an impression of it: positive, negative or neutral. My hosts were invited to present whichever aspects of their towns they'd like me to see. Introductions, meetings and visits were arranged with local residents in order to reflect the individual characteristics of 'being Cittaslow' in those places. Passing from one interaction to another, I recorded comments, reactions, observations, examples and counter-examples offered by those I spoke to. At this stage I made no audio recordings, all notes were on paper and permission was always sought to take written notes on the understanding that they were for the purpose of scoping a baseline understanding of Cittaslow UK in its various manifestations.

Local government structures

This consisted of desk-based research combined with semi-structured telephone interviews with the town clerk of each member town, and cross-referenced with observations from local residents and Cittaslow representatives. The aim was to gain qualitative insight into individual

perceptions of Cittaslow from those in the front-line of administering it, and also to glean factual information on prevailing local conditions such as the protocols governing funding, powers, and electoral processes in each town.

Bearing in mind that Town Clerks are busy people, I prepared a set of questions designed to last around half an hour if answered simply, but with the potential for elaboration. In the event clerks appeared happy to talk and interviews averaged about an hour, with all indicating their willingness to be contacted again should further questions arise. In line with the broad approach of seeking to reveal the fine-grained detail of individual interpretations, factual questions could be asked and their significance within the research context queried at the same time. My first interview was arranged with Aylsham Town Clerk who was also Cittaslow UK Secretary. We had met at board meetings several times, and in the spirit of collaborative enquiry, she was happy to be a pilot and to feed back on how effective, comfortable and sensible the questions were.

To reflect on the iterative development of research themes, this stage had the potential to grow into a detailed analysis of local governance, however it did not. Instead it created a sturdy baseline from which to launch the field research that followed, and through which to gain insight into the workings of Cittaslow UK at local and national level.

4.6.1 Field cases

The aim here was to draw multiple understandings on an identified local issue from diverse actors, town residents and 'under-represented' population groups. Enquiries in field cases focussed on local residents, but not those directly linked to Cittaslow. Some may have come into contact with Cittaslow incidentally and tangentially, but others were entirely unconnected or even unaware of it.

For practical reasons, it was necessary to narrow the focus from six towns[16], to two. From my earliest meetings with Cittaslow UK the desire to be involved in the research was most strongly expressed by board members from Mold and Berwick. In the spirit of co-creation I was happy to take them as the key sites of investigation, drawing in material from the other towns where appropriate and as strands of investigation continued to emerge.

The decision was taken to focus on two sites – not as comparative studies – but with the intention of finding the resonances where elements, dynamics and relationships could be

[16] When I started in 2012 the UK towns were Aylsham, Diss, Berwick, Perth and Mold. Llangollen joined in 2013.

recognised from one case to another: difference in contexts can make the resonances stronger, and therefore mutually illuminating (Lund, 2014; Falzon, 2009; Marcus 2008). For example, in both cases it became clear over time that those I worked with were being impacted by regulatory and policy-based decisions, and the accompanying dynamics of local power that marginalised the importance of their situated and embodied knowledge systems.

The intention for this research method was to focus on the diversity and uniqueness of individual local environments, drawing insights related to the larger themes of the research. The decision reflected an emphasis within Slow philosophy on the particularity of place and also sat comfortably within an interpretive and anthropological style of research that privileges participation and observation over structured interviews or quantitative data collection.

Finding voices

Sampling is a term derived from quantitative research methods, and is largely an inappropriate description of the 'following' relationships adopted with interlocutors in this research approach (see methodology).

Contacts were initially established with the board of Cittaslow UK, and then 'snowballed' (Bryman, 2008:184) out from there with introductions in the member towns. Once the focus of field studies was established, initial conversations were set up via local Cittaslow contacts and then proceeded through further connections made by those I spoke to. Alongside this, I approached various institutional representatives according to their apparent relevance to unfolding research themes. This is akin to the grounded theory approach of using purposive or theoretical sampling to shed light on selective and evolving criteria (Bryman 2008; Charmaz 2006; Emerson et al 1995), building upon and refining ideas as they start to emerge and inform on-going data-collection and theory-building. As core categories began to emerge from the data, questioning became more focussed.

Case studies in both cases addressed several aspects of the Cittaslow agenda. These included unique (autochthonous) local knowledge and culture; livelihoods; local infrastructure and economy; conviviality, quality of life, changing social pressures, community engagement; terroire and environmental sustainability.

Mold

This is the only UK town where the intended model of Cittaslow representation through the town council is fully expressed. Cittaslow Mold played a key role in gaining funding and guiding decisions that led to the refurbishment of Daniel Owen Square. The square is in the town centre and is a focal point in many ways: Town Council offices, post office and library all

adjoin it, and twice a week it is filled with stalls as part of Mold Town Market. I arrived a week before the contractors started work on the redevelopment and stayed for two weeks as works progressed. I spent time before and during the visit tracing decisions, consultations and press leading-up to the work starting. On site I continued the investigation, following the reactions of those passing, living and working nearby as the market stalls were moved, trees felled, and paving lifted. I also attended a Town Council meeting, helped on the Cittaslow stall at the Mold Blues and Soul Festival, and visited Llangollen to meet the Town Clerk.

Interviews aimed to build a picture of the significance of the square, its place in the town and the opportunities it offered for autochthonous and convivial enactments. Interviews were conducted with local Cittaslow representatives, Town Councillors, Town Council employees, the Economic Development Officer for Flintshire County Council, Mold Town Centre Manager, Mold Community Librarian, the architects and contractors who worked on the refurbishment and to various shop-keepers, stakeholders and members of the public who worked around or used the square. On market days I arrived by 6am, speaking to market traders throughout their working day. In particular I learnt from stall-holders about how they felt integrated (or not) into the local economy, the social fabric of the town, and the representational mechanisms of local governance. Photographic records were taken (with consent) to illustrate some of the enacted and embodied skills that were being applied.

Berwick

Cittaslow Berwick were concerned at the decline of the traditional salmon net-fishing industry and, as my field-study began, were playing a key role in bringing together an initial group of people who wished to see the nets continue. These were the first people I was introduced to. What superficially looked like the natural wastage of an out-dated livelihood, on closer inspection was revealed to result from a deliberate strategy to buy out and close down the ancient fisheries. This was ostensibly in the name of conservation (though the nets and salmon had co-existed for millennia) but many locals related it to lucrative angling interests upstream. Because the net fishers' holistic knowledge of the river has been passed orally and experientially it only takes a generation for the whole culture to become fragile and then disappear.

Time spent in Berwick was not in an intensive block, but consisted of multiple visits spread across an entire fishing season (and beyond). I interviewed many stakeholders, interested parties and representatives of relevant organisations including: present and past net-fishers and those who worked in associated industries; local residents and community organisations;

representatives from the Guild of Berwick Freemen, the Harbour Commission, the River Tweed Commission, Water Bailiffs, Tweed Foundation, and Tweed Forum.

Data were also collected from net fishers in a collaborative mapping exercise that took the form of a handmade map, (3x1m, derived from Digimap) showing the length of the Tweed from Berwick to Coldstream. This gave an alternative access to the knowledge of the net-fishers, who responded to the opportunity to point to, talk about and annotate specific features of the river, adding information about their way of understanding it.

Figure 4.1 Participative map of the Tweed, showing the extent of the map and details of annotation

Additional funding was received from Newcastle Institute for Social Renewal for a supplementary project (with Helen Jarvis) that arose from my research and aimed to collect views from a broader cross-section of townsfolk on the place of the salmon-nets in the town. This consisted of two pop-up scoping events, and a longer four-day event to coincide with *Berwick 900*, a festival celebrating the history of the town since written records of the salmon fishing began in the 1200s. We worked with spoken-word specialists Monkfish Productions, using a 'story-booth' to record interviews, impressions and memories from diverse visitors,

resulting in a booklet[17] based on our findings that was distributed widely amongst contributors, local sites, and the Berwick Records Office.

Following evolving events, I also organised several meetings. One between local interested parties and the Senior Biologist of the Tweed Foundation; another, a telephone conference between local interested parties and representatives of the Scottish Government Wild Fisheries Review team; and (as a result of that) a face-to-face meeting in Edinburgh with the same representatives and local parties.

4.7 Approaching 'the field'

Methods were informed by theoretical approaches as discussed in Part 1 of this chapter. This section deals with the practical techniques applied. Field data were collected through a combination of audio-recorded interviews, informal conversations, participation and observations. Photography was used with explicit consent, and hand-drawn sketches were collected (both the researcher's own and those of interlocutors, who often sought to illustrate what they wanted to explain through drawing and mapping). Interviews were complemented by desk-based and online research, accessing relevant archives, keeping an eye on local press and being given contextually relevant documents. I kept a field diary, in which I recorded personal observations, reflections, half-formed thoughts and the general uncertainties and dilemmas that attend the research process.

Data collection

Interview technique was adapted to the context. Interviews with Town Clerks, for example were semi-structured, following a standard set of questions, but with space to elaborate. Others were less structured, with questions informed by preparation and research on the key aspects relevant to draw from a particular's person's context or expertise – but equally open to allow alternative or unforeseen pathways to open up. Such narrative interviews meant giving up some control and "following participants down their trails" to achieve discoveries that are the sum of more than just spoken language (Reissman, 2006:282). I aimed to seek details rather than just general evaluations, through physical and sensory evocations, drawing, leading or demonstrating; by walking or doing together, sharing experiences of weather, topography, and group dynamics. In this way an approach emerges that aims to forge dialogic relationships rather than to apply a set of techniques (Reissman, 2006:283).

[17] Jarvis, H. and T. Holland (2015) *Salmon Fishing on the Tweed. Past. Present. Future.* Newcastle: NISR ISBN: 978-0-7017-0255-7

Key interlocutors were spoken with on multiple occasions. The conversational contexts varied from formally organised individual or group meetings to an informal drink in the pub or walk round the town (for example); from arranged rendezvous, to serendipitous meeting. Some were primarily encountered by visiting their place of work as they went about their daily business (such as the market-traders in Mold or the working net-fishers in Berwick), others were the result of the researcher participating in quotidian activities (such as attending Cittaslow meetings and events). Communications also included conversations carried out by telephone, text and email.

The methods were not tightly defined at the outset, other than exploring how, as far as was realistic, I could experience the landscapes and territories alongside people in their daily path: to walk, watch, wander (and wonder) alongside them in a way that felt as relaxed and un-intrusive as possible. I took a notebook everywhere with me. For exchanges that happened spontaneously or when note-taking seemed intrusive I used jottings or head-notes and then tried to find a quiet spot to elaborate those notes soon after (Emerson et al, 1995:19-20). In notes I tried not to be evaluative and ascribe motives, rather seeking to convey how an individual had expressed him or herself (Emerson 1995:26). Occasionally I attempted some passages of thick description (Geertz, 2000 [1973]), usually in a 'break in the action'. Even when interviews were recorded I always went to the place that person felt most comfortable, be it their place of work, their home, the market, the riverside, a pub or café or whatever.

4.8 Reflections on writing and analysing and ethics and dilemmas

> This backward order of things – first you write, then you figure out what you are writing about – may seem odd, or even perverse, but it is, I think, most of the time, standard procedure in cultural anthropology
>
> Geertz, 2000:v (preface)

Writing

Concerted analysis started with transcribing all interviews, organising the various data-sources, notebooks and documentary materials. Analysis was done without the help of analytical software – using instead lists of themes, and codes that were iteratively modified as theoretical ideas began to emerge, and continued to shift after early drafts of writing. Often the use of brainstorming diagrams and large sheets of paper were involved.

Regarding the written presentation of field quotes: Short quotes mid-text are enclosed in inverted commas. Longer quotes are enclosed in inverted commas, inset and single-spaced when used verbatim from audio recordings. Quotes taken from field-notes are enclosed in

inverted commas, inset, single-spaced and followed by an asterisk signalling that, although the words of the interviewee have been used, the sequential progression of phrases may have been condensed from a more extended conversation, but in line with the spirit of the exchange. The reader should bear this distinction in mind. Boxes are used occasionally to contain reflective passages, or to distinguish bodies of information that complement the main narrative flow. Extracts from field-notes are also occasionally inserted, enclosed in boxes. These interventions are not numbered, as they are intrinsically connected to the narrative that surrounds them.

Analysing

This research did not set out to discover new events, but rather to perhaps trace new connections, relationships and drivers that may not have been directly observable. This was approached through maintaining on-going iterative familiarity with notes and diaries to inform on-going fieldwork decisions, transcribing interviews, creating themed documents, and mind-mapping. Throughout, I attempted to identify different dimensions and scales of data, seeking to break down and then re-structure it – leading from immediate observations – to noticing patterns – to drawing conceptualisations – to asking: what did I actually observe that makes me think I saw these phenomena? (Lund, 2014). Constructing theorisations came late in the timeline, and resulted in a major re-framing of the thesis.

I've sought to keep in mind Orr's reminder (2000) that information is not knowledge. Therefore the task has been to move from specific and concrete events, to working out what they are a case of – what concepts are relevant and what might be generalisable. To achieve this a culling process was necessary: pulling together certain threads (which can require further illumination such as drawing in new literature) and leaving others behind: deciding which elements to highlight and which to occlude. This process has continued throughout, as it is often in the writing itself that connections are made and inspiration strikes.

Ethical approval

Ethical issues were considered throughout the process of the research and did not constitute a separate stage, however the university has its own internal ethical approval protocols, and the project, along with all information and consent forms were reviewed and deemed to pass these standards. A Collaborative Agreement with Cittaslow UK was in place, as was a Post-Award Studentship Agreement. Regarding the Board, these amounted to on-going consent that our interactions formed part of a research process, and confirmed that the nonacademic partner agreed all research would be conducted according to Newcastle University's policy on Good Conduct in Research, acknowledging that data collected could be discussed appropriately in a university context.

Consent and data management

Continuous consent was agreed through the above-mentioned formal arrangements with Cittaslow UK and consent forms were signed prior to all recorded interviews. However, consent is not a black-and-white issue, and there is always a question over how fully consenting or how fully informed an 'informed consent' form renders a 'participant'. In practice I aimed for a continuous and on-going verbal negotiation, particularly with non-Cittaslow 'participant' relationships that often involved multiple conversations in varied contexts beyond the main formally recorded interviews. Everyone I spoke to was made aware of the nature of my enquiries, and verbal consent was sought prior to questioning or note-taking. Consent forms were stored in a locked cupboard on university premises and notebooks managed with care and caution. Audio recordings and images have been stored behind password-protected interfaces in separate electronic files.

Dilemmas and grey areas

Anthropological approaches (ASA Ethical Guidelines, 2011) lay weight on protecting research participants and honouring trust. Enfolded within that is an undertaking to anticipate harms and remain alive to the possible consequences of the work. These aspirations consist in constant dilemmas and attempts to navigate the best path through treacherous grounds, where there is not always a clear way. In both field studies I encountered people with very strong feelings of anger and disenfranchisement, and also people working hard to do their best in situations where any action was likely to invite criticism from somewhere. In attempting to write about such complexity, the author is in equally tricky terrain.

A key dilemma arose in Berwick around salmon fishing, and particularly around small-scale salmon poaching. Of course poaching is by definition illegal, however blurred edges creep in on closer examination, and these practices were presented to me as having always been part of local life; in fact they'd been perfectly legal until the 19th century as angling interests began to grow, when traditional netting practices became gradually marginalised, then progressively proscribed and outlawed. Such a set of circumstances speak to many of the central themes in this thesis (for example: local culture, belonging, autochthony, livelihood, authenticity and validity), and raise dilemmas about how to draw on my research findings whilst honouring trust and protecting participants. I had to do the best I could.

Another continuing set of dilemmas arises from the ambiguous insider/outsider status that collaborative work generates. As discussed in part 1, the project has not been co-creative because it was not possible to create an entirely joined-up research project given (among other things) the disparate nature of Cittaslow UK, and the constraints and expectations imposed on a

sole doctoral researcher. Having attended Cittaslow board meetings over four years though, there is discomfort around an impulse to present the organisation in a positive light, and show gratitude for the candid welcome the Board gave me – balanced against a need to present the findings of the data without overly compromising their integrity. I have tried to achieve a balance, but again, it is impossible to find a 'right' answer, and I must hope the potential contributions of the project will outweigh any inevitable dissatisfactions.

Representation and identity

During research the option of anonymity was offered on consent forms, but none requested it, except for occasional 'off the record' comments. Nevertheless, conscious that some issues raised are contentious within the realms of local politics, I have sought to create degrees of anonymity.

Cittaslow representatives, and those who hold positions within it, are named.

Some contributors are identified only by job-titles or roles, though identities are likely to be inferable due to the specific situated nature of local contexts, knowledges and places. Occasionally (such as for market traders in Mold) pseudonyms have been created to help distinguish one voice from another.

On the other hand, I am also concerned not to obscure the individual expertise of some local actors who made specific contributions. One fisherman on the Tweed, for example, spoke extremely forthrightly, but made it clear he wouldn't say anything he didn't want me to know, so "Just put my name to it. Anything I say. It's a long time ago since I was a shy bairn you know – I'm not a shy bairn anymore." In this case I have used his name.

These issues are an on-going problematic associated with doing and writing research, and with maintaining relationships – especially given the unbounded nature of collaborative research. Aspects of representation involve seeking to avoid the instrumental, and aiming to be respectful of knowledge production and intention. Ideas from interlocutors have been 'processed' through the stages of research production, but also dialogically exchanged and fed-back. Nevertheless, I am responsible for what appears in this text, and it feels a heavy responsibility.

4.9 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the methodological theory that has underpinned evolving research methods, revealing a progression from co-creation, through ethnography to multi-sited and para-ethnographic approaches. It further develops the idea of Slow and crafted knowledges, showing how they have informed the construction of a research rationale, the focus of field

studies, and the methods used to elicit responses. In addition it sheds light on the complex and ambiguous borders encountered, both practically and ethically, showing the need to acknowledge the hidden continuities that lie around and beneath superficially discrete categories, stages and distinctions. These changeable terrains are better encountered as spaces to be navigated with a compass, rather than to be read like a map.

Chapter 5. Getting to Know Cittaslow UK

5.1 Introduction and background

This Chapter explores the capacity of Cittaslow to affect, and be affected at a local level, as it struggles to find and hold a course in the sometimes choppy waters of small market towns and local government structures. It will show what was found in the field about Cittaslow UK and Cittaslow International and the relationship between the two. It critically examines factors that make Cittaslow membership attractive and also problematic, questioning its role in setting the agenda and asking how Cittaslow philosophy can be used as a compass to help navigate changing times (as suggested in his speech by outgoing president Paolo Saturnini at the 2014 International Assembly).

The chapter provides contextual understanding of Cittaslow to support the two case studies that follow in Chapters 6 and 7. The insights drawn on were accumulated through attendance at regular Cittaslow UK board meetings, scoping visits to all member towns, interviews with Town Clerks, visiting the International Assembly, and on-going conversations with Cittaslow 'reps' over the course of the research period.

The international Cittaslow association has a growing reach, with member towns in thirty countries (2016), but the organisation itself is small. A copy of Cittaslow International's annual accounts from 2013 showed income from membership fees of €155,000. Of that, €26,000 was budgeted for travel: visiting towns, events and meetings around the network. Cittaslow International describes itself this way in its Charter document (updated 2014, Article 2):

> The Association is a not for profit entity and its objectives are to promote and spread the culture of good living through research, testing and application of solutions for the city organisation.

In order to regularise the model and integrate it into local governance structures, Cittaslow International provides a set of goals (Appendix A) which are used to assess the suitability of towns that wish to join, and are meant to then provide a yardstick for improvement over time. Although it may appear a rather instrumental approach, in reality, the emphasis is not on attaining a fixed target or achieving a measured rating, rather it is on the *process* of interpreting the goals as appropriate to local context and then using them to guide (or navigate) town strategy towards improving 'quality of life' in each place.

Membership offers the opportunity to bring a more-than-local perspective through insights and 'best practice' learnt from other Cittaslow towns nationally and internationally. It is open to

towns with a population below 50,000, and is designed to operate as a formally constituted sub-committee of the municipality or council, with the mayor as chair. This model, however, has not sustained itself in the UK, for reasons that will be discussed within this chapter. To be recognised as a Cittaslow member, a self-accreditation process must be carried out in which the town must achieve at least 50% measured against a set of criteria around infrastructure and environmental policies, the enhancement of urban fabric, the awareness and promotion of local produce, products, hospitality, social cohesion and partnerships. Towns applying to join Cittaslow are subject to an initial accreditation fee of £500 paid to Cittaslow UK CIC to offset the costs of administering and assessing the process. After that, each town accepted is subject to a one-off registration fee (€600) and an annual membership fee (based on its size) both payable to Cittaslow International. The fee rates are set in euros, but Cittaslow UK collects them in pounds, generating a small income from favourable exchange rates. In 2016 the annual fees were:

Towns with less than 1,000 residents:	£600
Towns with 1–5,000 residents:	£750
Towns with 5–15,000 residents:	£1,500
Towns with 15–30,000 residents:	£2,500
Towns with more than 30,000 residents:	£3,500
Supporters and Friends of Cittaslow	£3,500

5.2 Cittaslow: a compass in uncharted waters?

At the core of Cittaslow is a philosophical and humanist perspective that is generated from the ground up: from terroire. The movement has been prompted by concerns about pro-growth capitalism and certain perceived negative effects of globalisation, so it seeks to promote alternative strategies based around diversity in response to local factors, rather than standardisation and homogenisation in response to external pressures. The message it offers is that sustainable development flows from valuing the uniqueness of local and autochthonous expressions of culture and produce, sensory enjoyment, craft, livelihood and place – and that wellbeing is enhanced by using convivial skills to promote local identity and unite disparate groups.

At the 2014 International Assembly in Holland, Paolo Saturnini, the outgoing president and a founder member of Cittaslow, gave a speech (in Italian) in which he adopted the geographical metaphor of a compass to convey his vision of the organisation as a direction-finder and driver of change**:**

> Semplificando molto, si può dire che Cittaslow è una bussola, è la nostra bussola (…) Cittaslow è questo e tanto altro ancora.
>
> Paolo Saturnini, 21.06.14

Below is the author's own translation of an extract from the transcript.

> To greatly simplify: you could say Cittaslow is a compass. It is our compass.
>
> Cittaslow is a compass, not to turn back time, but to move forward and grow in a consciously sustainable way (…)
>
> Cittaslow is a compass to seek to change the world from the bottom up, without waiting for it to be done by governments and states.
>
> Cittaslow is a compass to navigate together, knowing that we come from different cultures, situations, and economies.
>
> Cittaslow is a compass to find a common language whilst knowing that we speak many different languages.
>
> Cittaslow is a compass to, together, find a way out of a global crisis, knowing we will not come out with the approaches and policies of the past, but with new ideas and new projects, creating or reviving many small chains of production that are strongly rooted in the local.
>
> Cittaslow is a compass to navigate the local with a clear head that serves a global vision.
>
> Cittaslow is this and much more as well.

Cittaslow, then, seeks to be a tool to help navigate the variety of benefits and inevitable difficulties resulting from twenty-first century global factors impacting small towns, and indicating where there is value in what is unique and precious about the local. The Cittaslow philosophy provides an orientation point from which a bearing can be taken, and the fluidity that gives the organisation its appeal across multiple countries/cultures also means each member town is free to exercise its own interpretation relative to local conditions.

The analogy of a Slow compass to help pilot the uncharted waters of global economic and social change can be counter-posed against that of a 'fast' map, where guidance is drawn from a fixed template transposed from alternative contexts without factoring in local knowledge, context and craft (in Latour's terms: an immutable mobile: 1986,1987, 1993)

5.3 If 'fast' is a problem, can Cittaslow offer a solution?

Factors influencing decisions to join can range from the pragmatic to the epochal to the existential, as shall be discussed below. Cittaslow can be seen as a useful marketing tool, as a solution to pressures of the era (such as unprecedented acceleration and globalisation), or as a set of values to live by, within which some people recognise themselves and their towns. As

was regularly discussed in board meetings and underlined in interviews with Town Clerks, councils are under pressure to differentiate their towns, to attract inward investment and tourism through branding exercises and to manage extremely tight budgets. Equally, many small towns are struggling with the effects of supermarkets and online outlets undermining local business – causing high streets to atrophy and traditional employers to disappear – resulting in a palpable sense of insecurity (see also Knox and Mayer, 2009, 2013)

The role of Cittaslow could then be to hold on to aspects of local culture so that they may endure into the future, or to fulfil a desire for a better quality of life and a sense of 'community'. It could be put to work as an umbrella beneath which to assemble alliances and partnerships between local businesses, institutions and community groups. Because the focus is on valuing what is unique to each locality, the Cittaslow ethos is fluid enough to allow multiple interpretations and so is manifested in diverse ways across the membership.

5.3.1 Reasons for joining Cittaslow UK

No town joins for a single reason. The accreditation process involves assessing the town's performance in line with the 'goals', so is fairly lengthy, and every decision to join has been examined from multiple angles by the time it has been completed. It is not uncommon for advocates to compare successful Cittaslow accreditation to a restaurant being awarded a Michelin star. A Berwick Board member explained:

> "The advantage Cittaslow has over Transition Towns and Fair trade is that actually it's quite an exacting thing to achieve. It took us eighteen months to achieve it – it's robust (…) And of course when you achieve the status, that's only the bottom of the ladder." *

In 2016 the UK board produced an *Introduction to Cittaslow*, presenting its own ideas about what membership can offer. It suggests key benefits of joining, which can be summarised as: achieving an independent endorsement; gaining a differentiation that offers competitive advantages in visibility, promotion, and funding applications; quality of life benefits for everyone in the community; exchange of knowledge and expertise; links with academic researchers; and the opportunity to pilot regional schemes and influence policy makers. These reasons manifest in complex ways locally.

Pragmatic

In some instances Cittaslow initially appeals as a marketing tool, to build a public profile or attract investment. In Perth, the decision to join Cittaslow (2007) was seen as a pragmatic and useful way of marketing the town. A tourism consultant was appointed by Scottish Enterprise Tayside and Perth and Kinross Council to look for initiatives that would be able to help build an

identity and a reputation around food and drink. After considering several models, Cittaslow was recommended, in part because the breadth of its vision was in contrast to the tighter focus of other options considered: "Nothing else was as broad as Cittaslow", the consultant told me, "We were told that Cittaslow was not just about ticking boxes, it was a state of mind" (Tourism and Leisure Solutions, Fife: personal communication, 2013).

> We are convinced that Cittaslow recognition will provide us new opportunities to promote Perthshire as a distinctive quality destination where visitors can expect good food, excellent hospitality and unspoilt environments.
>
> Visit Scotland eUpdate - November edition 2006[18]

Not only did Perth join as a member town, but uniquely, the unitary authority of Perth & Kinross also joined as a Cittaslow Supporter. This involved paying two sets of membership fees, but came from an electoral concern that Perth town might be perceived to be getting all the attention when there were many small satellite settlements and businesses within the greater region who could also benefit.

Aylsham and Diss also joined Cittaslow (2004 and 2006) as a result of a search for initiatives to market and promote local towns. Rural Action East, an umbrella body for rural community councils, ran a pilot to establish how the Cittaslow goals could be applied in the UK and approached Norfolk County Council, who in turn approached the local District Councils to identify likely towns.

In Diss, joining Cittaslow became the focus of a successful application led by Diss Community Partnership to the European Union LEADER+ fund (an initiative that supports rural development, networking and co-operation). They were awarded £100,000, which, with match funding from local councils was made up to a total up to £146,000. The money was used (amongst other things) to employ a Cittaslow project-worker, to re-brand the town and to distribute small grants to numerous local businesses that could show they were working towards Cittaslow goals. Diss became a very concrete example of how membership of Cittaslow really could draw investment into a town, raise its profile, and support local businesses and wellbeing.

These examples show that there are sound, rational reasons for considering Cittaslow as a pragmatic option. However, there are also risks in privileging these instrumental motivations, making a tendency to prioritise its utility as a branding exercise, rather than as a potential tool

[18] http://visitscotland.briefyourmarket.com/Newsletters/VisitScotland-eUpdate-November-edition-2006/Perth-strives-to-become-first-Scottish-slow-city-.aspx

to drive change in the local agenda in line with the values and goals of Cittaslow. This danger was acknowledged and underlined by Saturnini in his speech at the International Assembly:

> "Cittaslow is not a flower you wear in your buttonhole or a medal you pin to your jacket – Cittaslow is a different way of understanding, to design and implement policy."
>
> Paolo Saturnini (2014)

When councillors see it primarily as a badge to attract funding or tourism, rather than a mechanism to improve the wellbeing of people who already live there (Radstrom, 2011) or to drive innovation, Cittaslow can become a 'tick-box' exercise, or a 'talking shop' (terms I heard used in criticism in Aylsham, Diss and Perth.) At that point fault-lines emerge that can lead to the eventual withdrawal of the town from the network, as in Diss and Perth.

Epochal

In some towns the reason for joining comes from a desire to address problems of our time and an accompanying sense of crisis. This can encompass development and environmental issues and also the problems many small towns encounter sustaining their vibrancy, and even viability, in the face of common yet multifarious 'fast' pressures in a connected and globalising world.

Ludlow was the first town in the UK to join Cittaslow. Its bid was initiated and championed by the local Agenda 21 group – so initially driven by concerns about the environment, inequality and sustainable development. It became a member in 2003. Once established as a council sub-committee, the group sought to position the idea of Cittaslow as a management tool that could work towards Cittaslow goals by unifying and co-ordinating (and sometimes lobbying) disparate organisations and projects spread around the town, in order to give focus and identity. Ludlow was the flagship town that attracted most of the existing membership to explore joining.

Epochal pressures were experienced another way in Berwick, exacerbated by its rather unique geographical position. It lies in England, but just a couple of miles from the border with Scotland, and exactly half way between Edinburgh and Newcastle. It joined Cittaslow in 2007 with support from the subsequently abolished (2009) Berwick Borough Council. A local resident and Cittaslow supporter who had led the Regeneration Team of the old Borough Council summarised the kind of pressures he saw as threatening the town's continued viability. Interestingly, some are clearly manifestations of contemporary economic and social change – but some relate back to Berwick's liminal border position (it has changed hands thirteen times in its history).

> "Berwick is nipped between Newcastle and Edinburgh – they draw resources towards themselves. It's got worse in the last ten years because Scotland is investing in border towns like Galashiels and Tweedbank, and that creates a critical mass of services that pulls investors West (…) Berwick last changed hands in 1482, but its natural geographic hinterland is the Tweed catchment – places like Galashiels, Hawick, Kelso – that connection was severed when it split from Scotland."
>
> "So between the border towns, out-of-town shopping and Internet shopping, it is killing the high street. Pubs are struggling because people have changed their habits – they are more likely to buy some beer in Tesco and stay in and watch a film, than go out (…) People also move just over the border to get Scottish services, and that will get worse if it gets independence[19] (…) Young people move away and don't come back until retirement, there's poor childcare, an aging population and a severe shortage of affordable housing." * [2013]

When asked about Cittaslow, the same contributor said, "I really love it. I really believe in it. It is what you make of it." He saw Cittaslow as a possible tool for re-positioning the town with respect to these rapidly changing pressures. Berwick's border position adds some atypical elements, but nevertheless this diatribe illustrates a constellation of problems and relations that meet and weave together (Massey, 1994) in many of our rural towns in the 21st century. The rise of high streets dominated by national and international chains and charity shops highlights a contrast with what were, in living memory, relatively bustling places offering diverse livelihoods and facades full of independent traders.

In the face of such pressures, the impetus to join an organisation like Cittaslow can plausibly stem from the desire to find a 'compass' to navigate treacherous waters and unknown territories. The town clerk in Mold told me how Cittaslow can operate as a direction-finder when I asked about its role in driving a redevelopment project in the town:

> "Because of the nature of some of our town councillors it might have happened anyway – because of their passion – but it does give us a focus to know what the goals are for Cittaslow so that we know what we need to do to be able to get there."
>
> Town Clerk, Mold

> "Cittaslow shapes how the town council responds to every decision – it is a thread through everything. If a community group applies for a grant from the council's participatory budgeting scheme, it is decided by the Cittaslow sub-committee." [2013]
>
> Mo Anderson-Dungar, Aylsham Town Clerk and Cittaslow UK board member

These examples indicate how, if Cittaslow is well integrated into town councils, it can act as a compass in navigating the uncharted waters created by 'fast' pressures on small towns.

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[19] Interviewed in 2013, prior to the Scottish Independence vote in September, 2014

Existential

In choosing the term existential, I am proposing that town residents can be drawn to Cittaslow in circumstances where its philosophy and values are perceived to express something 'essential' that gets to the heart of local identity, but which would otherwise be unrecognised or unrepresented.

Cittaslow shifts the focus of attention both inwards and outwards from what might be called 'provincial' thinking: inwards to re-imagine what is valuable about the local, but outwards to connect and learn from other towns around the world. Conviviality and autochthony give importance to shared enjoyment and quality of life, and also to local culture, produce and people. Cittaslow strikes a chord as a real-world mechanism that values qualitative and ethical aspects of life and can nudge an agenda within the town towards unifying disparate factions; whilst the 'global' network raises the potential to make connections and gain visibility nationally and internationally.

In the attempt to write about this intangible emotional response I find myself falling back on generalisations and loaded terms in inverted commas – but nevertheless, it is something to be acknowledged because it was so frequently touched on by those I spoke to. "Cittaslow emerges as way to express the inexpressible – it enhances what they *already* are" (Pink and Servon, 2013, original italics. See also Servon and Pink, 2015).

During the scoping stages of this research, all Cittaslow UK member towns were visited, and the sentiment was frequently expressed that, even before joining, the town was *already* Cittaslow.

> "It's a good job we didn't have to change to join Cittaslow. It's what we were already!" * [2013]
>
> Mo Anderson-Dungar, Aylsham Town Clerk quoting the Chair of their Cittaslow committee

When the Slow philosophy is perceived as something that recognises and celebrates autochthonous qualities that were already there, it can engender a powerful emotional response amongst those who see it as an endorsement of their values and lifestyle, or as a mechanism to give voice to something not fully expressed or understood before. This strength of feeling was forcefully expressed to me in Perth, by the owner and manager of an organic farm specialising in rare breeds. Although the business was part of the Perth Cittaslow network, her first brush with the philosophy had come through Slow Food when she had gone to Italy as a delegate from her local convivium and taken a stand at the *Salone del Gusto (*an international

gastronomic showcase that is part of Slow Food's biennial conference, *Terra Madre* [Mother Earth]).

> "Terra Madre – I'll never forget that. It really changed my life. You come back politicised (…) It is breath-taking, the intellectual joined up thinking on big food problems! Everyone looks for a magic bullet like GM crops, but solutions will come from small people – we are so adaptable, so inventive – not from Monsanto (…) The message is complex and all-encompassing, it's not just about food, but how you want your world to be."
>
> "It espouses values I was brought up with, but never fully understood, myself. You feel part of a huge international community, not a lone voice in the wilderness (…) They all 'got' what I do. I didn't need to explain myself. It's something I badly needed." * [2013]

Another aspect of Slow that carries significance for those who 'get' it, is as an agent of international recognition that can give local meaning to global issues

> "It is recognised internationally and that's important. Having got that label and that hook to hang things on – well let's hang things on it! And let's use it, and let's use the enthusiasm that people have got to work with community groups."
>
> "It's not easy, community engagement, because it's always the usual suspects that turn up, and always the loud people. I'd like to think (…) that Cittaslow is more cuddly-feely than the town council – it's not the council asking – it's Cittaslow."
>
> Town Clerk, Llangollen

Trying to foster 'community engagement' is an ever-present preoccupation within town councils, and the convivial aspect of Slow philosophy carries resonance for those who make the connection. The breadth of the agenda allows that it can be used as a unifying influence to bring together otherwise disparate strands of local policy-relevant information and actors. This usage would be mentioned sometimes in an abstract generalised sense, such as "Cittaslow is the clingfilm that you wrap around everything else" (Llangollen Town Clerk) but also in a more specific, enacted sense emerging from the process of working towards meeting Cittaslow goals, and particularly the audit necessary for initial accreditation. Llangollen's Clerk used a similar image with reference to the act of collating information towards meeting the accreditation, saying it was a very useful mechanism to "glue it all together" in a way that would not otherwise have happened, and this vision is articulated in their 2014 draft constitution document:

2.1 The Objects of Cittaslow Llangollen are to:

a) Ensure on-going community involvement in the development and delivery of the Cittaslow aims of; supporting and promoting local culture and local traditions; working for a more sustainable environment; raising awareness and appreciation of local produce and local businesses; promoting healthy eating and healthy living and encouraging and celebrating diversity rather than standardisation.

b) Champion a holistic approach that strengthens our local community and creates a better daily life for all.

c) Generate consensus amongst the groups who have a responsibility for the future success of the town

d) Co-ordinate initiatives and grant applications in line with the agreed strategy for the future of the town

e) Assist with and, where appropriate, deliver projects.

In all the Cittaslow towns I visited, stories and comments repeatedly reflected a perception that their town had an unusually large number of organisations and local interest groups. Llangollen Town Clerk, for example, told me the town (population: 3,466[20]) had ninety-two community groups. In Aylsham (6,016) the council's Administration Officer said, "My big surprise was the amount of organisations there were in the town. We came up with over a hundred!" In Berwick, (13,265) I was told, "People coming in from the County Council made the point a number of times: 'We've never known a town with so many community groups!'"

It is unclear whether that pre-existing condition disposed an open response to Cittaslow (because people in those towns could recognise themselves in the rhetoric), or whether the presence of Cittaslow was actually helping to generate new alliances. In any event, the connection was made anecdotally. In Mold, (10,058) the Town Centre Manager made a tentative link between Cittaslow and the level of 'community engagement' in the town.

> "Whether it's down to Cittaslow or not, I'm not 100% sure, but this town, in terms of community engagement and involvement and doing things as a community, will stand and hold its head up against any community, I believe."
>
> "[For example] the Flower Festival. Now that came from the Community Flower Club (…) To my mind there's been a brilliant unintended outcome because a lot of these ladies that have come together were from all the different churches. Now half the time they didn't speak to each other – they didn't engage. So in terms of community cohesion, working together as a project, they are now quite a strong group."

In Berwick the point was reiterated, regarding both the perceived utility of Cittaslow as a 'connector', and also the difficulty of then actually measuring that effect:

[20] Population density for built-up-areas (Office for National Statistics, QS102EW, 2011)

> "It's very difficult to evaluate, but the value is that it is an umbrella. The whole town (whether they like it or not) are members of Cittaslow, and I like to think it has helped to unify some of the – factions is such a strong word, but – factions within the town.
>
> I don't think people are still in their own little towers any more in the same way they used to be. It's very difficult to know whether [lists groups within which Cittaslow takes a lead] are just chipping away at it, and people realise that there's much more to be gained from co-operation – that it's not a threat – or whether it would have happened with time anyway. Who knows? It's impossible to evaluate."
>
> Margaret Shaw, Cittaslow Berwick and UK Board Member

Ironically, this intangible quality can be, at one and the same time, a powerful draw for those who find it resonates, and a tangible obstacle for others who strain to understand or convey more broadly what Cittaslow means. In those towns where Cittaslow struggles to endure, the failure to find an agreed understanding of what it means and what membership brings, can lead to polarisation rather than unification within town councils and Cittaslow committees.

