



Strengthening European Food Chain Sustainability by Quality and Procurement Policy

Deliverable 8.2 – ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY:

Qualitative Research Findings on European Consumers' Food Practices Linked to Sustainable Food Chains and Food Quality Schemes

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides a summary of the activities conducted as part of Task 8.2 of the Strength2Food (S2F) project. The objective of this work **is to deepen current understanding on European consumers' food practices concerning food quality schemes (FQS) and linked to sustainable food chains**. Using a qualitative approach and extensive ethnographic fieldwork in six families across seven European countries (France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Serbia and the UK) we were able to observe households' food practices across different seasons. This research aims to better understand if, and how, everyday food practices are connected with FQS and sustainable food chains.

This task is part of Work Package 8 on consumer analysis, which aims at providing a thorough understanding regarding consumers' knowledge, perception, confidence and valuation of EU/national/regional food quality labels as well as their food practices and purchasing behaviour with respect to products promoted by those schemes, across different consumer groups, food cultures and settings. Special emphasis was placed on identifying and understanding the potential gaps between consumers' stated valuation and their actual food practices, including 1) planning, 2) purchasing, 3) using/cooking/eating and 4) disposal. Moreover, the study also looked at labelled products and public procurement measures to promote sustainable food chains, as well as consumers' perceptions and requests regarding additional or adjusted policy measures.

This report is a common work, based on seven independent country reports which were prepared following a structured methodological guideline which was discussed and decided together with the whole team from Task 8.2. This deliverable could not have been produced without all partners' enthusiasm and serious participation, in preparation to the fieldwork, during the fieldwork and, last but not least, following the fieldwork for the analysis and discussion of results.

This report is divided into three complementary parts: Chapters 1 to 5 set up the skeleton of the report, presenting both the reasons and the context of the study. Chapters 6 to 8 constitute the flesh of the study, describing the fieldwork and presenting the analysis and results. The last Chapters, from 9 to 12, constitute the neurological dimension, or synthesis, of the study.

The study adopts a constructivist perspective acknowledging that food practices are a complex network of interpersonal relations, systems, families, objects, individuals, situations and time.

This report aims at answering the following research questions:

- How are FQS used and how do they relate to everyday food practices?
- How are consumer perceptions and practices towards FQS linked to different contexts?
- What is the cultural meaning of FQS in everyday life food consumption practices?
- How can our knowledge about FQS and few European families' perceptions and practices be used to enhance environmental, cultural and social sustainability for future generations?

The conceptual framework builds on three complementary approaches:

- A **social practical approach** examining the interaction between routines, norms, ethics and reflections.
- A **dialogic approach** building on communicative, semiotic and linguistic dimensions. It aims at emphasizing the impact of words, expressions and justification in the

fieldwork.

- An **ethnological approach**, including a *biography* of FQS use in families, emphasizing traditional, diachronic and identity dimensions through the meaning of the FQS at a cultural level.

Consumption is more than buying a product. Consumer researchers usually put emphasis on four complementary basic phases of consumption: planning, purchasing, using and disposal. In addition, consumption has to be placed in a context linked to practices, values and meanings, and has to do with diffusion and transmission of cultural values. By observing food practices with a special focus on local products / short chain distribution channels, signs of quality and sustainability, it becomes possible to gain a deeper insight on how consumers use and choose, or not, specific products. As focusing only on the FQS would increase the risk of missing an important clue, this study adopts a “complex thought” approach, whereby the fieldwork is conducted on food consumption practices in general, while the analysis emphasizes the FQS and the sustainable dimension.

While this study proposes an approach through practices, combining agency, communication, thoughts, food products and infrastructure, our main theoretical framework is grounded theory so that we “let the field speak”. Although the field leads our theoretical understanding, both inputs (preparation of common guidelines and coding of the data) and outputs (analysis and synthesis) have also been strengthened through a theoretical triangulation to better understand cultural conditions for the development of food consumption practices. This builds on the following theories:

Theory of Practice (SPT): Practice theory was used as a tool to understand in what way and why people are using FQS. Practice theory is a way to transcend the structure–agency or top–down–bottom–up dichotomy and provides a more balanced approach where the practices within society determine social activities. With an empirical focus on FQS the project observed consumers’ non-reflexive use of FQS. Explicit rules were especially present in label quality schemes, or brands and food markets. Engagements were concerned with both the justifications for consuming, and the efforts consumer do to get, such products. Moral, normative or religious concerns were a background for their engagements. The product was the FQS that actors used or did not use.

Theory of Conventions (CT): The different worlds of worth depend on the common goods which is at stake. Perspectives based on domestic or market worlds, for example, represent different logics where FQS have different meanings. Dependent on the context, FQS represents a kind of agreement of shared norms and expectations, developed within a given social system in order to mediate interactions between the actors involved. We also refer to three pragmatic regimes of social engagement (regime of familiarity, the regime of regular action and the public regime of justification) to better understand the bricolages and strategies used by our participants to justify their engagement in a more sustainable world, with focus on the complex realm of everyday food consumption.

Theory of Cultural Adaptation Work (CAW): CAW is a conceptual framework to better understand how people continually adapt their understanding, their interaction forms and their material environment relationally, in time and space through *translations of meaning*, *reorganization of social relations* and the *transformation of things*. Understanding the use of FQS as transformative practices permits us to identify, describe and understand the construction, power relations, adaptations, justifications, consequences and strategies to cope with risk in an over-civilized risk society.

Theory of Dialogism: This approach underlines that participants' words are not necessary for individuality but rather a manifestation of a collective discourse or normative frames. If words are central, so are non-words, or pauses as well as gestures and practices, heard or observed in our empirical fields.

Methods

The main **methodology** was ethnographic fieldwork, but in addition semi-structured interviews, desk study, and dialogic conversation were used.

Ethnographic observations of the use of FQS, local / from short food supply chains (SFSC) and organic food were performed in six families in seven countries. Each household was visited three times during different seasons. The involved researchers gathered data on household food practices to shed light on the participants' interest for and use of FQS. Participant observation implied that researchers were participating in planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal practices together with the household. The basic idea was that via the observation and direct participation in everyday life/food practices we would be able to better understand the use or non-use of FQS, local, organic food and SFSC.

Video recording was used for documenting observations of practices such as shopping together and making food with household members.

Households' own documentation of their experiences and engagement in FQS products by taking notes, photos and films with a tablet/iPad/smartphone.

Semi-structured interviews with participants about FQS, sustainability and consumption. The interview also functioned as an ice breaker at the first visit.

Dialogic conversations with participants were introduced at the last visit to discuss together the filmed and noted practices. This self-reflexive approach contains a study of the study itself and seeks to reflect upon practices by discussion and feedback to the project actors.

Desk study, including the study of national reports, manuals, regulations, documentation and mass media discourse, about FQS use, provided insights into the historical and contemporary relationship between ideals and practices.

The selection of households in each of the seven countries was based on two main dimensions:

- declared involvement in FQS and local food (low to medium/medium to high);
- type of area/place of living (rural/sub-urban/urban)

These were combined with some additional criteria, including age of adults, children and ethnic background. Each team used and adapted this model for selecting the respective households.

Results

The **perceptions, understanding and knowledge** varied from the perspective the participants discussed the FQS. At the production level, the most important issues were linked to health, the environment and social aspects, such as respecting nature, avoidance of pesticides, animal welfare, supporting local farmers, where FQS as organic or fair trade play a central role. At the distribution level, food miles and plastic were central elements for ensuring a more sustainable food consumption, which supports SFSC and local food. At the consumption level, the participants spoke about planning strategies, storage capacity, home-made food and recycling.

Avoiding cooking with many leftovers or having too much food in the fridge were justifications that are not directly linked to FQS, but to households' organisation and strategies, and presented as a pillar of sustainable food consumption. Organic food and private quality brands were tools for organising food procurement in everyday life.

Consumer awareness of FQS was generally low. Most participants recognised organic labels, especially the national ones. However, they had little knowledge about the European labels of geographical origin and tradition (PDO, PGI and TSG), and did not seem familiar with their logos. Instead, supermarkets' own logos or organic brands were often more familiar and closer to consumers compared to FQS from assured national and EU schemes.

Participants were positive towards local food and supportive of local producers. A hierarchy was seen in participants' perceptions. First, local foods and SFSC (especially direct sales and home-grown products), then organic foods, and last origin and tradition labels (PDO, PGI). Besides environmental, social, health and taste issues, also financial constraints and food habits influenced the final purchase decisions.

Linking the cognitive dimensions with conventions theory and applying three regimes - regime of familiarity, regime of regular planned action and justification regime - helped us to better understand the apparent lack of interest in FQS in practices, while at the discursive level the participants were relatively engaged in environmental matters. The participants' repertoires and need for justification varied depending of the regime we discussed or acted in. Different ways of thinking and justifying can be superposed and combined by the same individual in different situations and contexts, thus making the questions of FQS in food practices complex.

When it comes to practices, FQS did not visibly affect **food consumption practices** much. The participants mostly relied on their previous experiences, tacit knowledge and recommendations of family members, relatives, friends and other influencers rather than on producers' claims, including FQS. Participants pointed out the importance of their network for their perception of quality as well as for culinary practices and skills. Products with geographical indications (GI) as FQS were sometimes integrated in food practices, but without much emphasis on the certification itself.

Regarding **food planning**, most participants used a shopping list in order to have better control while food shopping.

When **purchasing food**, most participants focused on product appearance, reputation of producer or brand, and nutritional content rather than looking at specific FQS. Price, quantity and geographical proximity were mentioned in several countries, often in relationship with storage. When buying local or organic food products, most participants did not pay special attention to the official FQS, but emphasized that the private labels provided by retailers and food companies seemed to be sufficient. The family structure also influenced shopping, both in terms of form and content.

Using – preparing, cooking and eating: most households recognised that their food habits are driven by convenience and time. As a consequence, food preparation and everyday food consumption of home-made food differed substantially among our participants. Some participants relied mainly on home-made food. Most participants mixed the two alternatives, cooking quick recipes for everyday meals while using more time for leisure.

Both cooking and buying local products were often considered as quality time by our participants, as opposed to purchasing food in a supermarket. This emphasized the importance of traditions and the “family-food” dimension. While both sharing and tradition are immaterial

factors embodied in the quality dimension of food practices, quality may cover more concrete forms, such as freshness or organic.

We observed **food waste** at different levels during fieldwork, discussing the subject when planning or storing food, and specific strategies to avoid food waste (e.g. by better planning and reflecting about quantity being purchased), and by observing leftovers and food disposal after our common meals with the participants.

Time was a central factor for all food practices (planning, purchasing, cooking and eating) and, as such, could be a constraint or a determinant for pleasure. The provision of food was typically recognised as a consumption routine.

The participants' food purchases for everyday consumption were characterized by **routine**. Usual patterns in all countries were to shop on the way back from work, once a week in a supermarket, or via internet. Everyday shopping was affected by the distance between the shop and the workplace or home. Purchasing products from SFSC was part of the routine for some of the French participants that were interested in sustainability. However, for most of our participants, buying this type of products was typically the result of spontaneous improvisation or attractiveness of a specific product. These types of products were not representative of the weekly food menu, but predominantly purchased for special occasions.

A major **material infrastructure** in food practices is the place for purchasing food. In this perspective, "localness" can be "proximity" as underlined by several participants. The shop determines the scale of prices, the choices and the type of food participants can, or cannot, buy. In other words, it often frames the embodied habits, together with financial constraints, the local regulations and own commitments. In this respect, the general lack of interest in FQS seem to build on the observation that none of the participants had an embodied habit of reflecting on FQS or looking for them specifically when shopping.

A main **conclusion of practices** based on the observations is that there is a huge difference between FQS, but they are mostly an integrated, but seldom reflective, part of everyday routines, either by their absence or presence. Specific GIs such as PDO and PGI are almost not recognized and there is little knowledge about what they are or what they represent. Nevertheless, the products having this certification were used in almost all households: habits, taste and reputation, and not FQS *per se*, are at the root of this type of procurement. In other words, participants buy Parmigiano Reggiano, Manchego or Comté because they know the cheese, and not because of the FQS. Although the meaning of the certification and the FQS was little known in general, what appears surprising is that most participants asked for better and more reliable information about origin, animal welfare and/or composition of food products.

Plastic and packaging is a common issue for food sustainability in the studied households. Aversion to packaging and excessive plastic on food products was expressed by many, with almost all participants across the seven countries indicating that they would prefer to buy unpackaged food.

Social contexts, such as having a family, and local infrastructure have the potential to influence participants' evaluations. If time and efficiency are important, routinised practices become the default and convenience food may end up on the dinner table. In other words, when time and efficiency are prioritised, routines and habits inform the practices carried out in the food store, which, in turn, may create a gap between stated quality evaluations and the act of food provisioning.

In line with earlier literature, **trust in FQS and SFSC** were also mixed among the participants. They placed most trust in SFSC. Some labels, such as national organic labels, were trusted more

than others, including PDO, PGI and TSG. However, the participants did not express high level of trust towards PDO, PGI and TSG mostly because they did know what the labels really mean and who are the actors responsible for those labels.

Organic food was an often discussed topic, either because of its negative or positive aspects, respectively the associated high prices, but overall better for the health and the environment.

Direct relationship with, and knowledge of, the local retailer and producer are at the base of (informal) trust. The participants trusted local products more than products with FQS. Foods from SFSC are trusted because their origin is known. In particular, those living in the rural areas, as well as those households involved in community-supported agriculture initiatives, underlined the importance of the direct knowledge of the producer to establish a solid trust relationship and drive food purchase decisions.

Participants seemed to share a form of hierarchy of trust regarding food products and labels. The combination of interpersonal relationships with organic production was considered as positive, but knowing personally the producer was more important than the organic label. Second in hierarchy was the organic label. Especially the national organic labels were well-known among the participants and were used as purchasing guides. Then follow the Fairtrade, the PDO and then the PGI labels. The TSG label does not seem to be known at all. Lowest in the hierarchy were retailers' private labels. These were less trusted and were criticised by participants as being forms of untrustworthy advertising. Thus, trust was built primarily through personal relations and, second, through labels, when the former was not available.

The dialogic conversations revealed the households' knowledge, opinions and perceptions in relation to **public food procurement**. These varied between the countries because of different structural contexts. For example, school meals are not provided in all of the countries. In the countries where school meals are provided (including France, Italy and the UK) the participants expressed ambivalence, heterogeneous experiences and variation in perceived quality related to the subject. In the UK the participating parents had no specific awareness of quality standards nor involvement in the food choices of the children.

To overcome the limited awareness about FQS and related practices, the **participants requested** promotional and information campaigns by public authorities. Special courses or topics to be included in formal education were also suggested. The participants expected the government to protect their rights and control production practices, as well as communication of food claims and food labels. However, they seemed aware of that authorities have limited power. They suggested that the national government could play a role in promoting food sustainability, take actions enhancing the bargaining power of the producers in dealing with the large distribution channels, and better support and promote small local productions. Moreover, they suggest that the government should increase the controls on production practices and promote educational programs on the food system and dynamics behind food production and procurement. In this respect, public procurement policies should promote the supply of local, seasonal and organic products, as much as possible.

Conclusions

The first concrete result of this ethnographic study is obviously the observation that food practices linked to FQS are very variable, not that much from country to country, but from label to label. The organic label, fair trade and national quality labels seemed to be well integrated into our participants' practices while GIs were usually not a visible part of everyday food practices in the forty studied families across the seven countries.

The second result, linked to the first one, is the fundamental difference between the FQS labels, which on one hand is a system for protecting or enhancing certain qualities of a product, and on the other hand a logo or symbol, representing the quality label. The quality mark, or label, is developed through a diachronic process that intertwines agricultural policy, marketing, and consumer preferences. The logo is a communication tool for consumers, acting at synchronic and aesthetic levels. The quality label seemed interesting as a tool of sustainable development (but not a food practice) to some of our participants who were familiar with the agricultural sector. They appreciated FQS as a support to farmers, the enhancement of the cultural heritage and the stimulation provided by a political tool that often brings together and strengthens the collective food dimension. The GI logos (especially PDO, PGI and TSG) were not perceived as interesting by our participants, but rather difficult to understand.

This communication problem is obviously due to the fact that products with a FQS and FQS labels/logos are belonging to different worlds of worth. The approach through the different regimes helped to better understand the apparent lack of interest in FQS in practices. While at the discursive level our participants would be relatively engaged in environmental matters (e.g. social justice, animal welfare, or quality of products and the importance of local), participants did not have neither the same repertoire, nor the need for justification, depending on the regime we were discussing or acting in. What could have been translated as incoherence is actually more the witness of several logics, making the questions of FQS in food practices very complex and the on-going process towards a more sustainable consumption.

In other words, **there is not necessarily a “gap”, or an incoherence, between what people say and do, but a complementarity**. The differences are related to situations, constraints and especially the different regimes of justification.

The analysis indicates that GIs function as FQS in a market world, at least at two levels:

- By protecting products (assuring the link to terroir, name, reputation, know-how, etc.), reinforcing cultural heritage with strict specification and control bodies and stimulating the adequate production by a significant added value and proudness.
- By creating a virtual product, that we would call ‘hyper real’ referring to Baudrillard (Amilien, Fort, & Ferras, 2007), for consumers who do not have familiar contact and do not know the original product itself, but have values and preferences based on quality, originality of food culture and taste, respect of fair values and cultural heritage. This ‘hyper real’ relationship to GIs and other FQS can obviously be found in a quite specific segment of consumers.

Given that FQS, especially GIs, are not well adapted to consumer policy, as they actually build on agricultural policy measures, some policy recommendations based on two different worlds of worth include:

- Take the social practices into consideration, including a policy and strict regulation level (state or EU)
- Adapt the market at the infrastructure level (distributors)
- Provide better information to consumers through innovative and creative means of communication, including education

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CAW	Cultural Adaptation Work
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
CT	Convention Theory
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FQS	Food Quality Schemes
GI	Geographical Indication
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication
SFSC	Short Food Supply Chains
S2F	Strength2Food
SPT	Social Practice Theory
TSG	Traditional Speciality Guaranteed
UAA	Utilised Agricultural Area
UK	United Kingdom

1. INTRODUCTION

This report provides a summary of the activities conducted as part of Task 8.2 of the Strength2Food (S2F) project. The objective of this work **is to deepen current understanding on European consumers' food practices concerning food quality schemes (FQS) and linked to sustainable food chains**. Using a qualitative approach and extensive ethnographic fieldwork in six families across seven European countries (France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Serbia and UK) we were able to observe households' food practices across different seasons. This research aims to better understand if, and how, everyday food practices are connected with FQS and sustainable food chains.