Cittaslow, then, can be attractive for a variety of reasons. Pragmatic factors include promotion and branding in order to attract investment and tourism. Epochal elements encompass responses to 'fast' factors that induce a sense of crisis around issues like economic sustainability and environmental change. Existential factors prioritise philosophical resonances and aspects such as conviviality and autochthony.

5.4 Obstacles encountered by Cittaslow towns: staying afloat in treacherous seas

The previous section has drawn out some of the reasons why Cittaslow might be attractive as an organisation; this section will draw out some aspects of the small town context and the Cittaslow model where difficulties and resistances can arise.

My research revealed confusion and sometimes conflict around what exactly the member towns get back from the international organisation in return for their annual membership fees of £1500 (plus or minus, depending on the size of the town). They experience difficulty working out how to best demonstrate the results of quality of life initiatives, which can be hard to quantify. Often the influence of Cittaslow is in the initiation of an idea or set of principles rather than in managing and producing a discrete project with measurable outcomes. The provenance can then easily get lost in the progression through council protocols. So even when there have been positive outcomes from joining Cittaslow, it is hard to attribute something concrete to this one source in a way that can be accounted for, acknowledged and remembered over time. Part of the Cittaslow model proposes that it should offer a welcoming umbrella below which diverse local initiatives and groups can come together with common

cause for the good of the town, but this research shows that it can fall short in this aim because of pre-existing factions, tribalisms, fiefdoms and territoriality (all references that were used by town residents in describing local conditions).

In the UK context, however, there are certain specific difficulties that make it harder for Cittaslow to hold ground. An inhospitable local government structure is particularly problematic, adding pressures that contribute to the lack of a clear national infrastructure and identity for the UK group.

5.4.1 Local authority structures

When the international Cittaslow movement was set up in Italy, it was conceived as extending the philosophy espoused by Slow Food across a broad range of issues, so it could be applied to local communities through their governing bodies. The vision articulated by the founders emerged from a European context and was designed to be enacted through relatively well-funded municipalities, where the mayor holds strategic power and remains in office for a number of years. In the UK, Cittaslow membership has tended to be acquired at the level of local town, parish or community councils, the only exception being Perth and Kinross, which is a unitary authority. One significant obstacle to the UK network's ability to sustain itself and expand appears to be the difference between local government structures in the UK and in Europe.

Powers

In the UK broad responsibilities are associated with differing levels of local governance. A generalised indication (not exhaustive) of the division of responsibilities is summarised in the list below:

Local Authority levels of responsibility			
Unitary Authorities	**County Councils**	**District, Borough and City Councils**	**Parish, Community and Town Councils**
Single-tier districts that are responsible for running all local services in their areas, combining both county and district functions	Transport	Housing	Bus shelters
	Education	Council tax collection	Play areas and equipment
	Social care	Planning applications	Community centres
	Libraries	Rubbish collection	Public information signs
	Fire and public safety	Recycling	Public seating
	Trading standards		Allotments and cemeteries
	Planning		War memorials
	Waste management		Grants to help local organisations
			Consulting on neighbourhood planning
			Issue fines for (e.g.) litter, graffiti, dog mess, fly posting

Figure 5.1 (Source: Adapted from information at https://www.gov.uk)

Cittaslow membership in the UK therefore is subject to local government structures that can exhibit a number of characteristics not very hospitable to hosting it, creating significant obstacles related to powers, remit and funding that compromise its ability to sustain itself and expand (see also Pink 2009).

Cittaslow Goals (Appendix A), towards which every town is expected to work, were updated in 2013. However, because membership in the UK is largely engaged only at town level, with many of the more meaningful decisions being taken at district or county council level, even when there is a will to fulfil the Cittaslow Goals and indicators, the ability often lies outside the town council's powers or its resources. In particular, the Environmental Goals such as managing, monitoring and reporting on things like air quality, waterways, sewage and drinking water – often fall beyond the powers of town councils.

Structural variations

These restrictions in powers are further complicated by a lack of uniformity within the structure of local government in the UK, which generates uneven pressures across the network and makes it harder for the national Cittaslow Board to share common experience. Inconsistencies exist, not only between Scotland, Wales and England, but also within England. For example, the English towns of Diss and Aylsham have a three-tier town/district/county council structure but Berwick has only a two-tier town/county council system. The now defunct second tier of Berwick Borough Council, having funded and encouraged the initial Cittaslow membership bid, was abolished in 2009 to be replaced by the unitary authority of Northumberland County Council with the new Berwick Town (parish) Council, covering a much-reduced area. In Wales the equivalent to parish councils are called community councils (since Local

Government Act 1972). Their powers are the same, but there is perhaps a stronger ideological emphasis on the "duty to represent the interests of the different parts of the community equally".[21] At the time of fieldwork, Perth was the only Cittaslow town in Scotland (it left in 2015). It had a much larger population than the other members and the local council was the unitary authority of Perth and Kinross, created in 1996 under the 'Local Government etc. (Scotland) Act 1994', which abolished the previous system of regions and districts to create thirty-two unitary authorities covering the whole of Scotland. The variety of these local governance models makes it hard for Cittaslow UK to establish mutually informed practices across its member towns.

Holding the vision

This research shows that continuity of understanding and commitment to a vision for Cittaslow is crucial to its viability, but that the vision is frequently dependent on only a few committed local residents or even on the Town Clerk (often the sole employee of small councils). If those key links in the chain falter or move away, or if there is a handful of councillors who are not convinced, it can lead to repeated questioning of the meaning and worth of retaining membership.

In contrast to the internationally conceived ideal, in the UK the post of town mayor is almost exclusively ceremonial, involving few duties and an abbreviated term in office. As chair in council meetings and civic figurehead, the sympathies of the mayor can, nevertheless, affect how an initiative is treated or prioritised within the council agenda. The norm is for a new mayor to be elected every municipal year by the councillors, from amongst their number: yet the complexion of those councillors regularly shifts due to local elections and, combined with the annual change of mayors, that can cause problems with continuity of vision.

Existing member towns are mostly fairly long-term members, but there has also been a pattern of new towns going through accreditation, and then failing to follow through. The causes seem to come down to tensions around what is gained in return for the fees, the churn of council politics, and the intangibility of the vision. This is exacerbated by the repeated pattern where Cittaslow is championed by one or two impassioned people who drive it forward, but then fail to pass the torch when they move on.

> "Cittaslow is personality driven – always personality driven." [2013]
>
> Aylsham Town Council, Administration Officer

[21] http://wales.gov.uk/topics/localgovernment/communitytowncouncils/?lang=en

Cittaslow representatives were not keen to publicise the dropout rate, and for that reason it was not easy to get good clear data on the details, but a general picture can be pieced together with reference to brief allusions made during meetings and conversations with existing 'reps' and board members. Ludlow, the first to join, was led by "…a single crusader, but there was infighting on the council". Cockermouth Council joined, then stopped paying: "The person who ran Cittaslow wasn't very well liked". Other towns completed the membership process, but quickly stopped paying. One person commented that "Sturminster Newton, came to two meetings then didn't pay the fees", and in Linlithgow "It came down to personalities". This cocktail of factors was referenced in an interview talking about how Berwick Cittaslow had managed to pay its fees without any council support since 2008 by raising funds with a regular antiques fair and other community events:

> "We'd have had to drop out otherwise. Sturminster and Linlithgow had to drop out because they couldn't raise the fees. Sturminster was led by one person – he moved and the focus went. Penarth got through the accreditation, and were on the point of becoming a member, but there was a local election and a change of town council. It was a Conservative council that brought in Cittaslow, then the election swung to Labour and they withdrew"
>
> Margaret Shaw, Cittaslow Berwick and UK board member

This issue of the stability of Cittaslow, even within well established member towns, was raised by Mold Town Clerk:

> "Collectively the town council do support the ethos of it and they do continue to fund it, and because we've got a number of town councillors who work at it continuously, there is the drive there. But equally if those members went, or they lost their seats, that would be cause for questions as to how Cittaslow would continue afterwards."

I asked the Mold Town Centre Manager whether he thought the town would retain membership if key personalities left? He answered with reference to Mold's representative on the Cittaslow UK board:

> "I think it would. I think it would, but to the level, I'm not sure about. And also I think all of these causes and activities require leadership and a champion. Now, Andrea has provided both roles, she's a huge advocate for it."
>
> "There is absolutely no doubt that Andrea has had a huge influence on this town and on this Town Council - but then again, she's very very driven and very motivated. But the interest in that is the question: how much is round one person?"

Funding

The pressure placed on town councils to measure and account for outputs from their initiatives gives little room for intangible indicators such as 'quality of life'. Even in councils where there

is broad support, local government funding structures in the UK mean that there is only limited money available to fund projects that support the strategic vision, and Cittaslow representatives may still struggle to justify the continued payment of membership fees to Cittaslow International. Unfavourable funding arrangements in the UK when compared to many European contexts, can lead to tensions. When I visited Llangollen the councillor showing me around commented on this discrepancy, telling of an occasion when visiting a town in France: he had felt embarrassed at the comparison with UK conditions, noting how gracious the French hospitality rooms were, and how they had staff who were paid to administer any initiatives the town decided to join. Other Cittaslow people echoed the observation:

> "In Italy the towns have an autonomous budget. In Mold the balance of power alternates between Labour and Lib Dems, the Mayor stands for a one-year term and only gets a £500 allowance [to cover civic duties]." * [2013]
>
> Andrea Mearns, Cittaslow Mold and UK board member

> "In France the local structure is very well supported, and councils have people to write reports and make applications for funding." * [2013]
>
> Giles Margason, Cittaslow Aylsham and UK board member

> "While there are some really positive aspects of Cittaslow, the co-relation between what's relevant in Italy and other European countries and what's relevant here – the co-relation isn't really there. We're spending public money, and we have to be able to justify what we're spending, and you know, £1500 is a huge amount of money."
>
> Diss Town Clerk

Since the first UK town (Ludlow) joined in 2003 there has been a significant amount of interest from other market towns, several initiating the process of joining. But there has also been a high rate of attrition. The justification of fees has been a major factor. The extract below taken from the minutes of Penarth Council (a town that 'nearly joined') illustrates how committed and lengthy the process of joining can be, but also conveys some sense of the level of uncertainty that often prevails within councils at the crucial stage of committing to the vision.

- The steering group which consists of individuals, representatives of local groups and the Town Council set themselves up as a voluntary group and met almost on a monthly basis to complete the assessment.

- In September 2011 Cittaslow Penarth submitted its completed assessment to Cittaslow UK and in December 2011 representatives of Cittaslow UK came to Penarth to question and give feedback on the assessment. Cittaslow Penarth was advised that its assessment

was a strong initial submission and that it was of sufficient standard to achieve membership of Cittaslow UK.

- However the Town Council has considered the payment of the membership fee on two occasions on the first occasion more information was requested in relation to the direct benefits to the town for membership and on the second occasion more information was required about Cittaslow UK, Cittaslow International and the benefits to be derived from membership

- (…) It is RECOMMENDED that the Committee considers whether the Town Council should pay the £2,500 annual membership fee to Cittaslow UK.

Penarth Council Policy and Finance Committee from June 2012

The figure below shows the progression of Cittaslow UK within the context of the movement's development since its earliest beginnings. Those in grey, described as 'nearly joined', did in some cases achieve accreditation, but then failed to engage and subsequently withdrew.

The evolution of Cittaslow (CS) UK from the origins of Slow Food

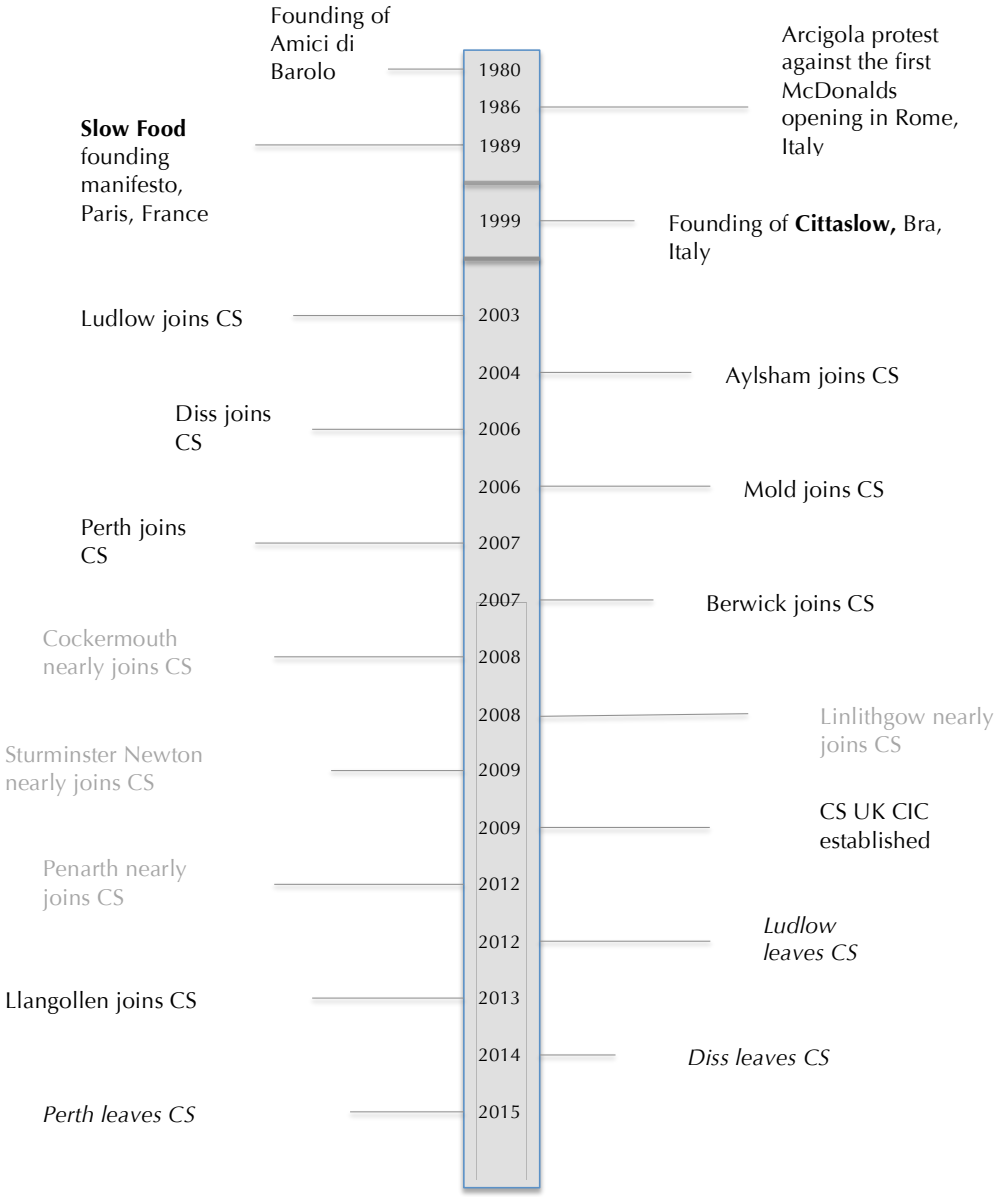

Figure 5.2

Becoming separately constituted

> "Lots of people see Cittaslow as part of the council, but there is often suspicion of what is happening to their council tax." * [2013]
>
> Administration Officer, Aylsham Council

Factors described above come together to impose considerable pressure on Cittaslow groups, particularly to justify the membership fee. As a result there is a drift for groups to reinvent themselves as outside of town council leadership or funding. One advantage this brings is that, as independently constituted groups, they are (in theory) able to bid for funding that would be

inaccessible to town councils. However, It should be noted that whilst this may allow the opportunity to apply for varied funding streams, without the support of any paid administrative staff it is rare for 'reps' to have the time and the skills to make such applications, so it remains a largely theoretical advantage.

Berwick is separately constituted of necessity after Berwick Borough Council (having paid the first two years Cittaslow fees) was abolished and replaced with a town council that displayed no interest in supporting Cittaslow. In Berwick the group had long been keen to challenge the international model requiring Cittaslow to operate through a council and mayor, rendering it vulnerable to the vagaries of who is elected:

> "I pursue it periodically within Cittaslow UK (…) they accept the convention imposed by the international organisation, but the convention of the protocol shouldn't tie us up in knots, it's there to help us, to guide us, it's not helping us if it's hindering us." [2013]
>
> Bernard Shaw, Cittaslow Berwick and UK board member

> "We are bound very much by Italy, and Italy's rules (…) We should suggest to new members that there are other ways, but we are in a minority, because everybody else comes from a town council, so they see it from a town council perspective, which we don't and can't. Whereas we would say, well it doesn't really matter if there's a change of town council." [2013]
>
> Margaret Shaw, Cittaslow Berwick and UK board member

Llangollen, which became a Cittaslow town in September 2013, has sought from the outset to set up an independently constituted 'Cittaslow Llangollen Management Board' which includes local community representatives and two town councillors "in order to maintain a link with the aspirations of the council" (Town Clerk). This separately constituted group has bid for funding through the town council's Participatory Budgeting Scheme, and are applying to a local enterprise agency for further funding to promote Cittaslow awareness in the town. In 2013 Diss Town Council (a member since 2006) reluctantly paid the annual fee with the proviso that Cittaslow should in future operate through the local Community Partnership and raise it's own fees. In June 2014 Diss Town Council withdrew from Cittaslow altogether, and it has not survived without their financial support, so Diss is no longer a Cittaslow town.

The international organisation has now reworded its charter to allow more flexibility in how local groups are constituted, but though this eases some pressures, it brings others. A town outwith the council is removed from access to most information necessary to monitor progress against Cittaslow goals, it has no access to administrative or financial support, and therefore must put time and effort into fundraising activities, rather than core principles.

5.4.2 Cittaslow UK's national identity

On top of practical and structural obstacles addressed in the previous section, difficulties can be exacerbated because both local Cittaslow groups and the whole UK network are constrained by a lack of resources. These variously include time, money, administrative support, and key technological skill-sets. As a result it is difficult to strategically identify and act upon ways to improve goals and accreditations, maintain online visibility, and create communication channels to support each other.

Cittaslow UK is a national body made up from representatives of its member towns. 'Reps' work very hard within their local towns, but it is another job again to create an identity for the national network and present a coherent public face. The ideal model should allow a group of towns to work together, gain strength from those relationships and share best practice in a way that extends their influence, allowing them to reach beyond the local. In particular, the national website could function as a public platform that can promote the towns: offering visibility around which to cohere initiatives, to recruit new members and attract inward investment, and to provide visible impact that could help justify the fees. The reality of creating this national identity, however, is problematic given the restrictions of staffing and funding under which they work.

> "If we were somewhere like Holland or Denmark (…) where the Cittaslow network is really run by paid officials from those towns with the backing of their mayors, I think we'd have a meeting where we'd have paid officials sat round the table as well as volunteers – in fact they predominantly would be paid officials (…) but because we haven't got that structure, it tends to be much more ad hoc."
>
> "When you look at what each of the volunteer groups in each of the towns is doing, it's a wonder they have time to go to the toilet, let alone sort out the national website."
>
> Andrea Mearns, Cittaslow Mold and UK board member

Cittaslow UK has been constituted as a Community Interest Company since 2009. As a national tier, it has no central office, nor any dedicated administrative staff. Delegates to the national board are made up of one or two representatives from each town, who may be councillors, town clerks or local committee members drawn from town residents. The national board comes together for quarterly meetings in York (as a centrally accessible UK point), and delegates generally have to pay their own fares to attend these (as well as international meetings or events). What this means, is that all strategic responsibilities and executive roles are dependent on people who are already extremely busy, travelling from geographically dispersed member towns, and donating their time and their money to the enterprise.

> "It is difficult to recruit to Cittaslow because it is hard to put into a sound bite. The UK gets hung up on measuring, league tables, facts, figures, impacts – and people tend to think locally not nationally (…) It needs strong internal structures and dedicated administrative staff, but it is reliant on volunteers, and they get volunteer fatigue: there is a membership churn of about 30% in all organisations. (…) Those who can afford the time are often retired and not economically active." * [2013]
>
> Tourism Consultant employed by Perth and Kinross to lead the Cittaslow application (personal communication)

For the most part, town councillors in the UK receive no payment for their roles, although as a unitary authority under the Scottish Government, Perth & Kinross was unusual in that councillors received a basic annual allowance of £16233p.a. (2013) plus extra for carrying certain portfolios (such as chairing the Cittaslow committee), and Perth had a dedicated Cittaslow Officer until 2012. Notwithstanding that exception, an element of fragility can be seen here that derives from the restricted funds available through local government in this country and the reliance on voluntary commitment. Roles such as keeping the accounts or taking the minutes have historically been delegated to town clerks from member towns, but even this minimal administrative support becomes stretched if local councils or their clerks start to question the value of maintaining the membership.

Accreditation

The accreditation process for new towns is based on a self-assessed audit, which is then checked and peer-assessed by representatives from Cittaslow UK. Once a town becomes accredited the responsibility of continued improvement against the prescribed goals reverts to a process of self-auditing. This however is a time-consuming activity that can slip down the list of priorities, but ignoring it ultimately undermines the rigour and value of the accreditation.

> "The accreditation is done by self-assessment, but it is still all too onerous and time consuming, because there is no money to support the process (…) There was some talk at one time [in the board] about us cross-assessing, but of course there's no money to actually do it."
>
> Margaret Shaw, Cittaslow Berwick and UK board member

After a year of membership, The Llangollen Town Clerk was questioning this exact point, suggesting the national body should, at the very least, be working to create a "tailored local assessment – even if just a checklist – to help keep status and forward momentum". He identified this lack of national co-ordination and support as the source of uncertainties beginning to arise in the local group:

> "We haven't had much contact to say what we should be doing. There's no great direction saying, 'You're a new member, here's your new-member pack. This is

> what we think you should be doing'. You don't get anything really for your money. It's a lot of money and you don't get a lot for that apart from the brand. £750 for a town this size is – I think – expensive."

Website

The main thrust of creating and sustaining a national identity for Cittaslow UK should be a function of its website – but this too suffers from the lack of funds, practical support and expertise.

> "You go on the website and there's not a great deal of resource on there. Things like: we were talking about World Café [a convivial collaborative dialogue method], survey forms, types of forms you could use to engage with your community, how do you do a reassessment of your scoring? There needs to be some resource there to assist maintaining your status and keeping going forward. If you've got to find £750, can you really afford another seventy quid to travel up to York?"
>
> Llangollen Town Clerk

With no 'tech-savvy' administrator, the website tends to be dominated by locally updated town pages that project several disparate provincial identities over and above any unified and coherent national identity (though at time of writing it is being worked upon). Up to this point it has been poorly conceived as a useful source of information to anyone looking for an explanation about the larger organisation, and to new members, and so fails to build the impression of a network connected across multiple scales. Cittaslow status is frequently cited by reps as an important signifier of international recognition and a source of pride for the towns, but, again, the International website is eccentric to navigate and suffers from lack of investment and personnel.

5.5 Insights from the International Assembly, Netherlands, June 2014.

This section presents insights in the form of observations, conversations and vignettes (Stewart, 2007; Scott, 2012) gathered at the International Assembly, in order to flesh out perceptions of the organisation and how it is seen beyond the UK, within the international network. Every year, the annual International Assembly is hosted in a different country by the representative national network. In June 2014 the Assembly was held in the Netherlands over five days, between three Cittaslow towns: Vaals, Alphen Chaam and Midden-Delfland.

Hosting the assembly

In attending, I hoped to understand better how (or if) other towns were dealing with similar obstacles to those experienced in the UK, and how the organisation is viewed from differing

national perspectives. The following extract from the programme picks out themes that are central within this thesis: time, knowledge and creativity.

> Cittaslow relates to the world and addresses the subject of time. A fast moving time. (…) We possess an abundance of information, but we are lacking – or at least often lacking – knowledge, which is far more important. We are moving on too fast and therefore miss a deeper awareness of the essence of things. Cittaslow promotes deepening, wisdom. But it also promotes creativity, inventiveness and innovative mental power and decisiveness (2014:10)
>
> Programme produced by Vaals municipality for International Assembly

Although the first day was hosted by the Dutch town of Vaals, the actual proceedings were held in a non-Cittaslow town across the border in Germany. "Aachen's mayor offered this meeting place as a demonstration of our international good will" (Mayor Midden-Delfland). The emphasis was on convivial goodwill and cross-border relationships at the spot where Holland, Belgium and Germany's borders converge and diverge.

> "This is Holland's most atypical province: it's not Dutch, it's not low and there's no gouda. It's the slowest part of the country (...) At a point where three countries converge and almost separate from their own countries, we live, eat, cycle, do business – unrestricted by borders. We are experts at cross-border communication." *
>
> Presentation by Theo Bovens, Governor of Limburg Province

Differences in structure between Europe and the UK

Travelling on a bus between Vaals and Alphen Chaam, (passing in and out of Belgian/Dutch enclaves along the border) I fell into conversation with the Mayor of Cittaslow town, Borger-Odoorn in the Netherlands and delegates from Italy and Turkey sitting nearby. They revealed how the status of mayors, and the structure and funding of their local municipalities allow scope for strategic thinking, exercising vision, and financial and administrative support: evidencing some of the reasons why Cittaslow can thrive in these countries, but struggles in the UK.

Bearing in mind that UK mayors have a one-year term, I was told that in Turkey mayors are elected for five-years, and can be re-elected indefinitely:

> "The first year is getting to know the post, the last year is preparing for elections, so there are three years in the middle to get things done".

In Italy mayors are elected for a four-year term, and can stand for re-election once, but after that must remain out of politics for five years. In Holland mayors are appointed (not elected)

and serve a municipality for a term of six years, after which they can be re-appointed. Mayors are appointed by their local King's Commissioner (each heads up one of twelve provinces in the country, and in their turn are appointed by the Minister for internal affairs). Within municipalities, the mayor shares legislative responsibilities with the city council and aldermen, and chairs all their meetings.

> "There are 403 communities in the Netherlands with mayors. The mayor works with the aldermen and has not power but influence". *

The City Council decides the budget, the aldermen have executive duties and "do the daily work". I asked what his influence was?

> "Well, the first question is: do you want to change anything? Security? Safety? Public order? The mayor needs connections, diverse experience and the ability to step back and see an overview." *

His municipality, he said, had a budget of €55 million a year (mostly from national government). There was €10,000 in the budget just for Cittaslow, from which the fees of €2,500 were paid, plus the time of three staff who are paid as part of their job to administrate Cittaslow. Once a month he, as mayor, meets with the financial officer for half an hour to report and check Cittaslow is on track, and check the strategies are ok.

> "You can be very strict or you can be very gentle. Cittaslow is not goal-based, but direction-based. If you are strict it doesn't work. The process is more important than the goal, if it became goal-based people would··· [here he held up his hands and pushed against the air, to indicate that people would resist it]." *
>
> Marco Out, Mayor of Borger-Odoorn, Netherlands, since 2008

Reasons for joining Cittaslow

Internationally, a range of factors additional to those already discussed were anecdotally cited or observable as attracting towns to Cittaslow membership. Turkish towns, for example (as was often mentioned in UK meetings), saw Cittaslow as a useful link to European networks that might support a future bid to enter the EU. The only Japanese town joined after being destroyed by earthquake and tsunami, seeing Cittaslow principles as a positive model towards rebuilding. Parts of Korea and China have been subject to (perhaps overwhelmingly) rapid industrialisation from a predominantly rural economy[22]. A presentation by the Chinese delegation, for example, was themed 'Be Slowly', and showed a sequence of atmospheric seasonal images of tea, rain, mist, scented plants, snow and the art of throwing a fishing net.

[22] Rural population as a percentage total population from: data.worldbank.org. China: 1960 = 84%, 2015 = 44%. Korea: 1960 = 72%, 2015 =18%.

The first town in Taiwan to join was presented with its membership certificate at the Assembly. The delegate told me that she lived on a smallholding with her dad, her sister and her dog. Her father grew food on the land, but she felt her generation had lost the skills he had. There was, however, another factor that had prompted her to seek (and get) government funding to support the bid: "The national government support Cittaslow because it gives access to international networks and visibility that is separate from China." In the past, Taiwan has been occupied by both China and Japan, and she felt strongly that there remained a need to assert Taiwan's independence from Chinese claims on it (known as the One China principle). As we were speaking, a group of delegates approached and asked in Mandarin if she would join them for a group photo. As she went, she whispered, "I don't like it, they are Chinese – they treat me like one of them."

The list below takes those countries mentioned in this discussion to illustrate how Cittaslow membership figures are shifting.

Indication of shifting Cittaslow membership			
Country	**2014**	**2016**	**Shift**
Australia	3	3	=
Belgium	5	7	>
China	2	5	>
France	8	8	=
Italy	75	80	>
Japan	1	1	=
Korea	11	11	=
Netherlands	7	10	>
Taiwan	1	4	>
Turkey	9	11	>
Turkish Republic of N. Cyprus	1	3	>
UK	5	4	<
USA	3	2	<

Figure 5.3 (Source: Cittaslow Lists 2014 and 2016)

Value for money and good organisation – differing cultural perceptions?

The Mayor of Borger-Odoorn saw Cittaslow as a direction-finding tool, something that seemed accessible and do-able to him. This was less the case for the English-speaking delegates I met from Australia, Canada and the United States, (possibly as a result of them working within local government structures derived historically from a British model?). In these cases the question was repeatedly restated: 'What comes back in return for our fees?' Australian delegates from Yea told me they came from a small shire of 1000 citizens, "dispersed and strapped for cash". The mayor changed annually and Cittaslow was operating outwith the council.

> "We are not councillors – so we're always trying to convince and educate and keep our mayor abreast (…) We try to always work with and draw in other organisations

> to create links (…) We push Cittaslow as a tool to help make our town unique, but we've not yet found that 'sound bite' to explain simply and clearly what it is. We look at other Cittaslow websites all the time, trying to find what they say, how they explain it." *

In a recorded interview the delegate from Katoomba explained how the Australian members had tried to redefine the assessment criteria to fit local conditions, and had struggled to translate the Cittaslow message into something they felt would be intelligible locally. The word 'autochthonous' came up:

> "We got together and asked 'How do we make this work for us?' because the language was crazy! Autho···nochal··· or some name like that is a word··· or autoxenol or something like that – well we couldn't put that out. We had to look that up."

A delegate from California explained that the US had three towns: one, Sebastopol was thriving, and two, Sonoma and Fairfax, were struggling (Fairfax, has since left Cittaslow). Sebastopol, she said was being driven by one woman with a small group of supporters (again, a common story in the UK):

> "This woman is going to many groups and people and asking what would be good? What needs to change (even if they don't know how)? Not bitching or revisiting, just imagining···" *

As with council-workers in the UK, these Anglophone delegates found the language used by Cittaslow International problematic. Given that Italian and English are the official languages (and that the name combines the two languages) much of their written output is in poorly translated English. This is likely to be less problematic for countries where English is not their first language, but for Anglophones (although some might see it as charming, or authentic) often it degrades the credibility and professionalism of the organisation. The delegate from California complained:

> "I can't understand why this is so poorly organised – there is no excuse for such poor translation of documents and online stuff (…) These towns that are struggling want to know what they are getting for their fees (…) Why, instead of walking around towns, don't we have a list of topics and some round tables that people could join?" *

Although it was widely acknowledged that part of the role of the Assembly is to celebrate the diversity and values of Cittaslow, and to build solidarity and optimism, some I spoke to were frustrated that the Assembly should be an opportunity to challenge problems.

> "In France the national network is not functioning, it's not inclusive. We should address the problems here, not just glorify it. We don't want to hear from gurus." *
>
> Mayor of Valmondois, France

Others appeared to be entirely happy with the event, organisationally and culturally, in spite of delays and inspirational speeches.

> "Cittaslow is in the budget every year. Punt! [Full stop!]" *
>
> Belgian delegate, Chaudfontaine

> "This is made by people – you cannot treat it as an institutional organisation (…) In Cyprus we are always late – we try to be a bit later. If I am on time I am a bit embarrassed. I sometimes wait…" *
>
> Turkish Cypriot delegate, Yeniboğaziçi

Can Cittaslow International become more responsive?

It is clear that the membership model privileges certain structural preconditions, but is there scope for Cittaslow International to evolve and better accommodate diverse memberships? In the UK it was felt that International were not very responsive to suggestions for change.

> "You see, I have challenged Pier Giorgio [Director General of Cittaslow International] saying, 'We are losing towns' and for some reason it doesn't matter to him. He just says 'Go and find some more' (…) That doesn't seem right to me."
>
> Margaret Shaw, Cittaslow Berwick and UK board member

In 2017 the International Assembly will be hosted by Cittaslow Australiasia. In Holland, the Australian delegates were continuously discussing how they might host the assembly differently by setting up opportunities for discussion using facilitators and speakers with the skills to help delegates work through ideas. Listening to them talk, I wrote down a few bullet points in my notebook:

Field notes

- What works? Sharing best practice
- What doesn't work? Sharing problems
- What needs to change? Not complaining, but re-imagining
- Offer training
- Seek stories that help to demonstrate the benefits towns are getting for their fees
- Deal with governance and procedural issues within Cittaslow
- Inspirational ideas for the future

I wanted to put some of these concerns to the international directorate, but they were often busy and preoccupied so it was hard to find the moment. Eventually, on a sunny walk along a

rural canal, I caught a few moments with Giuseppe Roma, Coordinator of the International Scientific Committee and Pier Giorgio Oliveti, Director General of Cittaslow International.

> "You have asked the two people who are not mayors (…) Don't ask what Cittaslow gives – we all contribute. We all get together to do something. It's not like a university or a big corporation, all words and intellectual, it is people (…) Our aim is to give to our mayors from all cultures, to add stimulation, some ideas to prompt actions (…) We have no support, no funding. There is no organisation, so we are responsible for ourselves. Nobody *has* to do anything. Nobody is obliged to do anything. Just look at this! [Indicating the surrounding countryside] Just enjoy this!" *
>
> Giuseppe Roma

> "There are only three people in the office at Orvieto. If we had more money, maybe we would go down." * [I took this to mean that with a bigger budget, the nature of the organisation would change].
>
> Pier Giorgio Oliveti

This exchange gives a flavour of what might be termed the 'cultural clash' that appears to cause problems in the UK, but also the practical and financial limitations within which the international organisation works. It shows clearly the idea that the main aim is to offer direction and stimulation through application of the philosophy – and it also (perhaps) indicates a degree of inflexibility. Nevertheless, if the Australian delegates' plans are fruitful, there may be scope to adapt the organisation from the inside.

5.6 Concluding thoughts

This Chapter shows something of the complex interrelated factors that go towards motivating an interest in and commitment to Cittaslow – but also why it is not straightforward to maintain membership in the UK. There is a conflict discernable between the Slow philosophical approach advocated by the international organisation and the often 'fast' pressures exerted within UK town councils, constrained as they are within a system that constantly demands justifications of value for money and measurements of impact.

Chapters 6 and 7 present studies that explore autochthonous and convivial knowledge systems in the Cittaslow towns of Mold and Berwick. They question how Slow and crafted knowledges can contribute to economic, environmental and social well-being and reveal how the value of these knowledge systems is often under-recognised, leading to deficits in the provision of supportive regulatory frameworks.

By leveraging these attributes and building on comparative advantages, small towns can develop sustainable niches within regional, national, and global economies.

Knox and Mayer, 2009:11

Chapter 6. The Market: Ignored Knowledges

This chapter is set within the context of the £660,000 refurbishment of a square in the centre of Mold, a Cittaslow town and the administrative seat of Flintshire County Council (FCC). By looking at the redevelopment of the square and resultant relocation of the market stalls through a Slow lens, a conflict of knowing is highlighted between the long-established autochthonous, convivial and embodied practices of the stallholders and theoretical marketing principles permeating the town strategy. The story of this chapter illustrates how a universalised marketing discourse can come to dominate local government thinking and obscure local Slow knowledge systems. The street-market represents an alternative local knowledge system that is, in essence, no less sophisticated in its engagement with commerce and competition – but also carries the additional advantages of enhancing local identity and offering a nuanced convivial engagement invisible to 'fast' marketing.

Paradoxically, once this conflict of knowing becomes visible, hidden continuities in the form of common interests are also revealed. Conflict is created when perspectives (see Chapter 2) that ignore commonalities hierarchise and disqualify alternative knowledge systems (Foucault, 1980). In *The Laws of the Markets* (1998) Callon offers a theorisation of market forces based on an ANT analysis, and makes an observation that shows where one hidden continuity lies buried. He notes that marketing theory itself derives from the market-place, and that "the weakness of market theory may well be explained by its lack of interest in the marketplace" (Callon 1998:1). This chapter argues that recognising the connections between the street-market and market theory would subvert the identified conflict and afford greater status to the place of the market in Mold. Instead it can be seen that an over-emphasis on transposed marketing theory obscures the recognition of an existing vibrant asset to the town that is filtered through "cultural maturation" and "shaped and calibrated to fit a particular ecological and cultural context" (Orr, 2002:39).

Other hidden continuities become apparent when one moves away from essentialising practices that categorise people as (for example) a 'community', as just 'traders' or as 'hard to reach' – uncovering multiple complex identities, positions and knowledges that are elided and silenced by the tools used to consult, evaluate and classify them. Such tools can become so dominating that rather than being responsive, they become performative through

> …the relationship between what is to be measured and the tools used to measure it. The latter do not merely record a reality independent of themselves; they contribute powerfully to shaping, simply by measuring it, the reality that they measure.
>
> Callon, 1998:23

Mold Town Council has taken certain aspects of Cittaslow philosophy to heart, such as conviviality and good living, leading to an emphasis on improving the urban landscape, creating multiple events and festivals in the town, and focussing on introducing Slow Food principles regarding local produce and lifestyle choices. The chapter critically examines the role of Cittaslow in setting the agenda. It identifies how, even when using Cittaslow philosophy as a compass to help navigate changing times (as suggested by Saturnini at the 2014 International Assembly, see Chapter 5), 'fast' challenges can affect the course that is charted. The analogy of a Slow compass to help pilot the uncharted waters of global economic and social change is counter-posed against that of a 'fast' map, where guidance is drawn from a fixed template (immutable mobile: Latour 1986,1987, 1993) transposed from alternative contexts without factoring in local knowledge, and craft.

The 'following' methods (see Chapter 4) used to explore this field site were responsive to the context, so are temporally and methodologically distinct from other sites studied: the approach and the research site reflect each other. The rhythm of the market significantly defined engagements, and time was spent just being there, talking to multiple people in public space, observing, and gathering responses to unfolding events. By being present to witness and be part of a practice that is itself always recreated in the present – a picture is produced that reflects the rhythms and liminality of the market.

The first part of the chapter charts the role of Cittaslow Mold as a key driver in establishing the redevelopment of Daniel Owen Square. However, the processes were subtly embedded in local governance processes, meaning there was little public awareness of Cittaslow's role in piloting the project. In the second section 'fast' factors affecting the town are introduced, showing that the way these are perceived determines the choices made in constructing a town strategy. Understandable ('fast') pressures to sell Mold as a 'destination' can generate subtle conflict with the Slow principles of improving autochthonous livelihoods and convivial relations. The chapter then presents a snapshot of the ecosystem of Mold street-market as a manifestation of Slow knowing, showing how the market's unique contribution to the town struggles to be afforded legitimacy when viewed through a 'fast' lens of destination marketing. Finally there is a discussion of the consultation processes employed around the redevelopment:

showing how they were perceived, and revealing mechanisms that rendered them partially insensible to the needs of those who depended on the square. A selection of vignettes (Stewart, 2007; Scott, 2012) as the traders vacated Daniel Owen Square provides a reflection on the adaptive and autochthonous cultural practices of the stallholders, showing the competitive skills of their trade, the significance of place and terrain, and the embodied knowledges they apply daily in earning their livelihoods. Shifts in the culture of the market towards 'fast' imperatives are also revealed, demonstrating its vulnerability when not given a supportive regulatory environment.