This task is part of Work Package 8 on consumer analysis, which aims at *providing a thorough understanding regarding consumers' knowledge, perception, confidence and valuation of EU/national/regional quality labels as well as their food practices and purchasing behaviour with respect to products promoted by those schemes across different consumer groups, food cultures and settings*. This work complements two other approaches in WP8, which consist of a quantitative analysis via Pan-European online surveys (Task 8.1) and experimental analysis via a virtual store environment (Task 8.3).

The originality of Task 8.2 lies, at least, in the following two aspects:

- **Methodology:** First, the extensive fieldwork and qualitative data collection across seven European countries revealed the depth and complexity of consumer behaviour while highlighting potential gaps between consumers' valuation of sustainable food chains and actual food practices. Second, the ethnographic fieldwork guidelines are the result of a common methodological framework developed together with the seven team partners, which reflect different food cultures and institutional settings across countries, and reached via extensive dialogic conversation and consensus.
- **Synergy:** This work was conducted in close cooperation with two other tasks in S2F:
 - Task 8.1 - in many cases, during our last fieldwork visit and the dialogic conversation with participants we could refer to the empirical results obtained from the quantitative consumer analysis (D8.1)¹, to better comprehend how consumers understand, perceive, value, use and trust different FQS.
 - Task 7.1 on the qualitative assessment of Short Food Supply Chains (SFSC): a common theoretical framework was designed, taking into account the main structure of the interview guidelines and coding system in NVivo. The aim was to contribute to a deeper understanding of the data obtained from different qualitative methodological approaches and integrate information in our analysis and synthesis of results, albeit Serbia and Germany were not involved in Task 7.1.

While this study concerns sustainable food practices from a consumer perspective, our aim is beyond the pertinence of sustainable development as a political program compared to a regenerative production and holistic management. Although some of our participants suggested that a greener production and a more sustainable consumption would not be able to solve the real societal and environmental problems our world is facing, this study does not aim to provide any philosophical or psychological considerations. Instead, by observing and discussing with the participants *the role of FQS in their food practices* we are able to draw generalisable policy implications aimed at *improving the effectiveness of current policies on food quality designations, which may enhance their sustainability*. More specifically, this research aims **to**

¹ For all deliverables and research outputs from Strength2Food refer to the project website: <https://www.strength2food.eu/publications/>

observe and better understand how European consumers perceive, value and trust, and therefore **purchase and use, EU/national/regional food quality labels**. Special emphasis is, therefore, placed on **better understanding the potential gaps between consumers' stated valuation and their actual food practices**, including 1) planning, 2) purchasing, 3) using/cooking/eating and 4) disposal. Moreover, the study also looks at **consumers' perceptions and requests regarding additional or adjusted policy measures**, such as in the case of **public procurement**, to promote more sustainable food chains. In line with Edgard Morin's basic rules for understanding "the complex thought" (Morin, 2015, p. 114), we need to have an overview of the socio-cultural context around food practices and FQS to guarantee a study that is not reductive, but is able to observe and capture such complexity. Consequently, the main angle is not to focus on FQS *per se* but consider food quality labels in everyday food practices. Secondly, we need to contextualise the food consumption practices and their relation to FQS, and their integration within the national and EU institutional framework. Thirdly, the researcher becomes a 'live' actor in this dynamic fieldwork and throughout the study.

The report is a common work, based on seven independent country reports following a structural methodological guideline that the whole 8.2 team discussed and decided together (refer to Table 1). This deliverable could not have been produced without all partners' enthusiasm and serious participation, in preparation to the fieldwork, during the fieldwork and, last but not least, following the fieldwork for the analysis and discussion of results. As HiOA was the task leader, the Norwegian team provided the theoretical and conceptual framework and, while coordinating the fieldwork process, was responsible for putting the pieces of the puzzle together.

Table 1: Partners in Task 8.2 and authors of country reports

Country	Authors	Institution
France	Matthieu Duboys de Labarre, Pierre Wavresky	Umr CESAER, AgroSup Dijon, Univ. Bourgogne Franche-Comté, France (INRA-D)
Germany	Kathrin Meyer, Johannes Simons	University of Bonn, Germany (UBO)
Hungary	Áron Török, Peter Csillag	Ecosensus Nonprofit Ltd, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary (ECO-SEN)
Italy	Beatrice Biasini, Davide Menozzi, Matteo La Spina, Filippo Arfini	University of Parma, Italy (UNIPR)
Norway	Vilde Haugrønning, Virginie Amilien, Gun Roos	Consumption Research Norway, Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway (HiOA)
Serbia	Jelena Filipović, Galjina Ognjanov, Saša Veljković, Vukašin Kuč	University of Belgrade, Serbia (BEL)
UK	Barbara Tocco	Newcastle University, United Kingdom (UNEW)

Source: S2F project team.

This report is divided into three complementary parts: Chapters 1 to 5 consist of the skeleton of this report, outlining both the objectives and the context of the study. Chapters 6 to 8 constitute the flesh of the study, describing the fieldwork and presenting the analysis and results. The last Chapters, from 9 to 12, constitute the head, or synthesis, of the full study.

More specifically, following this introductory first chapter, Chapter 2 provides information about our conceptual framework, including specific research questions, basic definitions and our main theoretical approaches. Chapter 3 proposes the contextual scientific framework for the study, referring to previous publications and evidence base on central issues such as consumers' perceptions and attitudes to local and quality food. In Chapter 4 we present our theoretical framework and provide a broad picture of the methodological approach used while describing in more detail how the data were collected in each country. Chapter 5 introduces the institutional and policy setting in which this study fits, while taking into account of national differences and specific contexts for better understanding the roles of FQS and SFSC.

Working with qualitative research methods and, above all, in parallel across seven countries, implied the need to design common methodological and reporting guidelines. These were used and followed by each team country. However, to ensure a certain flexibility to *ad-hoc* local contexts, partners were allowed to adapt the guidelines to their specific settings and on a case to case basis. Thus, Chapter 6 provides a short overview of the methodology used in each country (further information is available in the Annexes), with a description of the households and specific participants. Chapter 7 presents the cognitive dimensions linked to FQS in food practices, concerning consumer understanding, perceptions and knowledge. Chapter 8 is the core of the report and emphasizes food practices and FQS in the respective countries' households as part of the consumption phases (planning, purchasing, using and disposal) and linked to the analytical dimensions of time and infrastructure. Although some parts appear to be repetitive, we have decided not to merge these because we wish to highlight the weight of routines and similar practices from one family to another, despite variations in interests and specific contexts.

As trust is a major element of the perceptions and use of FQS, Chapter 9 focuses on consumer trust and distrust in quality labels within different food practices. The way our participants perceive FQS in public procurement in their respective countries, and in the EU as a whole, is discussed in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 offers a succinct overview of the concrete suggestions proposed and discussed by the households to improve the sustainability of food chains. Lastly, Chapter 12 concludes this ethnographic study, drawing some conclusions regarding consumer practices towards FQS and some overall policy implications.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Consumers' words and gestures and researchers' observations of what participants say and do, or do not say or do, constitute the core of the conceptual framework. The empirical approach of this study is primarily based on communication (from words to absence of words, through facial expressions, frowns or smiles) and interactivity (between participants and products as well as participants and researchers). Our main route is "to let the field speak".

Even when we focus on practices, we cannot be sure that the observed practices can be translated by values or meanings that are central for the agent. Inspired by Edgar Morin's writing on the complex thought (summarized in Morin, 2008), this study adopts a constructivist perspective acknowledging that food practices are a complex network of interpersonal relations where systems, families, objects, individuals, situations and time - all play an important part. It also emphasizes the role of the researcher whose questions, presence and gazes may change the studied landscape and, eventually, it underlines that what we do not see nor hear is also a part of the study (Watzlawick, 1976). In other words, this report mixes a critical realist approach, acknowledging that changes and more respect for the environment are real conditions for human survival, and an epistemological constructivism, admitting that our results are constructed by us, Strength2food researchers, and that "no such construction can claim absolute truth" (Maxwell, 2012, p. 43).

The conceptual framework is based on a "complex thought" perspective highlighting several issues from previous literature - for example in "The practice of Eating" where Warde emphasizes that eating is a 'compound practice' where routines and conventions merge and support each others' development (Warde, 2016) - and that our own knowledge of the field has stressed as central: **sustainable consumption** has to do with both **individual** and **collective** attitudes and **practices**. At the individual level, questions like food waste within the household or health issues are fundamental, while the sustainability in services (either public services like canteens or hospitals, or private services as for community supported agriculture - CSA) and markets (locality, proximity or seasonality) will be of major relevance at a more collective level. In linking individual and collective perspectives, the role of the **state** (i.e. regulation and education), and the dimension of responsibility (of the consumer, the producer, or the retailer) also constitute significant domains in our ethnographic approach.

This report aims at providing a better and deeper understanding of the use of FQS in consumer households and answer questions such as:

- How are the FQS used and how do they relate to everyday food practices?
- How are consumer perceptions and practices towards FQS linked to different contexts?
- What is the cultural meaning of FQS in everyday life food consumption practices?
- How can our knowledge about FQS and few European families' perceptions and practices be used to enhance environmental, cultural and social sustainability for future generations?

Fieldwork approaches, concrete research questions and hypotheses

Our main approach is interactive, as we agreed to "let the field speak". Furthermore, the conceptual framework builds on three complementary approaches.

A social practical approach, examining the interaction between routines, norms, ethics and reflections in food consumption and eating practices that will encompass the whole project.

Specific research questions are: “Why do participants consume, or not consume, FQS?”; “How much do the participants think about FQS before consuming or not consuming such products?”; and “How do the participants’ acts of planning, purchasing, using, justifying and, last but not least, throwing away FQS, shed light on the processes that lead up to the use of FQS?”

- *One hypothesis is that the use of FQS is often linked either to routine or to a certain conception of quality where sustainability is central, including environmental, economic, cultural and social aspects. We would be able catch the pillars of either routines or conceptions with our ethnographic fieldwork.*

A dialogic approach, building on communicative, semiotic and linguistic dimensions. This aims at emphasizing the impact of words, expressions and justification in our qualitative fieldworks to answer questions such as: “What are participants actually telling us about FQS and their uses?”; “How do they justify the consumption, or non-consumption, of FQS?”; and “Are there different challenges for purchasing FQS from a local seller or from a supermarket, with or without quality labels?”

- *One hypothesis is that the quality dimension of FQS builds more on trust than other criteria. Another hypothesis is that participants would develop knowledge and interest for FQS during the long time of the fieldwork (9 months to 1 year). We would be able to catch potential changes in routines or conceptions with our ethnographic fieldwork.*

An ethnological approach, including a *food diary* of FQS use within the family and emphasizing traditional, diachronic and identity dimensions through the very meaning of the FQS at a cultural level. This will answer questions such as: “What is a FQS?”; “How do people consume FQS?”; and, “Why, and what do FQS actually mean?”

- *One hypothesis is that FQS change roles and values depending on the situation, time, generation, etc. and that the meaning of FQS is cultural and contextual. We would be able to catch the ways, and possibly the why and wherefore FQS are used, or not, with our ethnographic fieldwork.*

Definitions and semantics

Before we go further, it is necessary to define our main concepts. On one hand, several concepts are purely ‘emic’ (coming from the field) and they are only delimited by the way participants express, or not, them. On the other hand, we need notions to work with, when preparing the project, the methodological guidelines and in the analytical phase. The ‘etic’ notions (defined from researchers), presented and defined hereunder, are consequently referred to in this report, but were seldom used during the fieldwork with participants.

Food Quality Schemes - FQS

By FQS we mean all food quality schemes (e.g. regional, national, EU, international) that our participants use or speak about, including the EU official Geographical Indications (GIs) and traditional specialities, such as the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), the Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and the Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG).

For our purpose, four different categories are recognised:

a) GIs – Origin and tradition quality labels: PDO and PGI: Although they have a long history, GIs have increased exponentially in the global agri-food marketplace over the last 25 years (Raustiala & Munzer, 2007). Producers' groups establishing, regulating and governing the use of these GIs are organized in a large variety of forms. In Europe, GIs such as PDO and PGIs, as well as their supporting producers' groups, are regulated and governed under a common EU policy framework and by the European law (Marette, Clemens, & Babcock, 2008). PDO designation means that the products are “produced, processed, and prepared within a given geographical area using recognized know-how.” PGI designation means that “the geographical link must occur in at least one of the stages of production, processing or preparation. Furthermore, the product can benefit from a good reputation”.

b) Traditional products: Regulation (EU) n. 1151/2012 gives a definition of a traditional product bearing a TSG label. TSG does not refer to the origin, but highlights traditional character, in either the composition or the means of production, and also a traditional recipe. The tradition has to be well documented for at least 25 years. Most traditional products are crafted using recipes locally handed down for several generations, but tradition is both a state and a process, including innovation.

c) Local or regional product: This is a product with a local or regional anchorage, which is likely to imply more authenticity than a food produced in a more distant place, but not necessarily through a FQS.

d) Organic products: By organic products we mean food products that have been produced in an ecological way, respecting natural cycles and avoiding the use of pesticides, additives and other components that are not good for the soil nor the body and, in addition, preserving biodiversity. This category includes products certified via assurance schemes by certification bodies and displaying bio labels, as well as organic products which may not be necessarily certified, but that consumers know are produced in an organic way.

Short Food Supply Chains (SFSC): In line with Regulation (EU) n. 1305/2013, and with the work conducted in Work Package 7 of the Strength2Food project, we define here SFSC as a “supply chain involving a limited number of economic operators, committed to co-operation, local economic development, and close geographical and social relations between producers, processors and consumers”.²

Private quality labels and brands: By private quality labels we refer to supermarkets' own brands or specific quality stamps that either distributors or producers mark their food with.

Logo: By logo we mean the graphic symbol which is used to represent the quality label.

² More broadly, a supply chain is “the network of organizations that are involved, through upstream and downstream linkages, in the different processes and activities that produce value in the form of products and services in the hand of the ultimate consumer” (Christopher, 1998, p. 15).

3. STUDYING SUSTAINABLE CONSUMPTION, LOCAL AND QUALITY FOOD - STATE OF THE ART

Consumption and consumers

Consumption is much more than buying a product. On one hand, researchers usually put emphasis on four complementary basic aspects in consumption behaviour: planning, purchasing, using and throwing away, that Desjeux deepens into seven stages (Desjeux, 2006, pp. 96-110). On the other hand, they underline the fact that consumption not only has to do with economy or a will of distinction, but it has to be placed in a context linked to practices, values and meanings. In other words, consumption has to do with information diffusion and transmission, with cultural values and with what Benoît Heilbrunn calls “a dynamic of collective memory” (Heilbrunn, 2005, p. 19). This is particularly pertinent in food consumption related to FQS, because consumers only use food products that have a cultural value. Here, FQS, SFSC, local, and organic food play an important role. This has to be considered in parallel with a quite recent democratisation of goods through mass production and distribution (the last three generations in Europe). Food products - like other items - have been standardised, un-contextualised or extracted from their original production context. Some propose to concretise or reconstruct them through a territorial agri-food approach (Wiskerke, 2009) and FQS can be perceived as a way for the consumer to identify them again.³ One central pillar in this study is to observe food practices with a focus on local products, signs of quality and short chain distribution: we need then a deeper insight in *everyday consumption practices* while specifically focusing on *how the products are elements of practices* and *how consumers use and choose, or not*, FQS products.

Consumption situations and constraints are of major importance as nobody usually acts as “a typical consumer”, but acts in different contexts and roles (as a mother, as a woman, as a researcher, etc.). As argued by Halkier and Jensen, the consumer is “*seen as a carrier of practices and as a place for intersection of a plurality of practices as [...] parental practices, work practices and transportation practices*” (Halkier & Jensen, 2011, p. 105). Based on this perspective, the concept of the *consumer* itself is a social construction. It is the reason why this study proposes an approach through practices, combining agency, communication, thoughts, food products and infrastructure, just to mention a few examples. Reflecting upon Morin’s “complex thought”, and in good Social Practice Theory (SPT) tradition, Warde (2016) emphasizes the holistic approach to eating, a practice he characterises as a “compound practice”, in his recent book about ‘The practice of eating’. This compound practice builds on several complementary dimensions where routines and conventions are both fundamental and interactive, as they support each other’s development and adaptation. This reminds us that our participants have to be seen as food practitioners who bear practices interwoven in their perception of sustainable food consumption. But the quality of food is constructed including many actors, and in order to study the consumer it is also fundamental to take into consideration “*a larger institutional dynamics [...] such as how the whole supply-side of food production and retailing is working, how the national and transnational public regulations are organized and implemented*” (Halkier & Jensen, 2011, p. 105).

³ This aspect turned to be especially pertinent in 2018, the European Year of Cultural Heritage as a recent EU survey highlighted how proud Europeans were of the history and culture within their local communities. See: https://europa.eu/cultural-heritage/european-year-cultural-heritage_en

Quality and local food: FQS and SFSC

The literature on local food lacks a common agreement and definition of the concept of local food itself (Feldmann & Hamm, 2015). In an earlier study on the subject inspired by Bérard & Marchenay (Bérard & Marchenay, 1998), we introduced three understandings of local food among the most concerned actors: local food (locally grown and sold); localised food products that use a local image but are predominantly sold outside the region of origin; and terroir products (e.g. GIs) (Amilien, 2011; Amilien, Schjøll, & Vramo, 2008). We propose to keep this division here and recognize the difference between emic and etic uses of local food as a concept.

Concerning earlier studies of local and localised food, Kneafsey et al. (2013) give an excellent overview of the valuable work done in the field, in their “*Short food supply chains and local food systems in the EU*” (2013, p. 45). Thus, we will in this report concentrate on contributions that have been published after this.

According to Feldmann and Hamm (2015), who recently reviewed the scientific literature on local food from the consumer’s perspective, local food is more appreciated for certain product categories than others and is generally not perceived as expensive. Nevertheless, consumers are also willing to pay a premium for local food. The expected or perceived superior quality was frequently linked to freshness, healthiness, and wholesomeness. Consumers have also expressed greater trust in local food products, as local food are perceived as safer and easier to trace back. More altruistic attitudes towards local food dealt with support of the local economy and community through social relationships and/or close proximity. Environmental friendliness of the production process and transportation, animal welfare and better conditions for farm workers. Moreover, some studies emphasize the consumer segmentation, concluding that middle aged/older and highly educated consumers with good income have a preference for PDO/PGI labelled products, as well as consumers with knowledge about, or relationship, to the region (Aprile, Caputo, & Nayga Jr, 2016).