The field study involved talking to a range of local actors who were effecting, or affected by, the renovation project. It touches on the decisions, consultations and communications leading up to, during and immediately following the commencement of construction work. The chapter draws considerably on the words of stallholders, who have been anonymised to the extent that names have been changed (if referred to at all). Stall goods are described using the traders' own definitions.

The aim of the field study was to observe through a lens of Slow knowing in order to build an alternative understanding of how the square was used and viewed, and how the redevelopment was being received as the plan evolved. Particular attention was paid to the street-market and how it was impacted by the consultation and construction processes. Something of the contradictory way in which the market is viewed is illustrated in the two quotes below, both from the Town Centre Manager, one shows the importance of the market to the town's economy, and the other how the traders themselves and the importance of their knowledges still become downgraded.

> "One of the 'unique selling points' and the biggest 'destination' that keeps this town thriving is its market. It transforms."

> "There are some local people that are market traders, but a lot of them are from··· [checks himself] and they wouldn't come if they didn't make money. That's the reason why they come. It's not out of loyalty to Mold."

6.1 Cittaslow and the hidden processes of 'Slow'

Compared to other UK towns, Cittaslow Mold is relatively well integrated within the town council, which pays the annual subscription fees and allocates additional funds to supplement the group's own fundraising. All town councillors are considered members of the Cittaslow committee, but there is also a broader committee that includes 'community' members and meets to steer Cittaslow business. Mold Town Clerk acts as Treasurer for the entire Cittaslow UK membership. The Town Centre Manager is not a councillor, but an employee of the town

council – as councillors change cyclically, his vision is decisive in providing continuity, and steering the direction of the town's strategic development.

Cittaslow membership can operate quite powerfully for a town, yet remain below the radar from a public perspective, and also quickly fade in the perception of its value within the town council, which requires constant reaffirmation of its worth. In Mold I found that Cittaslow played a pivotal part in guiding town policy, acting as a compass to orientate certain choices and decisions; but the process was slow, embedded and dispersed, making it hard to attribute outcomes directly to Cittaslow in ways that would help to demonstrate its value and worth to the town. The refurbishment of Daniel Owen square was a project where Cittaslow Mold had contributed towards generating the vision, raising its visibility within Mold Town Council and FCC agendas, and attracting funding. The Cittaslow group in Mold had helped to create a direction of travel for the town, initiating many local projects that, when added together, amount to setting an aspiration that incorporates principles of sustainable development and good living. Upgrading the urban environment of the town is one such aspiration.

Timeline of events and connections leading to the redevelopment of Daniel Owen Square	
2006	Mold joined Cittaslow. FCC started to support Mold's fledgling Food and Drink Festival (inspired by Cittaslow and its convivial aspirations).
2008	FCC conducted a countywide 'Town Centre Health Check' programme. A very well attended workshop was held in Mold to identify issues of concern to local residents and businesses. Mold's 'Sense of Place' study was commissioned by the local Rural Development Agency (Cadwyn Clwyd) on behalf of partners FCC and Mold Town Council. Cittaslow philosophy was decisive in identifying the need for, and parameters of, the study. It was part-funded by the EU Rural Development Plan for Wales and the Welsh Assembly Government.
2009	FCC launched a 'Town Action Plan Programme', to try to tackle some of the problems with town centres and help them adapt to the future. FCC put in a bid to the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The bid was to cover all towns in the North East Wales region and funds were to be allocated subsequently to individual towns.
2010	The 'Sense of Place' report was published as a comprehensive document assessing every aspect of the town's character, marketing and competitiveness. Upgrading Daniel Owen Square emerged as a key project. The role of Cittaslow in the town is explicitly acknowledged within the final report and it recommends that Cittaslow should be part of any future debate to "take the projects from feasibility towards implementation and delivery" (2010:159). Mold Partnership was set up (including representatives from local businesses, the voluntary sector, and Town and County Councils). The Partnership came up with a series of vision statements for the town based on a consultation report (Mold en Masse) produced by Cittaslow. Support for the market came out strongly, along with six identified aims: *By 2025 Mold will be: an attractive town, a high quality commercial environment, an inclusive community, a distinctive place, a model of environmental sustainability, an active contributor in local partnerships.*
These vision statements led to an action plan. Once the ERDF was in place and Mold was selected as a recipient, FCC engaged a design company to carry out an in-depth two-stage consultation on the specifics of Daniel Owen Square, and a construction company to carry out the work.	
June 2014	Work commenced on the square (completed, January 2015). Final Budget – The entire ERDF project plus the locally available capital budget amounted to approximately £2,000,000 for the whole of Flintshire. £660,000 was allocated to Daniel Owen Square.

The timeline above shows a depiction of events leading to the upgrade of Daniel Owen Square. I have constructed it from various sources to present an interpretation of how Cittaslow's presence affected the process. It is a 'fast' interpretation that presents a linear perspective, but does not reflect how the process was experienced and therefore not how Cittaslow's place is

held in common memory. In presenting a view of such apparently sequential steps, it must be noted that they hide a complex interplay of diverse influences, drivers and impacts. This perspective highlights discrete acts, but blurs the role of knowledges applied in achieving these results. Although Cittaslow activities were significant in maintaining the impetus and guiding the outcome, it was not at all clear that these connections would stay in the minds and memories of changing councillors, and its role was not widely known amongst townsfolk.

The Economic Development Manager for FCC, explained how he saw Cittaslow's influence on the process. From the County Council's perspective Mold appeared way ahead of most eligible towns, having already engaged residents, created a conversation and identified a project – so when the funding appeared, they were ready to go. He saw Cittaslow as being significant in initiating debate and engagement within the town, in raising Mold's identity within FCC, and in pushing for initiatives that were in line with Cittaslow values.

> "Well, space in Mold has been debated for quite some time, in fact it probably goes back to 2006 [the year Mold joined Cittaslow].
>
> In Mold there was never any doubt, it was always going to be Daniel Owen Square because it came out so strongly from the partnership (….) So it's just playing to the aspirations and the direction of travel of the town, really".

The issue of Cittaslow's effect within this and other towns, and the persistence of its actions are discussed further in Chapter 8.

6.2 Fast factors in Slow towns

There are several aspects of small town life that are here construed as 'fast' factors. They are expressed uniquely according to local conditions, but many are underpinned by global drivers, are common to multiple towns, and relate particularly to the high-street shopping environment. 'Fast' factors create real dilemmas for those seeking to create a strategy for their town centres, and the dominance of a discourse arising from 'free market' drivers can distort how local factors are taken account of.

> First of all it is clear that laissez-faire neoliberal approaches to development do not work in the interest of small town sustainability (…) they do not work because they are not sustainable (...) [they] transform towns into 'would-be' places that lose their character and identity and become dependent on 'islands of McDonaldisation' and single-shot 'solutions' that are subject to external control and are vulnerable to sudden disinvestment.
>
> Knox and Mayer, 2013:189

Knox and Mayer's (2009, 2013) studies of small town sustainability, offer a range of local policy suggestions to address the dominance of chain-stores on high-streets: proposing, for example, that local councils could cap the size and market-share of supermarkets and franchises, requiring local economic impact reports from them; or they could extend local property tax-relief to independent local retailers (2009:176). Success-factors they suggest include improving the physical fabric of the town, promoting local cultural "landscapes", and paying particular attention to "rhythm and seasonality" (2009:178).

'Fast' high-streets: clonetowns, chains and homogenisation

Tensions exist on Mold high-street in seeking a balance between local independent traders and the homogenising tendencies of national and international chains. The Town Centre Manager, however, expressed a degree of frustration at what he perceived as out-dated and unsustainable attitudes adopted by local shop-owners in comparison to the efficient practices of the chains.

TCM "…with a town like ours about 53% of businesses are independently owned. When you've got that, they've got to have a day off, and they're working on their own. A lot of them are what you'd call hobby shops: they've got another source of income, they own the shops, they're semi-retired. A lot of them won't open before ten a.m. and they close at half three (…) When we have the Food Festival, when there's lots of people about, they won't open on Sunday. They won't open on Sundays!"

TH "And is that something you've spoken to people about?"

TCM "Oh yes, and the answer is: 'It's not worth my while. ' 'I've got to have my day off.' 'I go to the wholesalers.' 'We've never done it.' When Costa came to town and opened on Sundays they couldn't believe how busy it was for them, because there's nowhere else (…) You will get a number of the national shops open: Costa Coffee, Weatherspoons, but you won't find many other cafes, eateries, independent traders open on Sundays."

TH "And are there people around on Sundays? And parking?"

TCM "Yes. It's free. It's free. But it's a cause and effect situation. They go on about nobody coming in, but if there's nothing for them to come in for, then they won't come in."

'Fast' shopping: edge-of-town supermarkets

A supermarket on the fringes of a small town can be problematic for the high-street, as illustrated by my first communication with those leading Llangollen's bid to join Cittaslow

(Llangollen is about twenty miles from Mold and joined in 2014). A main motivation was to gather energy around a protest to stop a large Sainsbury's opening on the edge of town.[23]

> "We already have three small 'convenience' supermarkets in the town, and a vibrant high-street compared to most towns, but of course the big supermarket chains would prefer to have one big out of town store and no local competition."
>
> Cittaslow committee member and Town Councillor (personal correspondence, 2013)

However, the issue is complex, and not everyone shared this view. The Town Clerk for example disagreed that the supermarket would ruin the town centre, saying Llangollen residents should have a right to the same level of shops that other people do. Llangollen sits in a valley of the Dee hemmed around by hills, which means there is very little space where a big store and car-park could be built, meaning it was free of large supermarkets (Sainsbury's was proposing to buy up the site of a local print-works). Llangollen's unusual topography has preserved many local independent businesses on its high-street, and the wife of the Councillor quoted above (a nurse) believed its low obesity and diabetes count was connected with the need to do daily shops and school-runs on foot, around hilly, narrow streets.

In Mold it was different. There were more high-street chains represented, and also a large Tesco. The Town Council were considering further edge-of-town supermarket applications, as commented upon by a member of the architectural design team contracted to work on Daniel Owen Square:

> "They've started talking about a new Sainsbury's down by Tesco. But look at Holywell. Tesco moves in, and the high-street loses."*
>
> Designer, Harrison Design Development

Mold Town Centre Manager explained his view of such developments in terms of creating 'destinations'.

> "I think towns have to have their own niche and their own reputation. They've got to develop themselves as (I use the term, and it's so important – it really is) the term 'destinations'."
>
> "The bigger supermarket is a 'destination' in it's own right."

This interpretation of the issue contrasts with the perspective raised in Llangollen, where the Cittaslow group felt that people driving to an edge-of-town supermarket (even if drawn in from outside the town) are not necessarily incentivised to then leave their car-full of shopping and wander into town for a spot of browsing. On the contrary they felt the likelihood would be that

[23] Sainsbury withdrew its plans in May 2015 citing national restructuring and tax losses

the supermarket actually takes custom from the high-street as people opt for the convenience of a one-stop-shop. Mold street-market traders also noted concerns about an increase in chain stores, complaining that their own contribution to the local economy was undervalued:

> "The market makes good money – but none of it comes back to the market. Mold is one of the best markets around. There's not all the national chains to compete with – the stalls can't compete with them." *
>
> Stallholder

> "The rent is very high here, four times as much as Llangollen" * [to rent a pitch from Mold Town Council].
>
> Stallholder

The attention of Mold's Town Centre Manager was on high-street shop traders not the street-market. He took the view that there was much they could learn from supermarket marketing principles and had arranged a visit for them to meet the Tesco's manager:

> "He was very, very brave - he put a buffet on and invited all the traders down for a Q&A. So the manager of Tesco's went through this process, answering questions he said: 'Yeah, but I go up to a wine-shop because I want a particular wine which we don't stock; or I go to the butcher because I want a cut or a style which we don't do.' So the trader's niche for a town is to make itself unique (…) you go there because you want the quality, the design, the style and so on."

This analysis demonstrates a difficulty experienced in small towns as they attempt to situate themselves in the 'fast' world. Supermarkets are a reality of twenty-first century life in the UK, but equally, it is questionable whether high-street traders are best served by taking advice from their multinational competitors about how to redefine themselves.

'Fast' communications: internet access and online shopping

Mold Town Centre Manager singled out two aspects of accelerated communications that were having a major impact on the local economy and the town's 'offer' (to use his language). One related to whether traders were keeping abreast of technological developments, the other to how shoppers were exchanging in-town buying and service-use for online interactions:

> "Half the traders here haven't got an Internet connection in their shops (…) so they've not moved on with the trading environment."
>
> "We've seen a significant reduction in the level of services that are accessed via the town because of the Internet – insurance services, your banking and things – there's a massive reduction. Apparently the number of visits that people pay into banks nowadays has dropped by 70% because everybody does it online. When you want a car insurance quote you don't come into town anymore, do you? You go to Go Compare or something along those lines. Say you want a particular TV set, or radio, or computer? What you do is you go and have a look in a shop, decide

which one you want, then you'll Google it to end up with the best price. That's what happens now. So that void has got to be filled with something."

'Fast' idioms: the vocabulary of marketing

The language of marketing brings a set of assumptions along with it about what is desirable and efficient. There may of course be valuable insights to be gained through its use, but there is a risk that it obscures what may be attractive or charming (or sustainable) about a town's character and sense of place. In particular the vocabulary of 'comparison goods' and 'destinations' dominated the Town Centre Manager's narrative:

> "You obviously know the difference between comparison and convenience goods, yeah? Convenience goods are the stuff you need on a day-to-day basis: your food, your sandwiches, your newspapers, your cup of coffee, those sorts of things. And comparison is when you look at something before deciding to buy it (…) Have you been to Cheshire Oaks? It's an outlet village – it's huge. It's a destination in its own right (…) If you've got a strong comparison goods base in your town, you will get more people coming and dwelling and looking – it's the way that retail works in terms of trade."
>
> "Whatever you can do to create 'destinations' (why somebody would go there) has got to be the positive way forward. So things like your doctors, your dentists, your health centres, your post offices, your information services (…) Somewhere to go for a picnic, the theatre, all of these things are destinations. To my eye, that is the way forward."
>
> Town Centre Manager

Bringing it back to the local

'Fast' pressures on the high street identified above are very real for many towns across the country and the Town Centre Manager had articulated his sincere desire to make a difference. What this discussion seeks to critique is the extent to which the transposed 'destination marketing' discourse applied to this small town context allows space to see human scale knowledges and specific local opportunities or issues.

> Slow practices differ from those in which professionals try to optimize the output of their particular expertise, using their positional authority to make decisions that have implicit cultural, political, and ecological impacts, but without exploring, articulating, or negotiating the bases of these decisions. In contrast, decision-making and policy development that takes into account human-scale knowledge and experience tends to be collaborative, take time to develop, and vary in how they are adapted to particular situations.
>
> Carp, 2011:114

Mold has many virtues, but there were aspects of the town's facilities where there appeared to be a disconnect between the targets of this marketing vision and the reality of being a visitor there. For example, in planning my own visit I had found that there was no overnight guest accommodation in the entire town (fortunately I was helped to arrange a house-sit for a local family who were Cittaslow supporters and away on holiday); and there was very little public access to the internet (the library only shared their WiFi with those who could supply an envelope bearing their home address – I could not), and it was only by chance I found a small café that would share their password with customers. The Town Centre Manager did not know of this café, and accepted that accommodation was a problem, but there was no direct strategy to help local businesses address these issues.

> "Absolutely. We're desperate for bed-space, absolutely desperate (…) I agree. Well you can go normally to any internet café··· and I don't actually think we've got an internet café."

Arguably the marketing discourse was obscuring virtues that the town was already providing, and skewing the focus away from important voids within its 'offer' to visitors.

6.3 Strategising local socialities

The preceding discussion sought to illustrate a range of factors that could be interpreted as 'fast'. They result from global scale discourses, and economic and technological pressures – but crucially the local impact is significantly affected by how the resulting shifts are *interpreted* to determine local strategic decision-making. 'Fast' factors inevitably impact small town high-streets and can create an undercurrent of fragility in established economic models, and a loss of local character or sense of place. Decision-makers have to steer a course through such uncharted waters, but the production of a strategy is highly dependent on the terms within which it is envisioned and the language used to express it.

'Hard to reach': who counts?

Aspects of 'fast' identified above have provided a 'steer' in evolving the town's marketing strategy. They create such a powerful discourse that they could also be seen to have affected Cittaslow's own understanding of the local context in Mold. One example was the interpretation of the term 'hard to reach' being used to guide the town strategy. 'Hard to reach' is always an ambiguous and contested term, but is usually employed in social contexts to identify marginalised, disadvantaged and socially excluded sectors of society (for example, Flanagan and Hancock, 2010). The Town Centre Manager explained how it had been construed here:

> "Now the biggest 'hard to reach group' to engage with are those who are economically active. When you've got two parents that are out at work and they've got young children who are busy and they live a full full life, running around doing all the things for them – now what do *they* want?"

I was surprised to find that this interpretation had actually emerged from a report produced by Cittaslow for the Rural Development Agency, Cadwyn Clwyd (Mold en Masse, 2010). My surprise that this definition was initiated by Mold Cittaslow may speak more of my own preconceptions than any objective analysis, and the logic described is not unreasonable, but nevertheless I argue that outcomes can be skewed by a loss of situated context.

> "And those are the people that you need to *capture*, and keep as *engaged* as you possibly can and *meet their offer*. And that's where the hard bit comes in to keeping *destinations*. What would they come here for? It is *Costas*. It is doing some of these different events that light their fire in the right sort of way."
>
> Town Centre Manager

The above passage with added italics illustrates how the use of imported universalised marketing vocabulary was being applied to generate understanding of the local. This targeted 'hard to reach' demographic are certainly people who live locally; but their social lives, work and cultural interests mean their sight-lines tend to be directed outwards from Mold towards the surrounding larger conurbations such as Liverpool, Wrexham, Chester or Manchester. In giving undue weight to this categorisation (arguably a group that is less embedded, more transient, more likely to buy online, and so forth) an uneasy bias emerges towards trying to provide events that cater for tastes and income levels that exclude many other local people.

This promotes a tendency towards 'place making' rather than 'place sustaining' (Radstrom, 2011) one aspect being to parachute-in events that disadvantage more autochthonous and home-grown social and cultural structures (such as the street-market), and to further marginalise the less affluent population of the town rather than bringing them in as full participants. In speaking to stakeholders around Daniel Owen Square, there was a sense that the needs of more disadvantaged members of the town's population were not being factored into these 'quality of life' calculations, with implications for the inclusive nature of the town's convivial aspirations. One of these voices came from the manager of the Daniel Owen Centre, a community centre owned by FCC that abuts Daniel Owen Square. It opens every day providing room-hire, a modest café and toilets for the public (and, on market days, for the stallholders). The manager was a self-declared cynic:

Manager "Mold's potential is ruddy fantastic – seriously! And the clowns here haven't got a clue…"

TH "So where do you see its potential?"

Manager "At the moment – dying."

His frustration partly came from a perception that the Daniel Owen Centre itself was seriously run-down and under-funded, and its future uncertain, in spite of the important services it provided to market-traders and less advantaged town residents.

> "Our clientele in the most part are pensioners, with no-where to go, nothing to do but come here [and] sit over a cup of tea for a couple of hours (…) You get the likes of Sarah and June who are basically ladies with learning difficulties, shall we say. They're not all there. And they come in here for a cup of tea. In the old days [before other local closures], they'd go to Roberts and have a coffee, come here, they'd go to the Brew, they'd go to what is now The Green Room, they'd go the Sally Army, come back to here for their lunch, they go to Roberts, and they go home, and that would be their day. Seriously."

> "Sarah's in here two or three times a day. She has her lunch here, sometimes her breakfast as well (…) But because they're old and pensioners and no-body really gives a toss anymore··· I'm sorry. You shouldn't be speaking to me. I'm too bloody cynical."

He was not alone in questioning an agenda perceived to be focussed on creating events primarily aimed at tourists and the well-off. A stall-holder who was also a resident of Mold told me:

> "He's [Town Manager] not bothered about the market. He holds events and brings in people from outside, like the carnival. It's not benefitting local people, not employing local businesses. I understand he wants to make things happen – so do I – but he's not helping Mold." *

I put the point to the Town Centre Manager, who acknowledged he needed a "tin hat and flak jacket" to do his job:

> "Mmm - I've heard that sort of comment as well, and my response is: if you are going to put events and activities on they have to be paid for somehow. Grants are drying up and all events have costs: insurance, cleaning up, entertainers, activities (…) but you will still get the same people coming out with the same comments time after time. You can't please everybody. You can't please everyone."

Convivial aspirations and the festival calendar

Inspired by Cittaslow's emphasis on conviviality and enjoyment, a key part of the town's 'destination' strategy is to create a reputation for Mold as a festival town.

> "What's grown in Mold is a huge amount of events. They've really grown year after year after year - particularly since the Town Manager's come in, he's really pushed it - the Partnership's pushed it, the town council's pushed it, and other groups like Cittaslow have pushed it."
>
> Economic Development Manager, FCC

As a result of Mold's destination strategy it has an extensive programme of annual events. Some (only the largest) of the diary entries for 2014 are shown below for the purposes of illustration:

Mold Festival Calendar	
February	Potato Day Fairtrade Fortnight
March	Mold Spring Clean: litter-picking event with local people, school children and community groups Pancake races and ceilidh to raise funds for Cittaslow
April	Real Ale Trail
May	Pass On a Smile Day
June	Bailey Hill Festival (on site of the Norman motte and bailey castle at the top of the High-street) Flower Festival
July	Blues and Soul Festival Mold Carnival
August	Flintshire Food Month (including Big Slow Breakfast)
September	Real Ale Trail Food and Drink Festival
October	Daniel Owen Festival
November	Novemberfest: ale festival held across town in local establishments
December	Festive market

During my two extended stays in Mold, one visit coincided with the annual Spring Clean and the other with the first Blues and Soul festival. The former of these was undeniably an event that made a real difference to the town's feel – and brought all manner of people into the Council's grand chamber to pick up kit that was stacked all around.

Figure 6.1 Mold Spring Clean (note Cittaslow snail logo)

The informality of the event felt inclusive, diffusing any sense of exclusivity that the room's décor might inspire, and (although not visible in the images) it was a hub of diverse townsfolk coming and going. Everyone was given a high-viz jacket to wear, emblazoned with the Cittaslow logo and 'Springy', a mascot character created to publicise the event.

> Last March we had over 1000 people participate, and the population's just under 10,000 (…) Springy is now well known for sending out really positive environmental messages (…) Springy's got brand recognition.
>
> Town Centre Manager

In contrast, however, the Blues and Soul festival fell into the category of events that townspeople had commented on as feeling exclusive or elitist. It was in its first year (so teething troubles should be allowed) but nevertheless, its conception was arguably problematic. The idea had come from a similar event in Cumbria, so it was not built upon any autochthous connection or existing music scene. It was a pay-to-enter event held in a fenced-off open field, publicised almost exclusively online. "I got some leaflets – but no poster for the window, and there's nothing around town" said the manager of The Daniel Owen Centre. Acts were brought in from outside the town, and there was no significant programme to entice attendees from the festival field into local establishments. The architects from Harrison Design Development touched on the subject conversationally:

A "But that's down in Kendrick's Field."

C "Yes, and it's quite expensive."

A "I go to Bingley Festival – the tickets are the same price and you get famous bands and it's all like a proper festival." *

This type of critique extended to other festival events put on by the Town council, such as the Carnival and the Food Fair, that were not targeted at locals. I asked the Economic Development Manager of FCC for his views:

TH "I spoke to somebody yesterday who was talking about the Food Fair. And so, you were just saying: 'It's in a very unprepossessing car-park, we have to dress it, we have to create a space' – he was saying that's completely exclusionary, you have to pay to go in, nobody local goes in there, that's for tourists."

EDM "Yup. Yes, that's right. I mean there's always going to be··· I mean that's the difficulty with any semi-commercial event, you've got to try and make some money to try and keep it going and there's an inevitability with some of those things. Contrast things like the Bailey Hill Festival – which is heavily Cittaslow led – where actually it's free and it's very popular."

This was a very good point. Both the Bailey Hill Festival and the Novemberfest (an ale festival) were cited as great successes. In fact the profit from Novemberfest was being used to subsidise putting on the Blues and Soul. There was something counterintuitive to the logic that foregrounded more exclusive events in the town's calendar. Novemberfest very definitely *did* involve using venues throughout the town that anyone could attend, *and* was financially successful, *and* I never once heard it brought up as an example of anything other than a positive occurrence.

The evidence shown here could be used (compass-like) to guide a town strategy built around inclusive events that welcome and prioritise townspeople as well as tourists, to create a successful and a sustainable model. Yet the 'destination marketing' idea of parachuting in predominantly tourist events appeared to be so strong as to obscure the line of (Slow) thought that proposes valuing the quality of life of local people first – and through that, enhancing the sense of place for all, including visitors.

Using the examples of 'hard to reach' and 'conviviality', the discussion above has sought to demonstrate the significance of how the use and interpretation of 'fast' language can influence what and who becomes visible and deemed legitimate as an audience. Additionally that same language can render others invisible or less legitimate as an audience. It is shown that the interpretation of both terms has been somewhat skewed by a powerful 'destination marketing'

discourse that directs attention away from residents towards out-of-town audiences. This is proposed as the equivalent of using a transposed and universalised map in order to understand the specific, rather than taking a bearing from local conditions to navigate the way.

6.4 Daniel Owen Square and the market

The refurbishment of the square came about as part of a strategic vision influenced by Cittaslow goals which value quality of life and urban infrastructure to produce pleasant, productive and convivial public spaces. I argue that the space and the identity of the square exist as more than the fabric of its structure, being equally produced by the crafted practices and knowledges of the market traders, their customers, and the complex synergies that the market brings.

Daniel Owen was a notable nineteenth century Welsh language novelist who was born, lived and worked in Mold: his statue overlooks the square that bears his name. The Town Council offices, post office and library all adjoin the square, and twice a week it is filled with stalls as part of Mold Town Market. Daniel Owen Square had been visibly run-down for a number of years, and besides convivial motivations, several factors contributed to the decision to prioritise its redevelopment. The paving was deteriorating and prone to flooding due to inadequate underground drainage, the statue was not prominently placed, the trees cast heavy shade, and the building frontages on to the square were uninspiring. The aim of the refurbishment was to develop the space as a vibrant multi-use facility for future community events, festivals and other activities.

Works would combine necessary upgrading to infrastructure and utilities with making aesthetic adjustments affecting the visual impact and usage possibilities. The construction process would involve digging up the entire surface to lay proper drainage and an electrical supply; putting in manholes to access underground services; laying foundations, resurfacing with new granite paving; repositioning and raising the statue; shifting the boundary walls (replacing some with artist-made decorative metal screens); creating a raised performance area with a canopy; thinning, replacing and illuminating the trees; and reinstating public seating. The bulk of the budget and the work were going underground, with the visible above-ground works only commencing in the final month.

The diagram below shows the location of the square, the distribution of stalls on market days, and the area to which stalls were relocated from the square during construction work.

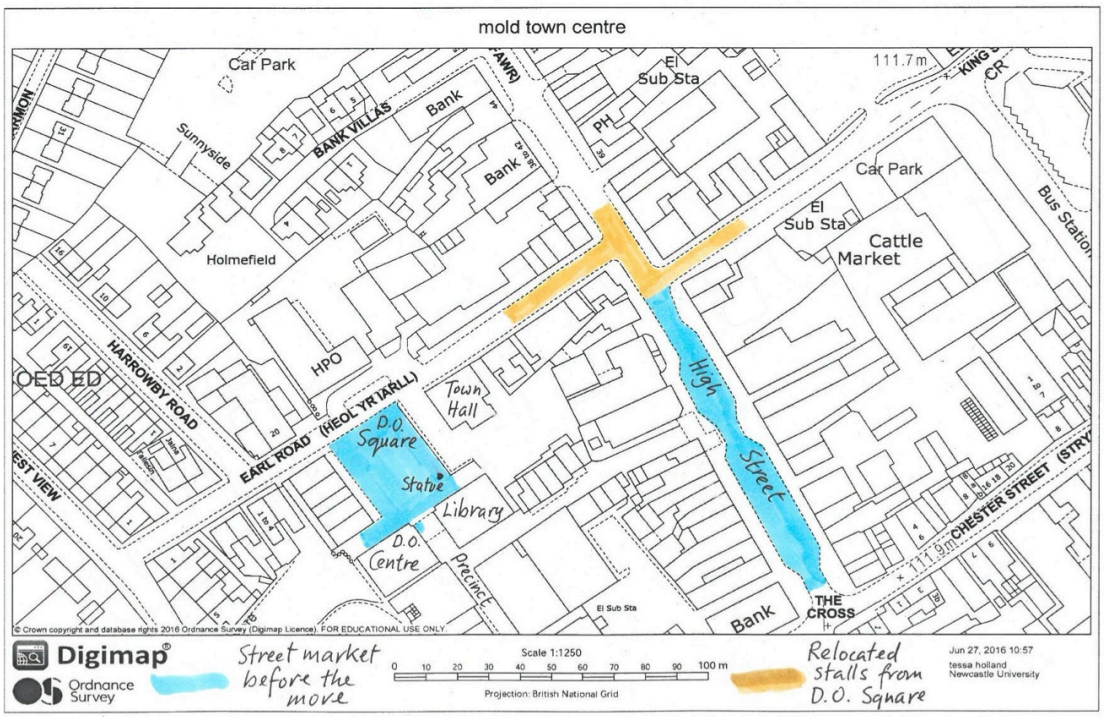

Figure 6.2 (Source: adapted from Digimap)

Market days transform the town, but on non-market days the atmosphere is much more subdued. A couple of days before construction work started I spent some time sitting and wandering in Daniel Owen Square. It was a sunny Tuesday afternoon. People occasionally passed through on their way to and from the adjacent 'shopping precinct' and the sound of a busker's accordian drifted through the underpass. Images below show the square before renovation work started. They give a sense of its usage, situation, and the architecture surrounding it. Mold Library frontage (built 1973) is to the right of the image below with the statue standing in front of it.

Figure 6.3 Daniel Owen Square on a non-market day

Figure 6.4 Image taken from a row of shaded benches looking towards the underpass that leads to the 'precinct'

The central area of the square was mostly just a place to pass through, but the benches were well used and a sequence of people of all ages, singly and in groups, occupied them as I sat there. At one point two elderly women with their shopping trolleys sat down. An overheard conversation was my first indication of the complexities that would emerge in how people who used the square were interpreting the forthcoming renovation process. One of the two (s)eated ladies hailed another elderly woman (p)assing by with her shopping, who apologetically explained she hadn't seen them because of her macular degeneration:

S "Seeing is so precious."

P "Yes, I find it embarrassing because I pass people I know. [Indicating the square] They're going to change all this – not many people know."

S "I thought the council didn't have any money?"

P "They've kept it quiet – not many people know. They're going to chop down the trees, move this wall…"

S "I think it's disgraceful! [The passer-by nodded and walked on. The two seated women continued talking to each other] Oh, that's a shame…" *

Street-markets are held every Wednesday and Saturday (9am-3.30pm) with over seventy stalls spread down the High Street and within Daniel Owen Square. There is also a permanent indoor market in the adjacent 'precinct' that is open Monday to Saturday. Some of those traders also run street-stalls on market days.

Figure 6.5 Market day

A leaflet about Mold markets produced by FCC and displaying the Cittaslow snail logo gives a reminder of its long-established and autochthonous nature:

> Mold has been a market town since mediaeval times (…) Mold is proud to be the home of the biggest and best remaining street-market in North Wales and is held in high esteem by shoppers and traders alike, for the range of goods available alongside its warm traditional Welsh welcome.

On market days the High-street and Daniel Owen Square were different places: full of people, stalls, colour and chatter. As will be elaborated in the next part of the discussion, the transformation of the square emerges as a result of the skilled thinking and crafted doing applied by the market-traders as they build it into an alternatively functioning space. The theatricality of this metamorphosis is striking. Abolafia's ethnographic study of the culture of markets notes the connection to craft:

> As my subjects were quick to tell me, '(trading) is not a science, it's an art'. No prescription exists. Rather it is learned, usually during a lengthy apprenticeship.
>
> Abolafia 1998:76

Through my observations and encounters with stallholders, customers and members of the public, a conflict of knowing began to be perceptible between 'fast' interpretations that permeated the local authorities, and the market's Slow culture. This proscribed how the market was perceived through the eyes of decision-makers whose choices materially impacted the stallholders. These issues unfold in the following sections, which rely heavily on the voices of traders to explain their own perceptions of the dynamics around Mold Market and the renovation of the square they used. Stallholders are identified by their goods or occasionally by pseudonyms, apart from two who gave written consent to be named and photographed as they set about constructing their stall, and transforming their space.

6.4.1 The market in a 'marketised' world

We live in an increasingly marketised world where many things which one might consider the basics of everyday life and human dignity are increasingly packaged, marketed and sold for profit in the 'fast' world. Thus, there is an irony that should not be ignored regarding vocabulary used in this chapter about street-markets. I have repeatedly been brought up short in the writing process by terms such as: marketplace; marketing; market-forces; free market; supermarket or up-market. These are words appropriated and adapted by neoliberal discourses that build on the original idea of a street-market and its internal dynamics (Callon 1998). In writing about the interaction between these two incarnations of 'market', the meanings of such terminology are problematised. The use of this 'market' vocabulary has become loaded with 'fast' meaning, and a set of assumptions about what is therefore viable and efficient are carried, unseen, when it is employed (also noted by Foucault on geographic metaphors, 1980). In discussions about the envisioning of Mold town centre and its 'offer', it can be seen how implicit assumptions become explicit through the linguistic, and thence ideological framings that are implied.

The street-market also has its own vocabulary, and the market 'Toby,' explained some of the commonest language employed by traders:

Toby	The market manager: they used to be paid by the pint in a toby jug
Gaff	The market
Pitch	Your space
Duke	The landlord, or the rent
Flash	Your set-up, setting out your stall: ("Putting up your flash/ flashing it up")
Snide	Counterfeit ("I'll have no snide gear here")
Bags	Footfall, number of punters
Bunce	Money
Tickle	Money
Swag	What you sell, your stock
T.S.	Trading Standards are about…
Kipper	A fish that stinks, i.e. the low season – January to March
Dixie	An area of the market that is always quiet ("I don't mind paying me duke, but don't put me in the dixie")
Nause	A trader who constantly moans ("Don't be nausin' at me")

He then offered a crash course on the psychology of market selling-techniques: literally 'marketing'.

> "Always stand in front of the stall, never behind it. Be clean and showered. Never smoke. Never sit down. Know the customers by name (I've known some here for four generations)."
>
> "So – say you were selling cheese – always give tasters. What you are doing is you are pre-empting, and the clap seals the deal. Never say 'Would you like some cheese?' [He demonstrates, hand outstretched] 'Here you are love, try this!' The cheese is in your other hand, the bag is strapped to your jacket. 'Here, I'll give you one of them and one of them!' [CLAPS] That's the sale!" *

The sales technique he demonstrated may superficially look like 'hard selling' or 'fast talking' – but at a second glance, the hard and fast is tempered with soft and Slow. There is a mutual and human relationship of trust that is visible in the trader's understanding of his customers' needs, and the customers' recognition of the trader's 'brand'. The trader knows the customers' names and their families: he knows his 'market'. The customer enters into the spirit of the transaction because there is continuity in the seller's regular reappearance over months and

years, and because they are given the chance to taste for themselves: so past experience and present embodied judgement tell them that the merchandise can be trusted.

Street level knowledge is enacting the same economic competitiveness that the council's Town Centre Manager is pursuing, but here it is a distinctive manifestation of autochthony: it is about knowledge and culture that is specific to a place and practices that are embedded in place. The long-extant traditions of the market provide rhythms that make it responsive to the present. The deep roots of this un-rooted entity give an adaptability that is a strength, but the lack of permanently rooted territory also introduces fragility.

Liminality and fragility in the market

The market maintains a kind of liminal semi-permanent identity – one that is disturbed by its periodic disappearance, yet upheld by the continuity of its dependable re-appearance. It is embedded in a long-established ecosystem of local markets – recreated in a different town every day. When the market materialises, it brings an alternative identity that transcends the physical erection of the stalls. The processes of 'making' and 'doing' the market carry an embodied understanding of the world: a vocabulary, a culture that is bigger than the sum of its parts. The market shimmers into existence twice a week, consolidating into a coherent whole through the collected efforts of the individuals. It creates its own 'market forces'.

The intangibility of the market identity, however, can lead to a sense of fragility, and this was perceived to have contributed to a somewhat uncomfortable relationship with the consultation processes that preceded the refurbishment work in the square. The mobile nature of the traders' businesses meant that – although their trade is vital to the town's 'offer' – they were often not residents of Mold, their working hours did not fit a nine-to-five consultation process, and their ephemeral relationship with the terrain itself rendered them less likely to be heard or listened to. Although the importance of the market to Mold's economy was recognised, the traders themselves were not given the same recognition.

The always mobile, ever-changing-and-yet-long-established group of stallholders that embody a street-market co-exist in an uneasy mix of common interests and competitive trade that is not usefully described by the term 'community':

> "Think about how easy it is to get rid of us. If we fall out with someone··· other transient communities group together, but we've got nothing." *
>
> Stallholder (ethnic goods)

> "I wouldn't like to run a market. There's no loyalty. If it's a quid cheaper down the road, that's where they'll go. There is no community. Market traders are terrible people." *

Stallholder (cut flowers)

The same man went on to illustrate his point with a story about the death of a stallholder:

> "…the wife turned up at the market and said her husband had died. Well, everybody was sympathetic for about thirty seconds. Then there was a stampede to the market office to get his pitch. It was obscene. The poor woman was in tears. They'd cut your arm off for a few more feet." *

> "I work seven days a week. Sundays are my buying day. I never tell anyone where I get my gear – I never bring it in the box I got it in. They'll watch, and they'll undercut you." *

Market Toby

The extremely emplaced nature of the work, and the crafted skills it entails are shown in the following comment that combines considerations of territory, and terrain; physicality and marketing psychology; competition and adaptation, and fragility.

> "Unless you're a trader there are lots of things you have absolutely no concept of. People are highly into territory (…) We used to have that pitch. It's the first one you see, so it's better, and this is placed on an incline – my fella's got arthritis so can't stand on a hill (…) And who you're next to matters. But Neil was ill for a few weeks and didn't contest it in time. It's like snakes and ladders, you've got three weeks to contest it and then you're back down at the bottom, even though Neil's been here for twelve years." *

Laura

Pink (2008) draws attention to the term 'socialities' as a more useful framing than 'communities', because it places attention on the actual crafted skills and relationships that make "different sets of concrete (and in this case face-to-face) social relationships that develop around actual activities" (2008:172). It is a term that is more sympathetic to the resonances of conviviality, implying no bounded classification or entity. Comments quoted above from traders indicate that they didn't feel the term 'community' described their own collective identity. Vocabulary used to describe the town strategy demonstrated a disconnect between the market itself, and the people who embodied and enacted the market – with the former acknowledged as an important 'destination', but the latter discounted as non-residents and undervalued in consultation processes. As a result, the complex multiplicity of stallholders' identities was simplified by language that created 'fast' bounded categories, with real-life impacts on the people concerned.

"People here are mavericks": the diversity of market traders

The constantly shifting nature of this environment was something that was spoken about as being simultaneously problematically insecure, and also offering positive flexibility, stimulation and independence. Traders on the market were a diverse amalgamation of people who chose this way of life for diverse reasons. As one stallholder said, "People here are mavericks". She described herself as a sculptor and also worked with excluded kids:

> "They come and work as market boys. Turn up at five a.m. and work to the end of the day. They can keep time, they can work hard, but school's not for them. School has let them down." *

The clothes stall was run by a man of seventy-four (who looked forty-seven):

> "I was in advertising, but I got to forty and started this. I've been coming here for thirty years. It keeps you young." *

He mentioned the trader on the potted plant stall:

> "He's a millionaire that lad. He's only in his twenties. He's got his own garden-centre – been doing it since he was fifteen – works his arse off. He's got an entrepreneurial leaning." *

The trader on the bag stall was a Mold resident and also had a stall in the indoor market: he used to be in hard landscaping. The trader on cut flowers didn't own the business, but had been coming to Mold every Wednesday for about ten years: but his passion was his fledgling taekwondo business:

> "If someone asks 'What makes you tick?' It's taekwondo. The business is growing. I wake up thinking about it – training, ideas, everything." *

The market's Toby said he'd been a trader for thirty years. He had been in the police, in prison, and in the army,

> "…but I've always been a trader. I'm self-employed. I do market management, logistics, training. Now I do the same at Wrexham. I can get a job anywhere (…) I've just signed a contract with North Wales Tourism to do shows and events. I organise face-painters, balloon artists, string quartets, fairground rides; whatever's needed." *

To describe those who worked the market as a community makes little sense, and to define them only in terms of their trade as stall-holders is also an unfair simplification that allows certain assumptions to piggy-back along with it.

"They think we're idiots, but we're not": a perceived stigma

The contradictory nature of the stallholders' status was revealed in numerous exchanges I witnessed demonstrating longstanding, trusted and loyal relationships with customers and local residents – and in opinions where they expressed a sense of disenfranchisement from local processes that were having a material impact on their livelihoods. Even though many of the stalls had been part of Mold market for decades, their connection was still perceived as intangible. It became apparent that they were not being adequately included in 'business as usual' consultation and communication processes. Amongst the market traders I heard multiple times a sense that they were not afforded the same status as shop traders in the town. Whether justified or not, there was a strong sense of 'us and them' that was expressed sometimes 'sotto voce', but sometimes forthrightly, as in this conversation between a stallholder and a customer after the Town Centre Manager was mentioned:

Stallholder "It's only the ones who go to his meetings that he speaks to, but we don't live in Mold."

Customer "I only know idiots in the Town Council."

Stallholder "They think we're idiots because of the job we do – but we're not!" *

Other stallholders expressed similar sentiments:

> "I think they think we're a load of gypsy··· [checks himself] ···horrible people! We have got a stigma attached to us. Over the years it's changed from a Romany job to a businessman's job. If you're not a businessman, you can't survive." *
>
> Stallholder (bags)

> "There's a massive stigma – people think you're a bit··· you know··· [makes a face]. I always say 'We could do your job, but you couldn't do ours'. I don't like that sort of attitude that looks down on us. We have to be highly organised." *
>
> Stallholder (ethnic goods)

The stallholder went on to list the multiple skills they have to combine within their business (paraphrased below):

- to be totally flexible/ adaptable/ on your toes
- to understand public relations and negotiation
- to be a counsellor
- to have the aesthetic capacity to create a display, whilst responding to local conditions of weather, neighbouring stalls etc. and moving stock appropriately
- to deal with international travel: such as going to India to buy stock, navigating the GBP/Rupee exchange-rate, balancing weight restrictions on the van
- to be a mechanic and engineer
- to manage complex material logistics and the physicality of building, carrying, packing and shifting

The sense of not being respected is of huge importance to those it affects. Feelings run high when one's livelihood, identity and capacity to understand are questioned. As a result, the situation was experienced as conflict. Understandably I encountered a measure of anger and polarised thinking when the subject came up.

6.4.2 Transforming the space: a crafted trade

The previous comment that market traders have to be highly organised was corroborated by watching the involved logistics of what goes into setting up a stall, and the crafted intuitive decisions that are made according to shifting conditions every day.

Figure 6.6 Looking out over 'cut flowers' to Neil and Laura's display

To gain an insight into how the transformation of the square is performed through the sophisticated skills practiced in the everyday execution of the stallholders' business, I arrived early the following market day, staying to watch, talk and photograph the process from 6.00am until around 8.30am. Subsequent images show what goes into creating this display before the market has even opened.

At six o'clock in the morning the market was already full of activity, many stallholders had already been up for several hours to pack their vans, drive to Mold and, sometimes, even take delivery of stock onsite. I sat on the pediment of Daniel Owen's statue and watched. The

empty stage in front of me was to be Laura and Neil's pitch and the photographic sequence below gives a sense of how they set about creating an alternative reality. Sunlight tracking across the changing scenery marks the passage of time, illuminating the sequential theatricality of the events. The empty stage where Neil and Laura will 'put up their flash' is shown below.

Figure 6.7 Stalls along the back are already being erected, and adjacent stallholder's equipment being laid out.

Figure 6.8 Laying out the frame: Iron bars are unloaded from the van and laid out in precise positions, anticipating the build. Stalls behind and adjacent are progressing

Figure 6.9. I ask Laura if she could put it all up herself, she replies "I could if I had to – but it doesn't serve you well to know how to do everything"

Figure 6.10 The black cloths were now in place in the stalls behind, creating a backdrop for stock. Laura said, "I love it when they put the black cloths up. It's like the theatre"

Figure 6.11 "We keep all the stuff in the garage – it's like military precision – it all has to be stacked in a certain order." The entire stall and all the stock had to be packed into the van at home, unloaded upon arrival at the market and repacked at the end of the day.

Figure 6.12 The canvas is laid in place, before stretching it over to form a roof

Figure 6.13 The basic shell completed. To the left the cheese stall (blue) has appeared and racks of flowering plants are being wheeled into place

By 8.30 most of the stalls were erected, though some were still arriving. All sorts of entangled identities, inter-relationships and skills were displayed in this unfolding scene. As they worked the stallholders spoke to me about the practicalities of their trade: the complexities of the physical tasks involved; the considerations of making a creative display; the human negotiations around parking, unloading and claiming a pitch; the uncertainties of the looming changes; and the way they felt about how they were perceived, giving personal observations about their own views and backgrounds.

6.4.3 Forms of conviviality

The market traders in the square offered direct comments on what they were doing, and how their trade shaped their interpretations. I witnessed an unspoken, interplay of human relationships – convivial in more than one sense. The literal translation of conviviality as 'living together' was amply demonstrated in the skilled negotiations constantly at play between the members of this transient group of people who are episodically brought together with a common purpose. The need to accommodate and work alongside one other, often with conflicting interests, is just a matter of quotidian fact in a street-market, where every day one must set up in a different place with different neighbours. However, conviviality in a more compassionate sense was also an evident part of the mix, as illustrated by an incident as Laura and Neil were 'putting up their flash'. At around quarter to eight, a man approached their stall.

Figure 6.14

Although they were not yet set up, I was surprised to see he was treated simply as a customer (maybe a familiar one). He appeared hesitant, inarticulate, perhaps socially excluded in some way. My notes record how they responded to him…

Field notes

Lots of laughter: gentle, helpful, not patronising, warm, human. She helps him to try on shirts, explains how to wash them, helps with buttons. She says, "That's prickly heat you have – you want to get some Avon Skin-So-Soft, or get some calcium in the health-food shop." He buys one shirt. "Here, take that as well", she gives him another shirt for free. Neil interjects: "Here, take that too [a CD] it'll mellow you out".

After that, they carried on unpacking and building the display, as the man browsed through their CDs in his new shirt.

Figure 6.15

Countless small exchanges throughout the market showed similar human conviviality and compassion. Many customers were well known to the traders, even though they were usually not Mold residents and must have had similarly complex relationships in different market towns every other day of the week.

> "People come in to buy a card, and it's clear that this is the only human contact they have all week (…) [At Wrexham] the gypsy women come in. The head woman came and said to us, 'If you give us a reduction, we'll all come to your stall'. And they do. Then they ask you to read the message in the card, and you realise they can't read." *

The following conversation illustrates convivial concern, but prevailing tensions around the approaching relocation of the market also creep in:

Stallholder "Hello love…"

Customer "Can I have three venison chews?"

Stallholder "How are you feeling?"

Customer "Not so good at the moment. [They lower their voices to talk privately, then continue aloud] So, are you going?"

Stallholder "Well we are going, but we've not had any word where. They should have a plan and put it on a post to show who's going to be where!" *

Market interactions revealed how a cross-section of the town's residents – people who might feel excluded from more high profile, up-market (and expensive) 'community' events – find supportive interactions there. The very particular culture of the market was providing something to Mold that was not available elsewhere, and its unique quality depended on the humanity that was intrinsic in the dynamics of street-market trade.

However, the humanity of these subtle relationships and the service they provide to the town's sense of wellbeing were neither visible nor acknowledged when viewed through the lens of 'destination marketing', which appeared to essentialise this detailed tableau down to simple economics. The perception the market traders had that they were not fully accepted as part of the town 'community' was not unjustified:

> "…when you listen to traders, they've got a vested interest. What they are looking for is to make money. That's what they're there for. There's nothing wrong with that (…) That's the reason why they come. It's not out of loyalty to Mold."
>
> Town Centre Manager

It is argued that that there is an unacknowledged social service being provided through the market and its traditions. An informal parallel sociality, where economic interactions and convivial services are combined in an improvised set of crafted relations, always adapting and evolving. The stallholders' improvisatory and experiential approach to navigating their situation is proposed as the equivalent of using a compass to chart a course.

6.5 Daniel Owen Square and the consultation

An examination of consultation and communication processes was not part of the original research intention in visiting Mold, but the focus arose from the context. The consultation for Daniel Owen Square can be broadly broken into three aspects, two of which were part of formal consultation planning, and the third of which subsists as a possibility that could be drawn upon. Early preliminary work to identify a 'direction of travel' was led by the town and county councils. Mid-stage work that focussed on Daniel Owen Square itself prior to work starting was carried out by the architectural design company on behalf of FCC. The potential for an additional dialogic aspect to continue, be responsive, and manage expectations as work progressed, is also identifiable if one looks through a Slow lens.

A variety of tensions witnessed in the consultations for Daniel Owen Square call attention to where 'fast' protocols can create a consultation process that lacks the capacity to be fully responsive. The 'fast' discourse defines who and how to consult, and how to present the object of consultation. I suggest an awareness of Slow and crafted knowledges could identify areas where there is space for a conversation between conflicting knowledge systems.

6.5.1 Preliminary consultation – a conflict of knowing?

An obvious strength in Mold revealed by this study is a commitment to the *principle* of consultation. These processes are valued and prioritised by the County Council, Town Councillors and Cittaslow (which functions through the Town Council). The intention to

consult is there, but the consultation practices employed did not allow a fully crafted response to local socialities. All parties emphasised that extensive consultation processes had been carried out over several years, had fed into the town strategy, and ultimately resulted in the refurbishment of Daniel Owen Square, a concrete result. As FCC's Economic Development Manager said:

> "If anything we've probably over-consulted in Mold (…) As a draft, the document [Town Action Plan] was sent round to the world and his dog for their viewpoints. So hopefully, although I'm sure there's plenty of parts of Mold that don't feel they've been consulted, lots of people have gone away thinking 'Please stop consulting us!' "

Setting expectations

Even with laudable intentions, consultation is a complex and inexact process. My research showed that management of public expectations is key because the very visibility of the consultation process can set up an expectation that – having been consulted – one's views will then be clearly represented in the outcomes.

> "They asked us for all our opinions of what was best to do twelve months ago, and they didn't listen to any of it." *
>
> Stallholder (pets)

I suggest a crafted response would involve consciously allowing time, and mechanisms receptive to an informal and on-going exchange of information, that includes candid explanations of inevitable delays, compromises and practical demands. This could be co-ordinated through key roles and personalities, but depends on openness and flexibility in those roles.

> "I think you can consult to death too much, too many times. In the end you don't achieve anything. That's not to say you don't do it, but you've got to take into account strategic vision [and] work to it. Mine's me 'Sense of Place' study. I think if anything argues against it, I fall back a bit on that."
>
> Mold Town Centre Manager

The reality of a complex project like this refurbishment is that there are many factors that could compromise the final outcomes but are not visible to the consulted public. Without a space where flexible exchanges can explain and respond to concerns as they arise, then alternative interpretations abound. FCC's Economic Development Manager was aware of the difficulties around such complexity

> "It's almost impossible to convey, to be honest, and my gut feeling is that the outside world just thinks we're making excuses (…) I think there's a fundamental distrust out there that we're hiding behind technicalities. In this instance there are

> very real and very genuine technicalities, but to spend a lot of time telling people about that, I don't think comes across anything other than defensive (…) When we've done consultation about the drawings we've talked through some of these factors, but I don't think it ever changes that fundamental distrust of us. So there we go."

Many times before and during the construction work I heard the opinion expressed by users of the square that the work was a waste of money that could be spent better elsewhere. An overemphasis on the visual impact over the infrastructural work, and a lack of clarity over the source of the funding (European) led to issues becoming conflated and confused in the public perception. The message of what was being done, and why, and how it was funded, had not been clearly transmitted.

> "We've talked to the papers about all this – waste of half a million quid. A lot of the shops down here have closed because they put the rates up. That café [in the arches on Daniel Owen Square] closed because they couldn't pay the increase." *
>
> Stallholder (cheese)

One day I was stopped in the street by a woman who explained she worked in the local butchers:

> "Are you a journalist? [No, a student] I've seen you a few times walking round. This is a right waste of money. They should be using it to help the traders and shops. [I ask how?] Well, bring down the costs – the rates. What's the point of all this? [I say that work needed doing on the drainage and surface, and point at the tree roots in front of us] Well – they'll always find an excuse!" *

The woman's response that they'd always find an excuse echoed the FCC Economic Development Manager's prediction of perceptions, but it was apparent in our conversation that the necessary infrastructural work was not something she'd previously considered. Pre-publicity for the refurbishment had presented a simplification, focussing primarily on the new trees, the stage and the visual impact, and this local resident had reasonably concluded that there were other priorities in a time of austerity. Once construction work started in the square, the contractors were repeatedly being approached and questioned by members of the public:

> "The number of people who are saying it's a waste of money! (…) You get some people say they don't spend money on this area at all, but when they do do something, they say it's a waste of money – so you can't win really."
>
> Construction Site Manager, GH James.

> "This needs doing [stamps foot, indicating the surface] but apart from that it's a waste of money. They should spend it promoting Mold. It won't make any difference to business in the town. No one's gonna come here for a new square." *
>
> Stallholder (men's clothing)

> "I think it's all okay, but the timing is a problem. They're spending £500K on this. It won't make a difference. This is dead apart from market days." *
>
> Stallholder (bags)

Some factors are prey to (arguably 'fast') global drivers and fall beyond the control of the local, for example completion of construction work was delayed by two months due to late shipments of granite from China and trees from Italy – the result of decisions that diverged from early Cittaslow intentions that all materials should be locally sourced, but that ultimately came down to financial constraints and global market-forces. High-street and market traders were already unhappy that work which had originally been scheduled in their slow season (January to March) was now starting in busy high summer. Subsequently further delays accumulated, pushing the predicted November completion date into January – so also disrupting the crucial Christmas season.

> "The original programme was January, February, March, but it probably wouldn't have been done anyway – things always shift once you start to pull together all the different agents involved [and] the project officer has gone off on the sick at Flintshire County Council." *
>
> Director, Harrison Design Development

> "It's July to November. We were always told it was going to be January to May (…) Six months is a long time – long enough for people to change their habits (…) If this was done in the kipper [January to March] a lot of people just wouldn't have worked." *
>
> Stallholder (bags)

As it was, the market traders had to make the best of working their busy summer alongside the construction works. The local press carried a sequence of stories revealing that early worries expressed by traders were justifiable. Headlines and extracts from text included, for example:

> **Traders hit out over Mold town square facelift.** Angry traders have accused both the town and county councils of failing to recognise their concerns and say they have been left in the dark over their future.
>
> The Leader, 4 July 2013

> **Traders told pain of Mold square refurb will be worth it.** Mold and Flintshire councillor [name] said he was disappointed by the response from traders. He said: "This is not a project that has been rushed through. There has been an extensive consultation process. I'm not aware that traders had asked for the work to be done at a certain time of year. Any large measure of objection would have been taken into account."
>
> The Leader, 6 June 2014

> **Traders beset by disruption in Mold struggling to stay afloat.** "We could have all the festivals in the world but if we end up having no traders, then what is the point?" [A named town councillor]
>
> The Leader, 24 October 2014

The extracts above exemplify the number of conflicting narratives that were circulating and some of the difficulties that resulted. The issue of the timing had been consulted upon, however other factors intervened to cause delay: some were inevitable practicalities, some (such as the absent project worker) were confirmed by FCC but denied by Mold Town Council, and some (like the denial above from a FCC councillor) were just poorly informed.

Consultation and 'community': empowering or disenfranchising?

As discussed earlier, the creation of bounded categories can carry 'fast' assumptions. Disruptions arising from the use of simplifying language were also visible within the consultation. The term 'hard to reach', had been defined as: "…young people and economically active/time poor people (aged 18 to 45 years old)" (Mold en Masse, 2010:2).

> "Now in terms of the vibrancy of our town, they are probably the most important single group that you've got to engage with (…) You can get hold of pensioners, you can get hold of the disabled groups, the ladies that lunch, retired gents, people that go to football (…) but you try to get their views - they are one of the hardest ones".
>
> Mold Town Centre Manager

This interpretation may have contributed to the fostering of an 'up-market', aspirational direction of travel in the town, unintentionally creating a sense of disenfranchisement for some residents and traders. FCC's Economic Development Manager commented that he understood the point being made:

> "…which was that if you look at who turns up to things, the people who are most missing from Mold society (Mold's social frameworks) are people who are middle-class, middle-aged, with kids basically, because they tend to be very time-poor.

> Whereas if you go into, say, Bryn Gwalia estate you'll find that the local community in more deprived areas are actually very well represented on groups, because you see more of them. Retired people are over-dominant on these groups. It's that middle ground that actually is extremely difficult to reach."

The mention of Bryn Gwalia estate was significant. One day when I was in Daniel Owen Square watching the construction work, I fell into conversation with a shopper ("I'm seventy-two." "Just call me Victor Meldrew") who had also stopped to watch.

> "On my estate, Bryn Gwalia, when the Council consults they don't ask everyone, they just ask these four or five people – but they're all a click [clique]. They're self-serving. They all have their own interest." *

The contrast between these two last comments may reveal a problem with how 'stakeholders' are categorised in consultation processes. Both these speakers identify that there are 'groups' of people being consulted in Bryn Gwalia, yet one person sees them as representative, and one does not. By contrast, those more middle-class people identified as 'hard to reach' are conceived as individuals whose attention must be wooed, rather than a unified community whose views can be captured with reference to a few frequently-consulted representatives. It suggests that presuppositions implicit in the bounded language of 'communities' and 'community leaders' create the risk of an assumed homogeneity (Pink 2008; Amit and Rapport, 2002) within those 'communities' that distorts representative findings and silences alternative views.

6.5.2 Second stage project consultation (and conflicting understandings)

It was difficult to get a grasp on the exact form this mid-stage of consultation had taken, but some open meetings were arranged by FCC and Mold Town Council; and the architectural design company had gone out to stallholders, local shops and businesses, the Library and the Daniel Owen Centre – bringing along initial ideas and gathering opinions. It was also evident that many of the initial plans were modified as a result, especially concerns around space and lighting.

> "There were lots of ideas; we've had seventeen iterations. We talked of bringing in Costa, of opening up the Daniel Owen Centre into the square, of bringing in kiosks – but they've all gone. We talked of (for example) putting wood cladding over the Daniel Owen facades, but that went because of cost and concerns over the long-term state of the buildings." *
>
> Architect, Harrison Design Development

The following image shows an early iteration during second stage consultation, with pitches marked out for the stallholders. The stage area has no canopy and the statue is placed on the

stage area, there are canopies outside the library and Daniel Owen Centre, and serviced kiosks in the underpass.

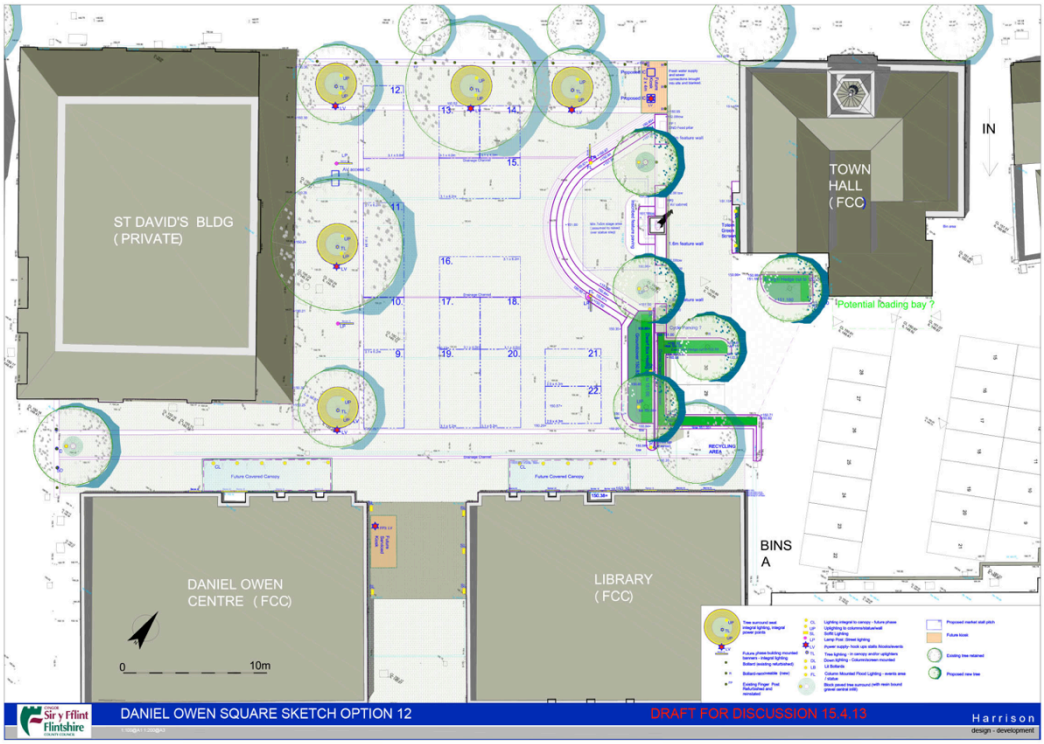

Figure 6.16 (Source: Harrison Design Development)

In later iterations the canopies were removed from the Daniel Owen frontages (for financial and structural considerations), the kiosks were removed (they were in the spot where the 'cheeseman' had his stall and competed with local cafes) and the statue was repositioned near its original spot outside the library

> "There was a very early stage where it really was a relatively blank sheet of paper. To be fair Harrison did put up some design cues to say, these are the sorts of things you could have. People were invited to give their views on those. And then there was a follow-up consultation towards the end of the process where we had a detailed design, it was quite well pinned down, and we took views on 'What do you think? How should we amend it?"
>
> Economic Development Manager, FCC

These follow-up events took the form of displaying the plans in the Town Hall, with some key decision-makers present. Traders spoke well of the Economic Development Manager personally, noting that he had made the effort to walk around the market speaking to traders at this stage.

> "We also had two open meetings. Drop-in sessions where all the plans are available, the engineer is there, the project manager's there, the markets officer's there, I was there (for the first one, not the second one). We hand-delivered a letter to every business nearby, we also hand delivered one to every market-trader and

we put it in the press as well. So anybody who wanted to come in and have a chat and find out more could do so."

Economic Development Manager, FCC

"They [consultation events] were organised on Wednesdays when the market was in, from four o'clock through to six o'clock so that they could come to it and have their six pennyworth about what the proposals were··· feed into any ideas and thoughts."

Town Centre Manager

This timing sounds very reasonable, but attendance from the market traders had been low. The second event attracted almost no visitors, and this was interpreted variously at county and town level:

"The first one was quite well attended, very few people came to the second one because most of them had had their questions answered at the first one."

Economic Development Manager, FCC

"I mean they've also said that 'They never asked us about anything'. Well I'm aware of consultation events and only two people came. And these were widely communicated."

Town Centre Manager

However, when asked about their lack of participation, stallholders around the square explained there were factors (not apparently visible to the meeting organisers) that had affected their ability to take part. Although the meetings were timed to coincide with the close of the market, that did not mean they could easily attend. Their day did not end at four o'clock. They still had to pack away all their stock, dismantle their stalls and load their vans, before driving – sometimes an hour or more – to get home. There was no allocated parking to help the stallholders, and no organised rota to get their vans in, so at the time they might have been looking at plans, they had to jostle for a place to park in order to pack-up at the end of the day.

"In Wrexham the wardens do a rota for vans, but here it's just a free-for-all." *

Stallholder (pets)

On top of that, their working day had often started at four or five in the morning so, even though 4-6pm appears very do-able for an office worker, it is not so reasonable for a market trader who is not yet at the end of a very long day.

The traders were concerned about the impact of the works, and had initially explained their concerns to the architectural company who had actively gone and sought out all stakeholders around the square to talk to. Stallholders were unable, however, to attend the follow-up

meetings and felt progressively excluded from on-going developments, leading eventually to a good deal of bad feeling.

6.5.3 Consultation and craft: acknowledging the compromises

Thoughtful and engaged thinking is certainly present in the fine detail of discussions that take place within the town and county councils, but the sensitive ethos of these interventions often becomes lost in the translation to public enactments. In one council meeting I recorded a small exchange between Mold's Cittaslow board member and the Town Centre manager as they discussed the approaching works.

AM "Can the stalls on Earl Road alternate which side of the road they are placed on? Can information and a plan be put on hoardings around the square?"

TCM "We can't put an image (there's not enough money in the budget) but we could try a plan."

AM "And can the notice highlight that the funding is a grant and not from the council budget?" *

Sensitivity to some of the contextual problems arising was being acknowledged, and thoughtful solutions proposed, but no such information boards appeared during my stay. Responsive and crafted adaptation is not easily accommodated within the mechanisms of local authority protocols.

The extensive council-run consultations that had already taken place took three main forms: questionnaires (with tick-boxes to be analysed quantitatively, and some spaces for open answers); 'consultation events' (where people self-selected to 'drop-in'); and engagement with small groups of community representatives (on the assumption that the 'community' they were seen to represent held homogeneous views – as in the example from Bryn Gwalia estate).

The consultation carried out by the Harrison Design team took a different form, approaching the problem from the 'craft' perspective of considering the material and methodological practicalities in light of a brief. They had spoken to a broad range of those who worked, shopped and used the square and understood the practical nature of the upheavals for them. It was striking that their understanding of the issues at stake for those around Daniel Owen Square was couched in different terms from that of key council representatives, who were more focussed on overall narratives of public perception than messy detail. I spoke to two members of the Harrison Design team who were forthright in admitting the complexities and compromises involved, but also the huge upheaval for traders, accepting that they were likely to blame the works for loss of business.

Their conversation reveals the complexity of factors to be considered, but also invites a question: whether publicly sharing an understanding of these practicalities could make for a clearer justification of the budget and the choices being made?

A "It is a very small budget. The square was used anti-socially, and full of dead facades. Flintshire do need to keep the frontages live, not just tarting-up, but using the spaces in a way that keeps them active."

C "There are cracks showing in the library now."

A "At one point the statue was going to be on the stage, but Mold Town Council said no because they wanted a permanent canopy, so the statue's head would not be seen."

C "There's a massive sewer straight down the middle of the square, so we couldn't put the statue at the top [by Earl Road] – we would need a 'build-over agreement' and we wouldn't agree to that."

A "Welsh Water are getting quite a good deal, they're getting manhole covers."

C "There's quite a lot of M&E going in [mechanical and electrical/engineering ducts] (…) There will be a pillar power-box at the top of the square where all power enters. It will be clad in granite with names of Daniel Owen's works in text like printing dies. The electrical points will supply Christmas lights, traders, up-lighting to trees, spotlights on the stage and statue, and a 'clever-channel' for sound wires (for example)."

"There's tension between the market traders and having events. They think that people don't spend if they're watching."

A "They're not seeing the bigger picture. It's all a compromise. The conservation guy thinks that the car park by the Town Hall should be separate. He has a massive problem with shared space (…) But the sightlines are good here, there's good observation down here [indicating plan]. He thinks that he's won – but we have extended the paving right across, and we're re-using the existing benches."

The Economic Development Manager at FCC equally acknowledged the compromises and difficulties, but presented the dilemma as trying to balance public perceptions between the necessary structural work that needed to be done, and the final visual flourishes that could be presented to the public as a positive change.

> "The fundamental thing from my point of view is that most of the money is going underground. Because the fundamental problems with the square now are that the drainage is absolutely shot, the surface is absolutely shot, and the electrics don't work from our point of view in terms of where we need them to be. So almost all of the budget is going to be absolutely invisible. It's going to be under there, and that's bitterly disappointing really, because I'd hoped to get much more of a sense of drama to the square than we're going to get."

There is an assumption here about how public perceptions are assumed to respond to such practicalities. It may be true that a visual flourish makes it easier to present change as positive,

however my research suggested that many felt this was not the best use of money in a time of austerity – but, on the contrary, were well able to acknowledge and respect the need for structural improvements to take place. Building knowledge and understanding requires time and responsive flexibility to disseminate complexity, no simple task.

Watson (2003) draws attention to the attendant risks when planners and other agents of intervention "make assumptions about the values, beliefs, or rationalities of those for (or with) whom they plan, which frequently do not hold" (2003:404), recommending that this tendency can be countered by exploring approaches that reveal how varying ways of knowing interact with each other in contextually situated circumstances.

An analysis of consultation processes was not intended to be part of this project, but it emerged as a central site for a conflict of knowing. It is proposed that that there is room for further research here. The concept of acknowledging hidden continuities suggests it may be more productive to respect the ability of 'the public' to understand complexity than they are given credit for in some models of public relations activity. Rather than marketing a simplified glossy 'product', an honest explanation of the practical considerations underlying the work, and a crafted on-going response process may be an entry point to build support, and defuse hostility.

6.6 Moving The Market: adaptive responses

What follows are some collected vignettes (Stewart, 2007; Scott, 2012) that reflect the adaptive behaviours inherent in the market's autochthonous traditions, demonstrating it as simultaneously a culturally calibrated Slow knowledge system, and an evolving, crafted knowledge system that is enacted in, and responsive to the present. They show the consistency of its identity and rhythms in spite of its mobile and liminal status. The significance of convivial skills, of situation and terrain, of placing and position, of weather and wind can all be seen here as part of the embodied, navigated knowledges being called upon.

The move from Daniel Owen Square would create a significant amount of upheaval. Those businesses that lined the square itself were affected by digging, heavy machinery and lack of access during the work, which also restricted movements through to the 'precinct' from the square. Market traders had to relocate to places along adjacent roads and up the high-street, whilst the shops along those streets were also impacted by having stalls lining their frontages.

Before the move: impressions from stallholders

When it came to moving the market, council representatives felt they had done everything possible to keep the stallholders informed, but there was still confusion about the changes.

> "…and so yeah – I don't know quite what else market traders are expecting in terms of information, but they've had everything that's available to them. They know exactly where their stall is going to sit during the period of the works. We can only tell them what we can tell them."
>
> Economic Development Manager, FCC

When I first met the stallholder on the pet stall before construction started, she had already spoken to the local press. She was very unhappy about the way the forthcoming changes had been approached and immediately raised many concerns like the lack of clear communications, or her worry that the tree shading her stall would be removed (it wasn't).

> "What will happen while the work is done? Will we be allowed back? The indoor market are worried because the square will be cut off. The little scuby that cleans the street – they've taken that away..." *

A regular customer came up, who was greeted by name and immediately included in the conversation:

Stallholder "We're on about them cutting the trees down."

Customer "Can't we get a preservation order?"

Stallholder "You can chain yourself to it."

Customer "Oh, it's disgusting! I won't be coming back. I'll be going to Buckley. I only come here for the atmosphere and the loyalty to one or two traders." *

Not all the market-traders had such a negative expectations:

> "I know where I'm going to be during the work. I know down to the brick – they have a plan in the office." *
>
> Stallholder (bags)

> "I'll just turn up next week and go where they put me. I'm not bothered. I'm not a stressy kind of person. I'm not a proprietor, so it's only a job to me. It's not my business, but if it was I'd be bothered. Very bothered [about the changes]." *
>
> Stallholder (cut flowers)

> "Well it's fine. I'm sick to death of hearing people complain about it. I haven't got time. There are more important things in my life than stressing about this. It's progress, isn't it? I don't know where I'm going to be next week, but I'll turn up and get on with it. I wouldn't want their job [the Tobys]. They've got people on at them all day, and you can't please everyone." *
>
> Stallholder (women's clothing)

After the move: day one (Wednesday)

Comments and images illustrate the profound impact on the business and practice of market-selling caused by small changes in the physical emplacement and context of the stalls. It is part of the embodied knowing that the stallholders apply, crucial to them, but apparently invisible or insignificant to some town decision-makers. Improvisation and adaptability are an intrinsic part of the stallholders practice though, and they show a level of evolved (and competitive) business acumen that contrasts with the way shop-traders in the town have been characterised in earlier sections of this chapter.

Once work started In Daniel Owen Square, the stalls relocated up the high-street and things were a little disordered. First thing in the morning (6a.m.) there was a good deal of consternation because the potted plant stall had taken up the central pitch right on the cross-roads (not where he was allocated). Apparently he had been in position there since one am, waiting to receive a plant delivery direct from Holland.

Figure 6.17 Stalls relocated from Daniel Owen Square to the less busy end of the high-street

The 'cheeseman' had been left alone in Daniel Owen Square, reluctant to move from his usual place below the underpass for very practical reasons:

> "I don't want to move until I have to. Here there is shade, breeze, electricity for the cool box, and lights. The worst thing for me is being in the sun." *

Figure 6.18 The cheese stall's position (blue) seen from both ends of the square

But if a breeze is good for cheese, it's a drag for bags. Back on the high-street the bag stall had been allocated the very final pitch at the top of the road – on a slope and in a wind. Large iron weights had been tied to the frame of the stall on the up-hill side to compensate for the incline.

*Figure 6.19 "I always carry six weights – but my stock is heavy, so it stabilises the stall." **

After the move: day two (Saturday)

Field notes

6am. Sheila says Laura and Neil are 'pissed off' because Paul's taken their place. Tensions and ructions have surfaced. In spite of there having been an allocation plan of sorts, some traders have ignored it, so everyone has had to jostle for places. Mark [potted plants] has again occupied the prime site on the cross-roads, Paul has taken Joe's space (who's not here) leaving Neil and Laura as the last stall at the top of the street.

Neil is v. unhappy:

> "Mark has only been here four years, and he's got the best spot! He should be at the end because that makes a big display and draws people in. Joe's been here the longest, then me, then Paul, then Mark." *

The potted plant stall-holder had avoided speaking to me so far. I found him under the cut flowers canopy talking to two other stallholders and saying how he just takes the place he needs and then lets everyone else get on with it. I reminded him he'd agreed to speak to me:

> "Well what? You won't get anything out of me. I just keep my head down and don't get involved. They're doing the square – good – it needs doing! The drainage needs doing. When it rains the channel fills up and my plants end up in a pool of water." *

This was the trader of whom one of the others had previously said:

> "He's a millionaire that lad. He's only in his twenties. He's got his own garden-centre – been doing it since he was fifteen – works his arse off. He's got an entrepreneurial leaning." *

Arguably he represents another form of 'fast' to which the market is vulnerable. He is a young man who is driven by economic ends, works hard, but has not learnt from or integrated into the convivial knowledge system that allows stall-holders to negotiate the adaptive practices necessary to sustain complex relationships which hold the entity of the market culture in place.

6.7 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has sought to identify a conflict that can be revealed by looking for Slow and 'fast' thinking in local socialities. It has also sought to direct attention towards hidden continuities and resonances between the two, indicating potential entry points to unsettle the boundaries created by 'fast' language.

The advantages and difficulties that Cittaslow encounters in functioning within UK local governance structures are visible here. Advantages include being integrated into pathways that

give access to funding, staffing support and networks of influence. Difficulties include having to make compromises in the application of Cittaslow values in order to accommodate alternative visions. As a result, the role of Cittaslow philosophy as a tool to produce Slowness (Miele 2008) or as a compass to navigate through a 'fast' world (Saturnini 2014) can be compromised, and sometimes thrown off course by dominant narratives. We see how the adoption of a vocabulary appropriated from 'fast' marketing carries with it systems of meaning that alter the frame of reference within which common expressions are understood (Foucault, 1980; Callon, 1998).

> The increase of globalisation has led to a homogenisation of urban identity. This is particularly the situation in smaller urban areas which do not receive as much attention, and frequently find themselves attracted to foreign 'solutions' which do not value the local identity.
>
> Radstrom, 2011:91

> "The market is our biggest destination. The events are destinations that people come for; (…) if you've got a reputation for vibrancy, vitality, something that's going on, you help create that destination feel."
>
> Town Centre Manager.

The market as an entity is hugely important to the economy of Mold. It is acknowledged as its biggest 'destination', it provides convivial and economic services (especially to less privileged local residents), it transforms the town and it provides a revenue stream for the council. The very thing the Town Manager is striving to create is already there, a product of the town's culture and history.

> When a place that already exists is endangered, this place does not need to be 'made' but rather, it needs to be sustained
>
> Radstrom, 2011:108

A failure to value place-sustaining over place-making can distort the ability of local strategy-makers to identify and support aspects of local culture that are viable and valuable in providing a sense of place, whilst avoiding the pitfalls of 'everywhere communities' (Radstrom, 2011) and 'clone towns' (New Economics Foundation, 2004; Knox and Meyer 2009; Cox et al 2010; Pink, 2009). The unintended consequences of such choices can lead to strategies that seek to control rather than accommodate (Watson 2003).

Many aspects of the market's autochthonous and convivial identity become devalued when viewed through a lens of transposed marketing language. As Callon comments, "The founding

fathers of marketing (…) painfully recorded and then transported, formatted and compiled *the concealed knowledge of practitioners"*. That knowledge was then "reconfigured by 'academic' marketing specialists" as a set of tools and practices, to be dropped back upon "the head of the practitioners" (1998:27, added italics). Whilst the market has some characteristics of a service and a destination – it is more than that. For the public it is experienced more like an event, or a performance in which one takes part, with its bustle and busyness, colour and convivial human exchanges, rhythms and seasonality (Knox and Mayer). These characteristics give it a different 'offer' from the high street: it is just as much part of Mold, and its experience is not easily replaced by, for example, online interactions.