It is argued that local production needs shorter transport distances and is therefore preferable from an environmental point of view. However, a growing number of life cycle assessment (LCA) studies have shown that local or domestic production does not necessarily have advantages over imports from an environmental point of view (Nemecek, Jungbluth, i Canals, & Schenck, 2016). The sustainability of local food systems has also been questioned in the EU H2020 GLAMUR project, emphasizing that local and global are so interwoven in each other that it is difficult to come to a clear classification. Moreover, each case is dependent on a given context, which contributes to an overall complex picture, although, overall, local food is often more socially sustainable (Brunori et al., 2016). Schmitt et al. (2017) have assessed the sustainability of local and global food products in different EU contexts. They found that the strength of local products was mainly in health and socio-economic dimensions, particularly aspects of care and links to the territory such as biodiversity, animal welfare, governance or resilience. Global food products instead presented substantial advantages in terms of climate change mitigation and affordability to consumers.

Food labels and logos

In their study about “Consumers’ Preferences and Attitudes Toward Local Food Products”, Aprile et al. (2016) note a low awareness for GIs products (except for Greece). The authors find a relatively low level of understanding and generally, the role of the PDO in consumer choice is small. However, they also observe that many consumers are able to make inferences that promote products with designation of origin and that context specific factors may play a role.

A recent study from the 2015 Eurobarometer on logos, showed that consumers’ awareness and knowledge is very limited (Eurobarometer, 2015, p. 57) with very few people being able to identify correctly the information on food packaging. The 2012 Eurobarometer also underlines a general consumer disinterest in brand information, especially food logos.

“Food quality, price and origin matter to the majority of EU citizens, but attitudes to brands vary – The majority of EU citizens take quality, price and origin into consideration when buying food, but only a minority are interested in brand information” (Eurobarometer 2012: 14)

“Most EU citizens check food for quality labels, but few do this consistently” (Eurobarometer 2012: 24)

Overall, awareness of food quality logos is low in the EU-27, whereas specific awareness varies between Member States (Eurobarometer, 2012, p. 27). The proposed logos are so pertinent for our study that we have reproduced one of the report’s figures (see Figure 1).

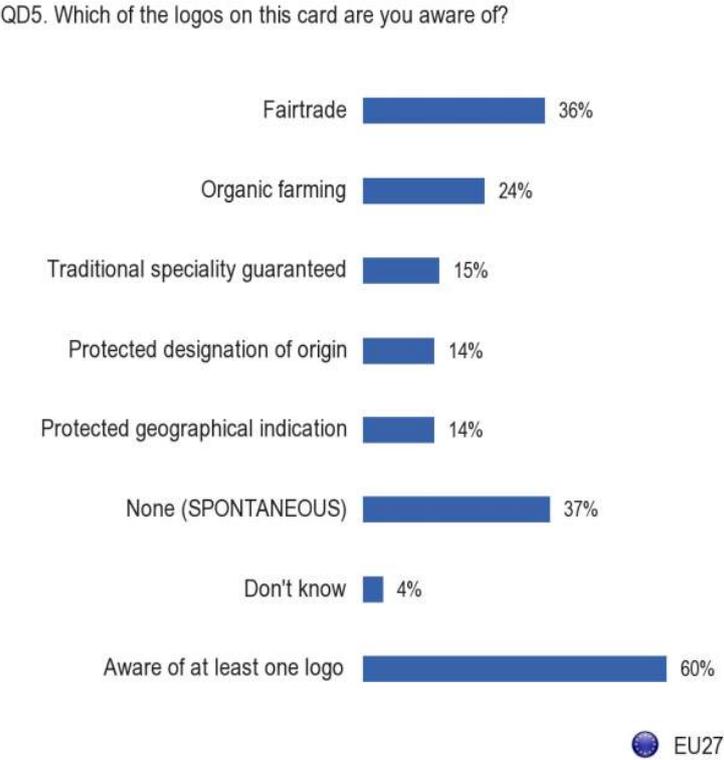


Figure 1: Consumers’ awareness of five FQS logos in the EU-27

Source: Eurobarometer 389, 2012: 27.

This survey took five FQS into consideration and we can clearly see that GIs are associated with lower awareness compared to other logos. Moreover, there are considerable differences from country to country: in Italy and Hungary, around 30% of consumers report that they always check for food quality labels when purchasing food, compared to less than 20% in the case of France and Germany (refer to Figure 2).

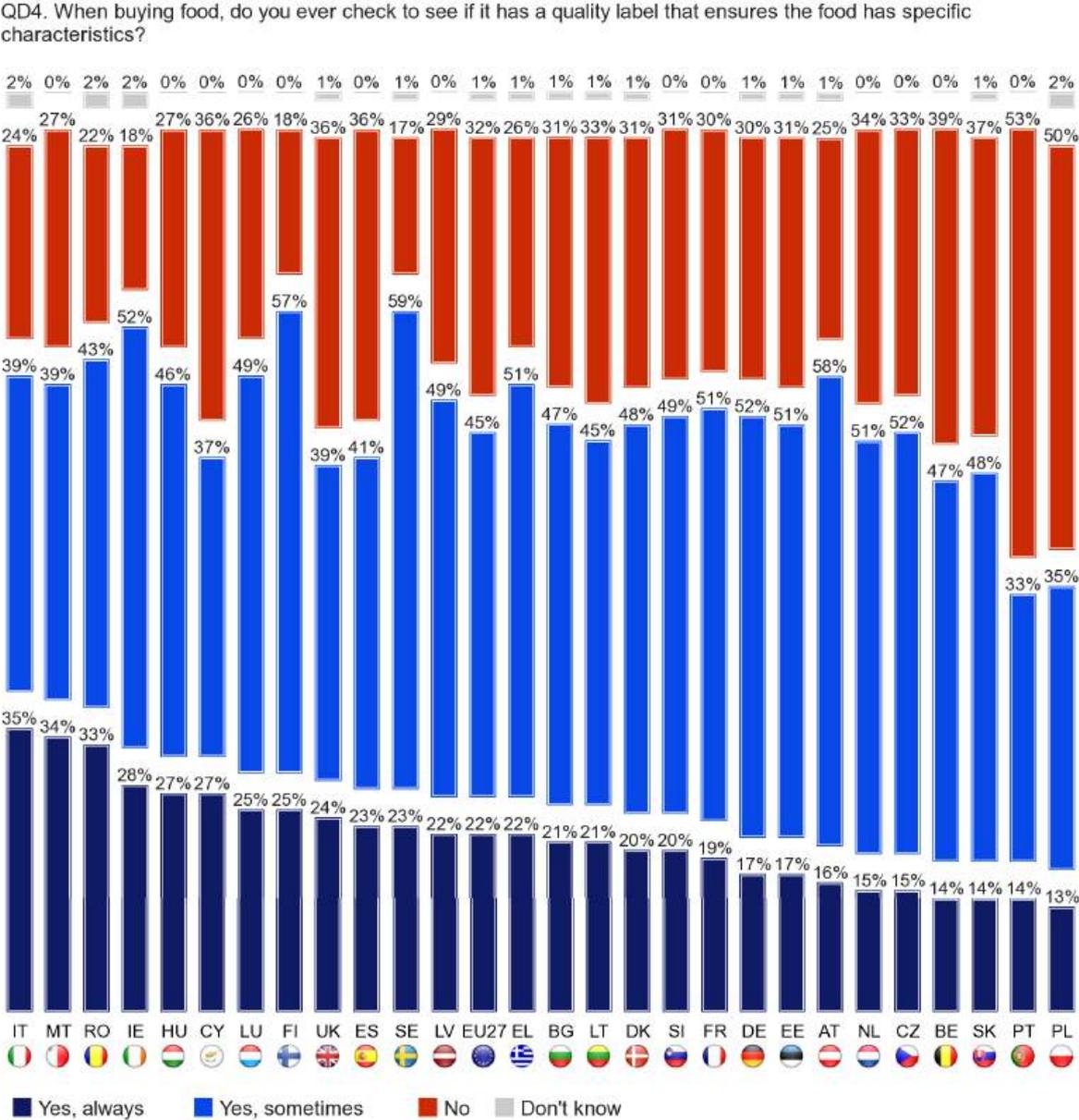


Figure 2: EU citizens’ attention to food quality labels when buying food

Source: Eurobarometer 389, 2012: 25.

Heidenstrøm, Jacobsen, and Borgen (2011) pointed to ‘the label jungle’ when referring to Norwegian grocery stores and underlined that consumers can be confused by too many labels and, as a consequence, often react either by selection or by ignorance. In other words, those who have the pertinent knowledge use the labels to select the food products they want, while others prefer to ignore those labels that they do not trust. Trust and distrust is another important issue for quality labels especially when consumers are skeptical about the authorities responsible for control and certification (Kneafsey et al., 2013, p. 47).

Nevertheless, the relevance of PDO labels on the market has been confirmed in several empirical studies. Deselnicu, Costanigro, Souza-Monteiro, and McFadden (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of studies estimating price premiums for agricultural products differentiated by

GI. GIs capture the highest percentage premium in markets for products with short supply chains and relatively low added value (e.g., agricultural commodities). The premium is lower for wine and olive oil, where alternative means of product differentiation (e.g. branding) exist. While controlling for product characteristics, those GIs adopting stricter regulations (PDO) yielded larger premiums than less regulated ones (PGI). The willingness to pay (WTP) for a PDO certification has been explained in a cross-cultural study conducted by Van Ittersum et al. (2007). This study suggests that consumers' image of regional certification labels consists of a quality warranty dimension and an economic support dimension, which positively relate to consumers' willingness to buy and pay for the protected regional product.

Public procurement

Green Public Procurement is a part of the EU policy and since 2010 the EU commission has provided examples of good practices, such as organic canteens in Berlin or Lens, environmentally friendly catering at the University of Basel⁴. The impact of such experiments, and the possibility to have better food quality through public procurement, has been underlined by several studies (see e.g (Sonnino, 2009) about school meals in Rome), supporting the pertinence of the strategy.

Recently, Stefani et al. (2017) systematically reviewed the scientific literature dealing with public food procurement. Their research has shown a growing interest in public food procurement in several social science disciplines: management sciences, political science, sociology and economics. The three main topics traced in the reviewed material concern: nutrition and health programs, the food supply chain organization and institution, and sustainability. The sustainability topic identified by the authors mainly concerns the social domain of sustainability, rather than the environmental one, which is instead the primary focus in green procurement. Environmental aspects are treated only indirectly with reference to organic food and food miles (see e.g. Otsuki, 2011).

⁴ For more information on Green Public Procurement good practices, refer to the following: http://ec.europa.eu/environment/gpp/case_group_en.htm

4. COMMON THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Theoretical framework

Although our main framework relies on grounded theory, meaning that we let the field lead our theoretical understandings, our knowledge of the subject, earlier literature, our experiences and our contextual framework permit to integrate several pertinent theoretical models. This research rests upon a theoretical combination of the theories of Practice, Convention, Cultural Adaptation work and Dialogism. This theoretical triangulation will enable us to better understand cultural conditions for the development of food consumption practices.

Social Practice Theory (SPT): With the empirical context being FQS, we concentrate on how the notion of a theory of practice has been presented in modern consumer research, in addition to general sociology. We take Warde's article *Consumption and Theories of Practice* (2005) as a starting point, but we also include insights from Reckwitz's more philosophical approach in the article *Toward a Theory of Social Practices* (2002). Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012, pp. 22-26) distinguish between three elements that constitute a practice: Material, Competence and Meaning. These elements change in different ways depending on the other elements and other surrounding practices. For example, an object might be part of several practices simultaneously but affect the competence and meaning in different ways in these practices. Practices change when new components are included, or when the existing elements are combined in new ways (Shove et al., 2012). Practice theory is a way to transcend the structure–agency or top-down–bottom-up dichotomy and provides a more balanced approach where the practices within society determine social activities (Shove, 2004, p. 85).

Mainly referring to the aforementioned contributors, Gram-Hansen defines an “essence of four points, containing what seems to be relevant for a study having to focus on, and describing, routines and embodied habits of consumption” (Gram-Hanssen, 2011). For this study the four points are: with a specific focus on FQS the project will observe consumers' non-reflexive use of the FQS (Point 1). Explicit rules (Point 2) will be especially present in label quality schemes, or brands and food markets. Engagements (Point 3) will, in these arenas, be concerned with both the justifications for consuming, and the effort consumer do to get, such products. Eventual moral, normative or even religious concerns will be a background for the engagements. The product (Point 4) here is the FQS itself, the actual artefact that actors use or do not use.

Whereas SPT is a tool to understand in what way and why people are using FQS the way they do, it is not a fully developed framework to understand the norms, regulations, conventions and justifications of the practices, nor the cultural background or social change. We will, therefore, combine practice theory with Convention Theory.

Convention Theory (CT): Convention Theory is a pillar in our theoretical understanding of the world. Laurent Thévenot proposes a simple overview in one of his numerous articles, explaining the way of thinking back the worlds of worth:

“we analyzed the plurality of ways people submit their action to critical judgments which are legitimate, we moved away not only from the Durkheimian tradition but also the American pragmatism understanding. ... Instead of understanding the collective via membership in a social group (Durkheimism) or the consequences of action (pragmatism), we envisaged it in terms of forms of generalization that are both cognitive and evaluative and that confer legitimacy on persons and things—what we have called their ‘qualification’ in accordance with orders of worth (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006). [1991]). These orders are as follows: ‘domestic’ worth, evaluated from the perspective of anchored tradition; the worth of ‘fame,’ understood as visibility in public opinion;

‘market’ worth, determined by competition; ‘industrial’ worth, understood as technical efficiency; ‘civic’ worth, pertaining to the general interest and egalitarian solidarity; the worth of ‘inspiration,’ as figured by the creative break or difference. This model of plural orders of ‘worth’ does not refer to an individual choosing ‘frames’ or other cognitive ‘tools’ to be used opportunely given the circumstances” (Laurent Thévenot, 2007, p. 413).

The use of FQS is here seen as a matter of convention in different worlds of worth. Dependent on the context, FQS represent a kind of agreement or understanding of shared norms and expectations, developed within a given social system in order to mediate interactions between the actors involved. We will also refer to the three pragmatic regimes, i.e. the regime of familiarity, the regime of regular action and the public regime of justification, discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 (L Thévenot, 2001, pp. 70-72), to better understand the bricolages and strategies used by our participants to engage in a more sustainable world, while focusing on the complex realm of everyday food consumption. It is not only the model or the principles behind the different worlds of worth that are interesting, but also, as Boltanski and Thévenot put it, the “dialectic in between”.

Although the model is good for identifying quality conventions and linking micro and macro approaches, it is less appropriate as a tool to analyse how the use of FQS may develop and be transformed or, for instance, to understand what the main drivers or barriers for change are. This is the reason why we propose to combine this large regulation theoretical framework with a more empirical model, Cultural Adaptation Work. We wish to assure that FQS can be analysed from a holistic perspective to take into consideration the transformation of culture, social relationships and materiality across both time and space.

Cultural Adaptation Work Theory (CAW): CAW is a conceptual framework developed to better understand how people continually adapt their understanding, their interaction forms and their material environment relationally, in time and space through *translations of meaning, reorganization of social relations* and the *transformation of things* (Hegnes, 2013). Understanding the use of FQS as transformative practices permits us to identify, describe and understand the construction, power relations, adaptations, justifications, consequences and strategies to cope with risk in an over-civilized risk society. To further strengthen the understanding of our “participants’ words and expressions”, a central empirical data, we need to deepen the dialectical dimension of FQS.

In this respect, CAW focuses on actors and their customization capabilities and opportunities, while practice theory focuses on the practice and the players are subordinate (ideally) to the practice. Based on CT, Hegnes argues that there is a need to focus on the adaptations that occur between different values, rather than cultivate them as ideal typical forms: "Dedicated and indiscriminate uses, for example Actor Network Theory and Convention Theory in analysis of PDO/ PGI, enclosed the actants in a static network of conventions and shadows for exploration of the nuances of the actors' adaptation practices in different contexts (Hegnes 2013: 45-46)".

Dialogism Theory: Based on Bakhtin’s dialogism (M. Bakhtine, 1978, p. 103) this approach underlines that participants’ words are not necessary for individuality but rather a manifestation of a collective discourse or normative frames. If words are central, so are non-words, or pauses as well as gestures and practices, observed in our empirical fields. Dialogism is definitively built from the “inside”, opening for a new way to understand the history of FQS. Bakhtin’s perspective also emphasises the dialogue between the past and the present by aiming at formulating predicative models that will be relevant for a cultural sustainable society - a

perspective that also is central in the complex thought, in convention theory and in social practice theory.

This ethnographic study rests upon the theoretical triangulation of the aforementioned theories that complement each other and provide the theoretical needs required to expand the knowledge on the way quality food affects our perceptions in the world we live in. The structure of the semi-structured interview, the way questions were asked and the specific themes to be discussed, as well as the NVivo coding, were adapted to this theoretical triangulation.

Common methodology

The main methodology was ethnographic fieldwork, but for the needs of the study and to check the given hypotheses we have also used semi-structured interviews, desk study research, as well as dialogic conversations.

Ethnographic observations of the use of FQS, local food and SFSC, were collected in six families across seven European countries (France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Serbia and the UK) throughout three different seasons (each of the three visits per household lasted around half a day / two halves a day, with three to six months in between each visit). It is important to note that the involved researchers did not necessarily try to get as much as possible data on FQS but more generally on family food practices, because this would implicitly shed light on their interest in, and use of, FQS.

➤ *The aim was to collect as much descriptive information as possible about practices.*

Ethnography is the study of social interactions, practices and understandings/views that occur within groups⁵. Emphasis is on exploring ‘the native point of view’ to see the way members of a society see their own society, rather than only reporting what the researcher sees:

“Ethnography is a way of understanding the particulars of daily life in such a way as to increase the success probability of a new product or service or, more appropriately, to reduce the probability of failure specifically due to a lack of understanding of the basic behaviours and frameworks of consumers” (Salvador, Bell, & Anderson, 1999).

Principles of ethnographic fieldwork are such that our approach was being “naïve” and open minded (not taking things for granted) - like that of a new recruit or even a child – in addition to reflexivity (the researcher uses self-awareness). We did not aim at doing research on or about the household, but research *with* the household. The researcher took part in people’s daily lives - observing what happened, listening to what was said, asking questions and participating in activities. Our objective was “to be there”, experiencing and doing things together (e.g. food shopping, cooking, eating), but with specific attention on what the participants were or were not doing. It is a direct and first-hand engagement where observation and participation are key issues. The basic idea was that it was from observation and participation in everyday life and food practices that we would be able to better understand the use - or non-use - of FQS, local food and SFSC. The researcher would discover or uncover ways of understanding, i.e. similarities and differences, everyday food related practices and how these are connected with the food consumption context and dynamics within the household.