The street-market, I argue, represents a knowledge system invisible to the eyes of local decision-makers. Its identity is mobile and liminal, and its practitioners are not seen as holding knowledges relevant to now. Even though it is embedded in a long-established ecosystem of local markets it is not territorially anchored. The market recreates itself anew every day in a different town so, although as an entity it is seen as a 'destination', the stallholders as individuals are perceived as not local, not interested in Mold, and not representative of an aspirational vision for the town. As a result, their voices were only partially heard, and the provision of a supportive regulatory climate had not been prioritised. The market has always been there. It gives the appearance of being self-sufficient and self-regenerating, but that belies its vulnerability.

Chapter 7. The River: Disqualified Knowledges

This chapter addresses the autochthonous practice of net-fishing for salmon on the Tweed. First it provides context necessary to understand what follows, then presents the embodied knowledges of traditional net-fishers. 'Fast' factors affecting the river are considered, followed by a discussion of a conflict of knowing between the nets and the scientific perspective of the bodies that regulate the Tweed. It concludes by considering the distinctive roles of stewarding and regulating the river, and speculates on the possibilities offered by a 'convivial science'.

In Berwick Cittaslow does not operate from within the town council, so local organisers make links with various community groups and organisations, seeking to build co-operative connections across sometimes fragmented socialities. This chapter grew from following an initiative for which the Cittaslow group in Berwick had become a hub. Local residents from various backgrounds were seeking to preserve the last working salmon-netting fishery on the Tweed following a rapid decline in what had been a significant local livelihood. The tradition had been historically important in the town's economy, culture and identity. It sustained a Slow knowledge system embedded in a long-established and particular practice which had both fished and stewarded the river environment for generations.

The first anecdotal accounts I heard about the declining nets were frequently expressed in nostalgic terms, about the sad loss of a traditional industry that was no longer viable in a globalised world. This interpretation shifted when I met people whose livelihoods were directly connected with the nets. They attributed the decline to a rivalry of interests and disparity of power between 'nets' and 'rods'. On one side was the traditional practice of fishing for salmon with a net, a small crew of five, and a rowing boat (coble) from any of hundreds of established netting fisheries on both banks of the Tweed. On the other were increasingly lucrative rod-fishing businesses that had become established higher upstream, refashioning the traditional netting stations as angling beats. Towards its mouth the Tweed is not suitable for angling, but nevertheless, since the 1980s historic fishing rights attached to these netting stations had been progressively bought-out on ninety-nine year leases, and then left dormant. Net-fishers argued this was just enough time to allow the netting knowledges to die out, after which the practice could not be re-established.

As I started to find out more, looking through a Slow lens revealed that underlying this conflict of interests was one of knowledges. If the story I had been told was right, then a deliberate initiative to remove the nets from the river had identified their knowledges as the key point of vulnerability. Furthermore, another conflict of knowing was playing out in a different context: that of scientifically studying and regulating the river. The Slow, embodied, handed down and

crafted understandings of net-fishers meant their way of knowing the river was learnt and enacted through practice. It was held in the minds and bodies of practitioners: not written down, and not accessible to the type of quantitative evaluations endorsed by regulatory and policy-making institutions. The story of this chapter illustrates how a universalised science discourse can come to dominate and dismiss a Slow knowledge system whose practitioners are not constructed as possessing expertise.

Once this conflict is identified as one of knowing, hidden continuities in the form of common interests and potential synergies are also revealed. It is argued that knowledges held in the experiential and embodied practices of the 'nets' are different from scientific knowings, but no less sophisticated in their empirical analysis of this ecosystem (Latour, 1986, see Chapter 2, *Drawing things together*). To a receptive regulator and a 'convivial science', the net-fishers could offer nuanced autochthonous understandings invisible to 'fast science'. However, such mutual benefits could only be realised if the livelihoods that hold the knowledge were given epistemological credibility, alongside the space (regulatory and geographical) to practice.

Stengers proposes that knowledges are distinct and cannot be mapped onto one-another, making a call that "no practice be defined as 'like any other' " (2005:184). Such a principle requires that distinctive knowledges must therefore find ways to communicate, otherwise power differentials will privilege one over another. In this case it can be seen how knowledge that is specific, local and based on experiential learning risks being dismissed as naïve or anecdotal (Foucault, 1980:82), whilst greater legitimacy is conferred on scientists who "protect themselves with the weapons of power, equating their practice with claims of rational universality" (Stengers, 2005:196).

The clash of knowledges on the Tweed has implications that potentially stretch beyond local livelihoods. I suggest that the management of the Tweed and its precious eco-system could be enhanced by maintaining the nets as a rich source of local understanding, and a co-evolved participant in the river's ecology. The intention here is not to romanticise traditional knowledges, or suggest them as a panacea for sustainability, but at the same time they should not be constructed as being outmoded, in opposition to 'modern' scientific knowledge, and a threat to the very environment they have been integrally contiguous with since before records began. As the cultural anthropologist, Nygren writes of "situated knowledges which are simultaneously local and global" (1999:268)

> Traditionally, scientists and development experts have simply not wanted to see local forms of knowledge as having anything important to say. Scientific

> knowledge has been defined as a paradigm of knowledge, and the only epistemologically adequate one.
>
> (Nygren 1999:271)

Policy-makers reasonably require 'evidence-based' submissions on which to rest their decisions but, while some types of knowledge easily support such processes, others are labelled 'intangible' and struggle to fit the paradigm. In this chapter I illustrate some of the key clashes of understanding, and examine the difficulties traditional net-fishers have encountered in getting their expertise (and their rights) recognised by state regulators.

As in the preceding study of the market, 'following' methods (see Chapter 4) used to explore this field site were responsive to the context, and therefore temporally and methodologically distinct. Time was spent walking and talking by the river, or watching the fishing. Lines of significance were identified by those I first spoke to, leading to regulatory authorities, and proprietors of fishing rights, as well as local community groups and institutions. I constructed a participative map of the Tweed several metres long, in order to help elicit situated responses from net-fishers who intimately knew the river's length and features. To get a sense of the broader significance of net-fishing to the identity of the town, several public 'pop-up' events were held. These culminated with a weekend in Berwick Town Hall during their *Berwick 900* festival (2015) where contributions were recorded from a cross-section of local people and visitors using a 'story-telling booth'.[24] A jointly authored small publication resulted (Jarvis and Holland, 2016[25]), which was distributed to all contributors, around key sites in town, and left with the Berwick Records Office. Appendix C gives a summary of key organisations on the Tweed referred to in this chapter.

7.1 Cittaslow in the research process

In Berwick, Cittaslow is not aligned with the town council and receives no financial or administrative support, although the group does have convivial links with town and county representatives. As a formally constituted group, Berwick Cittaslow seeks to foster co-operation and communication across perceived divisions within local socialities by making links between, and offering support to, small local organisations. Cittaslow fees are covered by donations and fund-raising activities. The breadth of the Cittaslow philosophy means they are

[24] Thanks to funding from Newcastle Institute for Social Renewal and creative support from Monkfish productions.

[25] Jarvis, H. and T. Holland (2015) *Salmon Fishing on the Tweed.Past.Present.Future.* Newcastle: Institute for Social Renewal [ISBN: 978-0-7017-0255-7]

not tied to any single issue, and the group's strength lies in using convivial skills to make connections across diverse interests – as was the case with that first meeting about the nets.

These Cittaslow links allowed me to generate connections between local parties, many of whom had not previously met. For example, I convened a meeting chaired by Cittaslow that included representatives of the Berwick Harbour Commission (who own the rights at Gardo netting station), Paxton House (who own the rights at Paxton netting station) the Tweed Foundation, The Berwick Freemen, and local community organisations such as Mouth of the Tweed (a local food heritage group) alongside current and former net-fishers. Subsequently I engaged with the Scottish Government Wild Fisheries Review team, first organising a telephone conference, and then arranging a delegation from the Tweed nets to attend a meeting in Edinburgh, bringing the attention of decision-makers to what had previously been an entirely invisible aspect of regulation: net fishers South of the border.

7.2 The fish, the nets and the history

In order to convey a sense of the detailed and precisely situated knowledge of the net-fishers, this chapter will present nuanced interpretations of the complex ecosystem of the Tweed. It is therefore necessary to provide some background on the life-cycle of salmon, on the practice and history of the nets, and on the regulatory context of the river Tweed.

Atlantic salmon

Atlantic salmon (Salmo salar) hatch in freshwater, spend their adult life at sea, then return to spawn in their home river, swimming upstream to lay their eggs usually in the same gravelly, shallow spawning grounds (redds) where they were hatched. It is these returning adults that both net and rod-fishers seek to catch.

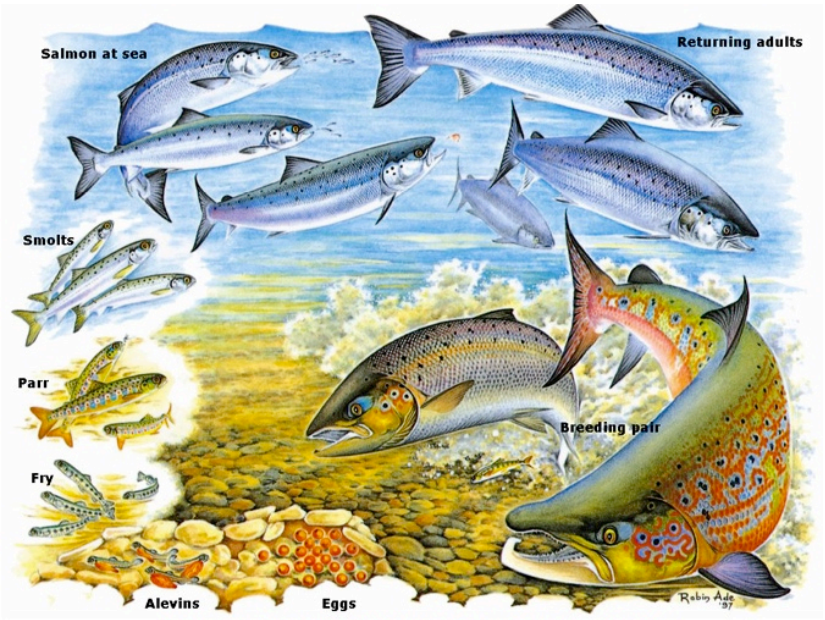

Figure 7.1 Life-cycle of Atlantic salmon (source:http://www.nasco.int/atlanticsalmon.html)

Young salmon spend their first two to three years in freshwater, feeding and growing into silvery juvenile smolts. Smolts gather in large shoals in estuary waters in April and May, acclimatising to the salt water before heading out to sea. There they grow into adult sea salmon, which return some years later to spawn in their home river. As they re-enter fresh water, salmon radically change their physiology and appearance. The classification of these adults is contested. Salmon scales exhibit growth rings that can be counted to calculate age, so biologists categorise according to how many winters they spend at sea before returning to spawn: 1SW (one-sea-winter) 2SW, 3SW or MSW (multi-sea-winter). However, the Slow knowing of the net-fishers understands the same fish as multiple sub-species which look, behave and swim differently. As will be discussed, genetic research is beginning to support this view (Coulson et al, 2013). Kelts are salmon that survive after spawning. Many die, but some recover (net-fishers call them 'well-mended' kelts), regain their silver colouration and go back to sea, potentially to return and spawn again in subsequent years. At sea, Tweed salmon travel to feeding grounds around the Faroe Islands and the nutrient-rich waters off Greenland. This extraordinary life-cycle means that there can only ever be partial understanding of, and impact from, conservation decisions made in the home river.

Figure 7.2 (Source: Atlantic Salmon Federation: http://asf.ca/range.html)

Much of the discussion in this chapter rests on positions regarding the fragility of salmon stocks. There must always be uncertainties in what can be known and predicted about a creature whose lifecycle takes it across the Atlantic and back, but the IUCN Red List[26] of threatened species places Atlantic salmon as 'least concern' within the category 'low risk'.

> "The other thing you have to remember – you'll hear all this doom and gloom about the salmon – but they are actually colonising new rivers, as rivers are being cleaned up. Even the Mersey has been re-colonised, and the Seine in France. There's now salmon spawning in the Rhine again."
>
> Tweed Foundation (TF) Senior Biologist

It should also be noted that Tweed salmon are and have always been subject to cyclical variations in their numbers that affect what time of year more salmon enter the river. At the moment the autumn stocks are more plentiful.

> "The old fishermen would say they will rotate from spring to back-end, it's a continuous cycle but it happens over a long period of time. Decades."
>
> Ex-net-fisher, West Ford fishery

> "Salmon switch between most of them coming back in spring and most of them coming back in autumn. I can show that going back into the eighteenth century (…) you can see in about 1915 it switches so most of them are caught in spring, and then it goes back to autumn in the sixties."
>
> TF Senior Biologist

What is net-fishing?

The practice of net-fishing takes place on a small and human scale with a crew of five (usually men, though the Paxton crew includes one woman). They use a flat-bottomed rowing boat, or coble, which is rowed out in an arc from the shore ('rowing a shot' or 'wear-shotting'). One end of the net is held on shore, and the rest is payed out from the back of the boat creating a

[26] International Union for the Conservation of Nature http://www.iucnredlist.org/

moving loop of net. The boat rows back to shore and the net is pulled in, hand-over-hand, by the crew. Fish are individually removed from the net and quickly 'felled' with a blow to the head.

Figure 7.3 Paxton Fishery: drawing in the net after a 'shot'

Figure 7.4 Gardo fishery: drawing in the net after a 'shot' (Photo: Jim Gibson)

Exact fishing practices vary with the position of each fishery and the complex environmental character of the river at a given time and place. The effectiveness and viability of this apparently simple technique relies on the Skipper's understanding of a complex ecosystem. Fishing only takes place on weekdays and in synchronicity with changing tidal conditions: be it day or night

The netting season is closely regulated with the traditional season running from 14 February–14 September (Monday to Friday). In 2015 the Scottish Government introduced mandatory catch-and-release for salmon until April 1 (to be reviewed after 5 years) so the nets may only catch sea trout until April. It should be noted that the angling season is significantly longer, running from 1st February–30th November (Monday to Saturday), though the River Tweed Commission

(RTC) impose negotiated catch-and-release from 1 February–30 June. Catch-and-release makes little difference to the sporting rods' experience, but critically impacts on economic viability for net-fishing enterprises.

Because netting is seasonal work, and the rod season is longer than the netting season, most net-fishers also have experience of working as ghillies (or boatmen) for the rods. This means they are employed on angling beats to take rod-fishers out on the water contributing the knowledge they learn from the nets to guide the anglers in their fishing.

Brief notes on the nets' history and regulation

Salmon netting is an ancient practice: "it has aye been" is the local saying: it has always been. At the time of earliest written records in the 12th century, the netting stations formed an already established infrastructure and Tweed nets are shown as valuable assets with ownership divided between the Scottish crown on the North bank, and the Bishops of Durham on the South. To give an example: Hallowstell fishery at the mouth of the Tweed was closed in the 1990s and its fishing rights now rest dormant with the Tweed Foundation (TF), but those same fishing rights are recorded as having been gifted to the monks of Holy Island by the then Bishop of Durham who died in 1122 (Campbell 2014, Walker, 2006).

The River Tweed lies mostly in Scotland, but part of its length actually forms the border, and the last three miles on the North bank and twenty miles on the South lie within England. Berwick is at the mouth where the river opens to the North Sea. Much of Berwick's historical wealth and importance was linked to salmon netting, but for a long time the nets have been under regulatory pressure. An example of an early intervention to shift the law in favour of inland rod fisheries (upper proprietors) can be seen in this extract from an 1875 inquiry into one of the Tweed Fisheries Acts:

> Nature herself has placed the chief advantages to be drawn from salmon preservation in the hands of the lower proprietors; and legislation has been, and must always be, incapable of thoroughly redressing the inequality. *It should, indeed, be the aim of all salmon laws to increase as far as possible the interest of the upper proprietors* in a fish which is chiefly bred in their waters.
>
> Tweed Fisheries Acts Inquiry Report 1875:xiv, Berwick Records Office (added italics)

After the Union of the Parliaments (1707), successive Tweed Acts throughout the 18th and 19th centuries progressively limited the ability to fish the river with nets (Robertson 2013:145). The Tweed Commissioners were established by Act of Parliament in 1807 and charged with governing the Tweed Fisheries, a role now covered by the RTC reconstituted under the *River*

Tweed Order 2006 (Scottish devolution). In the 1850s all ancient netting techniques except the current 'wear-shot' were abolished, and later, netting times and areas were further restricted, prompting net-fishers into:

> …systematic lawlessness and determined opposition to the Tweed Acts. Their contention is that they have been deprived of the ancient rights of their fathers to fish freely.
>
> The Tweed Report 1896, quoted in Robertson 2013:147

A holder of the rights to net fish is called a 'proprietor', and lack of use does not exhaust the right to fish. Rights can be handed down by inheritance, but can also be bought and sold, independently from ownership of the land on which a fishery stands. Riverbank landowners are called 'riparian owners' and, over time, many of the independent rights to fish upstream have accumulated in the hands of big landowners. The people who *do* the fishing have rarely been the proprietors of their fisheries or the riparian owners of the land they stand on.

The Tweed is divided grid-like down its centre and on both banks into hundreds of netting stations for much of its length, these historical fisheries exist in law in perpetuity, whether they are fished or not. The 1872 map below shows a detail of the Tweed's divisions at Berwick, and the named proprietors upriver. As can be seen in the close-up, typical ownership of fishing rights upriver rested chiefly (and still does) with aristocratic landed estates.

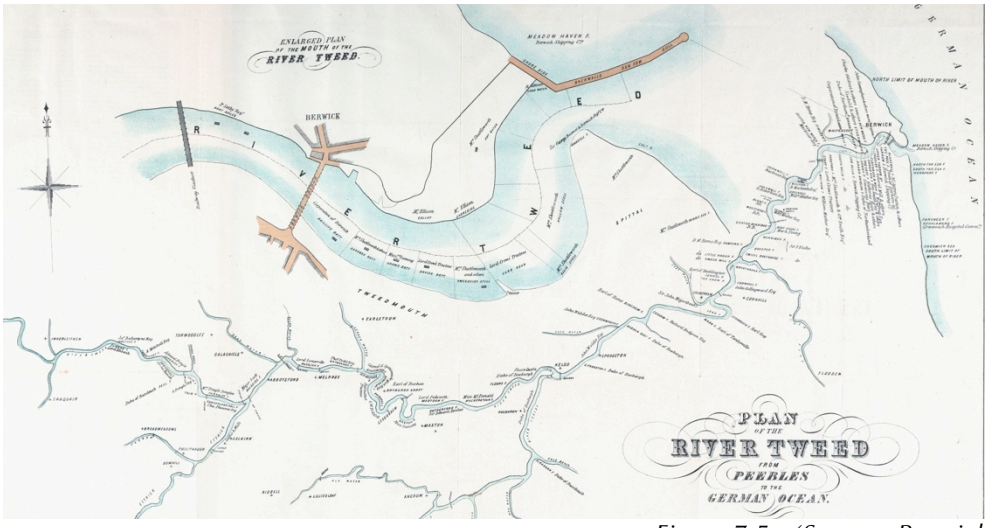

Figure 7.5 (Source: Berwick Records Office)

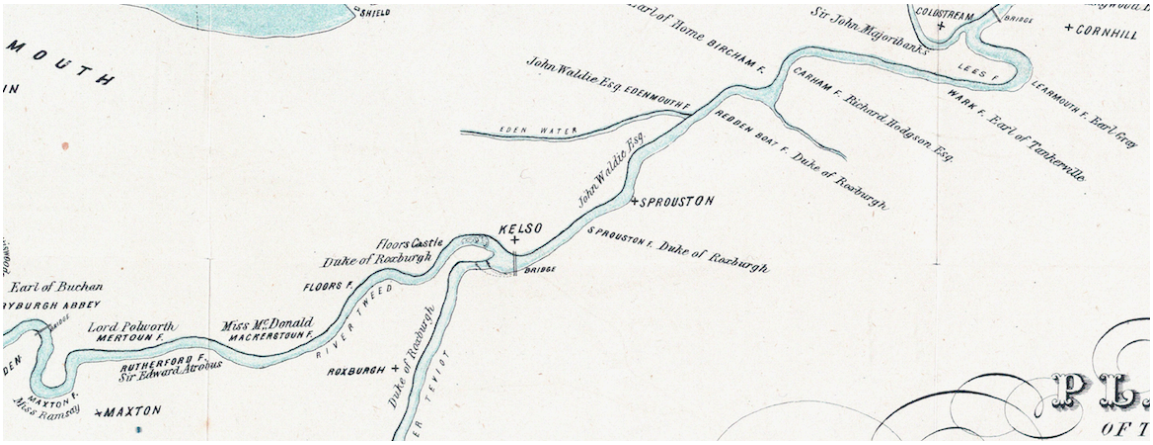

Figure 7.6 Detail (Source: Berwick Records Office)

For historical reasons, the right to sell Tweed salmon lies only with the nets – it is illegal to sell rod-caught fish. All upstream netting stations in use have now been converted into angling fisheries (selling sport rather than fish), but in the tidal waters down near the river's mouth over thirty netting stations survived until the 1980s under the ownership of two companies: The Berwick Salmon Fishing Company (BSFCo) and Ralph Holmes & Sons (RH&S).

In 1987 the BSFCo fell subject to a hostile share takeover (see later) which resulted in all its stations being closed, but for a handful leased to RH&S that fished on until 2000. The Atlantic Salmon Conservation Trust (ASCT)[27] eventually bought out the rights of both companies. Over the following years, between the ASCT and the RTC, most remaining fishing rights were either bought or leased for 99 years. I was told the RTC hold a list of 165 registered fisheries and their proprietors, but a request to see it was refused – on grounds of confidentiality. It is understood

[27] Established as a charity in 1985 to raise funds to purchase netting rights, hold the titles securely as an independent body, and stop them from being commercially fished.

that netting rights acquired by ASCT and RTC are now held by the TF. All are dormant. (See Appendix C, Tweed organisations).

Since 2000 only two independently owned netting stations have continued to fish, one South and one North of the border: Gardo, owned by Berwick Harbour Commission and Paxton, owned by Paxton House. Since 2015 Paxton has been leased to the TF for conservation use and no longer fishes commercially. The Scottish Government's recent Wild Fisheries Review consultation (started January 2014) provides the backdrop to the research undertaken for this chapter.

7.3 A viable traditional practice?

On my first visit to begin scoping studies at the invitation of Cittaslow Berwick, I was introduced to a range of local residents who were engaged in one way or another with Cittaslow. Independently of each other (and often incidentally) almost everyone mentioned the sad decline of a longstanding traditional industry of netting for salmon on the river Tweed. By the following spring, when I arrived to start my field study, the last remaining netting-station (written Gardo, pronounced Gardi) on the English side of the border had just closed due to the retirement of the leasee. However, Cittaslow representatives had organised a small meeting of local parties interested in trying to preserve a working fishery, and at least in part as a result of those and other connections made through this research project, the fishery re-opened the following season. The image below, taken from Gardo, shows how the fishery is situated within the town, on the Tweed's South bank facing across to Berwick quayside. Netting boats are moored at the raised 'batt' awaiting the right tidal conditions to start fishing.

Figure 7.7 (Photo: Jim Gibson)

Crafted knowledges

The learning of the nets is in the tradition of craft. It comes through a type of apprenticeship – based on learning by doing, and learning by watching the people who are expert in the trade. It is not fixed, stable knowledge – it is constantly modified in the light of changing conditions, and constantly tested by practice and a form of 'peer review'. Each individual fishing-station up the Tweed's length required its own knowledge-base dependent on its position, spatial morphology, depth, and multiple subtle factors affecting the behaviour of fish at that spot. Near the mouth, in the 'tidal reaches', the cycle of the tide defines when and how the fish are swimming, so therefore when it is worthwhile putting the nets in. One retired Skipper told me of an occasion at Scotch New Water when his crew had wanted to maximise their catch by fishing from earlier in the tide. He said to the crew:

> "Well, the man who was here twenty-five year before me (who lived just opposite us) he give [me] the rights and the wrongs, and the dos and the don'ts. 'But' he says, 'you'll try things for yourself – and you'll find you're wrong.'"
>
> George Mole, Scotch New Water (and other fisheries)

So they tried – and they found they were wrong – their nets came up empty until the point when they would ordinarily start to fish, as the tide was turning. Knowledge that is constantly tested in this way remains strong and relevant to its environment. In contrast to the perception that traditional methods are something frozen in time or out-dated, the opposite is the case, because crafted knowledges are responsive to conditions. Given a large enough body of people where the knowing is held alive, then understandings are co-created, shared and always adapting.

Before the 1987 closures there were over thirty working netting stations, and until 2000 there were six large ones: still just about enough nets practicing to hold the knowledge. The nets and their associated industries have always made a huge contribution to local lives and livelihoods.

> It's been a brilliant industry, it had probably eight hundred, nearly a thousand employed at one time. Going back to the 1900s there were a lot of, lot of men depended on the river for their livelihood, and to live – to survive! Because really probably two thirds of villages: Horncliffe, Norham, even as far as Coldstream, made a living out of the river."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

The situation on the Tweed is just about at a tipping point where the knowledge cannot stay alive. There are not enough fisheries left to generate and perpetuate it, and the fishers with the knowledge are aging.

> "I don't know who's going to take the skills, because it's only ever going to be part time – and mind, we're getting less you know. They're all dying off – that's another one gone, another one gone, another one gone…"
>
> George Mole, retired Skipper

Traditional ways of fishing the river with nets included other methods, now outlawed as poaching. This wasn't the 'fast' poaching carried out by criminal gangs (something that is now largely under control due to RTC water bailiffs) it was the ancient method of fishing that was widespread until criminalised in the nineteenth century. These methods are still known, and sometimes used to support something that local people characterise as 'one for the pot', which is fishing for friends and family. The person who showed me came from a netting family:

> "Well I don't know any further back than my great granddad. My great granddad was fishing wi' my granddad, an' that, as laddies, so he must have been fishing wi' somebody to learn it."

We started beneath the ruins of Norham Castle (built by the Bishops of Durham to protect their border and their fisheries – the opposite bank is Scotland). It was a beautiful sunny evening in early June. My field-notes record the slanting light on the water, the swans, the birdsong, the scents, the dogs brushing back and forth, the stillness of the air – it was serene, but at the same time so full of detail that my senses felt saturated and my brain overflowing with the task of absorbing it all. We picked our way through thick underbrush along the bank, and stopped at a point where I saw nothing unusual.

> "Well, we're down at the riverside, I'll let you put in your notes where we are, but this stand or cairn will be thousands of years old (…) and it's quite a bizarre place to think that you can be here and fishing the same water in exactly the same methods that they fished 2000 years ago, or when the castle was in use."

The cairn is a point where the bank juts out, and barely visible beneath the water is a row of large stones placed carefully across the riverbed. It has been constructed to create a kind of gentle eddy in the water – a 'yidda' – made to provide a resting place for the salmon in their swim against the current as the water swirls back on itself, because 'the fish are lazy'. This is where a standing net could be put in. The image below shows a sketch from notes of the yidda.

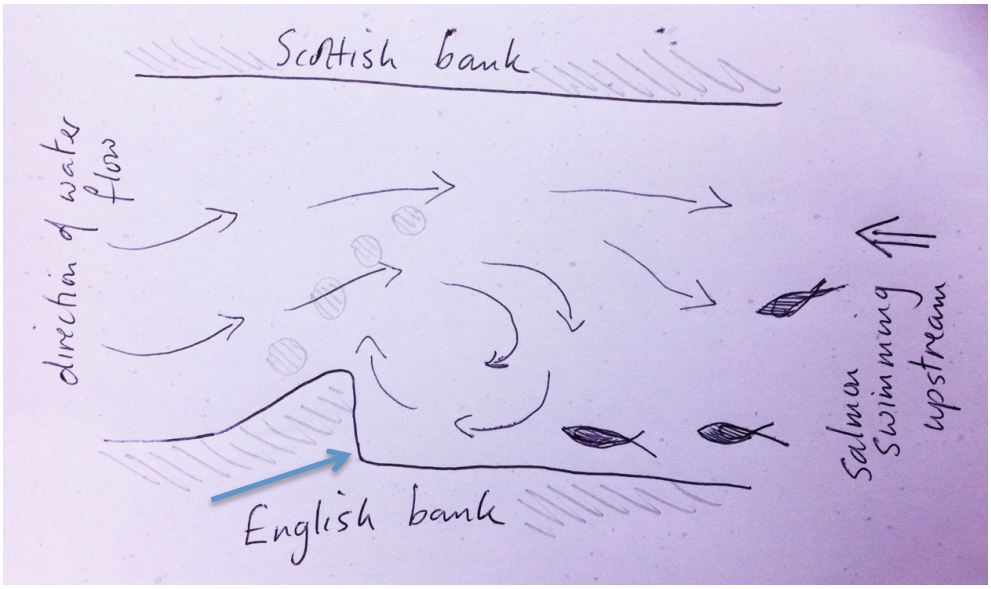

Figure 7.8 Yidda

Figure 7.9 Yidda

The photo above was taken from the spot marked by an arrow in the sketch. It attempts to capture the subtle change in water surface that indicated the 'yidda' in the foreground, apparently easily visible to the trained eye.

"…So these places, the stands, are the old method of fishing. They were made illegal in 1857 or something with the Tweed Act – and all these places had names – like the big one at Horncliffe was called The Wheel."

"…And it's hand-me-down knowledge – it's an unbroken chain of knowledge going back a couple of thousand years and probably beyond that right back to your hunter-gatherers. So that knowledge is all handed down. I mean there's names and places on the river that's on no map."

These words show a strong self-perception that the netting knowledge was part of an ancient chain of practice, but were equally informed by influences from contemporary reading and personal research. It shows the heterogeneity of this netting identity as an amalgamation of inherited understanding with evolving interpretations. We left the stand around 10.30 as dusk was coming on (at the darkening).

"We would normally start about now. We could catch forty fish here in a night, but not nowadays, with the technology they have," [thermal cameras used by RTC Water Bailiffs to detect night-time activity].

As we walked back along the barely defined path, I was left pondering the very precise empirical observations that informed the construction of these cairns, the ethology of the fish, the hydrology of the river, the 'scientific' principles that had been applied before such terminology existed, or had acquired the status it now carries. Our conversation got me thinking about the 'invisible' knowledge on the river: the names that don't appear on any map, the yiddas, the intimate knowledge of how the water flows, where the fish hug one bank or the other, and where they lie – knowledge that allowed the river to be managed in a way that accommodated, rather than controlled, the 'natural' dynamics of the ecosystem.

An embodied knowledge system

Tweed net-fishers are people who have worked with, on and around the river all their lives. George Mole, who'd worked for both BSFCo and RH&S said he'd started on the nets "frae six years old". Others corroborated:

"You could be on the books as a boy at the fishing (…) so by the time you were thirteen, fourteen, fifteen you could virtually do all the work. You wouldn't be able to make the nets, or (...) make the decisions, or decide how it was to be fished – but you could row the shots, you could do all these jobs."

Ex-netsman, West Ford fishery

"My father and his two brothers and his father were all at North Bell. They bought that in 1890 from Berwick Corporation [Berwick Freemen]. They've been at fishing for 300 years as far as I can go back."

Skipper, Paxton fishery

> "I think when you're born in Berwick you've always got that relationship with the sea and with the river. It's kind of inbred into you from birth, so it's there."
>
> "It's not something you can just pick up. You either take to it or you don't. There's a lot of people say 'Oh you could try the fishing, you could learn how to do it.' But it feels like natural··· and I think a lot of the guys will probably tell you the same. It feels like it's a natural ability. When you fish you can either sense the fish are there, or they're not."
>
> Netsman, Paxton fishery

The understanding skilled Skippers fished by depended on absorbing and reading all the subtle signals in the environment around them, using all their senses and experience to make informed judgements. (I wonder how different the sensory intensity of my walk to the yidda would have been if I had understood how to meaningfully interpret it all). For example, I was surprised to hear the wind had anything to do with it:

> "It depends where the wind blew from, what time the fish would be in on the tide. South East wind was the best wind on the Tweed. But when there was spring fishing the West wind was the best wind – and the fish headed into the wind. But then, when the fish started to come later in the year, the West wind was nearly a waste of time – they preferred a wind from the sea rather than a wind from the land."
>
> "You see, sometimes you got your fish on the high-water, you got your fish half-ebb, or you got your fish on the flood-tide coming in – it depended on your winds and the conditions on the river."
>
> George Mole, retired Skipper

There was a profundity of knowledge related to specific places and distributed changes at different parts of the river. The detail below shows annotations on the participative fishing map. It lists different depths of water at fisheries up the river (beyond the tidal reaches): when the water level drops, the fish stop swimming: they lie.

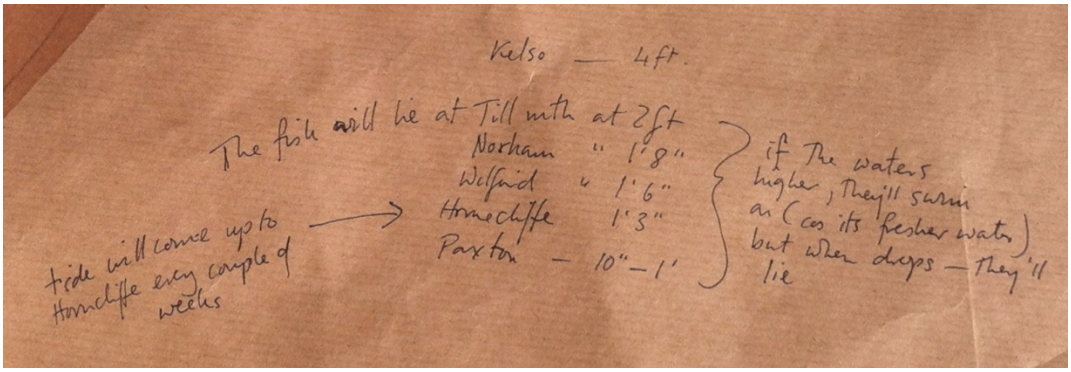

Figure 7.10 When the fish lie

At times the net fishers' way of talking takes the idea of embodied knowledge into the realms of literal embodiment – of almost growing scales and *becoming* fish:

"…and then there's the people that had what we would refer to as 'the scales'. The men that got the itchy back – that would give up their jobs and go back to the fishing. It was either he had the scales, or he was scaly, it means the same thing."

Ex-netsman, West Ford fishery

Many net fishers mentioned 'having the scales'. It can also describe the feeling of heightened euphoria when the fishing is good and the salmon are coming:

"They say you're getting scaly then, when you're getting excited about the fact that the fish are coming in and, you know, it gets the adrenalin pumping as well and then everybody's moving a little bit quicker after that. That's scaly! [Laughs]"

Netsman, Paxton fishery

What can be seen in these voices, I argue, is a relationship with land and water, creatures and weather, space and place and river that can only be learnt as Slow and crafted knowledge. It is a way of making sense of a complex world by responding and accommodating, not controlling.

A convivial knowledge system

"You know it was a right tourist attraction? Oh Heavens Above! I'm no exaggerating when I say that through the season there would be thousands of people would go to watch the netting of salmon. There was no-one would get squeamish when you hit them over the head."

"And the village people would go doon too – them that wasn't connected with the fishing – because, well, there was always banter with five silly fishermen! [Laughs]."

George Mole, retired Skipper

Figure 7.11 Paxton: 'felling' the fish (2014)

Netting knowledges are held in a complex mix of stories, convivial connections, associated skills (such as fish-smoking, net-making or boat-building) and social structures, integrated into the life and sense of place of riverside settlements, and valued by local people alongside the economic benefits of the industry. They allowed the river and the knowledges to be navigated. In our pop-up events memories were evoked and local customs recalled, such as the traditional 'blessing of the salmon' that (until 1987) happened at midnight on the 14th of February at Pedwell fishery in Norham. Anecdotes were recounted in the story-booth: of poached salmon being kept in the bath; of fishermen spreading nets in the street to mend, then claiming they were for strawberries when the police came by; of finding anonymous packets of salmon appearing on the front doorstep in times of austerity; and repeatedly, of the social event of going to watch the nets fish (see Jarvis and Holland, 2016).

> The type of person that would have got a job at the fishery, there's nothing for them to do now. On a Friday night in Berwick when everybody got paid it was a big night. They called them weekend millionaires because they did get lumps of money at times (…) There was a lot of money spent in the town, in the pubs. The pubs are dead now.
>
> Proprietor and netsman, Goswick fishery

> "…and for them it's not just a job, it was a complete way of life. They ate, slept and drunk fishing. They were there all night - they've got little bothies where they used to sleep (…) So I think for that to go must be a hard thing, and I think probably with that comes an element of bitterness as well."
>
> Netsman, Paxton fishery

The latter comment came from a young man in his thirties, reflecting on the loss of the nets. He had worked at Gardo, but was now at Paxton, and commented that though the work is hard, it is rewarding.

> "The guys are all good to work with - they're all really nice guys and we have fun down here as well. It's not like it's all just work and serious business".

He used the term 'guys' to describe their crew, which included a netswoman. I asked him if he thought it unusual:

> I wouldn't have said so, no. I think [name] just basically thinks of it as a job, and we just think of [name] as another worker - I mean she does a grand job, she's really good at it. But no, I don't think that it's a wholly male exclusive environment. I certainly wouldn't bat an eyelid if there were more women fishing.

At the time of interviewing Paxton was still working as a commercial fishery. The netswoman was happy to talk about her experience, but didn't want to be recorded. Part of the craft of her role was to pack the fish in boxes and ice. The Curator at Paxton House acknowledged the significance of that skill:

> Because that's the bonus of her fish: that they're so well packed. She packs them in ice and belly-up and handled carefully. That's why everybody wants Paxton fish (…) the big restaurants in London ask for it. All the celebrity chefs apparently ask for it if they can get it.

These are the intangible skills and fine-grained social structures that held the Slow knowledges in place, giving a unique sense of place and identity to the towns and villages of the Tweed. It is not easy to measure and quantify such factors, but that does not mean they are unimportant.

7.4 'Fast' Factors

Netting sustained local livelihoods for a very long time, but external pressures can be seen to have constrained its viability. Since the 19th century restrictions on certain fishing methods curtailed the number of fisheries, and in recent years pressure on the nets came from new factors changing both the river environment on which they depended and the economic and regulatory environment in which they worked. The discourse that characterises the nets as no longer viable has two main strands: that they are a charming but out-dated livelihood, and that they over-fished the river, threatening salmon stocks and creating their own demise. However both of these interpretations are contested, and many factors unrelated to these explanations fed into their decline, some of which could be characterised as 'fast'.

Over the past half century, the balance of the river system has been altered by factors resulting from the 'modern' globalised world. Arguably, given the role the nets have played historically

in stewarding the river environment, their recent removal is also one of these shifts in balance. Other factors include new technologies, sea changes, economic pressures generated by salmon farming, and competition generated by the rise of angling as a sport.

'Fast' technology: sonar and microfilaments

Since the 1960s new monofilament nets and the use of sonar at sea (especially around the Faroes) enabled huge catches of salmon to be taken in a single trip. One netsman told me how he first heard about this when a friend phoned him:

> "…he says, 'I've just fitted a sonar to a boat up at Fraserburgh, and', he says, 'I had to go on a fortnights trials with it (...) and we switched it on just about two mile, three mile out – and the first thing we met up with was a shoal of salmon coming down (…) They shot the purse net round them and they killed an average of 30,000 salmon in one shot.' And that was the start of it. That was in 1969."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

Fish numbers in the Tweed did drop at that time, but the threat is now largely mitigated through international agreements on sea fishing in the North Atlantic since the 1990s, which have reduced sea harvests by 99% since peak harvests in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Windsor et al, 2012:14).