Focusing on practices, we got inspiration from Michel De Certeau’s work on “arts de faire” (Certeau, Giard, & Mayol, 1994) and from SPT, where a fundamental quote is:

⁵ There are many handbooks on qualitative methods and ethnography. An interesting TED talk on the use of ethnography can be found at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nV0jY5VgymI>

“A practice (Praktik) is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of other etc. – forms so to speak a ‘block’ whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements.” (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249-250).

Dynamism and interaction at every level, between elements of practices, but also the practitioner and the researcher is another pillar of SPT.

“In the higher stage of skill, there is a constant interplay between tacit knowledge and self-conscious awareness, the tacit knowledge serving as an anchor, the explicit awareness serving as critique and corrective.” (Sennett, 2008, p. 50).

Torkkeli et al. (Torkkeli, Mäkelä, & Niva) analysed cooking videos collected through two conceptualisations: one focusing on what people say as well as understandings, procedures and engagements; and one focusing on what people do through materials, competences and meanings. The interaction between the two conceptualisations is also emphasized, as shown in the figure below:

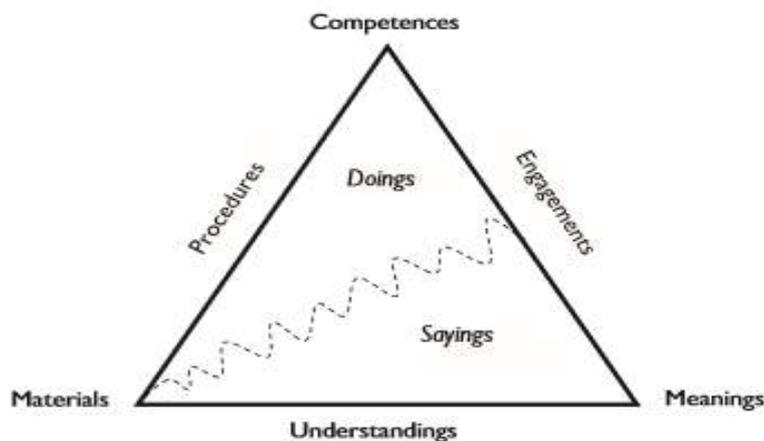


Figure 3: The triangle of elements of practice and their manifestations as doings and sayings in cooking

Source: Elements of practice in the analysis of auto-ethnographical cooking videos (Torkkeli et al., p. 14).

The visual ethnographic method also built on several HiOA works, as a previous kitchen study where video-filming was both used as a method for data collection and for self-reflexion on data (Amilien, Bergh, & Helstad, 2003). In a recent report about food waste, Heidenstrøm and Herbrok (2017) use a similar ethnographic approach – also inspired by SPT and the wardrobe study methodology (Klepp & Bjerck, 2014) merging participants sayings and doings “from their fridges” (Herbrok & Heidenstrøm, 2017). In line with those studies, we agree with Halkier and Jensen that *“analytical affordance from practice theory is the ability to understand food practices and food consumption activities as continuous dynamic and relational accomplishments ... Instead of relying mainly on absolute concepts such as lifestyle segments,*

the concepts and methods used in empirical consumption research also have to enable the unfolding of processes and varieties.” (Halkier & Jensen, 2011, p. 106).

Furthermore, Woermann (2018) insists on the importance of “focusing”, and especially the process behind that focus (e.g. what, why and how to focus) is fundamental, but often forgotten, in ethnographic research. The author underlines several strategies that are pertinent for this study, as for example, looking for persistent routines, considering that “practice performances are inherently organised bundles of doings and saying” or taking other elements, like notebooks or smartphones, into the fieldwork (Woermann, 2018, p. 470). Moreover, the author reminds us that analysing and publishing videos is difficult since text is the common format of scientific publication today.

Short gaze into the methodological approach

Based on the overview of previous and ongoing ethnographic fieldworks, our researchers’ team for Task 8.2 decided to select five to six households in seven European countries (France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Serbia, and the UK). We decided to take into account variation in household composition (number of adults, presence of children, different age groups), location (rural/urban), and interest/involvement in FQS and SFSC when selecting the households.

The selection of households was based on the following common criteria: 1-2 adults, households with children (at least one), interest in FQS (at least one), ethnic minority (at least one) (see Chapter 6 for methodological details across the seven countries). The methodological guidelines, including the discussion in the below sections, have been developed and discussed in conjunction with the Task 8.2 team partners.

Participant observation or “observatory participation”

Participant observation is central to ethnography. The researcher tries to experience the life of participants to the extent it is possible, although we are aware that our view of reality is neither an objective one nor “the” truth. Participant observation is a *strategy* that facilitates data collection in the field. The researcher becomes the instrument for both data collection and analysis through their own experience. Our methodology consisted of several tools (described here under) woven in each other within the framework of a “household and kitchen tour”. In our fieldwork, participant observation essentially concerned planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal of FQS, local food and SFSC products within the household.

Field notes

The researchers kept a notepad to take small notes during fieldwork. Field notes were written on the same day. Descriptive notes of observations of practices of planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal of FQS products, were also noted down.

Possible dimensions for field notes: physical layout of places, people involved, activities, things that are present, actions people carry out, sequencing of events that occur, things that people are trying to accomplish, emotions felt and expressed, etc.

Video recording

Video recording of planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal of FQS products within the household.

➤ *The aim was to better document households' food practices.*

Video recording was used for documenting observations of practices such as shopping together and making food together with members in a household. The focus was specifically on the documentation of things and practices in that specific environment (not people *per se*). The aim of filming was not to use it in direct analysis, but to catch body language/movement and implicit information (for example, automatism when purchasing, or how senses are used, or not used, when purchasing or cooking, etc.). It also helped us to reconstruct the fieldwork situation, reminding us about the way participants acted and spoke (bored, enthusiastic, etc.). Prior consent and approval was requested from participants prior to any filming.

Video recording also enabled researchers to invite participants to record, remember and reflect on the ways in which they experience and engage with FQS products in their everyday environments. In addition, video recording enabled the researchers to remember the broader experience and imagine other people's worlds. It was a tool to remind us about the fieldwork (at a much later stage) and to focus on things we did not notice during the visit.

The video recording was first intended for "internal use" in the project, either between researchers, or with the participants for having an interactive discussion. But we also requested authorisation to use small sequences of chosen video films for communication about the project and to reach a larger audience. We decided, therefore, some mandatory sequences to be filmed: each partner would choose a few minutes of his/her favourite clips (not including people/faces but only hands of participants, places and products) to be combined with others and possibly make a common documentary film.

Mandatory sequences:

1. Film or take pictures of the basket of products and film/audio record the semi-structured interview.
2. Film the kitchen, including cupboards (outside and inside) and refrigerator/freezer (inside) at least once (during one of the visit) – this film sequence **WITHOUT** any people in the movie (2-5 minutes)
3. Film while purchasing in the chosen shop – we filmed the shop (outside)⁶, going into the shop, shelves and in some situations hands picking up food products. We also filmed the receipt at the end - at least once (during one of the visit) (2-5 minutes)
4. Film at home while unpacking and organizing the products – we filmed the participants' hands while putting food products on shelves and in the fridge as well as the cupboards **AFTER** everything had been organized - at least once (during one of the visit) (2-5 minutes)
5. Film while preparing food – we filmed the participants' hands while preparing food and recorded conversations - at least once (during one of the visit) (2-15 minutes)

⁶ Permission to video record in-store was specifically asked to respective shop owners / managers. In case filming was not allowed, as it was the case in several countries, audio-recording, field notes and photography (when possible) were used instead.

6. Film the meal – not people but what was on the table – before the meal and after the meal etc. (1-5 minutes)
7. Film while cleaning the kitchen, after the meal – in some situations participants’ hands while washing up and disposing of food products/left-overs - at least once (during one of the visit) (2-5 minutes)
8. More importantly, each researcher had to adapt the video recording to her/his own possibility, competence and interest. If somebody did not feel comfortable with filming, an alternative was to ask the participants to film themselves. When filming was not possible, taking pictures and audio recording were utilised instead.



Figure 4: Inside a fridge and a cupboard in a Norwegian household

Source: HiOA - own picture from fieldwork.

Photography and notes

Pictures and notes (either electronic or paper notepad) were also taken, to complement (or replace) the videos. We could also use screenshots from the video, to illustrate the “family context” in our country report, for example a picture of the kitchen, fridge, cupboard, table with food, the products brought to the households on the first visit, etc.

Food biography: use of tablet/iPad for households

The households documented their experiences and engagement in FQS products by taking notes and photos/film with a tablet/iPad or other alternative suitable means (camera, smartphone, laptop, etc.).

The households were given instructions for documentation at the first fieldwork visit. They were asked to document planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal of FQS products within the household. Participants were free to decide the format, content and the frequency of their own documentation, but we asked them each season/ each visit to choose 12 pictures that were important for them on a given theme (refer to Annex 1). The first series of photo were aimed at documenting the biography of family food during a week while the second series focused on the biography of a food product. For example, we specifically asked them to choose and follow 1 (or more) food products with quality food labels and document with pictures (as well as notes and videos if they wanted) their ‘destiny’ and ‘use’ through the different consumption phases (planning, shopping, preparing, eating and waste).

The self-documentation and photos were used as a base for discussion at later field visits.

- *The aim was to dynamically engage participants to better understand the use/non use of FQS – but restricting them to a limited number of pictures they had to choose between.*

Face-to-face interviews with participants

Semi-structured interviews and in-depth conversations were held with the household members, comprising people who used or did not use FQS. The discussion structure was quite flexible, enabling the researcher with a certain freedom in asking questions or following up a discussion. It also functioned as an ice-breaker for the first visit.

- *The aim was to collect discursive and normative data about the perception and the meaning of the use/non use of FQS – approximately one hour per interview.*

All the semi-structured interviews from the first visit were audio-recorded and transcribed, with logbooks analysed via computer assisted software (e.g. Nvivo) and our own manual systems.

Dialogic conversations

Dialogic conversations with participants were introduced at the third and last visit. The purpose was to ask questions, observe, and discuss together the filmed and noted practices. This self-reflexive approach contained a study of the study itself and sought to reflect upon practices by discussion and feedback to the project actors (both participants and researchers). Chosen parts were transcribed and logbooks analysed.

- *The aim was to better understand practices through common reflection and discussion and to explore how researchers overcome cultural and disciplinary obstacles during the research process.*

Based on Bakhtine's dialogism (1978, p. 103), this approach aimed at underlining that participants' words are not necessary for individuality but rather a manifestation of a collective discourse or normative frames. Not only words are central, so are also non-verbal communication, pauses as well as gestures and practices, heard or observed in our empirical fields. Dialogism is built from the "inside," opening for a new way to understand food related practices.

Bakhtine's perspective also emphasises the dialogue between the past and the present by aiming at formulating predicative models that will be relevant for a cultural sustainable society.

For this last dialogic conversation, the transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews with the households were sent to the families prior to the third visit. Together with the participants we went through the questions and answers from the first visit and established a dialogic discussion that reflected potential changes in family practices, new knowledge, etc. It was also possible to show photos or short videos from the first interviews to stimulate the dialogue.

Inspired from mentoring programs (Ekeland, 2014), the dialogic conversation builds on four complementary phases, depicted in the figure below.

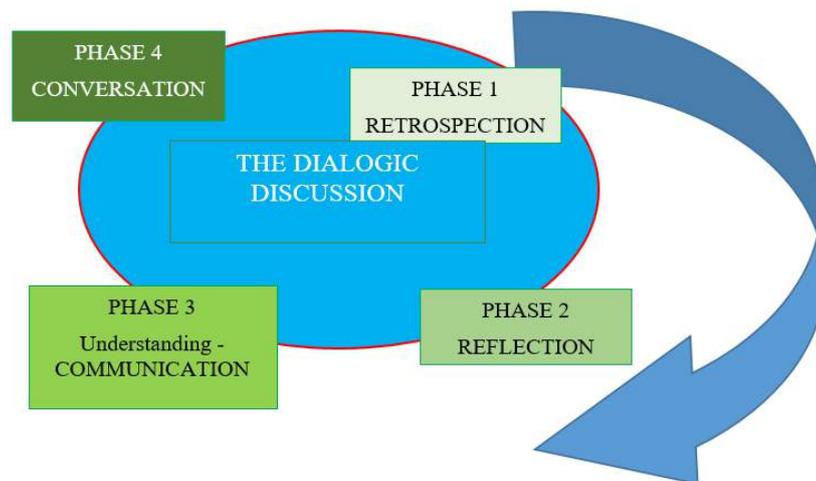


Figure 5: The four phases of the dialogic discussion

Source: Own adaptation of the model presented by Ekeland (Ekeland 2014, p. 160).

Phase 1- Retrospection

- Open questions – to stimulate free thoughts
- We listen and let the participants express themselves
- While looking back at the transcript from the semi-structured interview we ask questions like: “What do you think about the products we brought?”; “Why did you say that?”

Phase 2 - Reflection: like a mirror

- We expand and stimulate further reflections on the same subject
- Propositions for reflection: “If you look back to before the first visit, do you think you have changed the way in which you view food?”; “Has being part of our project played a role in this? If yes, how?”
- We stimulate the discussion with selected pictures (for example, PDO or PGI products found in local shops). The aim is to have a further reflection about labels and FQS

Phase 3 - Understanding - communication

- We try to make a summary of what has been said and discussed on the day
- What did we hear? What did we understand? What was clear/ not clear?
- We agree about what has been said
- We repeat what they have said with our own researcher’s words and ask if they agree or not. If not, we ask for clarifications.

Phase 4 - Conversation – dialogue - common reflection

- Before starting this research task, we reminded the participants that **THEY** are the experts in their field, which is food consumption at home, and that we have expertise in the field of FQS, and that **ALL TOGETHER** we will have a constructive dialogue aimed at improving the current *status quo* regarding food quality and sustainability.
- This dialogue built on the questions that we had already asked on the first visit, but we were interested in finding out whether they had developed any new thoughts about this topic.

To better stimulate the dialogic conversation at the last visit, we also used cards representing labels and logos (or real food products), as a concrete basis for discussion. This methodology was systematically used, and proved to be particularly effective, especially in those countries where participants did not show so much knowledge or interest in FQS in the first place, such as Germany and the UK. This card game was also introduced to nudge families in paying more attention towards FQSs and/or because they expressed some interest in learning more about specific assurance schemes. The participants were asked to look at different logos and FQS and rank these in order of importance (refer to Figure 6).

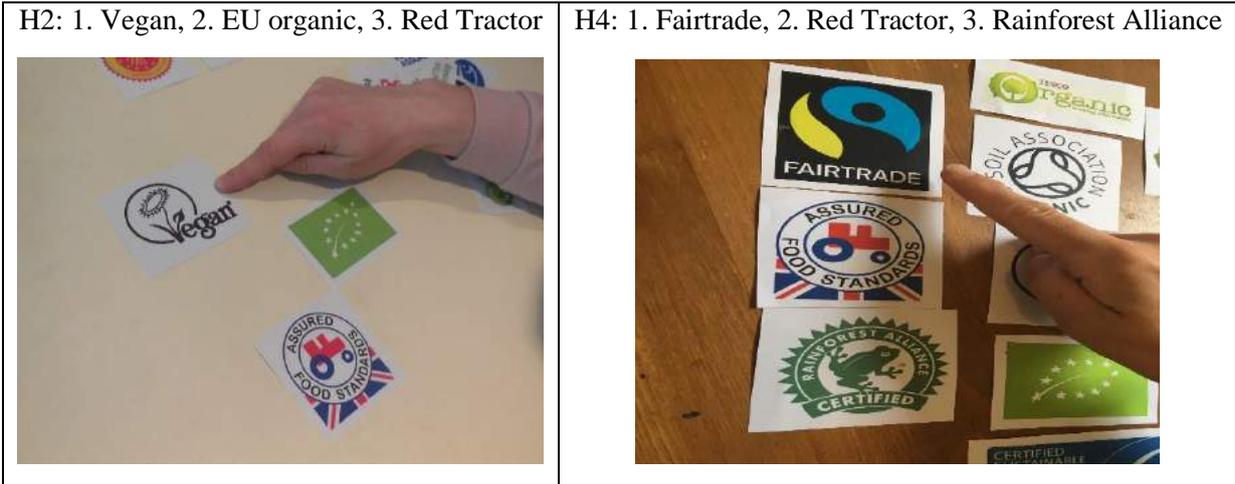


Figure 6: Last visit’s card game: most important FQS for UK households

Source: UNEW - Own data from fieldwork in the UK.

Desk research

Finally, desk research study was also carried out, including the study of national reports and statistical information, regulations, documentation and mass media discourse, about the use of FQS and SFSC. This provided insights into the historical and contemporary relationship between ideals and practices in respective countries.

- *The aim was to gather sources about the biography of FQS, as well as to better understand how the rules governing appearance are not just accidental and external, but also emergent forms of discipline and power, using a dialogical Bakhtine’s approach.*

5. EU AND NATIONAL FRAMEWORKS – PRESENTATION OF THE LABELS IN QUESTION

In this chapter, we will present the contextual framework for local and quality food, and specifically for FQS and SFSC, for the respective countries under analysis: France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Serbia and the UK. As discussed before when referring to “the complex thought”, the contextual framework for sustainable food consumption in the seven countries is of utmost importance for the understanding of consumer behaviour. As policy, infrastructure and culture are at the root of food practices, having an overview of such contexts is both necessary and enriching in order to better understand observed practices and their relationship to FQS. Moreover, it has been shown that climate, soil conditions, local production and the efficiency of distribution systems are central factors in organic food consumption, together with other more individual factors such as price and food culture (Thøgersen, 2010).

The following map (Figure 7) illustrates the price of food products in different European countries (price level index), while also enabling the reader to locate the seven countries in terms of space and size.

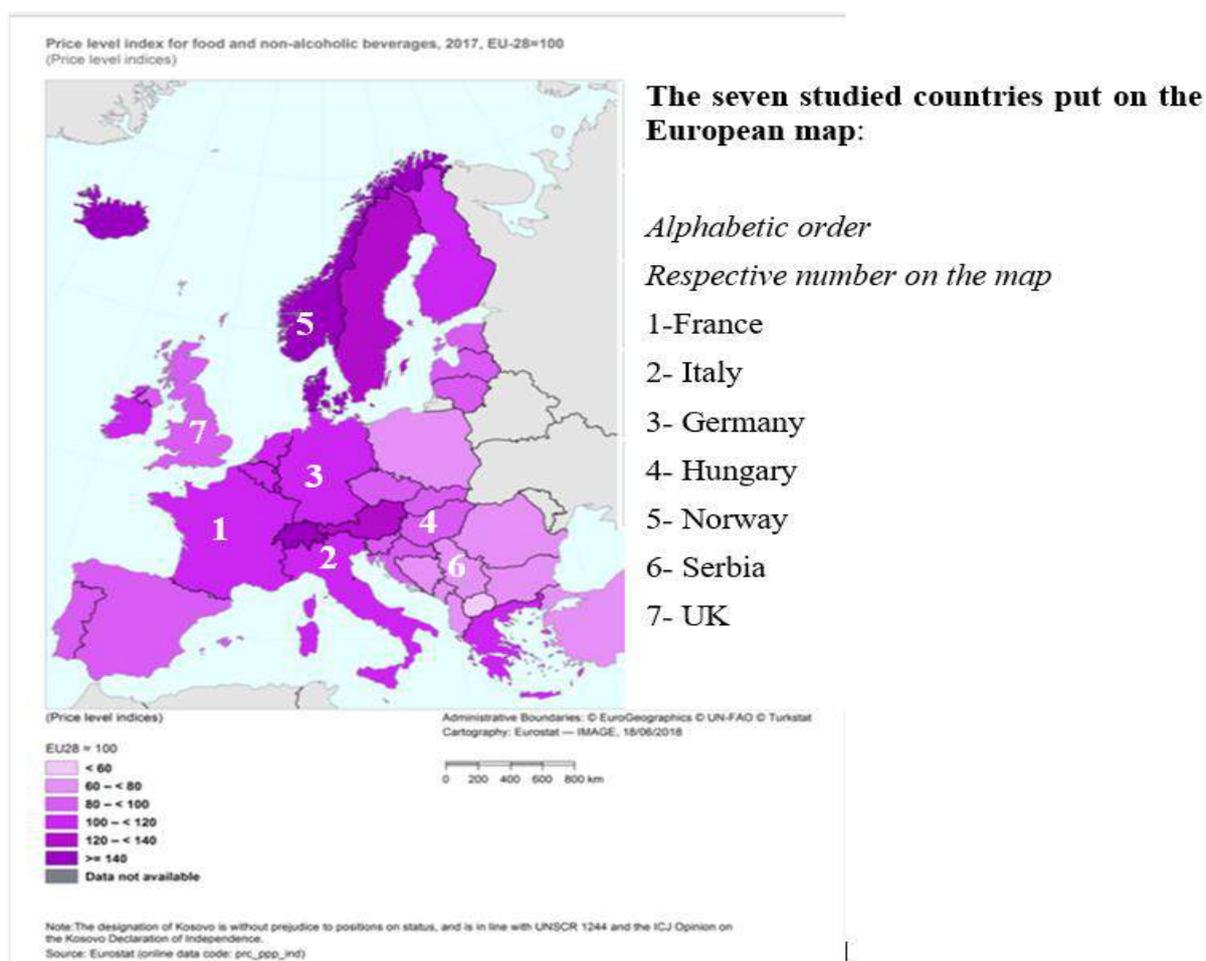


Figure 7: Price level index for food and non-alcoholic beverages in the EU, 2017

Source: Eurostat (2018) (prc_ppp_ind)⁷.

⁷ From https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Comparative_price_levels_for_food_beverages_and_tobacco

The following table (Table 2), based on Eurostat data and other sources, reports the respective price level indices for food and non-alcoholic beverages in the seven studied countries, in both 2008 and 2017, with the size of the country (km²) and number of inhabitants.

Table 2: Price level indices (EU28=100) and demography in the seven studied countries

	Price level indices - 2008	Price level indices - 2017	Area (km ²)	Population
	<i>National accounts aggregate – food and non-alcoholic beverages (EU-28=100)</i>		<i>Without overseas territories</i>	<i>Number of inhabitants In January 2018</i>
EU-28	100	100		512,647,966
1 - France	108.3	112.3	551,394	67,221,943
2 - Italy	105.7	112.1	301,338	60,483,973
3 - Germany	111.1	107.8	357,386	82,850,000
4 - Hungary	82.9	82.1	93,030	9,778,371
5 - Norway	155.9	160.7	385,178	5,295,619
6 - Serbia	72.9	71.8	77,453	7,001,444
7 - UK	100.5	93.00	248,532	66,238,007

Source: Eurostat (2018): price level indices (prc_ppp_ind), population (tps00001).

Although we do not have enough representativeness to draw generalisable conclusions or make national comparisons, it is worth emphasising that this study reflects the heterogeneity across the seven different countries especially due to their diverse food cultures, as it will be discussed in the next sections. Divergences can be quite extreme, with countries like France and Italy with a strong tradition for designating the origin of food products, whereas countries like Germany and Norway have a long experience with organic as a valuable domain. Moreover, climate, the arable surface and national regulations are also fundamental elements which can explain local differences in everyday food practices.

The next section will thus focus on the political framework and on specific national/local policies. In addition, it provides some relevant information about the context and infrastructure, within which local and quality food, and specifically FQS and SFSC, have to be understood.

„This article focuses primarily on price levels for food, beverages and tobacco in 38 European countries. The country groups included in the analysis are the 28 European Union (EU) Member States, 3 EFTA countries (Iceland, Norway and Switzerland), 5 candidate countries (Montenegro, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Serbia and Turkey) and one potential candidate country (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Kosovo.“

Subsequently, we define and describe the specific food quality labels, at both European and national/local level, which constituted the focus in this study.

Political framework - relevant EU policy

Local and quality food have been one of the objectives of European agricultural policy since 1992⁸. More recently, with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) Reform 2014-2020, the European Commission (EC) places particular emphasis on quality, safety, fairness of local production, respect for the environment and animal well-being. Our Strength2Food project is, therefore, integrated in these political objectives whereby the consumer is generally described as requesting quality and a wider range of attributes for food products. Numerous quantitative studies and Eurobarometer reports highlight the fact that most European consumers, despite great differences across countries, are interested in buying local products and quality food. These types of products are enhanced by quality labelling which aims to inform consumers about the specific attributes and origin of a product, while avoiding possible fraud by relying on assurance schemes and certification bodies. In this respect, the difference between the way some products are marketed and the way these are received on the market - or known by consumers - might be surprising, but can be assumed by looking at agricultural and consumer policy in parallel.

The European Commission's food quality policies

Although the Regulation (EU) No. 1151/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 November 2012, on quality schemes for agricultural products and foodstuffs, is not an official part of the EU's CAP, the document is of central importance, with the two first articles outlining the main policy framework regulating the seven studied countries:

(1) *“The quality and diversity of the Union's agricultural, fisheries and aquaculture production is one of its important strengths, giving a competitive advantage to the Union's producers and making a major contribution to its living cultural and gastronomic heritage.”*

(2) *“Citizens and consumers in the Union increasingly demand quality as well as traditional products. They are also concerned to maintain the diversity of the agricultural production in the Union. This generates a demand for agricultural products or foodstuffs with identifiable specific characteristics, in particular those linked to their geographical origin.”*

Moreover, Article 20 specifies the importance of FQS for producers and consumers by claiming: *“A Union framework that protects designations of origin and geographical indications by providing for their inclusion on a register facilitates the development of those instruments, since the resulting, more uniform, approach ensures fair competition between the producers of products bearing such indications and enhances the credibility of the products in the consumers' eyes”.*

Consumer policy

While most white papers on the CAP mention the fact that consumers request food quality and local products, the EU Consumer Policy strategy 2007-2013, called “Empowering consumers, enhancing their welfare, effectively protecting them”, aims at offering consumers *“real choices,*

⁸ Council Regulation (EEC) No. 2081/92 of 14 July 1992 on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs.

accurate information, market transparency and the confidence that comes from effective protection and solid rights". It enhances *"EU consumers' welfare in terms of price, choice, quality, diversity, affordability and safety"* and protects consumers *"effectively from the serious risks and threats that they cannot tackle as individuals"* (Commission, 2007, pp. 5-6). From this perspective, quality labels and logos are presented as a pertinent tool for consumer empowerment. However, it is relevant to also note how several choices of moral orders are automatically put on consumers' shoulders, as 'consumer choice' becomes *"part of a regularity regime based on voluntarism, market solutions and the State acting at a distance"* (Kjærnes, 2012, p. 147).

Furthermore the last commission work programme 2018 proposes a European Food chain, as a part of *"A deeper and fairer Internal Market with a strengthened industrial base" to assure a "well-functioning Single Market [...] and offers greater choice and lower prices for consumers"* (COM, 2017).

It seems that while agricultural policy is paying growing attention on the added value dimension of production of local food, or the unicity represented by FQS and short food chains, consumer behaviour is sometimes oriented in another direction, where low prices and standardisation are at the core. Although arguments for the new CAP are often based on the assumption that consumers are interested in local and quality food, interviews and empirical studies from a consumer perspective often underline a discrepancy between "what people say" and "what people do". Several studies have found that consumers are mostly driven by price and food safety, whereas sustainability, local products and FQS come second on consumer choice criteria. Thørgersen sees a correlation between "reasonable" prices and the consumption of organic food (Thørgersen, 2010). One common solution is to offer the consumer more information, especially about the superior quality associated with such products, to stimulate the choice despite higher prices. In considering the relationship between quality and price for consumers, Grunert argues: *"Consumers want to get the best quality at the lowest prices"*. The author also notes that in this context providing more information, in the way it is traditionally done, *"may not only be without effect, but may in some cases increase confusion and consumer concerns."* (Grunert, 2005, p. 385). Instead, penetrating the everyday food practices would help researchers to better understand how to increase consumers' knowledge and attention on sustainable food practices, and the way in which information can be best perceived and processed.

National contexts for local and quality food, FQS and SFSC

Although the seven countries examined in this study are all shaped by the EU policies, except for Norway and Serbia which are not EU Member States, there are considerable differences at the geographical, historical, social, cultural and political level that can help us to better understand national differences concerning participants' food practices. These are discussed as follows.

France

France is a country in South West Europe. Agriculture is an important part of the economy with more than 50% of arable land - covering almost 18% of the EU food production. The French retailing structure is characterized by the predominance of large-scale retailing, accounting for 70% of food purchases. Moreover, the maxi discount sales have been increasing in the last twenty years (7% of the market in 2001, 13% in 2006 (CREDOC, 2013)). Specialised shops

(e.g. butchers, etc.) account for about 15% of the market, while local markets and direct sale from producers comprise about 6% of food purchases.⁹

There has been an increasing interest for organic products over the last twenty years. The proportion of the French population declaring that they consume very often or sometimes “organic” food products, compared to those declaring that they seldom or never eat them, is reversed. In 1998, it was 35% vs. 65%, while in 2017 it is 62% vs. 38% (IFOP, 2017). These declarations correspond to a huge increase of the actual consumption as, according to the *Agence Bio*, the consumption of organic product is more than 8 times higher in 2017 than it was in 1999 (Bio, 2018).

From a production point of view, in 2010, 3.5% of the French farms are involved in organic production, and half of them are also involved in SFSC, compared with one in five for conventional farms, according to the 2010 Agricultural Census (Primeur, 2012b). Thus, there is a link between organic production and SFSC. According to this other Agricultural Census (Primeur, 2012a), 10% of the producers are involved in the other FQS, such as PDO, PGIs and Label Rouge.¹⁰

The consumption of Fair trade products remains low, although it has been growing rapidly, as in 2010, 49% of French people claimed they had consumed fair trade products, but only 22% at least once a month or close (INC, 2010). A reported trend towards more “naturalness” was recently underlined and, in 2013, 83% of French people declared to pay attention to the “natural” character of products they buy, which they define primarily as “chemical-free”.¹¹ “Commerce équitable France” (ethical trade) confirms these figures as the sales of fair trade products rose by 10% in 2017 to more than one billion euro (more than 10 times higher compared to 2004)¹². It is also noticeable that 80% of these sales have also the logo “organic food”, those products can thus be bought for social and environmental reasons.

The general increase in the purchase of local or national foods is also noticeable, with 71% of the French population claiming that the origin of products is important to them, included for the evaluation of the durability of a product (BEUC, 2013). This criterion seems to be a similar or even stronger incentive for purchase than environmental concerns (respectively 74% and 70% in 2009) (CREDOC, 2010). In 2010, French people declared they would buy products with a registered denomination of origin (AOC) because these are produced in an identified region and support small size farms. Local production is generally perceived as being “natural” (Hassan et al., (2009). 32% of French people declare buying local and seasonal products while avoiding products from abroad that contribute to CO2 emissions due to transportation (Eurobarometer, 2009). According to the IPSOS survey – Bienvenue à la ferme “Les Français et le consommateur local”, performed in 2014 (Ipsos, 2014), 41% of French people declare to often buy products grown or raised close to their home, and 69% say they have eaten more local food products over the past two years than before.

This overview of opinion surveys enables us to highlight that sustainable food practices are positively perceived, particularly those linked to local and short supply chains, because they give an image of environmental friendliness and support to local employment, which reassures

⁹ This introduction builds on information sent by Michel Serieys at ISARA (based on <http://www.insee.fr/fr/ffc/ipweb/ip1165/ip1165.html>) as well as documents from Credoc).

¹⁰ These would be 20% if other FQS, as “certificats de conformité” would be taken into account.

¹¹ 60 % of French people claim that natural products are “healthy” while 56 % say that they have an “authentic taste” (Mediaprism, 2013).

¹² For more information, refer to the following website: http://www.commerceequitable.org/images/pdf/chiffres%20du%20secteur%202017_vf%20ppt.pdf

consumers. “Sustainable eating” seems to be a means of asserting one’s convictions, room for manoeuvre and free decision taking left by food offer, in order to take care in priority of oneself and one’s near environment.

In France, several sectorial policies target the challenges of food sustainability. It is the case for the recent National Food Programme (PNA) launched in 2014 by the Ministry of agriculture, agri-food industry and forest, defining four priorities: social justice, youth food education, fight against food waste, territorial anchoring and promotion of food heritage (MAAF, 2014). Concerning territorial anchorage, the aim is to develop links between consumers and producers. To this end, several levers are possible: structuring and bringing supply and demand together for local products via dedicated internet platforms, local authorities encouraging collective institutional food services to promote local products, promotion and communication on short supply chains. Grassroots initiatives and the establishing of partnerships are actions that should be developed in order to meet the objective of 40% local products in institutional food services in 2017 (ibid). Such actions may be organised under the form of Territorial food projects (PAT – projet alimentaire territorial). Such projects aim at bringing together producers, processors, distributors, local authorities and consumers, and to develop agriculture and food quality in the regions (law n° 2014-1170 October 13rd 2014). Stakeholders may be farmers, local authorities and State services, development and research organisations, agri-food industries (MAAF, 2015).

Food is also a central element in the National Programme for Health and Nutrition (PNNS) created in 2001 by the Ministry of Health. The main aim is to improve the health of the population by addressing nutrition (Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2016). It covers two aspects: food and physical activity. The programme is translated at local authorities’ levels under the form of a charter to which they may subscribe and become one of the “PNNS active cities”. Thus, they commit to foster and support all actions contributing to the objectives of the PNNS (PNNS, 2003).

Germany

In Germany, agriculture is almost a negligible part of the economy. Nevertheless, German consumers have a great stated preference for local or regional products (Forsa, 2016) and for SFSC (Bavorova, Unay-Gailhard, & Lehberger, 2016).

The Federal Government is not responsible for the promotion of regional or local food. Nonetheless, the Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture developed a label called “Regional Label” (Regionalkennzeichen), which can be used in the food sector and documents the regional origin of products. The responsibility for licensing and control has been transferred to an association called “Regionalfenster e.V.” which is a non-profit organisation. The label is especially used by the big retailer chains. It allows them to advertise the origin of a product and shift control to a third party. It does not specifically promote SFSC, it just identifies the region of origin. However, it enables the big retailers to credibly sell regional products.

Several of the Federal States develop programs and funding opportunities for the promotion of regional or local food. In order to be able to spend public money for promotion, these programs are combined with specific quality requirements. Even though the programs have to be open for all European producers, they are just used by those of the Federal State.

Some Chambers of Agriculture, which are structured in line with the Federal States, offer platforms for direct marketing to farmers which reduce information costs for consumers.

The PDO, PGI, and TSG labels are not very well known in Germany. Nevertheless, some relevant regional denominations are protected with GIs as, for example, the PGI Kölsch Bier (Kölsch Beer), the PGI Schwarzwälder Schinken (Ham from the Black Forest), PGI Bornheimer Spargel (asparagus from the area of Bornheim), PGI Nürnberger Bratwurst (Nürnberger sausage) and PGI Aachener Printen (Aachener Ginger bread Cookie). Moreover, according to the EU Regulation 1308/2013, the wine labelling is in line and based on PDO and PGI provisions. This is mandatory for the wine sector; however, the products do not have to be marked with the label.

Even though some well-known products have the EU label, awareness among consumers is low. Retailers in Germany promote local and regional production with several activities in order to meet consumers' preferences and to benefit thereof.

Hungary

Hungary is a country in the Eastern part of Southern Europe where agriculture is an important resource, although slightly declining. As a member of the EU, Hungary has several products labelled under the GI quality schemes and EU organic. Unlike other Southern European countries, there is only a very limited data available on these quality schemes, especially concerning their economic importance.

Regarding organic production, according to the IFOAM EU Group, in Hungary only 2% of the production area is classified as organic, involving 1,971 producers and 238 processors. The majority of the organic products produced in Hungary are exported (mainly to Germany), the per capita organic spending is only 3 EUR/year. In Hungary two organizations are registered to certify organic production, both have their own logo/trademark, but the EU organic label is also in use (refer to forthcoming Table 3).

In conjunction with the EU food quality labels, Hungary has dozens of national/local labels which seek to attract consumers - many of these are managed by the government, but some successful labels are the result of private initiatives. The two most well-known state owned Hungarian food quality labels are the "Quality food from Hungary" and the "Traditions-Flavours-Regions". Both labels were introduced in 1998 and by the end of 2017, they had 59 and 170 registered products, respectively.

As far as SFSC initiatives are concerned, in Hungary, farmers' markets play the most important role in the direct sales of agricultural products and compared to other types of short distribution channels. In 2018, around 255 farmers' markets existed in Hungary, which means that one farmers' market is available for an average of 46,000 inhabitants.

Italy

Italy is the second European (and the sixth world) producer of organic food based on organic agricultural land, with 1.8 million hectares cultivated in 2016 (20% increase compared to 2015) and 72,000 farms (SINAB, 2017). The organic Utilised Agricultural Area (UAA)¹³ in hectares (ha), which has been increasing over time, represents 14.5% of the total agricultural land at the national level, while the organic farms are about the 4.4% of the Italian agricultural holdings (FiBL & IFOAM, 2018; SINAB, 2017). The relative share of organic farms on the total (4.4%)

¹³ The utilised agricultural area, abbreviated as UAA, is the total area taken up by arable land, permanent grassland, permanent crops and kitchen gardens used by the holding, regardless of the type of tenure or of whether it is used as a part of common land (Eurostat, 2018).

is lower compared to the one of organic surfaces on the total (14.5%), due to the average farm size, which is higher for the organic holdings (28 ha/farm, compared to the national average of 8.4 ha/farm) (SINAB, 2017).