'Fast' economics: salmon farming

Another major factor that hit the nets was the introduction of salmon-farming (an industry that carries its own ethical and environmental baggage). It forced the price of wild salmon down, in spite of them being palpably different products.

> "[It] started in the mid sixties – that was when they were getting their act together. They came to us and said 'Can we have some fish?' "

TH "Who's 'they'?"

> "Well, try Unilever. A million quid to them was nowt."

TH "They were looking for fish to stock the farms?"

> "Yes, and they got them. But they didn't get ours. They're not Tweed salmon. And obviously they were shit to start with, but they got better."
>
> Proprietor of nets, RH&S

However, it seems that they did get Tweed salmon after all:

> "We were guilty of that at North Bells. We supplied out of our nets the start of the farmed salmon. And they were buying them live prices, and they were giving [us] what we asked for for the fish (...) and my Skipper was just naming a figure '£50 a

> fish' and they were giving him £50 a fish and they were going into these live tanks and taking them on low loaders away up to Scotland and put into the big nets, and that was the start of the farmed salmon."
>
> Proprietor and net-fisher, North Bells fishery

The price for wild salmon plummeted as farmed salmon became commonplace in the shops:

> "Well – to be honest wi' ye – once they was farming salmon, that's when things started to fall apart like, because you could go and buy farmed salmon for say, £1 a pound, where a wild one you'd have paid £2.20 or £2.30 or something (…) And so poorer netting stations were struggling to make a living – and that's why this one dropped out, and that one dropped out…"
>
> George Mole, retired Skipper

The TF Senior Biologist also expressed exasperation at this turn of events:

> "One of the things I never understood is why a premium price didn't develop for wild salmon, which is an infinitely better thing than crappy old fish-farmed fish, but it never did (…) I don't think the netsmen were up to it, to be quite honest. They weren't businessmen in that sense."
>
> "You'll see [showing a graph] that even at the end they're catching as many fish as they did for most of the 19th century – and that's the mistake people make, they think that it's lack of fish that brought about the end of the netting stations. It wasn't, it was lack of price."

'Fast' economics: sporting fisheries and angling

Over the 1960s and 70s some fisheries succumbed to fast pressures, but significant working in-river netting stations remained until a dramatic intervention in the 1980s. The economics of rod-fishing as a marketable product can be seen as the overriding factor that has driven the removal of net-fisheries over time.

> "Rod-fishing was always around, but really comes in from the 1850s. You had net fisheries all the way up the river, and the change was those net fisheries becoming sport fisheries (…) and by the 1880s it was only at the bottom of the river you've got the nets left."
>
> TF Senior Biologist

As angling grew in popularity, it became increasingly profitable for landowners upstream.

> "You are paying for the sport. That's one of the differences between the rods and the nets: with net-fishings you have to catch the salmon to get any value, but with the rod-fishing you don't. So long as you catch enough salmon to keep people coming, you don't actually have to catch any."
>
> "Yes - it's expensive. The best beats at the best time of the year are about £800 to £1000 a day per person. The way it's sold is in beats, which are certain sections of

> the river, and the traditional way is a week at a time – so you'd take the fishing for a week and there will be a four rod, six rod, eight rod (...) It is very lucrative."
>
> TF Senior Biologist

However the tidal reaches and deeper water at the mouth of the river are not suitable for rod-fishing, and so even though RTC figures show that fishing brings in an estimated £24 million a year[28] to local economies, none of that benefit is felt in former netting areas near the mouth of the river.

> "Their sector has gone into decline and that's hard for them to take, but the rod fishery delivers huge economic benefit to the river. But what it's done is it's shifted the economic benefit from the bottom of the river, right the way up."
>
> Clerk to the RTC

Netting stations that were converted to rod fisheries have shot up in economic value, entirely eclipsing the fine-grained social and cultural value that the nets supported within settlements along the riverbank where they provided a key livelihood. The Skipper at Paxton has been a netsman all his life, but was also a trained electrician (netting is seasonal work so fishers need other skills to tide them over the closed-season or 'slap'):

> "I done an electrical job for £8000 on Tweed Hill House and the man couldn't pay his bill, so he offered me the fishing for nothing if it would square my bill. And I didn't take it – because I seen fishing was going down, but I never ever thought that rod-fishing would explode the way it did. And he sold it for £900,000 (…) about eight years later!"

There are strong financial incentives in angling, however the 'benefits' it brings are not equally distributed, leading to questions about whether this economic narrative has become too dominant. The issue can be seen in very different ways, as the three voices below illustrate

> "The [rod] fishery owners, they don't mind spending money on something that's good. They're very supportive of the Tweed Foundation – they've given a lot of money (…) they are rich people admittedly – but nevertheless they give money. One retiring fishing syndicate this year gave the Tweed Foundation £20,000 (….) The Tweed Model works because we've got that income. I can afford three biologists. No one else has three biologists."
>
> Clerk to the RTC

The curator of Paxton House was sitting on the RTC as a proprietor for the nets at the time of our interview. She was removed from the role in 2015 when the Paxton fishery was leased to the TF.

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[28] SQW (2015) 'Economic Impact from Angling on the Tweed River System'. SQW Consultants: London.

> "I'm representing Paxton, but I am the only proprietor representing net-fishing, all the others are rods (…) I go and sit next to someone and he goes, 'Nets!' The last meeting [discussed] the fact that Gardi fishery was being offered for sale: my hand was the only one that went up as a 'no' at one point. I'm thinking – Whoa-ho, I'm a bit outnumbered here. They think that *every* fishery should go. They don't view it as an environmental issue, they view it as a financial issue – that the more fish that go up the river, the more money in their pocket because they can let their fishing for a greater amount (…) They believe their own propaganda, they believe what they say without actually checking the facts or looking and thinking."
>
> Paxton Curator and Tweed Commissioner

> "And they're only in it for money, I mean there's no question about it (…) and it doesn't matter what you say, I mean the Tweed Commissioners is just money motivated."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

In the 1980s, as it became clear that there was big money to be made in angling, Tweed fisheries became the target of speculative investors:

> "It was two cricketers that bought the Berwick Salmon Company. It was Phil Edmonds[29] you called the cricketer, and Botham. Well, they bought shares that came up, until they had the majority shareholding. And I think they had it two years – two seasons that they had it – and it was sold on (…) When they sold it, it was your riparian owners and the Tweed Foundation that just snapped it up and closed it."
>
> George Mole, retired Skipper

[29] Some context as to the motivation of these investors is given in a press story [London Evening Standard, 01/03/05]:
Edmonds' CV after hanging up his flannels, however, could have been penned by Frederick Forsyth. Indeed, wherever there is a war, conflict or social unrest in some far-flung country, you will often find Edmonds and his associates trying to cut a deal - Angola, the Congo, now Sudan (…) Aged 36, he went on to become chairman of a property, retail and leisure company whose portfolio included five miles of the best salmon fishing on the River Tweed.
www.standard.co.uk/news/the-man-who-made-20m-in-four-days-7217431.html

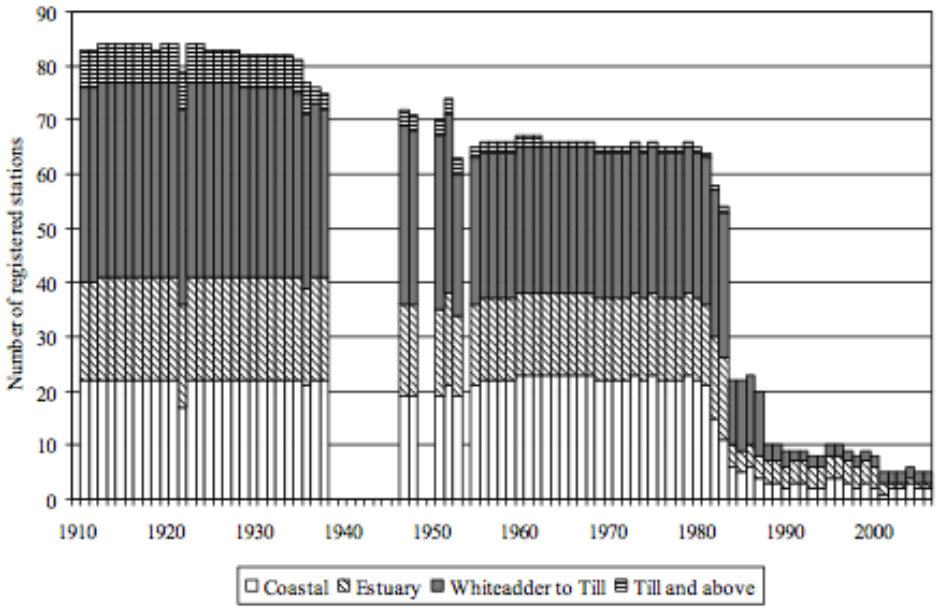

Figure 7.12 (Source: Campbell, 2014)

The graph above demonstrates the effect of these events on Tweed netting stations. Net fishers see this as an alliance of the RTC with rod-fishing interests but of course that is only one perspective. The RTC and angling charities would argue that conservation is their overriding motivation, as the TF Senior Biologist explained when asked if economic factors should be their main concern:

> "No. The first thing is the conservation of the stock – you have to keep the resource going. The trouble is that quite often commercial considerations are allowed to dominate (…) Conservation has to come first, after that I suppose it is commercial considerations – I mean, what do you get the money from? (…) [It is] the salmon levy on owners of fisheries that's funding the management of the river. There's no government money, no government support."

The son of the late director of the BSFCo confirmed these details of the hostile share take-over and asset-stripping, the sale of its fishing rights to the Atlantic Salmon Conservation Trust (a charity established in 1985 for the purpose of buying and holding commercial netting rights inactive) and the peremptory closure of the netting stations. He attributed the attractiveness of the BSFCo to its relative wealth, and status as the fifth oldest joint stock public limited company in the UK, whose shares could then be traded on the London Stock Exchange. Up until that point the significant fishing levy paid to the RTC by the large netting companies meant the nets held some sway, but without that, any remaining nets had no power to defend their livelihood. RH&S also sold their fishing rights:

"What happened was that we were approached – so was the Salmon Company – we knew about that, though nobody ever talked to each other, and it was agreed that they were going to try (which they'd been agitating for a hundred years) try and get the netting stopped."

TH "Who?"

"It was just bodies. People said stuff, and one thing and another. It was just a wee chat: 'Do you fancy selling your fisheries?' this sort of stuff. Just feeling the ground."

Proprietor, RH&S

As can be clearly seen, the marketing of rod-fishing as an economic venture placed huge pressures on the netting industry, pressures that it was simply not equipped to resist. The singularity of this narrow agenda is what makes it a manifestation of 'fast' thinking. An agenda that unevenly prioritises economic factors, leads to the creation of a context where social wellbeing, local livelihoods and inherited knowledge bring no legitimate claim to a say in how the river is managed. The net-fishers were the holders of the knowledge, but not the holders of proprietorial rights to fish.

"The deal was done behind closed doors. The guys that actually were at the fishing didn't have any input into it at all. There was no sort of union to protect it or anything like that, and because in reality they're part-time workers there was no representation for them – the fisheries were just shut and that was it. And when they were shut, that was them gone. They were told 'They're gone'."

"And they were bought out with long leases. I believe they were bought out with ninety-nine year leases, basically just to make sure that the knowledge has died out – and once that knowledge has died out it would be hard to start it up again."

Ex-netsman, West Ford fishery

"But don't go away from this thinking the netsmen were forced into selling – and I know there's still this bad feeling in Berwick, 'Oh we were forced out'. They weren't forced out. They were going out of business and they were offered money for their netting rights and they took it (…) And what's left now is this sort of yearning for the old tradition of salmon netting. And it won't come. It's not gonna come. It's nostalgia. It's not economically viable and it's only marginally biologically viable."

Clerk to the RTC

The control, in the end, lay with those that viewed the river as a resource, commodified to provide 'ecosystem services' (Norgaard, 2010; DEFRA, 2011; Apostolopoulou and Adams, 2014; Castree, 2008a). In this case the river itself represents a hidden continuity: a complex flowing entity of habitat and knowledges. The nets failed under the imposition of a number of boundaries that disrupted this continuity: between those who could realise their netting rights

into angling revenues and those who could not; between an interpretation of 'value' as economic rationality not cultural and social contribution; and because the political border between Scotland and England severs the river's mouth from its body and Berwick from its natural hinterland. The Tweed is classified as a Scottish river, leaving the English nets disenfranchised from any representation North of the border, invisible to the Scottish Government Wild Fishery Review consultations, and deprioritised by the body (based in Scotland) that should be representing them, the RTC. So, although the nets had survived pressures brought by some 'fast' technological changes showing they were not unviable, out-dated or out-fished; a power differential meant they were vulnerable to being out-manoeuvred.

7.5 A conflict of knowing: autochthonous and scientific understandings

The discussion so far has shown something of the complex matrix of factors that came together in this very particular site, affecting the potential for the embodied knowledges held within netting practices to sustain themselves. The next part of the discussion will present insights into the way that these knowledges were also found to be vulnerable in the face of a dominating discourse of 'fast' science.

A young netsman I spoke to was in the crew at Paxton when I met him, but he had also fished at Gardo. I asked him how much he felt he understood the netting techniques, and what he was learning from his Skipper:

> "I think the fact that [Name] has been up and down this river most of his life lets him know where the fish are – where the basins are in the river, where the fish are going to be sitting – all that type of stuff he's got a far better knowledge."
>
> "But I think [Name] has very much an affinity with the river – with the fish their selves – and that's where he draws his conclusions from. When the fish are coming (…) he knows instinctively, whereas these scientists are quite often coming in – they've got no knowledge of the river, no love for the river – and they just come in and: 'Well, that's very much matter of fact, and that's why that's happening, and…'. You can see both sides really."

The words of this young man demonstrate the use of knowledge that comes with experience and is held in the mind and the senses. He talks of a way of knowing that does not deal in discrete units of information, but in making informed judgements based on a fluid (literally and metaphorically) and shifting context.

This assessment of that Skipper's expertise is very different from that of the Clerk to the RTC, who, when I asked him about the importance of his local knowledge said:

"Oh yeah, [Name] has his own particular type of knowledge [laughs]. I'm a great fan of [Name], and he's a great supporter of us. He helps us an awful lot**.** But he does have his own particular take on facts."

It was clear in the course of the conversation that I should understand the Skipper's 'take on facts' was in question. Similarly when I asked the TF Senior Biologist if he thought handed-down knowledge could be seen as complementary to his scientific approach, he said:

"I think I have to say it was largely misguided. Until scale-reading came in, people thought that salmon spawned every year like sea trout, and that's not true (…) The idea that salmon came back to their own river was known for a long time. But on what that was based I do not know – that *happened* to be correct (…) But I'm not sure that the people in Berwick ever thought much about where the fish came from."

By and large, when asked about the validity of local knowledge, those with a scientific background reacted dismissively or else with a kind of confusion that indicated they hadn't really thought about it with any seriousness. Talking with the Director of Tweed Forum, he appreciated that knowledge was there, but the hesitancy of his responses indicate he had not given extensive thought to its value, nor whether it could be shared or be relevant to their own work:

"I mean it's, you know, its a bit of history that's been forgotten, but emm··· its one of those things··· Times have changed, and the value of salmon on rod and line is just··· just so much more compared to in the nets··· and that's why they've been bought out, basically"

TH "So there's no perception that there's value in the knowledge that the nets have held (…) or it being important in the continuing management of the river?"

"Errrmm, I think there probably is an appreciation of a lot of knowledge lost there, emm, in terms of··· well I don't know··· "

"(…) It was always fascinating to see how the netsmen said they could see them coming when you could clearly see damn-all to the untrained eye. But they could see by the way the water was moving that there were fish coming up."

The RTC's discourse on vulnerable stocks was restated by their Clerk when I asked if he valued the "centuries-long heritage of understanding of the river that's been held within the netting culture":

> "[T]here's certainly a big history and tradition there, but it's for an activity which is not economically or biologically sustainable any more, that's the problem. Atlantic salmon aren't the same as they were fifty years ago. There are far fewer of them and some of them are extremely vulnerable. So time's moved on. We're in a different position."

So even if the knowledge wasn't actually dismissed, it appeared that my question was so far beyond what might be considered legitimate that it met with hesitation, silences, laughter, or simple deflection onto another subject. The nets' Slow knowing was either invisible or perceived as inconsequential from a scientific, regulatory and planning perspective.

7.5.1 The differing qualities of Slow and 'fast' knowing

This section will show something of the differing qualities of embodied knowing and quantitative information gathering. It offers two examples of alternative interpretations: one related to salt/fresh-water adaptations, and one related to speciation within salmon stocks.

Net fishers appeared happy to accept scientific additions to their knowledge-bank, but also felt unhappy that their knowledges were not afforded the same respect:

> "…And I sometimes think I know as much as some of them [biologists] – I don't know as much in the scales as them, because they've studied through a microscope – but as for the nature of the fish, we've studied the fish over the years (…) [my uncle] had fifty years experience before I started, so he was teaching me something he knew for fifty years previous. And my father was the same (…) they knew the swimming of the fish better than anybody, and they watched more fish than anybody, I would think. And this is what you learnt – you learnt off the old people."
>
> "They [biologists] haven't listened to fishermen. They haven't listened to the men that know it. They just overrule it."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

Salt and fresh water

Below are two quotes using very different vocabularies to describe the same phenomenon: the behaviours of adult salmon as they return from sea to spawn in the river. One comes from a man whose family fished the Tweed for generations, the other from a doctoral thesis based on research carried out alongside TF biologists. One reflects an experiential and traditional epistemology, one is informed by a scientific epistemology and supported by quantitative research methods.

> "The fish will travel in the sea together, and they come into the river in what you would call a heid - a head of fish (…) Once the salmon get out of the tide, and the daylight comes on the river, they don't move. They lay down. They then become more individual, and at the darkening they will lift away and move by themselves."
>
> Ex-netsman, West Ford fishery

> Once initiated river entry only takes hours, suggesting that there is no physiological adaptation period required when moving from saltwater to freshwater (Hogasen, 1998; Thorstad et al.,1998; Solomon and Sambrook, 2004) (…) Stepwise upstream movements then begin after the fish first stops, after which movement appear to be restricted to crepuscular and nocturnal periods (Laughton, 1989; Webb, 1989; 1990; Bagliniere et al., 1991).
>
> Gauld, 2014:90-1

It is apparent that there is a measure of agreement in these descriptions, however, there are discrepancies too. For example, the assertion that "there is no physiological adaptation period required when moving from saltwater to freshwater" is something net-fishers would dispute. Net-fishers are clear that the fish take time to adapt. Moving from salt to fresh water is a profound environmental change, and salmon exhibit visible changes in their shape and colour, and not-so-visible behavioural changes. Those that fished estuary waters described how the fish swim back and forth with the tide whilst acclimatising to the fresh water. Crabwater was a netting station that sat right on Berwick pier at the harbour mouth, and there the fish could be caught coming from both directions as they swam in and out, adjusting their bodies to the change. The detail below from the participative map shows Crabwater marked on Berwick pier, and also Sandstell, Hallowstell and Out Water fisheries. The orange arrows indicate how the net-fishers knew the precise routes fish would swim, entering from the South (having turned at Holy Island and come up the coast) then circulating in the estuary to acclimatise before moving upriver.

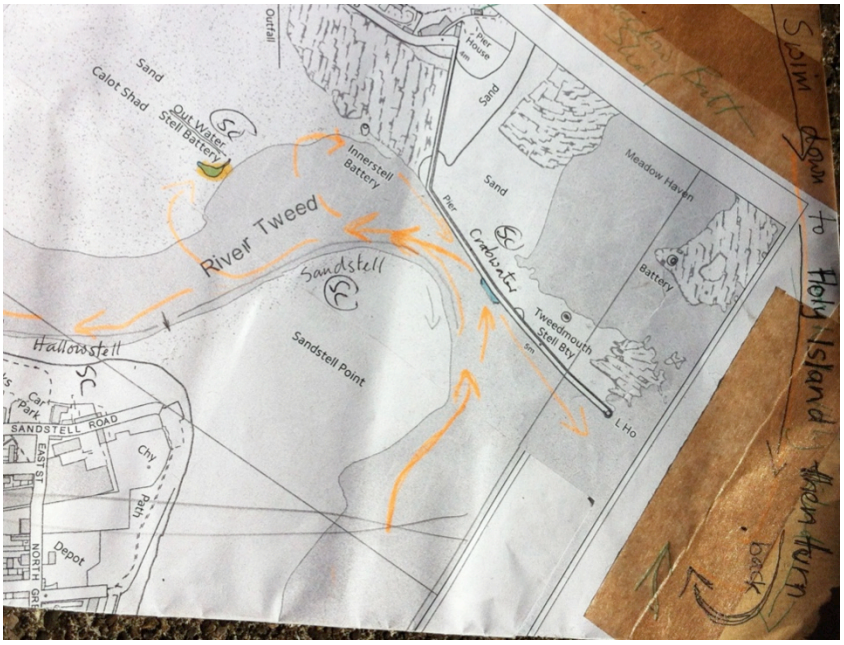

Figure 7.13 Adapting to fresh water

The discrepancy of understanding may arise because closure of netting stations means scientific tagging and monitoring relies predominantly on fish caught further upstream, so this adaptation cycle at the very mouth is not visible to them, resulting in the assertion it does not exist.

Going the other way, similar adaptation periods were familiar to the net-fishers in the behaviours of tiny smolts heading downstream to sea for the first time, and also in kelts (adult spawned salmon) returning to sea from the river:

> "And they couldn't go straight into the salt water. They played about, they got used to the salt water, they came back and forward with the tide – they got familiar with the salt water and then they went away into the sea."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

Salmon and grilse

The second example of epistemological disparities shows up in disagreement over the difference between a grilse (or gilse) and a salmon. The TF biologist explained the scientific understanding:

"A gilse has been one winter away at sea. Hatched, gone out to sea as a smolt in April or May, its been one winter in the sea up in the North East Atlantic, and then its come back from May June onwards - so been away about a year."

"Well salmon proper are salmon that have been away for more than one year. They go to the North East Atlantic first, then across to the North West Atlantic, and then they come back. They're called multi-sea-winter [MSW]. Gilse are one-sea-winter [1SW]."

Biologists distinguish according to the number of years the fish have been at sea, and when they re-enter the river. Speaking to younger or less experienced net fishers, they make the same distinctions; but older net-fishers see it differently as the Skipper at Paxton explained:

"Well I've always been taught from my father and my grandfathers that a grilse and a salmon is a different species. Scientists won't have that – scientists won't at all have it."

TH **"**And what is the difference?"

"These fish are running now, coming past us now as summer fish. It's June, and they're going upriver (…) the grilse has always been the summer run fish. They [biologists] maintain they're salmon. They'll always maintain they're salmon. But that's for certain reasons (...) I mean I had four grilse the other night and I showed the bailiffs and I says 'What are they?' 'Oh, they're grilse'."

TH "How are they different?"

"The head's small, they're sharper featured – they swim differently – they completely swim as a different species of a fish. I mean you can see in your summer fish: they [biologists] turn round and say 'There's no summer fish, they're spring fish until the 16th of June'. The biggest load of rubbish that ever was invented (…) When you've watched as many fish coming up a river on a ford as we've watched over the years, you can see everything."

Experienced net fishers read the distinct marks different fish make on the water surface as they swim:

"You could see some of the later spring fish coming in in April. They would be coming up our ford at North Bells as slow as slow – and then suddenly, out of the bottom of the stream you'd see this head of fish coming. The same head of fish is coming up here slow, and you'll see these other ones coming in just the beginning of May or the end of April, and they would just pass! This lot would just pass them *like they were on the motorway!* They was May salmon."

"What they [biologists] are trying to say was that they were spring salmon. They are not spring salmon. They are the summer salmon. They have a different form of swimming as what the spring salmon has."

At the time of interviewing, Paxton was netting commercially. The Skipper's frustration was in part because the classification of spring salmon by date had imposed catch-and-release until June. The restriction rests on the claim is that there are fewer MSW spring salmon returning

than in previous decades (though as previously discussed, this may be part of long-observed cyclical rhythms). But the distinction by date is a numerical generalisation that ignores the subtler picture. This Skipper sees grilse as distinct from spring salmon, and therefore fair game as soon as they appear, their numbers being demonstrably strong. By tradition, records from netting fisheries stretching back to the eighteenth century always distinguished between grilse and salmon in catch records, but recent representations produced by the RTC and TF blur that distinction by either conflating the two, or by only representing catches by date, divided into spring or autumn catch rates.

The disparity of taxonomies between grilse and salmon evidences diverse conceptions of what the fish are – different paradigms are applied, with biologists and the net-fishers classifying according to different factors. The netting knowledge includes nuanced observations of the fish themselves, the scientific knowledge employs a numerical rationale, but a power asymmetry gives authoritative weight to quantitative and scientific understandings, leading to real-world implications for the net-fishers' livelihoods.

It is beyond the scope of this discussion to make any claims about which understanding is most accurate, but it is clear which is afforded more authority. I argue it is also clear that both could be enhanced through dialogue with the other. Legitimacy conferred by claims of scientific rationality easily disqualifies the interpretation of net-fishers, even though they spent their days and nights watching and studying the movements of the fish, and their livelihoods have depended on the reliability of their understanding. The form of the knowledge they hold has rendered the net-fishers as a whole, vulnerable.

Counting and measuring

A scientific approach sets out to find, count and quantify in a structured and repeatable way in order to legitimise its findings, so that findings can be presented as 'evidence-based': a key phrase for policy-makers and regulators. That is why the scientific work of the TF is important to the work of the RTC. The research TF do offers legitimacy to the decisions of the RTC. However, it is much harder to present knowledge that can't so easily be measured and counted as 'evidence-based'. The Clerk to the RTC explained his realisation that presenting evidence scientifically would be key to the legitimacy of the fledgling TF in its early days. A biologist by training, he had been instrumental in defining TF's identity as the scientific arm of the RTC, and thus conferring scientific legitimacy on its decisions and recommendations. This, he said, was around 1988:

> "At that stage they didn't have any biological input. The Foundation had been going for a few years but it wasn't doing anything. They had money in the bank,

> but they didn't do much. [So we wrote a fisheries management plan] and the first thing we did was to appoint a biologist (…) and I remember very clearly going to the Chairman and I said, 'I want some money to appoint a biologist' and he said, 'Well what will a biologist do? [Laughs] Such was the understanding of biology. There was no understanding of science and biology (…) and now we've got quite a well-run river as a result of that."

An example illustrative of how quantitative methods generate data that goes on to inform regulatory decision-making was also given:

> "Of the spring fish, we know because we've got a – we had, and we are going to get again – a counter on the Ettrick, which is our main spring river, so we knew how many fish went up there to spawn. We can work out what the spawning area was and roughly how many adults we need to fill it with eggs, and we know that if we didn't have our 'no kill' policy up until the end of June in some years that spawning area wouldn't be full of fish (…) so the netsmen [fishing] (…) reduces the breeding stock and on those early running fish we just don't have enough fish that we can afford to kill."

In 2015 the Scottish Government introduced mandatory catch-and-release conservation measures to be reviewed in five years. These delay the salmon fishing season until April 1st (though nets can fish earlier for sea trout). The RTC seeks to extend this by imposing a local 'no kill' policy up until the end of June, a decision that impacts differently on rod and net fishers. The angling business model takes payment for the sport of the catch, and fish can be released afterwards (though not all fish survive the process), whereas net-fishers have no income if they can't remove fish from the water. The conservation rationale was expanded by the Senior Biologist at TF:

> "[Spring salmon] are weak in numbers. My estimate is probably 6-8,000 spring salmon come to the Tweed and something like 80-100,000 autumn salmon. Exploitation should always be in the strongest stocks and you should always minimise the exploitation in the weakest parts."

Similar principles have been applied on many Scottish rivers, with the result that almost all the rivers in Scotland are now devoid of nets, and some, such as the Dee, are 100% catch-and-release all year. The data collection methods and analysis shown above provide evidential support for catch-and-release measures in line with a conservation narrative that spring salmon are a fragile stock.

> "What we try and do is take management decisions for objective reasons rather than subjective ones, which means you've got to have your facts and you've got to know why you want to do something."
>
> Clerk to the RTC

The RTC has powers to regulate the Tweed, but is also subject to Scottish Government regulation regarding Scottish wild fisheries. As part of a consultation on proposals to introduce

a 'kill licence' (August 2015) the RTC submitted a response that puts a different complexion on Tweed salmon figures.

> The RTC DISAGREES that there has been a decline in status of stocks of Tweed Salmon. Based upon the suggested five-year rolling average of catches, there has been no decline on Tweed, that figure having been over 15,000 for many years now which is the largest spawning escapement Tweed has ever had; this is the largest annual five-year average catch by rod *of any river* in the North Atlantic, and 23,219 in 2010 is the largest total *ever recorded* anywhere.
>
> RTC response to Kill License, 2015 (original italics and capitals)

RTC also collect figures from the declared catches of anglers. One Skipper (who has worked as a netsman and a ghillie all his life) asserted his belief that different metrics were used to generate various data that present different narratives for alternative purposes. Angling beats are sold on the proposition of strong numbers and a likely high catch rate:

> "You see they write all these figures and catches, but the thing I canna understand with the rods, well they go catch-and-release (…) so a fish they catch at Horncliffe on the rod and its released, it's maybe gonna have a go at Norham, or Tilmouth or Coldstream – it might have five or six goes on it's way up where it's hooked and it's released – but it's the same salmon that's been caught five times. But they won't have it. That's counted in the numbers (…) So that's where they get their numbers from, which is false."

Bearing in mind the divergences between the traditional and the scientific epistemologies on the speciation of salmon and how to identify them, the differing effects on nets and rods of regulatory decisions, and the choices made in interpreting and enacting a conservation agenda by the RTC – then presentation of data becomes a critical issue. The graph below, from the RTC's Annual Report (2014) offers an illustration of this complexity. It shows the numbers of salmon and grilse caught by date between 1950 and 2000. At a glance it appears evident that spring fish (in grey) are now lower and therefore need the protection of restrictions. But the nature of such transcriptions (Latour, 1986) is that they can appear to be categorically 'true', but also blur the picture.

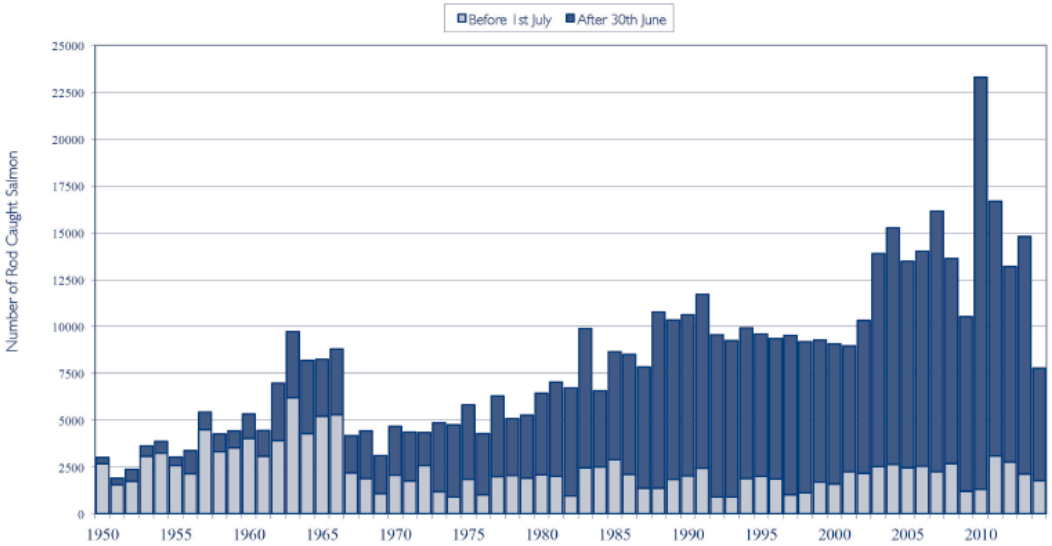

Figure 7.14 (Source: Salmon Rod Catches on Tweed 1950-2014: RTC Annual Report, Appendix VIII, 2014:18)

Two forms of partial representation can be seen. Firstly, the 1950s and 60s were an exceptional period on the Tweed when early fish were at an historic high. So, by choosing the dates represented, what was a return to fairly stable historic figures in the late 60s appears as a drop. Secondly, the graph shows simple dates of catch, but makes no distinction between the types of fish caught – thus blurring the figures between different 'stocks'. There is an implication here that all salmon entering the river before July are MSW fish, and any entering later are grilse (1SW). Although the figures collected do not distinguish between grilse and salmon, only the date of catch; and are counting catches from an increasing number of rod fisheries, the impression created is that a vulnerable stock of salmon are being preserved by conservation measures.

7.5.2 A plundered knowledge system?

The Slow knowledge of the nets is not credited with having scientific rationality, but nevertheless the net-fishers have provided valuable learning for the biologists of the TF, who have regularly used net-fishers as a source of information and netting stations for tagging and monitoring fish. The Senior Biologist had worked extensively with net fishers and admitted that from his perspective the preservation of some netting stations would be a valuable contribution to his conservation work.

> "Now, there is a sustainable number of nets for a river this size (…) I would have said what we had until 2000 which was about six big ones (...) From my point of view, in terms of getting data, it's immensely valuable to have netting stations."

Alongside the embodied knowledge of the net-fishers, the continuity of Berwick's netting industry has provided valuable data for TF calculations, with BSFCo salmon and grilse catches

recorded since the 19th century, and Sandstell (in the estuary at Berwick) having records as old as 1736. While this is 'tangible' quantitative data, the most significant source of nuanced understanding comes from the net-fishers themselves, but this is 'intangible' and rarely acknowledged. For example, the doctoral thesis quoted earlier (Gauld 2014) thanks the net-fishers for their help in the acknowledgements, but does not cite them as expert sources in the body of the work.

Distinctions made by net-fishers are not credited by scientists, but recent research is starting to reveal nuances that support the nets' view that there are multiple stocks within the Tweed beyond the simple spring/autumn 1SW/MSW distinctions. The differentiations are more complex, encompassing factors including when they return, how they swim and behave, their physical appearance, the properties of their flesh, where they feed out at sea, and where they go to spawn.

The Skipper at Whitesands (closed in 2000) told a story of when TF biologists came to his netting station tagging fish to see how many went upriver. Whitesands is on the edge of Berwick town upstream from the railway bridge, the Whiteadder is a small tributary that joins the Tweed, a couple of miles upstream from Berwick.

> "…and they had radio tagged eleven salmon, and there was only three of those salmon they could find in the Tweed. So a few weeks went past and they came, and asked the question 'Could these salmon go back to sea?' (…) And I says 'Have you been up the Whiteadder?' 'Well no' he says, 'because they're Tweed salmon' (…) So I said where to go on the Whitadder – we shouldn't have known that, like – but we did (…) so off he went. And probably half an hour before we finished here he comes walking down the field again and he says 'Thank you very much George.' I says, 'Aye. How many have you got?' 'I've got Seven.' I says 'there you go - are they Tweed salmon or are they Whiteadder salmon?' He says 'I don't honestly know'."

This skippers lifelong experience on the river meant he could recognise when an incoming salmon might be heading to one of many possible spawning grounds, in this case, up the Whiteadder. This story is significant on two counts. The first is demonstrated by a genetic study to identify distinct breeding populations within the Tweed:

> …based on the microsatellites[30], the most distinct site was the Whiteadder (…) It is a spring running system but does not appear more closely related to other spring running systems (i.e. the Ettrick and the Yarrow) than to other sites in the catchment. This would suggest that the re-colonisation [due to the removal of physical barriers/weirs] of the Whiteadder is unlikely to have been primarily from Ettrick or Yarrow fish.
>
> (Coulson et al 2013:17)

The finding acknowledges that Whiteadder fish are genetically distinct. When compared to the netsman's explanation, it is clear that this finding only confirms what was already known within the netting epistemology:

> "There used to be a netting station on the Whiteadder. They netted there, conditions being right, for the first three weeks of the season, which was two weeks in February and a week in March. They could take as many fish out of the Whiteadder as they could out of the Tweed. You see, if they're born up the Whiteadder, they go back to the Whiteadder."

The second reason why this is a significant story is that it was made very clear that the only reason this Skipper shared his knowledge at all was because he was asked by a young assistant-biologist working with the TF. Otherwise he would not have said anything because "The head guy, he's a bit pompous and that" and "he's only arrived, but he's gonna tell us all these things…"

The story demonstrates a significant barrier to shared knowledge that comes with lack of convivial skills and a set of assumptions that invalidates indigenous knowledge in favour of a superior 'scientific' truth. This netsman was abundantly aware that the credit for this 'discovery' has been claimed by the biologists that 'discovered' it – eliding the knowledge of the net-fishers. This story is only one of many examples I was given, where the knowledge gathered by biologists was invisibly grounded in the 'intangible' knowledges of the netting epistemology. It informs my argument that there are benefits to be found in nurturing a Slow 'convivial science' in place of a 'fast science' that takes knowledge without recognising its sources.

7.6 Stewarding the river

To go by written records alone, the nets have been fishing the Tweed for a thousand years. If one extrapolates from archaeological evidence, the knowledge may be as old as the river itself. There is evidence of the area having been inhabited since the Tweed was formed at the end of

[30] Form of genotyping identifying notable mutations in repetitive DNA sequences

the Ice Age (Boomer et al, 2007; Ballin et al, 2010; Ward and Saville, 2010) and also that those early peoples both affected and managed their environments (e.g. Davis and Passmore 3013; Bishop et al 2015; Ruddiman, 2003). In any case, if netting practices were a threat to salmon conservation, the nets and the salmon would have disappeared long ago. The evident continuity of their presence on the Tweed can be seen as demonstrable evidence of their sustainability. To go a step further, one can argue that an ecosystem inhabited by both salmon and humans over such stretches of time can be considered as co-evolved, and what is co-evolved is likely to be mutually adapted. So, far from considering the Tweed as a 'natural' habitat under recent anthropogenic threat from humankind, it is more rational to consider it as a habitat formed in synchrony with human activity from the earliest times. In removing one element of that ecosystem (i.e. the net fishers), the balance of that habitat would then be disrupted.

Salmon numbers have stayed strong on the Tweed compared to Scottish rivers where the nets have been earlier and more completely removed. Many constituent elements will play a part in such observed phenomena, including positive management from regulatory and research bodies like the RTC, TF and Tweed Forum. Net-fishers believe they too have played a part. It was regularly noted by them that when nets are removed salmon do not increase, and they often decline. Several voices are quoted below:

> "So does that tell you the question? They want everybody off. They've taken the Dee, they've taken the Tay – they've taken all the nets offa them. Has it improved them? NO. In fact it's worse. It's worse than when the nets was on. It's worse in that they [rods] don't seem to catch as many fish as what they caught when the nets was on."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

> "Well I think the Tweed Foundation and that is a bloody con trick, me (…) I don't think they are enhancing the salmon stocks (…) That's happening throughout Scotland now, this catch-and-return. Well it's not making hundreds of thousands more salmon, or tens of thousands, it's not making dozens more salmon to be honest with you."
>
> George Mole, retired Skipper

> "I've seen two sides of it: working the netting stations, then on to the ghillying [taking anglers out in boats to fish]. They've got rid of the netting stations and the salmon's declining – so it's not the netting stations, is it? I've seen so many fish killed where anglers canna tell the difference between spring fish, black fish and kelts killed and thrown away (…) It's all down to money and politics. It's not about the salmon welfare or the locals, or about the river ecosystem or the local community or the local economy."
>
> Fourth generation netsman (quoted in Jarvis and Holland 2016:8)

> "We had to look after the salmon, 'cause if we didn't there'd be no salmon for the future."
>
> Ex-netsman, Halliwell fishery, 2015 (ibid)

> "As a rule the nets always caught the lower grade smaller fish because the larger fish will generally run in bigger waters, past in one go (…) and it's the larger fish that breed best."
>
> Proprietor, Goswick fishery, 2015 (ibid)

These views come from net fishers who have been brought up in the tradition, worked their whole lives on the river, and learnt the knowledge and the craft in the way its always been handed down. Their way of seeing starkly contrasts to how biologists see it,

> "So what is happening is that the rods are conserving spring salmon with 100% catch-and-release, and the netsmen are exploiting them."
>
> TF Senior Biologist

Balance and accommodation

The net-fishers do not make any claim that any particular action of theirs preserves the salmon, but yet they believe their own fate and the salmons' to be somehow enmeshed. Below I draw some threads together of ways in which their practices could be generating such an effect. Stewarding practices of netting stations include 'ground-keeping', deterring predators, removing weaker fish from the system, and monitoring changing conditions. When the banks of the Tweed were lined with working fisheries, the cumulative effect on the river's lower reaches would have significantly modified the environment. Those conditions no longer exist. Nevertheless it is relevant to the story of the chapter to consider possible contributions their time-served practices made, and to consider what is lost with their removal.

Every fishery carried-out general up-keep work to enhance the efficacy of their own work and accommodate the salmon. These measures were adaptively adjusted to seasonal conditions (which can vary widely from year to year). Examples given show how this unrecognised role could arguably benefit the whole river system, while incurring no financial cost to bodies that manage and regulate the river.

> "Grund-mending basically means maintenance on the banks or weeds, (…) building the landings (the spates during the winter washed things out) and restoring that sort of thing. Keeping willows cut back: you would cut the weeds and that, but you would manage the weeds so they would try and benefit you. West Ford for example had a caul – I'm not sure if you know what I mean by a caul – like a weir. We would manage the caul: so we would let holes away in it, basically to let more water go, or less water go, just depending on how you wanted it. But you would look after that caul when the opportunity came."
>
> Ex-netsman, West Ford fishery

Physical work conditioning the river was performed annually and throughout the season. Some banks would be maintained weed-free, but overhanging weeds were encouraged on others to provide shade and harbour flies that feed the salmon and smolts. The landings and batts (raised banks within the river) would be built up in favour of the nets, and to direct the water ensuring clear channels for the fish. Cauls or weirs would be adjusted according the season and the height of the water: in low waters these can be points of obstruction, particularly for little smolts as they journey down to the sea (Gauld, 2014). Lies (sheltered spots in the flow of water where the salmon can rest on their journey upstream) were also monitored and maintained by the net fishers. At the start of every season the riverbed at each station would be cleared of debris that accumulated over the closed season, levelled, and kept free-running by the nets as they swept across the riverbed.

Beyond this physical work the nets were also monitoring and collecting important seasonal information. Those fisheries in the tidal reaches could see the smolts as they came downstream in April and May, gathering in shoals, as they acclimatised to the salt.

> "When they hit the tidal reaches they stop. There's a pause because they've got to get used to the sea water so you get a few tides coming in and ebbing out before you get them leaving to go out. That's the benefit when you're in the tidal reaches, you get a better idea what there was because they didn't just come down sailing past you and past the pier end (…) It's interesting for us because the more that jumps, the bigger percentage you've got to come back."
>
> Retired Skipper, Whitesands fishery

Observations like these, which monitor variation and potentially flag up early warning of change, are lost without the nets.

Net-fishers place great emphasis on the role they played in discouraging what they call 'vermin', which includes birds that prey on the smolts, and seals that prey on the adults. Use of the emotive term 'vermin' does not indicate a desire to eradicate them however, only to deter them, or limit the numbers and maintain a balance within the river. That balance applies as much to the salmon themselves as to the creatures that prey on them. I was told of years when

high salmon numbers meant fungal disease spread amongst them, and that more salmon coming in doesn't necessarily lead to more smolts going out, because late-running fish will dig up the eggs of earlier spawners to lay their own.

> The salmon's a beautiful thing and that – but you caught it to eat it – and to *control* it as well. It's like everything else – if you ban it all, you're gonna end up with problems."
>
> George Mole, retired Skipper

Whilst net fishers recognise that 'vermin' can have a destructive impact on salmon numbers, they also display a measure of humanity and respect for their place within the ecosystem, recognising that netting practices have been intrinsically entwined with sustaining the salmon population:

> "I mean, I like to see nature. In fact there's nobody studied nature more than I do, and I love the otters, and I don't mind seals in the right number. I don't mind goosanders and cormorants in the right number – but to let them have a free range (...) that was alright when we got (…) half a crown a head [from the BSFCo], we kept them down. And my grandfather knew how dangerous they were."
>
> [Unless goosanders and cormorants are controlled] they can say bye-bye to their fishing industry in fifty years time – for all their rods that they've paid their hundred thousands for – because they'll no have anything to sell, because there will be no salmon there to kill."
>
> Skipper, Paxton fishery

Goosanders and cormorants both prey on the juvenile smolts as they start their journey down towards the sea. Experienced net-fishers gave high importance to this issue, describing how young salmon smolts are predated when they gather at the river mouth to acclimatise to salt water. Formerly the presence of the net-fishers deterred and broke up the flocks of birds long enough to allow the smolts through:

> "…and the cormorants was all the way across on the river when the smolts was coming down in April, May. They used to hove in every morning, and they spaced themselves (I mean seeing is believing), and – up doon, up doon, they fished it. And the herons was standing on the side, for when the smolt bolted into the side the herons had it."
>
> "They're bad to shoot [cormorants] (…) by the time you had banged one you had no chance of banging another one – but that kept the numbers controlled."
>
> Retired Skipper, Whitesands fishery

Seals too predate the salmon, and in the Tweed they come from the Farne Islands.

> "[at Gardi] you were plagued with two large seals for most of the two seasons I was there (…) They would sit behind the net and they would wait until something came

> in – so if you seen them go down you would know you probably had something in the net – and then you feel them pulling against it and they'd take whole fish away from you, or just half fish (in which case that fish is knackered)."
>
> Netsman, Paxton and Gardo fisheries

Interestingly, this netsman was clear that these were two particular seals that had learned to raid their nets, so his comments were focussed on individuals rather than a complaint against seals in general. All the net-fishers I spoke to did the same, demonstrating a respect for non-human actors as having their own knowledge and legitimacy within the river. The pragmatic demands of catching salmon sit alongside a way of belonging within the river's lifeworld that, I argue, demonstrates the autochthonous learning of this culture.

The combined acts of 'grund-mending', monitoring seasonal conditions, deterring predators, winnowing out of the weaker fish to sustain the vigour of the general population, and holding and updating a complex knowledge base, are services the nets have provided to the river at no economic cost to any state-endorsed management system. Although entirely un-acknowledged, these services benefit angling interests equally – alongside providing the rods with a body of hugely knowledgeable ghillies and boatmen to mentor the anglers that visit from afar with no local knowledge of the river.

The sum of understanding of the Tweed ecosystem could theoretically be increased by conceiving both scientific and the autochthonous knowledges systems as complementary rather than conflictual, and by using convivial skills to reveal the hidden continuities between these systems and test one against the other, rather than continuously retracing and reinforcing the boundaries.

7.7 Can regulation be responsive?

Policy-makers reasonably require 'evidence-based' submissions on which to base their decisions but, while some types of knowledge easily support such processes, others are labelled 'intangible' and struggle to fit the paradigm. This chapter has illustrated some of the key clashes of understanding that underlie difficulties traditional net-fishers have encountered in getting their expertise (and their rights) recognised by state regulators. I suggest that, in removing the nets as a rich source of autochthonous understanding and a co-evolved participant in the Tweed's ecology, knowledges that could contribute towards the sustainable management of the river are lost.

The way the net-fishers Slow knowledges are held embeds them in an entirely different ontological and epistemological system from those with a background in academia or the

natural sciences. It was not unusual to hear tell how those who anticipated working on the nets either skipped school to be at the river, or left very early – sometimes without even learning to read.

> From as young as I can remember I was up at Halliwell netting station in the holidays, and then I stopped going to school to go up there, 'cause I found it more fun than going to school. Plus I was learning something.
>
> The [Halliwell] nets got bought out in '86 when I was sixteen, so that was my right gone – well it gets handed doon, that's how the fishing works, isn't it? (…) it's something I was meant to do in life, that's what I feel.
>
> Ex-netsman, Halliwell [31]

Such crafted knowledges are organised bodies of thought, based on both inherited and immediate experience that evolve to absorb new understandings. However it is not a monolithic knowledge: net fishers did not always agree with one-another, they made no claims to know all there is to know, and would happily absorb scientific findings that stood up to their own empirical testing.

It appears that few channels exist to allow for a mutually respectful exchange of knowledges. Social factors that framed the net-fishers' living and learning means they are often not people who engage naturally with lengthy written reports, or self-identify to attend government consultation meetings. Additionally, they have worked in a system that alienated them from the controlling rights that provided their livelihoods, and those stations that survive are more precarious than ever. As a result, there is a strong sense of an injustice having being perpetrated against them and the river, and also of powerlessness to challenge dominating forces.

A universalising scientific perspective can cast local knowledge as non-knowledge (Nygren, 1999) or plunder it for unacknowledged insights. Local knowledge is rarely integrated it into assessment exercises or acknowledged in briefings and summaries provided to policy-makers (Sutherland, 2013; Sutherland et al, 2013).

[31] Interviewed as part of NISR story-telling booth project.

> Local and traditional knowledge can provide complementary perspectives, borne from long periods of shared observation and experimentation that are often lacking in conventional scientific knowledge. The latter commonly depends on sets of observations or experiments conducted over relatively short time-scales by groups of people disconnected from the environmental context.
>
> Sutherland et al, 2013:1

Sutherland et al (2013) suggest important steps towards changing this include first, acknowledging there are different types of knowledges. Then it is important to distinguish information (that can be tested in some way) from values (relating to preferences for particular outcomes or actions), from the cognitive frameworks that people use to understand the world. Secondly, they suggest that information from differing knowledge systems should be collected and collated, and finally, these findings need to be "combined in a transparent and defendable manner to support joint decision-making" (Sutherland et al, 2013:2). There would be many challenges attached to realising such a process, particularly in ensuring fair participation and representation from various stakeholder groups, but it would at least record and acknowledge the information sources. However, information is one thing, and knowledge is another. In embodied knowledge systems such as the nets, knowledges cannot subsist within nuggets of information – they must be practiced to be sustained. In order that the validity of such knowledges be acknowledged what is required is not a single approach or specific discrete actions – but an emphasis on growing contextual understanding and knowledge that can persist and be passed on – and that requires a shift in values, one I propose that Slow thinking can address.

7.8 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has identified how conflicts of knowing can exist and be entangled within conflicts of interest and disparities of power. By identifying the existence of Slow and crafted knowledge systems, I argue, it becomes possible to see these contentious areas in terms of hidden continuities, offering the possibility of opening alternative framings that could allow common interest to subvert polarised divisions.

It can be argued that the case of the Tweed can be couched within what Apostolopoulou and Adams (2014) call a "neoliberal conservation agenda" (2014:16) or 'green-grabbing'. In these cases environmental arguments are used to expropriate resources or land as part of the marketisation of nature, where non market-based forms of conservation are progressively excluded from the dominant discourse. Property rights to environmental phenomena that were once communally owned, unowned or state-owned (Castree 2008a) are privately reassigned, in

a process aligned to the concept of 'ecosystem services' (Norgaard 2010) where 'nature' is constructed as service provider and 'value' is monetised (see also DEFRA 2011). On the Tweed, the rights to fish have always been privately owned, but the knowledges of *how* to fish have been communally held within cultural structures that were integral to local socialities and economies.

This chapter argues for the importance of employing Slow thinking to place value on the virtues of sustaining what is already working, and what is important culturally and socially as much as economically. It argues that so-called scientific principles of keeping an open mind, testing your evidence and taking risks (Latour in Stengers 1997) apply equally outside scientific practice (sometimes more so than within it), and that the progression of scientific environmental knowledge could be greatly enhanced by incorporating convivial skills, and by taking as its starting point the knowledge of indigenous understandings, to test it, to grow contextual understanding and to share knowledge that can persist and be passed on.

It is hard to make any grand claims about concrete research outcomes in this extremely complicated context, but some small outcomes are clear. The Harbour Commission decided to resist pressure to sell their netting rights to the RTC, allowing fishing to continue at Gardo, and a line of communication was established between Berwick nets and Scottish regulators that had not previously existed. On the other hand, very little impact was made in the seemingly intractable rivalry between 'rods' and 'nets' that paints net-fishers as a threat to salmon conservation. As long as the rights to fish in Tweed netting stations are held intentionally dormant, and if the situation is not challenged in the near future, it appears unlikely that the nets will ever now be more than a small 'heritage' event.

Chapter 8 will build on the preceding three chapters, drawing on findings from fieldwork to discuss how UK groups endeavour to reconcile the difficulties of interpreting and integrating the intangibilities of Cittaslow's broad philosophical perspective, and questioning the degree to which differing knowledge systems can influence or work together and grow new knowledges.

Chapter 8. Interpreting the Intangible

This chapter admits the difficulty of finding ways to acknowledge intangibilities, and questions the degree to which differing knowledge systems can find accommodations to influence one another. It draws on previous chapters and findings from fieldwork to explore how issues of categorisation can obscure hidden continuities.

The first part offers reflections showing how circumstances presented from within Cittaslow, from Mold and from Berwick (Chapters 5, 6 and 7), act as diverse examples where 'conflicts of knowing' can be identified. The second part comes full-circle, reflecting a thought process that has not been easily condensed into a linear format, and drawing in empirical material collected throughout the project to aid contemplation of the broader themes of the thesis.

8.1 Thinking about knowledges

This thesis offers a new understanding of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges. Slow and crafted knowledges are not predicated on advancing a single approach or specific discrete actions in order to attain outcomes – but upon growing contextual understanding and knowledge that can persist and be passed on through convivial, human communication. The thesis suggests that they are held not as units of information, but are acquired and held through experiential practice, and carried equally within the mind and the body. As a result they are hard to measure, quantify and evaluate in 'fast' terms and are often not recognised as knowledge systems at all, meaning they can be easily obscured by the power differentials inherent in dominant and particularly 'fast' ways of knowing that are increasingly integrated into regulatory institutions. People who work within Slow and crafted knowledge systems then find that expertise they hold is not afforded due authority: it takes a convivial awareness and acceptance of diverse knowledge systems to afford their expertise due status. This interpretation provides a novel conceptualisation to research methodologies, to Cittaslow as an organisation, and to scholarly literature on the subject.

The study of the market in Chapter 6 provides an example of a knowledge system being ignored, largely because it is not considered a knowledge system at all. Mold street-market is embedded in a long-established ecosystem of local markets, which are recreated anew each day in a different town, producing a liminal identity that is not territorially fixed. It is seen, therefore, as something that happens *in* Mold, but that is not *of* Mold. So – although the market as an entity transforms the town, is hugely important to the economy of the town, and is acknowledged as its biggest 'destination' – the market traders as individuals are perceived as not local, not interested in Mold, and not appealing to an aspirational vision. As a result, the

traders feel themselves to be socially stigmatised, and the market is not afforded a fully supportive regulatory environment, even though it provides particular convivial services, especially to less privileged local residents.

The study of the river in Chapter 7 provides an example of a knowledge system that has become disqualified. The Tweed netting knowledges are embedded in long-established and embodied understandings of a specific ecosystem, and have played a historical part in stewarding and sustaining that ecosystem. The expertise of the net-fishers, however, is characterised as anecdotal or intangible, whilst simultaneously insights from their epistemology are taken to generate scientific 'discoveries'. The nets are profoundly *of* the Tweed, but the river does not conform to regional and national borders, so it is not *in* any single bounded jurisdiction, leaving the nets in a liminal limbo. The importance of the knowledges held by the nets has been identified by 'fast' business as a point of vulnerability – the heart of a body of long-established livelihoods that were part of the culture and identity of the Tweed – but which could not survive without being passed on through practice. As a result the net-fishers feel their expertise is dismissed, and that they have been disinherited from their rights by a hostile regulatory environment.

Reflection

In researching these two contexts I encountered strong emotions, anger and polarised thinking. To an extent, that intensity is reflected in the accounts contained in Chapters 6 and 7, but at times I have found it difficult to know how to position myself, and how to represent the various perspectives in a way that honours the strength of feeling I saw but does not dismiss alternative interpretations. I am not sure I have always successfully navigated these dilemmas, but suspect those very difficulties are an indication of the power of the research framing. The issues identified were of great importance to those affected, and feelings run very high when people feel their livelihood, identity, and capacity to understand are being questioned. The non-acknowledgement of their knowledges was experienced as conflict.

There is evidence to suggest Cittaslow too can be seen as a site where a conflict of knowing compromises its ability to sustain itself within local authority frameworks. Chapter 5 shows how members of Cittaslow identified various obstacles and constraints as causing difficulties for them in sustaining local membership: broadly speaking these centred around structural and financial restrictions inherent within UK local government. However there is another area where difficulties arise that can influence how these apparently concrete limitations play out. It

concerns the arguably liminal character of Cittaslow itself: the foreignness, breadth and philosophical nature of its identity make it hard to pin down and justify within local government evaluations of worth and value.

In developing the fieldwork process, I took a bearing (as with a compass) from Slow philosophy and from local Cittaslow groups. The importance placed by Cittaslow philosophy on the unique character, skills, and traditions of place directed attention onto the crafted aspects of Slow knowledges. Local Cittaslow groups helped to focus the research onto particular studies of the market and the river. In each case they recognised that the identified 'communities' were important to their towns' local identities, heritage and economies, however they had not seen the issue in terms of knowledges. I argue that by contributing this conceptualisation to Cittaslow, it could help local groups in their often-mentioned struggle to 'translate' Cittaslow into something that is meaningful to local people.

8.2 Communities, boundaries and borders

Sennett's distinction between hard ('fast') impermeable boundaries and soft (Slow) porous borders is discussed in Chapter 2. It allows an analysis that draws attention to where hidden continuities subvert bounded categories to admit blurring and hybridity. Sarah Pink has written extensively on Cittaslow, and argues (2008) that the study of Cittaslow demands a rethink of how activism and community are conceived. She proposes the term 'socialities' instead of 'communities', suggesting that in Cittaslow towns the socialities that produce action develop around actual activities, senses, belonging and connectedness: they are differently constituted, and therefore 'community' is not a useful category in making an analysis of Cittaslow.

I wholeheartedly agree with the assertion that the term and the conception of 'community' is not a useful category in the study of Cittaslow (see also chapter 6), and add that neither is it a useful category in the study of Slow and crafted knowledges. Boundaries around such categories might seem self-evident at first glance yet, when up-close they blur, revealing multiple social differentiations (also perceived by local actors talking of themselves and each other in terms of division or difference). So I argue that the creation of such bounded categories is antithetical to revealing the hidden continuities that subsist within social dynamics.

This holds true, even though Cittaslow representatives themselves when describing their local socialities frequently use the term 'community', particularly when seeking to convey a convivial quality. It is an easy conversational shorthand to reach for, but fails to convince when subjected to analytical scrutiny that questions either its nature as a category of

collectivity, or the source of its agency to connect, protect or resist (Pink 2008; Amit and Rapport, 2002; 2012).

8.2.1 Visible edges, hidden continuities and liminal territories

As Richard Sennett (2012a) observed: when thinking about and designing our spaces – conceptual as well as physical – far from seeking mechanisms to strengthen communities (in other words, strengthen boundaries) we should be finding ways to blur such divisions. In paying attention to 'the market' and 'the nets' it quickly becomes clear that these are entities that have deeply complex identities. I argue, therefore, that the market-traders and the net-fishers are not, and should not be described as, 'communities'. In part this speaks of what makes them vulnerable, because they are not bounded homogeneous groups that could, for example, be easily unionised. To be sure, they are bodies of people with knowledges and practices in common; the enactment of their livelihoods relies on the mutual sharing and testing of knowledge; and the services they provide (convivial, environmental, economic) emerge from the synergy of many coming together, providing a kind of symbiotically energised event. On the other hand, though, in talking to market-traders and net-fishers, it is clear they are extremely diverse people with multifaceted identities who do not conceive of themselves as discrete communities.

Many similarities are identifiable between the apparently disparate contexts of market and river. As individuals they are (or were, in the case of the nets) in competition with fellow practitioners. In both cases they work in seasonal rhythms incorporating other trades and livings into their work patterns.

Temporality is central. The market and the nets both represent autochthonous knowledge systems that have survived over centuries and generations. These ways of working and knowing are not fixed, but responsive to shifting conditions – making them at once strong and vulnerable. The strengths of their Slow and crafted knowledge lies in its ability to be held and passed-on, whilst adapting to the cyclical rhythms and fluctuations inherent in each trade. Weaknesses are revealed when the knowledges are subject to unnaturally protracted breaks that disrupt the embodied practices within which the knowledges are held. Market-traders' livelihoods were shown to be vulnerable to a break in their trade-cycles, because once their customers' shopping habits become disrupted they are unlikely to return: "It doesn't take much time to disappear". Net fishers' way of life was equally vulnerable to a break in the continuity of their practice, because once the chain of enacted knowledge is broken the skill is lost: "…once that knowledge has died out it would be hard to start it up again." These Slow ways of

knowing and working are dependent on continuity of practice, rather than theoretically encoded knowledge.

In a 'fast' world, the navigated versatile experiential forms of expertise that have allowed them to survive so long are not only vulnerable to temporal disruption, they become disqualified as anecdotal, intangible and insufficiently encoded in quantifiably linear progressions. The people and their knowledges become un-authorised (that is, having no legitimate authority) and therefore low status.

The geographies in both cases are liminal. The working spaces of market-traders and net-fishers disrupt the accepted mapping of categorised divisions within which regulatory and institutional bodies operate: their work-spaces exist as navigated hidden continuities that lie beneath and around such bounded conceptions. The market is an entity in motion, cyclically broken down and reformed in a different town every day, not anchored to a single territory, yet constant in its regular and reliable reappearance. It falls outside of the responsibility of any particular local authority. The nets are defined by the river, a continuous fluid phenomenon made of almost inconceivably complex interrelationships between organisms, material properties, elemental forces, ownerships and interests. However, net-fishers are uniquely disenfranchised by the Tweed's constructed identity as a boundary between Scotland and England. Its body lies in Scotland and it is regulated as a Scottish river, yet the part where the nets survive is a vestigial adjunct in England, leaving its mouth silenced and net-fishers with no formalised representation.

To define these two groups of practitioners as 'communities', I suggest, sets up a way of seeing that allows them to be represented as homogeneous 'purified' (as Latour would say) units. As a result, the motivations and knowledges of such groups can be presented as other than, and less legitimate than, dominant discourses, undermining their rights to be protected.

> "The netsmen weren't really interested. All they were interested in was killing fish."
>
> Clerk to the RTC

> "…when you listen to traders (…) what they are looking for is to make money (…) That's the reason why they come. It's not out of loyalty to Mold."
>
> Town Centre Manager

In these cases, the characterisation of net-fishers as only interested in killing fish and market-traders as only interested in making money, facilitated interpretations that allowed the subtlety of their expertises to be dismissed. The 'fast' characterisation that paints them as purely

extractive – thinking only about what they take and not what they give – can also be seen in the struggle Cittaslow groups have within town councils when the nub of discussions is reduced to questions about what they get back in return for their fees to Cittaslow International.

Insights from fieldwork indicate that Slow and crafted thinking are useful aids in identifying the presence of knowledge systems where they are not otherwise visible, and in affording credit to the contribution they make to local socialities. The fluid and liminal entities of the market and the net-fishers, to an extent, reflect ambiguities within the identity of Cittaslow itself.

8.3 Translating Cittaslow

Various interpretations of the term 'translation' are used here to reflect on aspects of Cittaslow's identity that local groups struggle with: translating a broad philosophy into something that can be measurably visible, comprehensible, and valuable to town councils and residents. This leads on to considerations of how Cittaslow could use its agency to make a difference, and whether Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges can add utility to the vision (a discussion that is further consolidated in Chapter 9).

Those who champion Cittaslow in the UK value its non-party-political, non-instrumental, non-'activist;' non-didactic, non-invasive, identity. People speak of how they are drawn to its gentle malleability that does not impose a template of linear steps, but rather seeks movement and accommodation (in ways that are defined by local circumstances) towards a set of principles. Whilst these fluid qualities make Cittaslow attractive to some, they also give it an intangible, impalpable, infinitely diverse and fugitive quality that is hard to 'quantify' in the hard/'fast' terms demanded by governance environments, and to convey as 'sound bite' meaning to local residents. To return to the image of navigation: one might use a compass to navigate a course that discovers spectacular new lands, but it is unlikely that the resulting headlines would be about the tool that was used in the process, even if nothing would have been achieved without it. This is the problem facing Cittaslow.

8.3.1 Translating Cittaslow: awareness and visibility

> "…and an awful lot of people know the name Cittaslow. They might not know exactly what Cittaslow does, and to a certain extent I don't broadcast that it's £1500 a year, because if people turn round and say – 'Well what do you get for it?' – Andrea [Mold board member] is very good at answering that, I can't answer it in the same way. It's not tangible for me." [2013]
>
> Margaret Shaw, Berwick Cittaslow and UK board member

As indicated in the quote above, of the UK towns, Mold has been the most successful at integrating and sustaining Cittaslow within the council. Leaders of the Cittaslow group work hard to raise its profile and activities to local councillors, and across a range of actors within the town.

> "So much happens around the town that is never publicised. Every month they [Mold Town Council] get a report itemising everything that's done and applied for." *

Andrea Mearns, Cittaslow Mold and UK board member

The range of voices below illustrate that there is a good level of awareness and understanding of Cittaslow amongst key local government and town actors in Mold, but also that levels of awareness and understanding become dissipated amongst the broader population.

> "I think it's quite engrained into the town council in terms of the thinking [but] Cittaslow as a movement, or as an organisation and a network, I've never quite got my handle on just what it is (…) When somebody says to me 'What is Cittaslow?' then you can't say, 'Well it's a big long list of objectives'··· Well you can, but then they glaze over."

Town Centre Manager, Mold

> "It's setting an aspiration for a place that's about a different way of living (…) an emphasis on quality rather than commerciality. Better sense of place, better place management, better place design so they function better as places where you want to stop, linger, spend a bit of time."
>
> "It's also embodying the core principles of sustainable development in terms of trying to make a better balance between the needs of the economy, the needs of society and the needs of the environment."

Economic Development Manager, Flintshire County Council

> "Well, it's a concept that's come from Italy. The two words are 'city' and 'slow'. I think it's to do with a sense of place: appreciating what makes the place special. It's about communities, and maybe communities taking responsibility for shaping the kind of spaces that they want to live in. Erm··· the slow bit, I think, refers to – if we're whizzing by and we're so busy, busy, busy – we maybe fail to get our priorities right, and if you slow down and look and appreciate what we have··· and make the most of it. And I think probably also inherent in the concept is a wish to share: to take pride in what we've got and to welcome people in."

Community Librarian, Mold

> "The problem with me is that I'm curious. I could suggest changes, but actually I think this is working (…) Lots of people have this query about what Cittaslow is, but maybe we could throw it back and say, 'What would you like it to be?'" *

Community Chair, Cittaslow Mold

Where Cittaslow is given a chance to mature and embed itself, it appears that amongst key local actors there can be understanding of its value as a 'tool' to navigate and accommodate. This is visible in phrases like "setting an aspiration", "trying to make a better balance", and expressing "a wish to share". Other phrases such as "taking responsibility for shaping the kind of spaces that they want to live in" or asking "What would you like it to be?" demonstrate awareness of how the possibilities Cittaslow offers require an active engagement with making contextualised interpretations in order to translate its 'intangibilities'. These indicate an understanding that building and sharing knowledge requires time and sensitivity to the cadences and rhythms of local life, rather than quick sound-bite definitions.

I asked FCC's Economic Development Manager if he thought the Cittaslow ethos was inclusive of all residents:

> "Yes and no, I suppose. The 'no' side, the cynical side of me, is always a bit worried that it's a bit of a middle-class idyll, and actually the wider community doesn't feel part of that and it has no resonance for them. And I suspect, to some extent, for some of those goals, that's probably true (…) On the 'yes' side though, I think it is very relevant to everybody in the community – and I suspect that people in the community are to different extents engaged in different bits of it, but may or may not be aware of it: may or may not be aware of Cittaslow."

Understandings of what Cittaslow is, become less fully defined when one speaks to a broader cross-section of town residents, but it does not follow that its worth is necessarily seen as devalued. One day during my stay in Mold, my voice recorder broke down and I took it into a local company. The engineer asked what I was using it for, and when I explained my interest in Cittaslow she replied:

> "Oh yes, that's great! My neighbour is involved in all that. I couldn't really say what it's all about, but I'm broadly supportive."

On the street-market most stallholders didn't know what it was, though some had a loose awareness of its existence:

> "Cittaslow? Yes, I know them. They have a gazebo and they give out leaflets – that's all I know. I usually do this on my own, so I don't have time to find out who they all are." *
>
> Stallholder, women's clothing

The Town Centre Manager gave an assessment of the levels of awareness that he perceived in Mold:

> "If you were to try and tot up the numbers of individuals in this town that actually engaged in Cittaslow activity, I'd be surprised if more than 10% knew about it, I'd

> think that less than 5% were positively engaged, and probably less than 1% were activists."

Questions are raised by this discussion around the importance of how Cittaslow is understood, both within local government and across town residents. Some nuanced engagement is necessary amongst key decision-makers if its goals are to influence local policy, and that cannot be taken for granted (as will be discussed below in relation to other Cittaslow towns). What seems to be more significant than a high public profile, though, is a positive one, as seen in comments like: "Oh yes, that's great! (…) I couldn't really say what it's all about, but I'm broadly supportive." Without that there is a risk that councils could be accused of wasting tax-payers' money, but beyond that, a detailed comprehension of its goals and mechanics need not dominate. Findings suggest that it is actively counterproductive to couch Cittaslow's worth in measuring discrete steps and actions, because they invite benchmarked judgements, and (as the Mayor of Borger-Odoorn observed, see chapter 5) "Cittaslow is not goal-based, but direction-based. If you are strict it doesn't work", adding his insight that people push against it as soon as it becomes goal-based. Multiple acts of translation and interpretation take place on an individual baisis, so Cittaslow's worth may then lie in offering values that can be dovetailed into local narratives.

8.3.2 Translating Cittaslow: issues of language

Tensions within the whole Cittaslow model are paralleled within the incongruous linguistic union of its name. To connect with local narratives, Cittaslow has to overcome a strong perception of 'foreignness'. It is a strange portmanteau word in two different languages, with a mystifying spelling, pronunciation and identity: potentially problematically alien for an initiative that is supposed to be embedded in the local.

> "The term Cittaslow – given that we're not particularly a nation of linguists – we have all manner of pronunciations of it. You don't even know what language it's in. When you explain it to someone they say '…Right? …Ok?' And it has not necessarily positive connotations, because of the 'slow' element."

> "I do have to say that I found some of the communication from Cittaslow International absolutely impenetrable – and I think [to myself]: Is that a reflection of where it's come from in terms of 'the Italian way of doing things?' (to put it crudely)."

Regeneration Projects Team leader, Environment Service, Perth and Kinross

> "It's frustrating, people come up and ask me about it, and they can't pronounce the name." * [2013]

Manager, Perth Farmer's Market,

> "It has the potential to be like having a Michelin Star. Everyone knows what a Michelin Star is, but nobody knows what Cittaslow is (…) It's not even an English word so it makes it really hard for people to grasp, because it's more of a concept than anything (…) and trying to explain Cittaslow takes about three paragraphs by which time people have lost interest."
>
> Diss Town Clerk,

The quotes above come from Perth and Diss. Both towns withdrew from Cittaslow in 2015, and these voices indicate several stumbling blocks: around the spelling and pronunciation of the name itself, around the language used in communications from Orvieto, over the breadth of the philosophy, and also over the very word 'slow'. Based on conversation at the International Assembly with delegates from Australia, USA, and Canada (see chapter 5) the latter may be a particular risk in English-speaking countries, because the meaning of 'slow' can be decoded in several ways, rather than just received as a shorthand for the values of the movement. In circumstances where there is not a will, or not an opportunity, to create a rounded understanding about its meanings, the risk is that it can be interpreted as backwards, dim or unexciting, rather than forward thinking. The words of a Diss councillor who was resistant to the town's membership continuing, illustrate the point: "We don't want to be a slow town, we want to be promoting our town as dynamic and not slow" (Eastern Daily Press 23/11/2012). All of these factors are indicative of possible hitches: moments of pause and confusion in building individual understanding when a person encounters Cittaslow.

Other aspects of language emerged in interviews. The place of language as a conduit of identity was something that came out strongly in my conversation with the Community Librarian in Mold, a native Welsh-speaker. She was an organiser of the annual Daniel Owen festival (in celebration of the author after whom the square is named: see Chapter 6) and we talked about the nuanced way that languages intertwined in Owen's work, sometimes finding ourselves struggling to convey linguistically to each other the meanings we could both intuitively sense. A part of that conversation is quoted at length below, because it draws out some of the key themes of the thesis, offering another way of expressing the translation of intangibles.

Owen wrote predominantly in Welsh, but pioneered a unique amalgam of Welsh and English, reflecting the complex border identity of Mold and its residents: a manifestation of the hidden continuities that always underlie defined boundaries and edges. To express this, sometimes Owen used English phrases spelt out in Welsh, and sometimes used discrete English words to reflect something of the English character that was alien to his story of Welshness. In talking to this interlocutor – not at all the right word, but frustratingly English doesn't seem to have a term

to express partners in convivial conversation – she also spoke about words in Welsh that have no direct translation in English, for example, 'hiraeth'.

> "Well, in a funny sort of way hiraeth defines us as being Welsh. It means longing, but it has a resonance in Welsh that the English word··· it covers one of the meanings, but not the whole thing, if you see what I mean? It can mean homesickness. It can mean nostalgia, but nostalgia has probably a positive and a negative emmm··· whereas hiraeth is a very emotional word (probably the same is true of longing and it has the connotation of looking back, I suppose, doesn't it?). Hmmm··· I wish I hadn't started on this now [we laugh] because to some extent, somebody who is not Welsh will not fully understand what it means. Can you see where I'm coming from here?"

TH "Yes···? Obviously I'm not Welsh, I don't know that word, and I don't know what it means linguistically – but do you mean that actually I can't understand it emotionally because I'm not Welsh?"

> "What do I mean? I think that business about it defining us··· it is something that links people that understand what it means, and we can do our best to explain, and I'm··· (this is really interesting isn't it?) in that, if a language hasn't come up with a name for whatever the emotion or concept is – the reason for that probably is because it isn't in common traffic. And I would expect (but I don't know) that you probably feel this emotion but you wouldn't call it hiraeth···"

TH "So I maybe couldn't define it, even if I felt it, because I don't have a word?"

> "Yes, yes…"

The conversation invites a reflection on key themes of this thesis. The complexity of working between languages is a fertile metaphor for difficulties in translation that Cittaslow UK representatives experience in trying to convey the meaning of Slow to their members and residents. It mirrors the barriers in communication between the rods and the nets, or between market traders and market-driven idioms. It evokes the difference between permeable borders and impermeable boundaries (Sennett, 2012a, 2006) and between Slow and 'fast' knowing. It shows the struggle to connect what one thinks or feels or understands, with the language that will express it to someone else. In Sennett's view (see Chapter 2), this struggle is important, because what makes us attentive is not clarity but ambiguity: blurring and smudges require us to think, focus and respond. It takes boldness, he said, to dwell in and exploit ambiguity.

The dialogue quoted above speaks of an effort to focus and respond in the face of ambiguity. It suggests that engaged thinking is prompted by the need to make and interpret connections *between*, not in retracing and inscribing edges around. It also identifies that the ease with which a concept can be understood is affected by having a vocabulary linked to an imaginary. The speaker notes that, crucially, once a common understanding is achieved then "that links people that understand what it means".

In the same conversation with the Mold librarian, we talked about Owen (the writer) and his trade as a tailor. I tried to say something about an as-yet unarticulated connection in my mind: between those who work with their hands, with materials, with embodied and muscular knowledge learnt through apprenticeship and experience; and how (or if) that changes how one understands and encounters the world.

TH "I don't really have a question in my head, but a kind of observation: it interests me that he was a man who used his hands – he was a tailor…"

"Yes."

TH "…and that he seemed to be somebody (I don't know if they're related – in my mind they feel like they're related) that had an understanding of the different experiences of the different classes of people, and the different emmm··· I don't know what I'm saying to you···"

"But I understand it!"

TH "Do you?"

"Yes." [We both laugh.] "And one of the interesting things is that the tailors' workshop is somewhere where the politics of the day would have been discussed…"

There is an indication here of knowledges held in practice-based and convivial connections bridging socially constructed boundaries. Bodies of embodied and crafted knowledges hold many ways of knowing and thinking, including the political. They represent sites of debate and thought that are different from (more intimate than?) the usual conception of a public sphere of political exchange. It can be argued, for example, that the kind of local socialities which were the target of consultation procedures in Mold and Berwick, commonly exist as unrecognised fora in phenomena like the market or the river. It is perhaps no coincidence that the ancient Athenian idea of 'agora' as an assembly place for public debate, equally represents a gathering point for merchants and artisans (Vlassopoulos, 2007) – sites for thinking through practice. As Watson notes, politics cannot be separated from "socio-cultural conditions that govern everyday life".

> There is a constant and dynamic interpretation of the different spheres of human experience (…) ways of operating in relation to the state and economy that are different, but nonetheless highly rational.
>
> Watson, 2003:401

Watson goes on to observe that these ways of knowing only become defined as irrational when held against models of modernity that "claim a monopoly on rationality".

To link this broad social point back to the more personal, intimate acts of individual interpretation that take place every day: in the unfolding conversation reported above, our dialogue advanced as much through hesitations and smudges as through words, and through a shared a common will to understand each other's rationale. For each of us, the conversation made meaningful headway across gulfs of understanding by accepting and accommodating difference, while maintaining the empathic intention to discern underlying values, rather than quantified 'value'.

8.3.3 Translating Cittaslow: finding value?

'Value', 'values' and 'evaluation' are conceptually linked words, but the interpretation of their meanings can have a profound effect on how something like Cittaslow can be sustained. The issue of Cittaslow's value to Perth arose in an interview. Perth's population was just on 50,000, the upper limit for Cittaslow membership, and as a unitary authority, Perth & Kinross did not have a town clerk, so I spoke to their Regeneration Projects Team leader. The conversation took place only a couple of months before they withdrew from Cittaslow, and the decision to leave was already inevitable. He explained how, with over 4,000 staff, they were not working to Cittaslow aims, but to statutory government or EU indicators. He described its value as 'limited'.