The main agricultural production consist of forage crops (341.940 ha), pastures (321.011 ha) and cereals (299.639 ha), followed by the area invested with olive trees (222.452 ha). Some productions have shown remarkable increases in 2016 compared to 2010, such as the vegetable categories (+48.9%), cereals (+32.6%), vineyards (+23.8%) and olive trees (+23.7%). As for the regional distribution of organic agricultural areas, the largest share is registered in Southern Italy, in particular in Sicily, Apulia and Calabria. The organic land of these three regions accounts for 46% of the entire national organic land (SINAB, 2017).

The sales of organic food in large retailers have showed in 2016 a 20% growth compared to the previous year. The relative share of organic food sold on total agri-food equal, in 2016, to approximately 3%. This figure is constantly increasing, in line with the increase of organic agricultural land (SINAB, 2017).

In 2017, the number of food and wine products with EU certifications, PDO, PGI and TSG, was 818, of which 295 were food products (167 PDO, 126 PGI, and 2 TSG) and 523 wines (405 PDO, 118 PGI) (European Commission, 2018). With these numbers, Italy is the leading EU country with PDO/PGI/TSG products. Among food products, fruits and vegetables are the food category with the greatest number of certification (111), followed by cheese products (52), vegetable oils and fats (46) and meat products (41). The agri-food certified PDO PGI production value accounts for approximately € 6.35 billion (Ismea – Fondazione Qualivita, 2018).

The analysis of the economic impact of PDO and PGI productions on the territory shows that the value of the GI system is distributed throughout Italy, although it confirms a strong concentration in the North-East and North-West areas. In particular, the three provinces with the highest economic value (i.e., Parma, Reggio Emilia and Modena) are all located in the heart of the Emilia-Romagna region. The overall value generated by the Italian PDO and PGI products is 6.6 billion € at the production gate, with 13.6 billion € generated at the retail. The value of the PDO and PGI exports is € 3.4 billion, representing 22% of the overall Italian food exports. Considering the last ten years (2006-2016), the PDO and PGI food sector has followed a steadily growing trend for all the economic parameters analysed, also thanks to new certifications that have been added over time, with very high growth rates high both in terms of production value (+ 47%) and retail (consumer) value (+ 64%), and with excellent results in terms of export value (+ 262%).

Norway

Norway is an OECD country in the Northern edge of Europe, with rugged coasts, deep fjords and high mountains. These geographical facts reflect some of the food culture. With only approximately 3% of arable land, Norway is not self-sufficient in food production and relies much on imported food products, where the selection has increased heavily in the past decades. While meat, fish, dairy, and egg are mostly produced at national level, cereals, vegetables and especially fruits are often imported (Council., 2017).

The food landscape, at production, distribution and consumption levels, has changed considerably in the last fifteen years, both in term of quality and quantity, especially in terms of consumer choice. One of the Norwegian food cultural specificities is openness and curiosity for other types of cooking and products (Mäkelä et al., 1999). Today's food market and everyday food practices merge food products used in Norwegian traditional cooking together

with, so called, exotic food products (often because they were not usual in Norway in the older generations).

Consequences from both trade and agricultural policies influenced the Norwegian food landscape at the dawn of the new century. Especially in the cities, consumers have experienced a revolution when it comes to food quality and an evolution when it comes to accessibility of imported food products. This availability depends on the infrastructure, and it is worth noting that only a few powerful food chains regulate what Norwegian consumers have access to. There are three big retail chains that account for 99% of the total food sales in Norway¹⁴. These retailers are powerful considering that most Norwegians do all their food provisioning in grocery stores. This control of the Norwegian grocery trade by three large groups makes it difficult to establish small independent shops for local products, like speciality shops we know from many other European countries. This entails that Norwegian consumers mostly purchase food in supermarkets defined by industrial production where the retail chains buy food in bulks to keep the food prices down (Hegnes, 2012).

A direct consequence, in line with consumer policy, is visible in the household's budgets for food. In the first years after the Second World War, Norwegians spent about 40% of their total income on food, while in the past years this number has decreased to 12% (Tranøy, 2015, p. 32). This is especially remarkable, as food prices in Norway are considered to be high (see Eurostat, 2018a). However, low price is an important factor in the choice of food products.¹⁵ Especially alternative food products, such as organic, are considered more expensive than industrial produced food. Norwegians are found to be particularly concerned and sensitive to the price of food (Vittersø & Tangeland, 2015, p. 97). The Norwegian economy has grown and Norwegians may spend less money on food, but price is an essential aspect of food provisioning and thus a central issue for our study on FQS.

European FQS are quite new in the Norwegian food landscape. Especially food labels in Norwegian grocery stores has increased greatly in the past decades, which according to Hegnes (2012) corresponds with a change in the promotion of food quality by the Norwegian government since the 1980s. The first Norwegian national quality labelling scheme was established in 1994 to enforce the market position of Norwegian agricultural products. Because the food system in Norway is heavily regulated by the government, policies play an important role in the development of food consumption (Vittersø & Tangeland, 2015, p. 93). The Norwegian food labels discussed with the participants are all regulated by the state through the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and are managed by the Norwegian Food Safety Authority. The regulations of food labels are moreover influenced by EU requirements on food labelling and are consequently a top-down initiative from the state with the intention of giving Norwegian consumers the necessary information they need to make informed food choices. At present there are, by July 2018, 29 GIs recognized by the Norwegian juridical system (launched in 2002). These mostly concerns Norwegian fruits, processed dairy, fish or meat products as well as two foreign PDO (Parma ham and Parmigiano Reggiano). At present, only two Norwegian products have the EU GI labels: the PGI Fenalår fra Norge (dry cured meat) and the PGI Tørrfisk fra Lofoten (dried fish). Other relevant FQS and national quality labels are presented in Table 3.

¹⁴ Grocery chains mentioned in this report are Rema 1000 (low prices, online webshop Kolonial.no), Kiwi (low prices), Coop Extra (low prices), Coop Mega (medium to high price), and Meny (high price). For more details, refer to: <http://www.nielsen.com/no/no/press-room/2016/dagligvarerapporten-2016.html>

¹⁵ Refer to Table 2 for price level indices for food and non-alcoholic beverages in Norway.

Serbia

Serbia is a country situated in Central and Southeast Europe, including five regions (Belgrade region, Vojvodina region, Sumadija and Western Serbia region, Eastern and Southern Serbia region and Kosovo-Metohija region). They include the City of Belgrade as a separate territorial unit established by the Constitution and law, and 30 administrative areas, 24 cities, 30 urban municipalities, 150 municipalities, 6,158 villages and 193 urban settlements (Serbian Government Serbian 2018; Serbian Government, 2016).

According to the 2012 Agricultural Census, the total agricultural land in the territory of the Republic of Serbia covers 3,861,477 hectares, and the country has 631,552 agricultural holdings. Of the total value of agricultural production in 2014, crop production accounted for 66.9%, and livestock for 33.1%. Of the total agricultural area in 2014, arable land accounted for 74.3%, with 4.7% including orchards, vineyards 0.6%, meadows 10.9% and pastures 9.5% (Serbian Government, 2018).

In the context of SFSC and FQS there seems to be a long way to go for the Serbian market. Even though organic production is one of the fastest growing sectors, in 2015, the percentage share of the areas under organic production in the total UAA was only 0.44%, compared to the EU average of about 5.4%. Nevertheless, in the last five years, the areas under organic production have grown by almost 300% (Serbian Chamber of Commerce, 2016).

Specific labelling regulations apply to agriculture products. In 2013, Serbia adopted amendments to the Rulebook on the “Declaration and Labelling of Packed Foods” (Official Gazette SCG, No. 4/04, 12/04 and 48/04). The new amended rulebook is called the Rulebook on “Declaration, Labelling and Marketing of Food” (Official Gazette, RS No. 85/13 and No. 101/13). It includes a list of substances that can cause allergies and/or intolerance, and shows additional food information that must be displayed at restaurants and food shops, the size of letters on declarations and the general rules for declarations made relating to unpacked food. The Rulebook regulates the labelling requirements for packed foods designated for consumer or public food consumption in Serbia. According to this regulation, a label must be present on both retail and bulk packaged foods and must indicate the following: expiration date, type and content of food additives, type and content of added vitamins, minerals, and other ingredients added to enrich the product’s nutritional value. All foods are required to have the label in the Serbian language (Export.gov, 2017).

Several labels are distinguishable and widely identified by the consumers in the Serbian market. These include: the organic label, Serbian Quality label and PGI national labels (refer to Table 3). EU labels for the same set of the indications are also present in Serbian shops, on the products imported from EU countries. These labels include text provided in the language of the country of origin and not translated into Serbian.

United Kingdom

The support of British farming and the encouragement of a sustainable food production system and management of fisheries are key objectives of the UK agricultural food policy, which aims at ensuring a secure, environmentally sustainable and healthy supply of food, for the UK market and export, with improved standards of animal welfare (UK Government, 2018a). Among these, food safety and hygiene remain the top priorities of the UK Government, with the Food Standards Agency’s, an independent Government department working across England, Wales and Northern Ireland, main remit of protecting public health and consumers’ interest in food. In this respect, the UK food law adheres to EU legislation regarding food safety, presentation

of food with suitable information (e.g. labelling, advertising, misleading information), traceability, imports-exports regulations (Regulation (EC) No 178/2002)¹⁶.

Regarding the EU GIs and traditional specialities, it is well known that the EU's Southern Member States are the leading producers of food certified under FQS, with Italy (N=295), France (N=246), Spain (N=195), Portugal (N=139) and Greece (N=106) accounting for around 70 per cent of the total registered products (N=1,429). The UK currently holds 71 registered products, with 26 PDO, 41 PGI, and 4 TSG, and 9 applied designations (DOOR Database EU Commission, 2018). In terms of product categories, these comprise: 17 cheeses, 14 fresh meats, 14 fresh fish and seafood, 8 fruits and vegetables, 5 meat products (cooked, salted, smoked, etc.), 2 beers, and others (ciders, dairy, salt, wool, etc.). A full list of UK registered products under the protected food name scheme is available online (UK Government, 2018b).

As far as organic farming is concerned, the total area under organic farming in the EU (i.e. the fully converted area and area under conversion) covered almost 12 million hectares of agricultural land in 2016, with Spain (16.9 %), Italy (15.1 %) France (12.9 %) and Germany (9.5 %), accounting for 54.4 % of the total EU-28 organic area (Eurostat, 2018b). In 2017, the UK's organic land area covered 517 thousand hectares, representing 2.9% of the total national farmed area. Organic crops (the main ones being cereals, vegetables and other arable crops) and organic livestock accounted for 7% and 2.7% of the total UK organic area and UK cattle population respectively (DEFRA, 2018).

According to the UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, in 2017 there were almost 6.6 thousand producers and processors registered with organic certifications bodies in the UK, with an increase of almost 6.4 thousand from 2016. However, the number of producers had declined by 34% in the past ten years, mirroring the decline in the land area being farmed organically (DEFRA, 2018). The EU regulation on organic farming (Council Regulation (EC) No 834/2007) implies that organic farmers, processors and traders must comply with EU requirements to label their products as organic, although well-established national and private logos are commonly used across the EU, as in the case of the UK with the Organic Soil Association (refer to Table 3). The Organic Soil Association's 2018 market report estimates that the UK organic market is now worth more than ever, reaching an annual total of £2.22 billion in 2017, with a sales growth of 6% (Organic Soil Association, 2018). Although the demand for organic produce is in steady growth, organic accounts for 1.5% of the total UK food and drink market.

With respect to local food, several SFSC initiatives are common in the UK, including farmers' markets, on-farm direct sales, box schemes, pick-your-own initiatives, community gardens, farm shops, etc. However, these 'alternative' food networks are only marginal and, together with other independent retailers, account for less than 2% of the total grocery sales. With the food retail sector being dominated by few large retail chains and some hard discounters, and British consumers typically seeking for cheap and convenient food when shopping, SFSC are mostly viewed as 'niche', and are typically visited for special occasions.

The food quality labels in question

In line with the ever-growing importance of food safety, security and sustainability, there is a wide range of food quality labels on the market, with different standards and specific

¹⁶ In England, the Food Safety and Hygiene Regulations 2013 and the General Food Regulations 2004 (which amended the Food Safety Act 1990) provide for the enforcement of certain provisions of Regulation (EC) No 178/2002.

certification requirements. These food quality labels characterise food products according to their geographical origin, methods of production and quality assurance, thus encompassing food safety, animal welfare, environmentally friendly and ethical considerations. Tables 3, 4 and 5 provide an overview of common FQS and certification bodies in the seven countries' markets, including the EU certifications previously mentioned, with examples of pertinent labels at national or regional levels and relevant food products.

Table 3: Geographical indications and organic labelling in the seven countries

<i>EU Geographical Indications and traditional specialities</i>			
Food quality label	Certification requirements	Examples	Market relevance
PDO - Protected Designation of Origin 	<p>The PDO label identifies products that have been produced, processed and prepared in a specific geographical area, using the recognised know-how of local producers and ingredients from the region concerned.</p> <p>The EU Food Quality Schemes (PDO, PGI and TSG) cover agricultural products and foodstuffs, wines, spirits and aromatised wines. These EU protected schemes guarantee that the food name is a mark of quality and tradition, providing a legal protection (IPR) from misuse or falsification of a product name regarding its authenticity and origin.</p>	<p>Products can be found in almost any of the seven countries. The PDO mostly applies to wines and spirits, but also includes numerous cheeses, cured meats, olive oils, fruits and vegetables as well as other products like honey, biscuits, etc.</p>	<p>Examples at the national level include:</p> <p>France: several wines and spirits, dairy products (45 cheeses, 3 butters, 2 creams) and numerous other products such as olives from Nyons, chestnuts from Grenoble, etc.</p> <p>Germany: 12 products (6 cheese, 3 meat, and 3 other) such as Allgäuer Bergkäse, Weideochse vom Limburger Rind, Odenwalder Frühstückskäse.</p> <p>Hungary: 6 products (3 spices, 2 vegetables and 1 meat), such as Kalocsai and Szegedi paprika powder; and 56 wine designations, such as Tokaji.</p> <p>Italy: 408 wines and spirits (e.g. Prosecco, Conegliano Valdobbiadene Prosecco, Chianti Classico, etc.), 167 food products (e.g., Grana Padano, Parmigiano Reggiano, Parma Ham Mozzarella di Bufala Campana, etc.).</p> <p>Norway: several foreign PDO but no Norwegian products having an EU PDO. Nevertheless, 3 Italian PDO have got a BOB (the Norwegian PDO) - Gorgonzola, Parma ham and Parmigiano Reggiano.</p> <p>Serbia: none.</p> <p>UK: 26 products, such as Stilton Blue Cheese, West Country Farmhouse Cheddar Cheese, Fal Oysters, Jersey Royal Potatoes.</p>
PGI – Protected Geographical Indication	<p>The PGI label identifies products whose quality or reputation is linked to the place or region where it is produced, processed or prepared, although the ingredients used may not necessarily come from</p>	<p>Examples include oils, cheese, meat, fish and bakery products.</p>	<p>Examples at the national level include:</p> <p>France: over a hundred French products have a PGI, with a majority of meat products, such as jambon de Bayonne (dry-cured ham), foie gras du Sud-ouest, mogette de Vendée</p>

	<p>that geographical area.</p>		<p>(beans), pruneau d’Agen (prunes), Ile de Ré Potatoes, Salt from Guérande.</p> <p>Germany: 78 products including numerous meat and fish products, vegetables, cheese and others. Examples: Rheinisches Apfelkraut, Düsseldorfer Senf, Bayrisches Bier, Spreewald Gurken, Thüringer Rostbratwurst.</p> <p>Hungary: 8 products (4 meats, 3 fruit and vegetables and 1 flower), such as Gyulai and Csabai sausage, 8 wine designations.</p> <p>Italy: 118 wines (e.g., Trevenezie, Terre Siciliane, Toscano, etc.), 126 food products (e.g., Mortadella Bologna, Alto Adige apple, Toscano extra-virgin olive oil, Balsamic Vinegar of Modena, etc.) Balsamic Vinegar of Modena.</p> <p>Norway: several foreign PGI and 24 BGB but only 2 with the EU PGI: Stockfish from Lofoten, “Fenalår fra Norge” - Cured leg of mutton from Norway.</p> <p>Serbia: 71 products (57 domestic and 14 foreign) with PGI certified by the Serbian certification body. There is no EU PGI labelled product.</p> <p>UK: 41 products, including numerous meat, fish, cheese and beers products. Common examples include: Cornish Pasty, Bramley Apples, Scotch Beef & Lamb, Welsh Beef & Lamb, Cornish Sardines, Scottish Wild Salmon, Traditional Grimsby Smoked Fish, Traditional Cumberland Sausages, Kentish Ale.</p>
<p>TSG – Traditional Speciality Guranteed</p> 	<p>The TSG label identifies products of a traditional character, in terms of their composition of means of production, without a specific link to a particular geographical area.</p>	<p>Less common compared to PDO and PGI, with a total of 58 products registered overall.</p>	<p>France: 1 food product (Moules de bouchot).</p> <p>Germany: no product is registered as TSG.</p> <p>Hungary: 1 food product (a traditional bakery product).</p> <p>Italy: 2 food products (Mozzarella, Pizza Napoletana).</p> <p>Norway: 1 Norwegian certified product.</p> <p>Serbia: no specific EU or Serbian certified TSG products.</p> <p>UK: 4 registered products (3 fresh meat, 1 traditional apple pie filling).</p>

EU and national organic			
Food quality label	Certification requirements	Rules	National standards
Euro-Leaf 	<p>The EU organic label, introduced in 2010, is displayed on food that meets the EU organic farming standards (Council Regulation EC 834/2007 and the Commission Regulation EC 889/2008)¹⁷. For processed products, at least 95% of the agricultural products must be organic. The place of farming of the agricultural raw materials and the code number of the control body must be provided.</p> <p>N.B. The EU organic logo is not exclusive on the packaging, national and private labels can also be displayed on organic products.</p>	<p>The logo is mandatory for all organic pre-packaged food produced within the EU. The origin of raw materials used must be mentioned in the same visual zone as the logo and the product must contain at least 95% farm ingredients certified as organic.</p> <p>In the EU, the logo is compulsory – other national logos (e.g. the French AB, the UK Soil Association) are insufficient alone. For specific national logos and certification body logos, refer to the pictures on the right.</p>	<p>Several countries add their own logos or additional specification:</p> <p><u>France</u>: the national logo AB (an optional label meaning Agriculture Biologique belonging to the French Ministry of Agriculture).</p>  <p><u>Germany</u>: the national “Bio Siegel” is used by 5153 companies on 77.246 products (31. July 2018). It is an optional label. Introduced in 2001.</p>  <p>As a protected sign, the Bio-Siegel may continue to be used unchanged and in connection with the EU organic farming logo to label organic food!</p> <p><u>Hungary</u>: 2 different national organic labels are in use:</p>   <p><u>Italy</u>: ICEA is one of the certification bodies recognized by the Ministry of Agriculture for the organic certification – this often accompanies the EU-leaf label:</p>   <p><u>Norway</u>: the EU-leaf is often underlined by the national logo of Debio or by a given specification as “EU Jordbruk” or Organic agriculture”.</p>

¹⁷ The new organic regulation on organic production and labelling (Regulation (EU) 2018/848) was published by the EC in May 2018 and will apply from 1st January 2021 (more info at <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32018R0848&from=EN>).

			   <p>Debio godkjent</p> <p><u>Serbia:</u> Overall, in 2017/2018, 104 domestically produced products have been certified with “Organski proizvod”, while 17 imported products obtained the same label.</p>  <p>The BIOS label enables domestic producers to be certified according to the EU regulations (EC Reg. 834/2007) by the local control organization - Organic Control System. From the 21st of June, 2013 Organic Control System from Subotica was officially listed by the European Commission. Previously, producers of organic products from Serbia had to use certification services abroad.</p>  <p><u>UK:</u> the Organic Soil Association is the leading organic certification body in the country and, as such, represents the UK's most recognised trademark of organic produce by UK consumers. Over 70% of the organic food in the UK displays this logo.</p>  <p>Other assurance schemes are common</p>
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			in the UK, such as the Organic Farmers and Growers (OF&G). 
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Source: Own compilation based on UNEW national country report.

Table 4: National quality labels in the seven countries' markets

Quality Label	Certification requirements and market relevance
France <i>Label Rouge</i> 	<p>Label rouge certifies that a foodstuff or a non-food and non-processed farm product possesses specific characteristics that are predetermined in a charter and establishing a superior quality level in comparison to the standard product. Such products must differ from similar products, particularly because of specific production and processing conditions.</p> <p>Label rouge is a relatively old label (created in the 1960s in France), first specific to France but now exported to other countries.</p> <p>In France, over 400 officially registered labels rouge exist today, well known by French consumers. They include poultry, fresh meats, cured meats, dairy products, seafood, fruit and vegetable, drinks, honey and even salt and a few non-food non-processed products such as turf grass and flowers.</p>
Germany <i>Regionalfenster</i> 	<p>In Germany, products that are produced and processed locally can be labelled with 'Regionalfenster'. This label is supposed to effectively generate a quality signal through communicating the origin of the products ingredients.</p> <p>Around 4000 products (including food and flowers) are labelled with "Regionalfenster". Labelling is voluntary. Label indicates the main ingredients, where it was produced/ processed and the proportion of regional ingredients.</p>
Hungary  	<p>Parallel with the EU food quality labels all EU member states have their own label. In Hungary dozens of such labels try to attract the consumers, many of them are managed by the government, but some successful labels are result of private initiatives. The two most well-known state owned Hungarian food quality labels are the "Quality food from Hungary" and the "Traditions-Flavours-Regions". Both labels were introduced in 1998 and by the end of 2017 had 59 and 170 registered products, respectively.</p>
Italy <i>DOC, DOCG, IGT</i>	<p>DOC (Denominazione di Origine Controllata), DOCG (Denominazione di Origine Controllata e Garantita) and IGT (Indicazione Geografica Tipica) are the National labels for wines carrying a geographical origin (Italian Law 164/92), before the application of the Council Regulation (EC) No 479/2008 on the common organisation of the market in wine. With Regulation n. 479/2008 DOC and DOCG were incorporated in the PDO standard, while IGT in the PGI standard. However, they can be still displayed on the bottle, on a voluntary basis.</p>

	
<p>Italy</p> <p><i>Prodotto di Montagna</i></p> 	<p>In 2013, Regulation (EU) n. 1151/12 introduced the denomination "mountain product" to identify the origin of food products made in mountain areas of the European Union. The Parmigiano Reggiano mountain product is a quality label launched by the Consortium with the following specifications: 100% milk produced in stables in the mountain areas, more than 60% of the cows' feed is grown in mountain areas, dairy and maturation of at least 12 months, in mountain areas.</p>
<p>Norway</p> <p><i>Beskyttede Betegnelser</i></p> 	<p>The National “PDO, PGI and TSG like” labels were made official by the Norwegian government in 2002 and after some years combined into one term, Beskyttede Betegnelser (called BB and meaning Protected Designations). By granting producers a BB label, the ambition was, and is, to increase diversity and benefit local and regional food production, preserve important knowledge about Norwegian food and its culture and provide consumers with reliable information about a product’s geographical attachment, tradition and special quality (Matmerk.no, 2018a).</p> <p>Nowadays there is one main Norwegian quality scheme aiming at protecting and acknowledging Norwegian food products described as ‘food treasures’ and regrouping the three labels that equally complies with the three EU labels.</p> <p>The total number of Norwegian products with a BB is 31 as of January 2018 (where 2 are certified as EU labels certified) + 3 Italian products (Matmerk.no, 2018b). This number, which can be perceived as overall a very low number compared to France or Italy has increased over the past years and is important in a Nordic context.</p>
<p>Norway</p> <p><i>Nyt Norge (NN) and Norsk Spesialitet (NS) – National labeling</i></p> 	<p>Norway has few visible traditions of connecting food with a specific geographical area. As long as the product is labelled with one of the “made in Norway” labels, it is often perceived as a ‘local’ food product, in the sense that it is recognised as “short food supply chain” <i>kortreist</i> in comparison to foreign products in the grocery store¹⁸.</p> <p>There are several labels signifying Norwegian origin on food products, but only two are managed by the government through the Norwegian Food Safety Authorities, operated by Matmerk. These labels are NytNorge (NN) that can be translated as ‘Enjoy Norway’ and Spesialitet-merket (SM), literally meaning ‘Norwegian Specialty’. In short, the labels indicate that the product and the production process is Norwegian, while SM adds a quality stamp to the product (and is comparable to the French Label Rouge).</p>

¹⁸ Many products traveling the distance between regions of Norway can technically not be termed as *kortreist*, but nevertheless, ‘Norwegian produced food’ is known for being perceived as such.

<p>Serbia <i>National PGI</i></p> 	<p>On a national level, two institutions are responsible for the protection of GIs. The Intellectual Property Office of the Republic of Serbia is responsible for the GIs protection procedure concerning natural products, agricultural products, foodstuffs, industrial products, traditional handicrafts products and services. Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for the protection procedure concerning wines and spirit drinks with geographical origin.</p>
<p>Serbia <i>“Serbian Quality”</i></p> 	<p>“Serbian Quality” label has been established from the May of 2017. To obtain the quality stamp, contending products must use Serbian raw materials, in this case Serbian meat. In addition, for each type of product category, the label will require up to three specific properties differentiating the Srpski Kvalitet products from standard products in the market. The new quality label, created by a ministerial decree, can help premium meat products gain recognition in the domestic market and potentially abroad, and provide consumers with guarantees on product quality and traceability. The label is inspired by France’s Label Rouge.</p>
<p>UK <i>Red Tractor</i></p> 	<p>The Red Tractor scheme was established in 2000 and is run by the Assured Food Standards (AFS), which is an independent UK organisation that regulates food quality in England, Northern Ireland and Wales. The scheme was originally launched in the wake of the many food scares in the 1990s (e.g. BSE, known as the mad cow disease). It ensures the food safety of British food and covers issues on the traceability of food, animal welfare and environmental protection.</p> <p>The Red Tractor is the leading quality kitemark in the UK and largest food scheme in the country¹⁹, with British assured food available from all the major supermarkets and a growing number of restaurants and pubs, with an annual sales value of £12 billion.</p>

Source: Co-authors’ own compilation.

¹⁹ N.B. The scheme reflects standard industry practice in the UK, ensuring minimum legislative requirements. Most animal welfare standards, though may be higher than imported goods from other EU countries, are considerably lower compared to Organic or RSPCA certifications.

Table 5: Most common FQS in the seven countries' markets

Environmental and social <i>SUSTAINABILITY</i> , including <i>FAIR</i> and <i>ETHICAL</i> labels	
<p>MSC</p> 	<p>This sustainability label, established in 2000 by the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), is present in most countries. Established by an international non-profit organisation, it indicates that seafood has been sourced using methods which minimise impacts upon the marine environment and fish stocks. MSC's standards comply with UN guidelines on eco-labelling.</p> <p>Market examples:</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  France: </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  Italy </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  Norway </div> </div> <p>In the UK, all the main UK retailers and discount stores offer a great selection of MSC certified sustainable seafood, including few UK brands (e.g. John West, Birds Eye, Princes).</p>
<p>Dolphin Safe</p> 	<p>The label was established by the US Earth Island Institute in 1990 and indicates that the seafood has not been sourced in a way that is harmful to dolphins. This certification does not exclude the bycatch of other non-targeted species.</p> <p>Market examples - In Italy and Norway it is present in some branded products, especially tunafish with private label or industrial brand. Most of the UK sold canned tuna from supermarkets displays this label. In Serbia, this label is not present.</p>
<p>Rainforest Alliance Certified Seal</p> 	<p>This sustainability label, established in 1992 by the Rainforest Alliance, an international non-profit organisation, indicates that the products have been grown and harvested using environmentally and socially responsible practices, that aim to conserve biodiversity and improve rural livelihoods.</p> <p>Farms and forestlands that meet the rigorous criteria of the Rainforest Alliance Sustainable Agriculture Standard or the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) are awarded the Rainforest Alliance Certified seal. Tourism enterprises meeting the Global Sustainable Tourism Council criteria are also eligible.</p> <p>N.B. Certified products (e.g. coffee) can contain as little as 30% certified content; the scheme does not guarantee a minimum price to producers but provides training advice.</p> <p>Market examples - France: for example bananas in supermarkets. In Italy: the FSC standard is widely present in the Italian market, while the Rainforest Alliance certified products are not common. Examples are bananas, coffee, often sold in Fair trade shops. In Norway: to be found on a few products, e.g. chocolate, coffee or tea. Often associated to fair trade. In UK: certified bananas, coffee, tea and cocoa are typically sold products from UK retailers, including some of the biggest brands specializing in these products e.g. tea (PG Tips, Tetley and Twinings); coffee (Nespresso) and coffee chains (e.g. Costa Coffee).</p>

<p>Fairtrade</p> 	<p>The FAIRTRADE mark is the most widely recognized ethical label around the world, covering several product categories including foodstuff, beauty products, cotton, flowers and precious metals.</p> <p>The label, introduced in 2002 by Fairtrade International, an independent non-profit organization, indicates that the products have been produced in line with social, economic and environmental Fairtrade Standards and embracing, above all, the protection of workers' rights and the environment. Several thousand fair trade products for sale, available in supermarkets.</p> <p>The most commonly sold certified products in most countries include bananas, coffee, cocoa, tea, sugar, rice, nuts, wines (as well as cotton based products or skin cream etc.)</p> <p>Market examples - Fairtrade Italia is part of the organization Fairtrade International. Fairtrade certified products are often sold in supermarket, either with private label or other brands, and in fair trade specialized shops (Botteghe del commercio equo e solidale). In the UK, over 4,500 Fairtrade certified products are for sale through retail and catering outlets (e.g. Sainsbury's was one of the first retailers to sell Fairtrade products and is now the world's largest retailer of Fairtrade products). In Hungary, products with FAIRTRADE logo are targeted for a niche market, mainly coffee products are sold with this scheme.</p>
Health, food safety and animal welfare	
<p>Norway - the keyhole label</p> 	<p>The green keyhole label is managed by the Norwegian Directorate of Health and the Norwegian Food Safety Authorities. Established in Sweden in 1989, the label has become a common Nordic label that identifies healthier food products within a group of products. The main aim with the label is help consumers to find the healthier option in an easy and efficient way, as the keyhole label is often highly visible on the front cover of packaging (Nokkelhullsmerket.no, 2012).</p>
<p>UK - RSPCA Assured</p> 	<p>The RSPCA Assured label, previously known as Freedom Food, is a farm assurance and food labelling scheme dedicated to animal welfare. Launched in 1994 by the UK charity RSPCA (Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), the scheme was set up specifically to promote higher standards of animal welfare, including indoor and outdoor rearing systems and specifying slaughter processes.</p>
<p>UK - Lion Mark</p> 	<p>The British Lion Quality Code of Practice is the UK's food safety scheme covering the eggs production chain, guaranteeing that all hens are vaccinated against Salmonella ensuring the full traceability of hens, eggs and feed. The scheme was launched in 1998 by the British Egg Industry Council, following the 1988 salmonella scare which caused a dramatic collapse in the sales of eggs.</p> <p>N.B. This is a food safety scheme which guarantees the eggs were laid in the UK – while it ensures minimum legislative requirements for animal welfare it does not certify that the eggs are organic or free range. Over 90% of UK eggs are produced under the British Lion Mark scheme.</p>
Others	
<p>Vegan</p>	<p>The Vegan trademark is an international standard, introduced in 1990 by the Vegan Society, the oldest vegan society in the world, founded in the UK in 1944, which can be found on food and drink, beauty products, toiletries, cleaning products and services.</p> <p>Market examples - most UK supermarkets ensure that their vegan products are registered with the</p>

 	<p>Vegan Society Trademark – some popular food brands include Alpro, Quorn, Sacla’, Koko.</p> <p>We also observed the logo certified by the non-profit “Vegan Action” showing that food products do not contain meat, eggs or milk. In Norway and Serbia: in supermarkets, several products- mostly international- with the vegan logo.</p> <p>Different vegan labels were observed in Germany and Italy and other countries, e.g.:</p>  
<p>Halal, Kosher</p>   	<p>The Halal and Kosher certifications are rapidly growing on the market.</p> <p>Market examples – Italy Kosher Union (IKU) is an example of Kosher certification.</p>  <p>Hungary: products with Halal/Kosher certification are sold for muslim and jewish consumers, in special shops. These products have a very limited importance in the Hungarian food supply.</p> <p>Norway: own certification by the Norwegian Islamic council</p>  <p>Serbia: Halal is one of the most popular certificates among Serbian companies. Kosher is present in domestic market, but mostly for imported goods.</p>

Source: Co-authors’ own compilation based on UNEW national country report.

6. METHODOLOGY IN EACH COUNTRY - DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDIED HOUSEHOLDS

The selection of households was based on two main dimensions: the declared interest/involvement in FQS and local food, as well as location (rural/urban). These were combined with criterias such as household composition (number and age of adults, presence of children, ethnic background, etc.). Each national team used the following model (Table 6) in recruiting different types of households (H1 to H6) and adapted it for their own fieldwork.

Table 6: Selection criteria for the recruitment of households

		Involvement in FQS and local food	
		<i>Low to medium</i>	<i>Medium to High</i>
Type of area	<i>Rural</i>	H1 (YC) (Grimm)	H2 (AC) (Keserü)
	<i>Sub-urban</i>	H3 (YC) (Janó)	H4 (YC) (Nagy)
	<i>Urban</i>	H5 (YC) (Hellinger)	H6 (YC and AC) (Bagyula)

Legend: YC = young children; AC = adolescent or young adult children.

Source: ECO-SEN national country report.

Participants were recruited through two types of invitations: those interested in FQS and those interested in food, more generally. Different recruitment strategies very used across countries, e.g. participants were contacted directly when visiting shops, via local organizations, flyers, posters, internet and social media, articles in local newspapers, personal networks and acquaintances (snowball sampling), etc.

As an incentive, we decided that participants would receive a voucher, or a tablet/iPad if they did not have one (as they were asked to use a tablet/smartphone/laptop as a tool for data collection to take photos, film and write notes). Each team provided different incentives and solutions based on institutional regulations.

All the ethical guidelines of this research were also discussed with household members, including consent issues and related documentation to be signed (e.g. voluntary participation, audio-recording of conversations, confidentiality and anonymity treatment of data), alongside any questions regarding their involvement in the project. The specific methodological guidelines adopted in the seven countries are discussed as follows.

France

In order to recruit the six families involved in the fieldwork, we have used our own networks, close and loose (friends, relatives and external relations concerning the rural area in the Côte-d’Or region). Except for two families (directly linked to the researcher), there were one to three intermediaries between the researcher and the participant families.

Five families out of six are situated in the Côte-d'Or department (Burgundy) and one in the Gironde department (South-west France). Three families live in rural areas while the three others live in urban contexts. Four of them have been chosen because of their supposed involvement in sustainable food consumption. Diversity of age was sought and also the presence or absence of children in the households (three couples aged 30/40, two couples aged 40/50 and one couple aged 60/70). One family is composed of a mixed Franco-Romanian couple. All the reported names are fictive.

- H1: High Involvement in FQS/local food - Rural

Barbara and Bernard - A couple in their 40s-50s, with 3 sons (17, 15 and 10 years old).

- H2: High Involvement in FQS/local food - Urban

Tiphaine and Tristan - A couple in their 40s, with 3 children (one 11 years old boy, two girls aged 9 and 6).

- H3: High Involvement in FQS/local food - Urban

Victor and Violette - A couple in their 30s-40s with 3 children (two girls aged 9 and 7 and one 2 years old boy).

- H4: High Involvement in FQS/local food - Rural

Alain and Aline - A couple in their 50s, with three girls (12, 15 et 22 years old - the eldest is the daughter of Aline from a previous marriage).

- H5: Low Involvement in FQS/local food - Urban

Christian and Christine - A couple in their 30s, with two children (12 and 9 years old girls).

- H6: Medium involvement in FQS/local food - Rural

Léa - Single woman aged 70 (two children, 50 and 47 years old, but they no longer live in her house).

Depiction of the icebreaker

The ice-breaker food basket that we used during the semi-structured interviews on the first visit included:

- 1 Comté PDO cheese (in original plastic packaging, then cut in dices – see Figure 8);
- 1 PDO wine Côtes de Nuit Village (the wine was the same for three families and a Bordeaux PDO for the three others);
- 1 organic apple juice;

- 2 types of organic cured meats (rillettes and marbled ham, both in jars) processed by a local producer involved in short supply chains and bought on the Marché des Halles in Dijon;
- Organic whole wheat bread bought from a local baker who is involved in SFSC (works in partnership with a local wheat grower from the same village who grinds his own flour) and also present on the marché des Halles in Dijon.