> "It can make for a bit of a talking point in terms of how you position the city, but if you looked in the cold light of day in terms of pounds shillings and pence I think it would be difficult to attach a value to that."
>
> "It's been a tough slog internally to convey what Cittaslow is and what it's about. It wasn't driving an agenda, I think it was capturing and in-gathering data and information of stuff that was being done by colleagues across different services across the council."

A similar observation was made by the Co-ordinator of Perth Farmers' Market:

> "Cittaslow has not been used as a driver; it's just been ticking boxes. In meetings everyone is reporting back, not moving forward (…) I see it as a brand or badge, not a mechanism. There were no objectives, no plans for the next years – but the money was still paid out." [2013]

These are fair comments, but they apply to how Cittaslow was interpreted in that place at that time. The message that comes from Cittaslow International is clear: for it to be meaningful, it should be used to drive an agenda or guide a direction; without that it ceases to function properly.

> "Cittaslow is not a flower you wear in your buttonhole or a medal you pin to your jacket – Cittaslow is a different way of understanding, to design and implement policy."
>
> Paolo Saturnini (Speech: 2014)

Diss is another Cittaslow town that withdrew in 2014. When I spoke to Diss Town Clerk it was (again) already inevitable that the town council would withdraw from paying the Cittaslow fees. The vision had dissipated, and the connections linking Cittaslow membership to its positive effects for the town had faded in the memory of councillors. Her comment below (and in our broader conversation) reveal that, as in Perth, Cittaslow was not being understood as a driver of policy, but rather as an umbrella under which things that were happening anyway could be captured for counting.

> "Practically everything we do we could pin on the Cittaslow umbrella. But we don't do it because we're a Cittaslow town, we do it because we're an active town."
>
> Diss Town Clerk

The words of contributors quoted above highlight conflations and contradictions between quantitative evaluation, economic value, social value, and values as beliefs or ideals. This draws attention back to the quandary of what it is that can take hold, persist and be passed on, and what becomes forgotten. Findings suggest that when Cittaslow is interpreted as a mechanism for instigating specific discrete actions in order to attain outcomes, or for counting activities that can fall under its umbrella, then the vision cannot be sustained. However, when the influence of Cittaslow has qualitatively impacted local residents, then the memory stays with them: an effect that was also visible in Diss.

A force multiplier

Diss is an interesting case because, despite the Town Clerk's analysis, there is an underlying complexity in the town's relationship with Cittaslow. It joined in 2006, and left in June 2014, but when I visited in May 2013, there were already rumblings within the town council that Cittaslow was not worth the fees. It is worthy of comment, because Diss is the town in the UK that can point to the strongest evidence that Joining Cittaslow brought measureable benefits, in the shape of a £146,000 European LEADER+ grant. Just before my visit, there had been a public meeting to debate whether the council should continue to fund the membership, and an account of it was given to me by the then Deputy Mayor. The meeting, it turned out, had been very well attended by people from the town who had experienced qualitative (and quantitative) effect from the Town's membership, and they spoke up for the value and benefits that Cittaslow had brought:

> "The big council debate drew out all the supporters and all the evidence of what had been done. No one knew it had all happened. Everyone was: 'W.T.F.!?' "
>
> "It was like 'What have the Romans ever done for us?' [32] Not that Cittaslow had done nothing – but that they [the councillors] didn't know about it." * [2013]
>
> Diss Deputy Mayor

The situation in Diss illustrates the problem that representatives from all Cittaslow towns have cited: even if there are tangible and measurable benefits, it is hard to hold them down, attribute them to Cittaslow's influence, and sustain the connection. In Diss, the regular turnover of town councillors meant there was no-one to carry the continuity of vision: the Town Clerk, was not an advocate (see above) and the breadth of impact appeared to have the effect of watering down the specific connection to Cittaslow, rather than enhancing it.

Diss Deputy Mayor had only come to realise the impact of Cittaslow on the town at the recent public meeting and reflected upon the difficulties of measuring and recording benefits like 'quality of life' or 'community spirit' in a way that can be acknowledged, attributed to a clear source, and remembered over time. Having recently retired from the armed forces, he borrowed an interesting descriptor to explain his meaning:

> "It's what we call in the military a 'force multiplier' – it adds more than it costs, but what it adds is intangible. Cittaslow is a force multiplier." * [2013]

I looked a little into the idea of 'force multiplier' in a military context. It is used to describe operational aspects of process and recognition such as morale, reputation and connections. These improve effectiveness without increasing quantifiable factors such as cost or hardware. A force multiplier is any tool that can increase the effect of an action (such as a hammer, a lever… or a compass) allowing more to be done for the same amount of effort.

Powell (1990) explains that the military recognise the strategic importance of force multipliers as intangible factors that increase the capabilities or value of a force. Variables that do not lend themselves to quantification (such as leadership, morale, training and sustainment) become reframed as critical tangible forces; making the recognition of force multipliers a "valuable tool for the operational artist" to expand what is feasible and produce synergistic effects (1990:14). Thinking in terms of force multipliers puts the emphasis on creativity, adaptability and improvisation in order to look for solutions that optimise long-term goals over short-term gains. The fact that Diss' Deputy Mayor had this term in his mind from an alternative context allowed

[32] Reference to the Monty Python film, Life of Brian:

"*All right, but apart from the sanitation, the medicine, education, wine, public order, irrigation, roads, the fresh-water system, and public health – what have the Romans ever done for us?*"

him access to an imaginary within which Cittaslow could be framed as introducing productive ways of thinking. Arguably, his familiarity with a pre-existing concept that gives credence to the value of intangibles in navigating complexity, meant he could relate to Cittaslow's potential in a way that those who prioritise more quantitative evaluatory tools have less access to.

Military institutions are highly regulated, monitored and hierarchical; but they simultaneously flex to incorporate experiential expertise, and to explicitly acknowledge that meaningful benefits can exist without them necessarily being tangible and quantifiable. The example suggests there are spaces amongst 'fast' protocols where Slow can become legitimate and persistent. It raises the question of whether or how Cittaslow could develop a vocabulary and identity that allows it to integrate into institutional situations dominated by 'fast' thinking, and opens a space for reflection within Cittaslow. Force multiplier is not an exact fit for Cittaslow, but if membership can provide access to a way of thinking that prompts creative approaches, prioritises human and social processes (that don't lend themselves to quantification) and works towards long-term improvements – then the descriptor of force multiplier is not a bad fit.

8.3.4 Cittaslow UK: a capacity to affect and be affected?

Pink proposes Cittaslow works through a gentle, indirect activism characterised as "situated or materially 'emplaced' in an actual physical environment" (2008:166), displaying agency by gathering together time, space, persons, objects, sensations and sentiments, and working "by example rather than direct confrontation" (2012:109). I propose that the addition of concepts of Slow and crafted knowledges to the Cittaslow imaginary could enhance its ability to affect and be affected. Supporters of Cittaslow rarely see themselves as 'activists' and for that reason I have avoided using the term, even though sometimes it seems rather apt. In conversation with the Community Chair of Mold Cittaslow in 2013 she made the clear point that she was drawn to Cittaslow rather than Transition Towns[33] because she disliked the campaigning tone of the latter. A similar sentiment was echoed by a farmer I encountered in Perth, talking about the Slow message:

> "The key thing is, it doesn't lecture people. It says: 'Here are the issues, let's do something about it, and have a good time doing it'. And you know yourself, Tessa,

[33] *The Rocky Road to a Real Transition: The Transition Towns Movement and What it Means for Social Change* (2008) – A powerful critique by Paul Chatterton and Alice Cutler from the Trapese Collective, can be found on the following link:
http://trapese.clearerchannel.org/resources/rocky-road-a5-web.pdf

[Accessed 25-08-2017]

> those are the things you remember! (...) Remember that it started in Italy – it's about enjoyment, but it's not hedonistic. It's not posh."
>
> "Cittaslow is like Slow Food – a wonderful organisation with a great ethos – but hard to convey without sounding earnest. We live in a world of 140 characters. You need to distil it right down, then hammer it home." * [2013]
>
> Owner and manager, Grierson organic farm, Perth

The words above recognise the problem of intangibility, but also demonstrate several key perceptions: that Slow is about a way of thinking; that convivial communication is a central element of that way of thinking; and that when these are combined they create something memorable, something that can persist, and something that is potentially empowering without being instrumental.

Concerns within Cittaslow groups about the difficulty of bringing its meaning down to earth in a way that can be easily conveyed to an unfamiliar audience could arguably be addressed by working to interpret the philosophical message and adapt it to local context with a focus on ways of knowing. If the power of Slow lies not in seeking to evaluate instrumentalised discrete acts, but in fostering responsive practices and contextual knowledges, then the type of activism facilitated by Slow could be conceived around creatively assembling a vocabulary and imaginary that allows access to a focus on knowledges. That is not to suggest it would be an easy task to embody the broad philosophical points of Slow whilst engaging with grounded local issues, but it may open a dialogue that could produce resonant engaged responses.

During scoping studies in Aylsham, I wondered into a butchers shop on the high street. There was a flyer for a local event pinned to the wall, bearing the Cittaslow logo, so I asked the butcher about Cittaslow. He responded positively, and offered to explain:

> "Cittaslow is the name of an Italian village. They started a protest against multi-nationals coming in, because all high streets look the same now. It started here about five years ago when Tesco came in, but unfortunately they couldn't stop it." * [2013]

What is intriguing about this telling is that it successfully identifies key elements of Cittaslow's message, yet is inaccurate in almost every detail. It is true that it started in Italy, and that the movement aims to modify the economic dominance and homogenising effects of multi-national companies on small high-streets that create the effect of 'clone towns' (New Economics Foundation, 2004; see also Pink 2009; Knox and Mayer 2013). However Cittaslow is not the name of a village, Aylsham had not been a member for five years, but nine, and the reason it joined was not related to the coming of Tesco. The narrative had been transformed (humanised

and personalised) into a story about a single village, where a battle took place to keep its unique character and to support small independent businesses, such as this butcher's shop.

Some weeks later I reported the story anecdotally at the Cittaslow UK board meeting. Representatives from Aylsham responded with jokey unease. They worried it implied they hadn't done their job properly in educating local residents. On the contrary though, to that particular local resident Cittaslow was seen as positive and useful within the town's socialities, suggesting the message may not be quite so intangible after all – as long as there is free rein to reinterpret it and make it locally meaningful. The incident therefore suggests that if the pressure to define Cittaslow as something measurable and specific is removed, and if a clear connection to local issues can be made, then the Slow message becomes self-evident, and could potentially become a conduit for legitimising or energising local agendas. Working as a force multiplier, one might say.

8.4 Summary

This chapter has introduced empirical material to aid reflection on central themes of the thesis. It has reviewed and discussed examples where conflicts of knowing have been shown to exist in small town socialities, revealing how power differentials between Slow and 'fast' ways of seeing can lead to a lack of credibility and regulatory support for important local knowledges held in Slow and crafted practices. It has shown how conflicts of knowing also exist in local governance settings, affecting Cittaslow's ability to maintain credibility, and navigate a course guided by its philosophical principles.

Conceptions of bounded entities (see above: Sennett 2012a, Pink 2008) are revealed as disruptive to the ability to perceive where hidden continuities exist, masking the potential to find common interests which subvert conflicts of knowing. Cittaslow, it is suggested, could become more responsive to local conditions by boldly embracing and exploiting the intangible and ambiguous (Sennett, 2012a) rather than fighting to render its contribution measurable. The discussion suggests that a vocabulary linked to an imaginary can allow intangibles be reframed as critical tangible forces.

The concluding chapter will consolidate a conceptualisation of crafted knowledges, and reflect on the utility of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges as a helpful imaginary for Cittaslow, but also one with broader relevance beyond Cittaslow.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

Slow, 'fast' and Cittaslow

The research done for this thesis has expanded the depth of understanding about how Cittaslow manifests itself in a UK context.

In scholarly writing about Cittaslow it is not unusual to find references to Slow as a way of opposing, resisting, or being resilient against, 'fast' pressures, however this research has found that, on the contrary, 'fast' resists Slow. Petrini (the founder of Slow Food) casts Slow Food as the way to resist McDonaldisation (2001:69); Miele (2008) invokes a binary where Slow is the opposite of 'fast'; Parkins and Craig (2006) characterise Slow as an expression of resistance to the accelerated pace of modern existence in the global everyday; and both Carp (2011, 2012), and Pink and Lewis (2014) frame Cittaslow as a manifestation of resilience. In their 2015 paper, Servon and Pink nuance these interpretations by suggesting that Cittaslow invites a form of gentle engagement with forces of globalisation, not resisting them, but challenging the neoliberal assumption that growth is the key to successful development.

Members of Cittaslow UK are not comfortable with the idea that they are either resisting or in opposition to 'fast'. In fact they do not feel comfortable with the term 'fast' at all, being wary of positioning Cittaslow as in any way oppositional to modernity, and so being seen as backward-looking. They conceive of themselves more as finding ways to turn the advantages of modernity towards promoting sustainability, whilst also valuing autochthonous and convivial aspects of their towns. (Although it is again worth noting that the terms 'autochthony' and 'conviviality' are not commonly used by members of Cittaslow UK, who translate the vocabulary of Cittaslow International into more accessible, but differently nuanced, terms like heritage and co-operation.) So, far from proposing that Slow is a way to resist 'fast', this research indicates that on the contrary, 'fast' resists Slow. The dominating and inflexible nature of 'fast' thinking, narratives and knowledges creates environments that are hostile to alternative imaginaries. Orr (2002) links this characteristic of 'fast' back to temporal factors, suggesting that resistance to alternative paradigms has meaningful negative implications for the future:

> Finally, for reasons once described by Thomas Kuhn (1962), fast knowledge creates power structures that hold at bay alternative paradigms and worldviews that might slow the speed of change to manageable rates. The result is that the system of fast knowledge creates social traps in which the benefits occur in the near term while the costs are deferred to others at a later time.
>
> Orr, 2002:38

While this research has shown that Cittaslow UK does not act as a mechanism to resist fast, it does suggests that a more up-front engagement with the concepts of 'fast' and Slow, and with the significance of knowledges, could be a helpful compass in navigating the local, and perhaps in opening up reflection and dialogue within the national (and international) organisations.

9.1 Positioning crafted knowledges

There is no intention in this thesis to propose a binary that suggests 'fast' knowledges are something homogeneous, entirely distinct from Slow, and containing no element of craft. There are aspects of craft in all knowledges. Crafted approaches bridge Slow and 'fast' by identifying the hidden continuities that underlie conflicts of knowing.

'Fast'

'Fast' interpretations of knowledge seek to elide those parts that are embodied, or co-constructed, or learnt and passed-on through doing and through apprenticeship. Objective properties are prioritised over subjective qualities, and those aspects of knowledge that admit to fallibilities, gaps and blurred edges are discredited. In so doing, 'transcriptions' (see discussion in Chapter 2: *Drawing things together*) are created that can be instrumentally transposed and mapped from one context to another, taking no account of specificity to local conditions. I argue that when aspects of craft are ignored, knowledges can easily become privatised or used as tools of power, creating dominant discourses that can be wielded to control, or promote a particular agenda, or that simply render other paradigms of knowledge invisible.

Slow

Slow knowledges have been characterised by Orr as "acquired slowly through cultural maturation (…) shaped and calibrated to fit a particular ecological and cultural context" (2002:39). The cases of the market and the river that have been explored in this thesis fit Orr's description, and Slow knowledges are inherently crafted knowledge systems. However, as has also been shown, Slow knowledges are often not recognised as legitimate for several reasons. Firstly, the concept of Slow knowledges is not widely known. Secondly, the practices within which they are held tend to be characterised in terms of 'communities' or traditional livelihoods, but are not recognised as knowledge systems (as in the market). Thirdly, even if they are recognised as knowledge systems (as on the Tweed), the embodied, sensory and experiential nature of these knowledges makes them inaccessible to textual and quantifiable encodement, meaning they are dismissed as intangible and anecdotal. Fourthly, autochthonous knowledge systems are often not considered to hold expertise that is relevant to

now. Fifthly, they represent ways of knowing that run counter to dominant paradigms of knowledge and value.

This research has shown that the autochthonous and convivial Slow knowledge systems studied are not 'frozen' or out-dated remnants of a Slower time, but on the contrary are products of a way of practicing and knowing that is continuously crafted and improvised to incorporate responsive learning from contemporary conditions and from other knowledge systems.

Craft

The idea of crafted knowledge, I suggest, adds nuance and breadth to that of Slow knowledge. The conceptualisation reaches beyond the scope of traditional or indigenous knowledges to allow that there are crafted knowledges underpinning all knowledge systems, including the 'fast'.

I suggest that a theory of crafted knowledge can help to identify where hidden continuities and essential crafted skills and practices lie embedded (but unrecognised) within, for example, the socialities of small towns, or regulatory institutions, or dominant knowledge discourses (see discussion of 'hidden continuities' in Chapters 2 and 3). I further suggest that without their (hidden) element of crafted knowledge, those systems could not function. A theory of crafted knowledge could help to critique established evaluations – that is to say, interpretations of where value lies – and perhaps be a means to open up a line of communication between 'fast' and Slow by revealing their hidden continuities.

Why is a conceptualisation of crafted knowledge useful?

The nature of crafted knowledge is discussed in section 2.1.1: *Crafted knowledge (positioning myself)*, and in the commentary and reflection provided in Appendix B. Innovation and adaptation are built into both Slow and crafted knowledges, however they are rendered fragile in a 'fast' world that demands 'fast' knowledges. The reason for this fragility is that knowledges held in the minds, bodies, socialities and convivial relationships of practitioners cannot be easily codified into quantitative data, recorded in text, or transferred wholesale from one context to another. Their strengths lie in building upon experiential understandings and responsive judgements to generate knowledges that can evolve, be sustained and passed-on indefinitely (as seen in the ancient roots of many autochthonous knowledges). However such knowledges can only be sustained if the embodied practices and co-operative socialities within which they are held are sustained.

In Slow and crafted knowledges doing and making are not a way of manifesting thought, they are a way of thinking in themselves. The knowledges are held within practices where doing *is*

thinking (Ingold 2000, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Hallam and Ingold, 2014; Sennett, 2008) and they constitute tacit knowledges that are intuitive and co-operative (Smith, 2001). That such knowledge systems are often construed as 'intangible' is ironic, in the sense that they are relentlessly tangible (from tangere: to touch), being contained as much in the physicality of the senses, as in the mind (see for example: Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Polanyi 1958/1962). However, in a 'fast' knowledge system, (even more ironically) abstractions are the only things considered tangible and authoritative: transcriptions (Latour, 1986, 1987, 1993, 1997 see above) where information is encoded into graphically or numerically represented cyphers.

Characteristics of crafted knowledges include:

- They are learnt, passed on and tested through a type of apprenticeship: by showing, doing and sharing common knowledge and practice
- Specific skill-sets are taught, then responsively refined and adapted through heuristic and improvisatory adjustments: not being taught how to *do*, but how to *find out* (see Ingold 2013)
- They build on both previous knowledge-makers and personal experience to make judgements based on contextual understanding, rather than applying linear protocols based on transposed information: navigating not mapping
- They are human: contained in convivial connections and practices
- They are embodied: contained in sensory and muscular memory as much as in the mind
- They welcome the intangible: aesthetic, intuitive and tacit skills are acknowledged as important. Dwelling-in and exploiting ambiguity (see Sennett, 2012a)
- They are contemplative: involving making as thinking; thinking through doing; making connections and reflecting upon their significance. Words are important to communicate, but not to think
- They question imposed categories, embracing all available tools to make links across disciplinary/social boundaries and reframe problems: revealing hidden continuities
- They are explorative, experimental and playful
- They flex and accommodate rather than close-off and control

- They admit insights that may be anecdotal at first – but are then tested and analysed through repetition, experience and convivial communication (or peer review)
- They reveal and critique the power dynamics in conflicts of knowing

9.2 Conclusion

'Fast' is driven by linear, solution-based thinking. This thesis does not offer discrete solutions, but it offers food for thought. It suggests an alternative way of interpreting where value lies; a way of drawing attention to, and reframing common experience, skills and knowledges; a co-mingling of disciplines with the potential to open up dialogue around where one can inform another, and a possible direction towards facilitating a knowledge exchange between fields.

9.2.1 Contributions

The argument presented proposes that Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges provide a theoretical, analytical and methodological framing that are relevant to diverse contexts. This versatility is demonstrated in this thesis within empirical chapters concerned with interpreting Cittaslow and two case studies, that show how the framing can provide useful critique in a variety of field contexts; by the research methods used; and in the final writing up process itself.

I argue that 'crafted knowing' is a strong addition to existing conceptualisations because it can be applied broadly in multiple contexts, and can be used to find common interest rather than reinforce boundaries and divisions that manifest as 'conflicts of knowing'.

To social science understandings it contributes theorisations of Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges, as framings useful in revealing where alternative and otherwise invisible knowledge systems lie hidden or ignored. It presents novel interpretations of conviviality and autochthony, and introduces a conceptualisation of hidden continuities as areas of commonality that underlie, surround (and subvert) accepted boundaries and categories.

To research methodology and analysis it contributes the idea of 'crafting the field' by navigating as opposed to mapping.

For Cittaslow it holds the potential to open up a dialogue around the complexities of communicating intangibles, and the role of knowledges in local socialities.

Within regulatory and policy settings, the work could contribute towards a reconsideration of what constitutes expertise, and what therefore can be accepted as 'evidence-based'

submissions. It invites the development of consultation processes that take account of Slow and crafted knowledges, and of potential synergies suggested by hidden continuities.

The framing offers the possibility of conceiving Slow not as a means of resisting 'fast', but as a compass to find ways of working alongside and mitigating it. By shifting the emphasis away from discrete bounded acts that are measured and accounted for once, onto what is known, what can persist and be passed on – away from evaluating towards valuing – it can identifying where crafted knowledges lie hidden within apparently fast contexts and fast knowledge systems. The thesis offers steps towards developing language that legitimises intangibles as force multipliers, and focuses on continuities not boundaries, helping to reconcile conflictual cognitive frameworks. Slow and crafted knowledges are not just relevant to Cittaslow, they have a ubiquity that can critique forms of knowledge more widely, suggesting a broader purchase for this work and adding to understandings about how knowledges are created, held, shared, resisted, and validated.

9.2.2 Taking it forward

The arguments contained in this thesis only take the first steps in new direction. Ideas that have emerged about Slow, 'fast' and crafted knowledges were not part of the original aim of the project, so would benefit from further research designed specifically to test them in diverse fields and contexts. The challenge to boundaries between craft, geography, regulatory and scientific contexts, and dominant neoliberal ways of seeing, knowing and representing, invites new research directions that can open up the hidden continuities that underlie disciplinary and social boundaries and imaginaries.

Additionally, there is a need for more research and literature to develop alternative conceptual approaches for Cittaslow, looking at ways to legitimise Slow values and ways of seeing so they can become visible to (and integrated into) local authority, regulatory and policy frameworks.

The thought process this thesis represents is not finished. The ideas need to be refined through practice and testing in different contexts. The next stage in navigating this voyage is to produce a report for Cittaslow UK in plain English. It is hoped that the findings, when combined with the local, convivial, contextual knowledge and skills of Cittaslow members, can provide a bearing that helps to guide their future agenda – and that a dialogic exchange will help to hone and craft the ideas contained in the thesis.

Appendix A. Cittaslow Goals

Text and table appear in *An Introduction to Cittaslow* (2016) produced by Cittaslow UK.

The 70 individual Cittaslow Goals are now outlined on the following pages. There are also detailed notes for each goal if you decide to apply. The goals were changed in 2013 to become more ambitious and reflect the present challenges in towns, they can appear daunting at first, but most UK towns are already addressing many of them through various statutory bodies like local government and no town is expected to actively address every single goal. Each town will decide its own priorities and identify those goals which are most important to its residents and visitors.

Environmental Goals

A1	Air quality management, monitoring and reporting
A2	Policies to maintain the quality of water supplies and ensure pollution free water in rivers and waterways.
A3	Drinking water use by residents compared to national averages.
A4	Purity of sewage wastewater effluent
A5	Percentage of recyclable waste collected in the town (business and residential).
A6	Business and residential composting management
A7	Energy saving in public buildings and other public systems (e.g. transport)
A8	Public energy production from renewable sources
A9	Household electric energy consumption compared to national averages
A10	Reduction of visual pollution (e.g. signage and advertising clutter) and traffic noise
A11	Reduction of public light pollution (e.g. from street lighting)
A12	Conservation of biodiversity
	Optional and additional goal

Infrastructure Goals

B1	Cycle paths connecting public buildings
B2	Length of urban cycle paths as a proportion of urban roads
B3	Cycle parking at transport interchanges
B4	Planning for and provision of ecomobility as an alternative to private cars (e.g. buses on demand)
B5	Town planning to promote safe places and spaces and alternative forms of mobility
B6	Infrastructure and buildings that are accessible to all and cater for diverse needs of towns people
B7	Accessibility to medical services
B8	Sustainable distribution of products to and within town centres
B9	Percentage of residents who commute every day to work in another town
	Optional and additional goal

Quality of Urban Life Goals

C1	Planning for urban resilience
C2	Policies to protect and improve civic centres (street furniture, signs, aerials etc.)
C3	Creation of public green spaces with productive plants/fruit trees
C4	Life/work balance (company hours, nursery provision etc.)
C5	Reuse of brown sites and waste areas

C6	Use of ICT in the development of interactive services for residents
C7	Policies and advice to promote eco-friendly architecture
C8	Cable network (fibre / wireless)
C9	Monitoring and reduction of pollutants (noise, electrical systems etc.)
C10	Development of home and flexible working
C11	Promotion of private sustainable urban development
C12	Promotion of public sustainable urban development
C13	Promotion of social infrastructure (free recycling projects, time banks)
C14	Creation of productive green spaces within town
C15	Creation of spaces to sell local products
C16	Protection/improvement of workshops and creation of shopping areas for sustainably products
C17	Percentage of built-up areas in relation to green areas in town
	Optional and additional goal

D. Local Produce and Products Goals

D1	Development of sustainable local agriculture
D2	Plans and programmes to protect and support local, traditional, handmade, and artisan goods and produce (e.g. through product certification, and heritage initiatives)
D3	Increasing the awareness and value of traditional crafts, techniques and methods
D4	Increasing the value of rural areas (greater accessibility to services for residents, promotion and sale of local produce in towns)
D5	Use of local food, if possible organic, in public procurement (school, and hospital meals etc.)
D6	Educational and promotional programmes to encourage and support the purchase of organic and traditionally produced local food by residents and the hospitality industry
D7	Promoting and increasing the value of local cultural events
D8	Additional hotel capacity (beds / residents per year)
D9	Prohibiting the use of GMO in agriculture
D10	Innovative plans for land previously used for agriculture
	Optional and additional goal

E. Hospitality, Cittaslow Awareness and Training Goals

E1	Good welcome - provision of customer service training for all those providing services to visitors, including signs, infrastructure and hours
E2	Increase the awareness of operators and traders on the value of transparent offers, prices and clear tariffs, avoidance of mis-selling and scam offers
E3	Available of 'slow' events and activities in printed material and on web sites
E4	Supporting health education (healthy eating, lifestyles, battle against obesity, diabetes etc.)
E5	Ensuring effective community consultations for the more important administrative decisions
E6	Regular training and awareness on the Cittaslow themes for local government and town partnership etc. employees
E7	Awareness and promotion of information on Cittaslow to residents
E8	Foster active associations working in partnership with local government and town partnership employees on the Cittaslow themes

E9	Initiatives to involve local business, organisations and opinion formers in promoting Cittaslow and enhancing the towns performance against the membership goals
E10	Use of the Cittaslow logo on printed material and web sites of the local administration and key stakeholders
	Optional and additional goal

F. Social Cohesion Goals

F1	Policies and programmes to reduce the discrimination of ethnic minorities
F2	Encouragement of social integration of all ethnic groups (e.g. housing)
F3	Policies and interventions to integrate disabled people
F4	Encouragement of affordable, accessible, safe and flexible child care, nursery provision etc.
F5	Encouragement of employment, volunteering, skills development and other training opportunities for young people
F6	Support of initiatives to reduce the percentage of residents living in poverty
F7	Encouragement of thriving community groups and community-based development
F8	Encourage residents and businesses in town to engage with national and local government to help to inform their decisions
F9	Public housing – investment as a percentage of the local budget
	Optional and additional goal

G. Partnership Goals

G1	Level of support for Cittaslow campaigns and Slow Food activity
G2	Collaboration with Slow Food and other organisations promoting local and traditional food
G3	Support and co-operation with developing countries for projects that help their development, including through the Cittaslow philosophy
	Optional and additional goal

Appendix B. Reflection: making a silver ring

Why 'crafted' knowledge?

This section asks the reader to follow a commentary that, I hope, goes some way towards explaining how I see 'crafted' knowledge and why I argue it is relevant here. It draws on my experience as a jeweller to explain why bounded classifications/categories make little sense to a maker, and so why a distinction between visible edges and hidden continuities is meaningful from this perspective. It also illustrates how two bodies of knowledge (an embodied/experiential and a quantifiable/scientific) can be equally valid ways of analysing the same context, yet both cast shadows and light in differing places.

What is a silver ring?

The object that we might call a silver ring is not a settled thing. First, it is not made of silver (or not only silver). Second, to become the object we call a ring, the substance we call silver has been mined, refined, alloyed, worked, hammered, soldered, annealed, bent and polished until it displays a set of properties that allow it to be called a silver ring. The point where the jeweller finishes the ring is an attempt to freeze time, to choose a selection of 'purified' (Latour, 1993) properties – how hard it is, how smooth it is, how reflective it is, how it 'fits' – and fix them, so the object will *appear* to be stable and bounded and enduring[34], and to function in the role it's been assigned: the adornment of a human body. The final illusion of a shiny polished artefact hides all traces of the dirty, caustic, smelly, physical, playful, improvisatory, even dangerous processes by which the work was wrought. Thirdly, throughout the making process – and after its completion – the metal remains in constant interaction with its environment.

Why does it raise questions about classifications, categories and continuities?

As metal is cut or hammered or heated and cooled, the structure of its metallic bonds changes, as do the tensions and resistances within the material. Oxygen sucked from the air by a flame creates new compounds on its surface; sulphurous compounds in our atmosphere or skin tarnish the metal surface; pickling baths encourage the electrochemical exchange of ions to affect the surface compounds. In short, to a maker, what we are calling the 'material' (the sterling silver) is only defined by its properties and qualities at any given moment, and they are in constant flux. In truth there is no time when this entity is less than continuous-with and part-of and reacting-to everything around, and everything around is equally contiguous with it, such

[34] In fact it is likely that even after its use as jewellery it will once more be melted down, re-refined and its metallic components used again, perhaps in the circuit board of a mobile phone, or in medical applications for its antibiotic and anti-inflammatory properties.

that there is no straightforward division between the artefact and its surroundings, and no final fixed identity.

What registers of knowledge are needed to make this ring?

As a jeweller all the senses are employed in monitoring these changing states. The hand must get to know the feel of a metal, how much pressure it takes to move it, and how that very attempt to deform the material will change its crystalline structure, causing it to harden and resist the pressure. The ear will register a rise in tone as the metal grows more brittle with each blow of a hammer. The eye judges form, and discerns temperature by the colour of a flame or the shade of red the metal glows. The nose can sense the copper content of the silver alloy as the metal is sawn, or the scents that accompany heating and pickling, helping to identify if something unexpected is happening. And the mind is always active in making sense of it all, in judging how to respond – in analysing, theorising, innovating and learning – so the technique can be improved upon the next time and the next. Commonly, all of these processes are preceded by a conceptually and aesthetically informed design process, in dialogue with socio-cultural conventions and preferences. In order to practically realise a piece of jewellery a complex mix of knowledges that encompass the auditory, visual, experiential, tactile, chemical, technical, conceptual, aesthetic and engineering must be employed.

Sterling silver is an alloy, combining 925 parts silver (Ag) and 75 parts copper (Cu). This ratio gives specific working properties, each modifying the other's elemental attributes (possible because of their allied chemical structure, as demonstrated by their relative positions on the periodic table). The silver gives whiteness and low reactivity, but is soft; the copper adds resilience and the ability to polish to a high shine, but it taints the colour, carries a faint odour, and oxidises in a flame to produce a stubborn firestain on the metal's surface. The crystalline structure of this metal has no fixed state – it can be coaxed through a continuum of hardnesses and malleabilities by the skills of a maker in order to accommodate certain processes and achieve certain ends. The more it is moved or deformed, the harder and more brittle it becomes. To bring it back to a workable state it must be heated to a precise shade of cherry-red and then allowed to cool (annealed), pickled in acid to corrode the surface compounds that formed in the flame, abraded and worked again.

How are the knowledges acquired?

The term usually used to describe how skills are passed on in a craft context is apprenticeship. Through this way of learning – in which techniques are first demonstrated, then the novice is required to find out for themselves by trying it –one's body and mind begin incrementally to understand how to interpret, manipulate, improvise and work with the physical givens of the

tools and materials in use, and to accept the states of flux and continual transformation that those materials exist in. Due to the history and the skill-sets involved, even in today's jewellery trade much of the chemistry and physics knowledge that is applied has been learnt experientially, with technique being passed down through generations from experienced practitioner to novice. Such work was done for centuries before any detailed 'scientific' information was available to explain what was happening at a molecular scale, so whilst it enhances understanding, it is not the crucial measure of the skill. Nowadays, however, all jewellers operate with a combination of information and knowledges from many sources that include taught, experientially improvised, read, and 'YouTubed'.

How is all this relevant to the current research project?

The skill of a jeweller is to learn how to interpret and intuit through sensory feedback the chemical and structural changes that are taking place within the metal. Those same transformations can also be measured scientifically: described through graphs, equations and tables that classify molecular structures, temperatures and chemical behaviours. Exactly the same elements and properties are being examined, but through a different lens. However – no matter how long one peruses the graphs and tables – one cannot acquire the skill to *work* the metal. That must be learnt as a sensory and experiential understanding within one's body. *So here are two distinct ways of understanding a single reality – and both provide important, but different bodies of knowledge*. They need not be in conflict, but yet do not map directly on to each other (Stengers, 2005:184). Each creates the possibility for a different type of understanding. They are not interchangeable, but they are complementary.

Applying this conceptualisation to the current research project: similar distinctions (and underlying continuities) between different ways of knowing were encountered in my field studies, alongside evident variations in how these knowledges were legitimised, or not. Bodies of skilled knowledge and crafted practice considered 'traditional' were found to be at risk of being characterised as anecdotal, out-of-date, frozen and unchanging – ignoring that they are built on a model of learning that is in dynamic dialogue with changing circumstances (of seasonality or environment, for example) and one that responds to change with an informed yet improvisatory eye to the future.

This way of knowing is hard to capture in a research context as it resists data collection methods that are solely focussed on the written or spoken word, or theorised in spatial and scalar conceptions. Consequently, I suggest, these modes of learning and knowing which are held in the minds and bodies of practitioners and passed-on by enactment and word-of-mouth,

are easily elided in research data outputs and therefore under-recognised in theoretical writing, as much as they can be devalued in social contexts.

In part the aim of this research has been to see what can be revealed by paying attention to the registers of local embodied knowledges, skills and craft used in the everyday lives of those I encountered during my fieldwork. However, 'craft' in the context of this project is not narrowly focussed on any particular craft practice, but conceived broadly as a way of understanding and interacting with the world. The intention is to situate the *type* of embodied knowing that is used in craft practice within a broader spectrum of tangibility, recognition and legitimisation – both in the social contexts where it is encountered, and in exploring how to write about it. 'The field' is defined as an area of enquiry as much as by geographical space or a particular 'community' of participants; and an exploration of methodology is as important an aim as an exploration of concept and theory. Craft practice is used as a device through which to explore and illustrate my argument.

Appendix C. Tweed Organisations

Organisation	Description, representation and context regarding Tweed fisheries
The River Tweed Commission (RTC) Drygrange Steading, Melrose, Roxburghshire	RTC are charged with the regulation of Tweed fisheries. The Chair of the RTC also chairs the TF. The Clerk to the RTC also sits on the Board of TF and on the Steering Group of Tweed Forum. Along with the ASCT (see below) the RTC bought up many of the in-river netting rights, mostly on a 99-year lease, between 1987 and 2000. These netting stations are now dormant.
Tweed Foundation (TF) Drygrange Steading, Melrose, Roxburghshire Charity No.: SC011055	A charitable Trust set up by the former River Tweed Commissioners in 1983 with the aim of bringing a scientific approach to salmonid management. TF now holds the netting rights and property titles to fishing stations that were bought or leased by the RTC and the ASCT since the 1980s.
Tweed Forum Drygrange Steading, Melrose, Roxburghshire Charity No.: SC030423 (registered in 2000)	Formed in 1991 "to promote the sustainable use of the whole of the Tweed catchment through holistic and integrated management and planning (…) to protect, enhance and restore the rich natural, built and cultural heritage of the River Tweed and its tributaries". [Tweed Forum website, accessed Jan. 2015] Tweed Forum administers various grant-giving funding streams.
Atlantic Salmon Conservation Trust (ASCT) Forres, Morayshire Charity No.: SC009328	A charity registered in Scotland. First established in November 1985. The Charity was set up to raise funds to purchase netting rights and then hold the titles securely as an independent body to stop them from being commercially fished. In 1987, along with the RTC, the ASCT bought 99-year leases on many of the coastal and in-river netting stations up the Tweed. One of ASCT's current goals is to map the locations of vacant netting stations that commercial fishing interests may seek to acquire.
Harbour Commission Tweed Dock, Berwick-upon-Tweed,	Port of Berwick is a small commercial harbour first opened in 1876, which deals mainly in cargoes related to local agricultural industries. Berwick Harbour Commission owns the fishing rights to Gardo and three other fisheries now dormant or subsumed under the site of the harbour entrance.
Guild of Freemen of	The Guild has existed for over 900 years and is unique in its origin as a Scottish Royal Burgh, which later became an English Borough.

Berwick Berwick-upon-Tweed	Historically netting fisheries were largely controlled by the Guild, until the 1830s Reform Acts which placed the town under an elected council. It is not clear what happened to the fishing rights, but they re-appear 50 years later in the hands of the Berwick Salmon Company.
Paxton House Paxton, Berwick-upon-Tweed	An eighteenth century mansion, run by a charitable trust and open to the public. Since the house was built, the fishing rights belonged to the estate. Paxton fishery uses the traditional net and coble techniques, and fished commercially until 2015 when the TF took over the lease. Now fished under TF biologists for scientific purposes, and as a tourist event for visitors to the house.
Mouth of the Tweed Berwick-upon-Tweed	A not-for-profit project owned and managed by local people, businesses and community groups. Their aim is to improve and promote Berwick-upon-Tweed through its unique food heritage. Together with Cittaslow, Mouth of the Tweed are keen to see net-fishing preserved on the Tweed.
Berwick Salmon Fishing Company (BSFCo) and **Ralph Holmes & Sons (RH&S)** Berwick-upon-Tweed	The two companies that formerly held the majority of proprietorial netting rights in the tidal reaches of the Tweed, forming a tranche of net fisheries independent from those owned by large landowners upstream (largely converted to angling beats). The BSFCo fell subject to a hostile share takeover In 1987. RH&S sold its rights in the same period, but continued to work a handful of fisheries until 2000. The ASCT and RTC eventually bought out or leased all the rights of both companies, and they are now held dormant by the TF.

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