Figure 8. Some products from the French food basket

Source: INRA-D - own picture from fieldwork.

Germany

We conducted the ethnographical field study combining in-depth discussion with observational methods. From May 2017 until March 2018 we visited six families, each three times. Five families live in the Cologne-Bonn region in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, which is considered as a metropolitan area. Three of those families live in the city centre (two in city with over 300.000 habitants, the other one in city with over one million habitants). Two families live in the sub-urban area of Cologne-Bonn region. One family lives in another part of North Rhine-Westphalia. This part, the Lower Rhine, is characterized by its rural and agricultural infrastructure.

Five of six families have young children (between 1 and 14 years old). In one case, the children had already left the household and started their own families. Nonetheless, this family receives several visits from their children and grandchildren. Through purposeful sampling we ensured not only diversity with regard to the families' place of residence, but also in terms of cultural background and family model. Except for one single mother, all other families comprise two parents and children. Only two families do not have a multicultural background. The father of one family was born in Syria, another one in Columbia. In two families one parent has a Turkish background, although they were both born in Germany. Furthermore, we chose families that were at least to some degree involved with sustainable food behaviour. In this respect, we ensured that in our preliminary talks, via e-mail and during our first informal meeting, those families mentioned topics such as: origin of food, seasonality, organic production methods, health considerations, and alternative distribution channels without any explicit mentioning of these words from the researcher.

Depiction of the icebreaker

The first visits took place from the end of May until the end of June in 2017. During the first visit we conducted a semi-structured interview, which was fully recorded and transcribed. For that purpose, we brought a basket containing the same types of food products for each family. The products had different sustainability characteristics (e.g. local and organic products) and most were labelled with FQS.

Food basket for all households:

- Strawberries (from local area, no label);
- Parma Ham (PDO Label);
- Pecorino Cheese (PDO Label);
- Fruit Yoghurt (EU and German organic label, retail brand);
- Lettuce (EU and German organic label, retail brand, from Italy)



Figure 9: Semi-structured interview with products from the food basket in Germany

Notes: Two researchers from UBO (on the left), mother and her 9 year old son (on the right).

Source: UBO - own picture from fieldwork.

Hungary

In the case of Hungary, the following families were selected for the fieldwork:

- Household 1 (H1):

The recruitment was performed in the town of Szekszard, Tolna county, South Transdanubia. Tolna county is one of the most rural areas of Hungary. The household consists of a middle-aged couple (58 and 57 years) with two adult separate-living children.

- Household 2 (H2):

The recruitment was performed in Szekszard, Tolna county, South Transdanubia. Tolna county is one of the most rural areas of Hungary. The household consists of a married couple (38-35 years) with 3 young children (9, 7 and 3 years).

- Household 3 (H3):

The recruitment was performed in the suburban region of Budapest. The household includes a young married couple (30-35 years) with a young child (3 years). The household's involvement in FQS and local food is below the medium level.

- Household 4 (H4):

The recruitment was performed in the suburban region of Budapest. The household includes a married couple (35-40 years) with a young child (1 years). The household's involvement in FQS and local food is very high, and they follow a vegan diet.

- Household 5 (H5):

The recruitment was performed in Budapest. The household includes a young married couple (30-35 years) with two young children (2 and 5 years). The household's involvement in FQS and local food is below the medium level.

- Household 6 (H6):

The recruitment was performed in Budapest. The household includes a middle-aged married couple (53-52 years) with five children (23, 21, 20, 13 and 10 years). The household's involvement in FQS and local food is above the medium level. They also grow some of their food in the garden.

Depiction of the icebreaker

The following products were selected for the basket of food products and used at the first semi-structured interview:

- 1 product with PDO, PGI or TSG label: a sliced and packed PGI sausage from Gyula. This product is one of the most well known Hungarian sausages, registered PGI product. For the lacto-ovo vegetarian household we replaced the meat PGI product with a PGI cheese product.

By the time of the first household visit, Hungary had no GI cheese therefore we chose a well known Dutch PGI cheese product that is available almost in every retail channel in Hungary.

- 1 product with organic label: as organic product we chose organic egg as this is one of the most commonly purchased organic products in Hungary (beside baby food). In Hungary, the domestically produced organic eggs are usually labelled with both EU and Hungarian organic labels. Our selected product also had three other labels: Hungarian product, Farm-produced eggs and Animal friendly egg.

- 1 product with a local label: The selected product is a local product of the region of Szekszárd called "Márc". Márc is a syrup made by honey and sugar, often also called as the "Hungarian Cola". The márc mixed with (sparkling) water was a typical refreshment drink. This product has a label of Traditions-Flavours-Regions that was registered with the help of Ecosensus in 2013.

- 1 product from SFSC: We chose a yoghurt from a SFSC but available in many shops through direct selling of the producer.

- 1 product without label but from SFSC: The selected product is a gingerbread produced by a small-scale manufacturer located in Szekszárd (also producing the márc). This product has no certifying label on the package.



Figure 10: Some products from the Hungarian food basket

Source: ECO-SEN - own picture from fieldwork.

Italy

We have recruited five households (H1-5), two of which live in the rural area of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, in the province of Piacenza (H1) and Reggio-Emilia (H2), respectively. Other two families live within the municipality of Parma (H3) and in Pontenure, a village in the province of Piacenza (H4), while the last one (H5) resides in the Piacenza municipality. The families are Italian with the exception of H5, an ethnic minority from Senegal, who has been living in Italy for more than 15 years (all the reported names are fictive).

- H1: The family lives in Groppallo (108 resident citizens), a small village within Tuscan-Emilian Apennines. Groppallo is located in the Piacenza province, 930 metres above sea level. The household comprises a married couple (Babila, 39 y and Roberto, 42 y) and their son (Carlo, 12 y). Babila is a primary school teacher (secondary school education level), while her husband is a blacksmith (junior high school education level). Their food habits are not dependent from ethical or religious standards. However, the consumption of certain products, such as cheese (by Babila) and some kinds of fruit (by Carlo), is limited or avoided due to health reasons. Babila is responsible for shopping and cooking, while Carlo participates in cooking and accompanying activities.
- H2: The family lives in Castelnovo ne' Monti, as small municipality (10,427 resident citizens) within Tuscan-Emilian Apennines National Park. Castelnovo ne' Monti is located in the province of Reggio-Emilia, 700 meters above sea level. The household consists of a mother (Maria, 60 y) and her second daughter (Gloria, 25 y). However, during the week, after the pre-school time, Maria's first daughter often join the household with her two children. Maria is a pre-school teacher (secondary school education level), while Gloria is a student attending a master degree in safety and quality of animal productions. The family does not have any food restrictions. Maria is the main responsible for shopping and cooking with the exception of fish products, which are generally selected and cooked by Gloria.
- H3: The family was recruited within a solidarity-based purchase group (GAS-Kuminda), in the context of Parma municipality (193,315 resident citizens). GAS-Kuminda is a collective organisation composed by sensitive citizens to environmental sustainability, actively interested in the purchase of organic food from small local producers with the aim to promote social solidarity through an ethical and responsible consumption. The household consists of a married couple (Luca, 42y and Martina, 42 y) and their two daughters (Sonia, 7 y and Agata, 4 y). Both Luca and Martina hold a tertiary education degree and work as lawyer and as university employee, respectively. Among the food products, milk is not consumed by the family, while cheese intake is extremely limited for one family component (Martina) due to lactose intolerance. The household is used to consume meat only occasionally (less than once a week). Within the family, Martina is the one responsible for shopping and cooking, while the daughters help to set up the table and occasionally participate in cooking.
- H4: The family lives in Pontenure (6,502 resident citizens), a village located in the Piacenza province, which is 12 km away from the Piacenza municipality. The household comprises a married couple (Pietro, 36 y and Elena, 32 y) without children. Pietro is an aircraft mechanic (secondary education level), while Elena is a social media manager (tertiary education level). Mainly due to health reasons, the family limits the meat intake preferring plant-based products for a daily consumption. Nevertheless, due to personal taste, Pietro does not eat fruit. The couple is equally responsible for shopping, while Elena is more involved in cooking activities.

- H5: Ethnic minority from Senegal recruited within Piacenza municipality (102,607 resident citizens). The household consists of a married couple (Pier, 51 y and Dora, 33y) and their two daughters (Aina, 3 y and Jalia, 0.5 y) who live together in Piacenza, while other three sons (aged 22, 20, and 7 years, respectively) live now in Senegal. Although the household is integrated into Italian society, it is tied to its own food traditions. Pier is a worker (secondary education level) and Dora is a housewife (tertiary education level). Due to religious restrictions, they do not eat pork meat and consumed products Halal certified. The main responsible for shopping is Dora who is also the only responsible for cooking.

Depiction of the icebreaker

In total, six food items were chosen for each family, taking into account of the presence of GIs and organic labels, as well as the seasonality and the area of family residence. In addition, the selection included easy to eat products to be tasted during the interview. Three out of the six products were the same for all the families. As shown in Figure 11, the products included:

- 1 package of organic breadsticks;
- 1 package of artisanal-made pasta with PGI label produced in Gragnano (Campania region);
- 1 juice made with apples produced in Trentino Alto-Adige region, located in Northern Italy.



Figure 11: Some products from the Italian food basket

Source: UNIPR - own picture from fieldwork.

Among the PDO products, cured meats, such as Prosciutto di Parma (Parma Ham) and Pancetta Piacentina (salty bacon, dries and matured from min. 2 months), and some cheeses, such as Taleggio (semi-soft cheese from cow's milk) and Rocamadour (French goat's milk cheese), were selected and proposed to the families in accordance to their religious guidelines and to the geographic position of their residence. Prosciutto di Parma PDO was offered to H2 and H3, while Pancetta Piacentina PDO was offered to H4. Therefore, these two products were also considered as local for H3 and H4, respectively. To complete the food basket with local products, not necessarily bearing quality labels, fresh fruit, traditional, and dairy products were also offered to the households. As traditional local products, a potato pie from the Piacenza province was handed to H1, with other local conventional products, including peaches, stracchino cheese (fresh cow's milk cheese typical from Northern Italian regions), ricotta (whey cheese) and cherries, brought to H1, H3, H4 and H5, respectively. A local cow's milk ricotta cheese displaying the brand of the Appennino Tosco-Emiliano National Park was instead chosen for H2. With the aim at meeting the food preferences of the ethnic minority from Senegal, an additional product was offered to H5. This was a local pear chutney, displaying the EU organic label.

Norway

During the period March 2017 to March 2018, five households, with a total of 10 participants, were visited three times across different seasons. In addition, a sixth household was visited in August 2017. The households are located in Oslo, Ski, Bærum, Sandefjord and Larvik. These locations represent both urban, suburban and rural areas. In order to recruit households we used several methods. Two households agreed to participate after noticing an ad on Facebook groups. These were groups in relation to food but also other interest groups such as 'young mothers in Oslo'. The other five households were recruited via friends or acquaintances from other researchers at HiOA.

Three of the families are ethnically Norwegian (H1, H3, H5) and two of the women (H4 and H6) have moved to Norway from other European countries (France and Scotland), and one man (H2) has moved to Norway from Nigeria. All have lived in Norway for many years.

The selected families are the following:

- Household 1. Oslo - Arne (45) and Anne (35) have two children aged 1 and 3. They have a wide selection of grocery stores in the neighbourhood due to their urban location, but they mainly use Rema 1000 because it is located "in their building". On the weekends, they enjoy going to food specialty shops, of which they have many to choose from in the area. Arne and Anne both had a great interest in food, mostly oriented towards specialty food, such as food with high quality often worth a higher price. In terms of local and organic food they rarely bought it on the premise of local or organic quality, but they were enthusiastic about the brand and dairy Rørosmeieriet²⁰ where most of the products have the NS and Ø label.
- Household 2. Oslo - Mona (36) and Mikael (41) come from different countries and have three children ages 1, 3 and 5. Concerning food provisioning, Mona and Mikael have separate arrangements: Mona buys groceries for herself and the children and Mikael buys for himself. Mona frequently uses two of her local grocery stores, Coop Extra and Meny. Mikael often goes to the international grocery markets in Grønland, but he also brings food back from his home country to Norway. Mona is very sensitive

²⁰ Røros is a municipality in the central part of Norway.

to price and would therefore frequently buy products from the brand First Price due to low prices. Consequently, if the price on local and organic food were high she would not buy it.

- Household 3. Ski - Dagny (45) and David (46) have three children aged 8, 12 and 14. Organic food forms a large amount of their food provisioning, and they have several grocery stores in their area. They mainly buy their food from Coop Extra and occasionally from Meny. In addition, they often buy meat and fish from alternative suppliers, such as farms, friends or relatives. Their house has a large garden and during summer and fall, they have a varied selection of homegrown fruits and vegetables available. Because of their interest in organic food, they were well acquainted with the Ø-label from Debio.
- Household 4. Bærum - Erling (55) and Elisabeth (45) come from different countries and have two children aged 10 and 12. Elisabeth does most of the grocery shopping at their local Rema 1000, but after visit 1 she started using Kolonial.no and then continued her grocery shopping online. Erling frequently goes fishing and had many opinions on issues related to farmed salmon. Elisabeth is interested local and organic food and frequently mentioned how she missed a focus on animal welfare in the FQS. A few years ago, the family was part of a community-supported agriculture scheme.
- Household 5. Sandefjord - Sofie (41) and Sven (48) have three children aged 12, 14 and 16 respectively. They live in a rural area with farm sales close to their house, but they mainly use Coop Mega as their everyday grocery store. They were very enthusiastic about the organic brand from Coop, Änglamark because Sofie had been part of a consumer survey about the brand a few years ago. The family have access to a garden close to their home where they can grow vegetables and fruit.
- Household 6. Larvik - Linda (79) is originally from Scotland and is now a widow living alone in a rural area close to Larvik. Due to her rural area, she would frequently be given food, both vegetables and meat, from her neighbors. Her local grocery store is Meny and she also had local farm sales close to her house. Norwegian and local food is important to Linda and she would often look for the NytNorge (NN) label.

The total household incomes before tax would range from 700,000 to above 1,000,000 NOK. Interestingly, when we asked the households how much they spent on food during one month, a household that earned above 1,000,000 spent less money on food compared to another household that earned a lot less. However, the selection of six households is too small to make any generalisation regarding income and food expenses, and it is important to remember that the families have different social and national backgrounds as well as very diverse interests in food.

Depiction of the icebreaker

In total, 8-10 different food products were brought to the first household visit and offered to the families. These products held at least one of the following FQS: PDO, PGI, TSG, BB, Debio Organic, EU Organic, and the NN or NS label specialty (refer to Figure 12). Some variation was made across households by including, for example: organic vegetables or fresh herbs, a BGB such as “Fenalår fra Norge”, a PDO such as “Manchego” cheese, a local apple juice, a speciality labelled products such as flatbread from Røros, some stockfish snacks.



Figure 12: Some products from the Norwegian food basket

Source: HiOA - own picture from fieldwork.

Serbia

The 6 selected households were taken from three towns in Serbia: Belgrade (capital), Paracin and Vrbas. The families are as follows:

- Household 1 (H1): This household is recruited in Vrbas, an industrial city located in the Northern part of Serbia (130 km away from Belgrade). The family includes young parents and two children. Male, aged 39, and female, aged 40, are employed in their own company dealing with the transport of agricultural products. When it comes to education, both parents have secondary school degree. They display an above-average level of income. Children are underage - daughter is 14, son is 12. This family lives in an apartment in the city centre. The mother is in charge of shopping and cooking. Purchases are performed often in smaller quantities in supermarkets located around their place of living.
- Household 2 (H2): This household is located in Savino Selo, 14 km away from Vrbas. It is a village of the Northern part of Serbia. The household consists of three persons – grandparent (aged 64), single mother (aged 35) and her child (aged 4). The grandparent is retired with exceptionally low income. The single mother is working, but with lower than average income. She holds secondary school degree. The family lives in a house with a large garden where they grow different types of fruits and vegetables for their own needs, and produce a variety of foods such as jams, juices, salads, etc. The food they are not able to produce at home, is usually bought in the local supermarkets and

farms. The mother is responsible for shopping, while the grandparent participates in cooking and accompanying activities.

- Household 3 (H3): This household is located in Kaluđerica, a suburb of the Serbian capital. The household includes two parents (male aged 35 and female aged 33) with two pre-school children. They own the chain of health food stores and they are highly interested in FQS. They both hold bachelor degree. The family lives in an apartment. The husband manages the family business and participates in shopping activities while the wife is in charge of taking care of children as well as cooking and cleaning. Bearing in mind the family business, they purchase food in their own store and alternative food channels.
- Household 4 (H4): This household is located in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, in the city centre. The family includes a young married couple (male aged 35 and female aged 32) without children. They are both employed with an average income level. Both of them hold a master degree. They live in an apartment located in the city centre, surrounded by a large number of supermarkets and shops. They prefer to make frequent purchases in small quantities. They equally participate in the purchase of food while the wife is in charge of cooking.
- Household 5 (H5): This household is from Paraćin, a city located 160 km south of Belgrade. The household comprises 4 people: a married couple (male aged 49, female aged 48), grandmother (aged 67), and son (24). Both male and female are working. The male does some private business (passenger transport), and the female works as a nurse. Both parents have a secondary school degree. The grandmother is retired (she receives an Austrian pension). The son has ended his studies and is doing an internship. This family is located in a suburb called Striža or Striško naselje, 3km from the city center, with an income at the average national level. The family lives in a house with a garden where they grow different types of vegetables. They also grow some types of poultry (chickens, turkeys).
- Household 6 (H6): The recruitment is performed in the central part of Serbia (Paraćin). The family lives in the city center, in a house. The household includes three generations: an older married couple - male aged 64, female aged 61, retired, the male does some gardening, the female (long-time dental technician) works privately with dental material; a younger married couple - aged 33 (f) and 36 (m), partly-employed, lower than average salaries and a child (6 years old). This family has an income slightly below average national level.

Depiction of the icebreaker

Based on previous literature review and the direct experience of the researchers, Serbian consumers are not very much aware of the meaning of the concept “sustainable food chains”. In order to stimulate the discussions at the first home visits, a food basket was offered to the families (see Figure 13), including the following products:

- a pack of apple juice (organic label)
- a jar of honey (organic label)
- a pack of prosciutto (PGI label)
- a pack of “kore” (SFSC – locally handmade and sold product)
- a jar of “ajvar” (PDO label)



Figure 13: Some products from the Serbian food basket

Source: BEL - own picture from fieldwork.

United Kingdom

The six UK households (H1-H6) recruited for this research are from the North East region of England, located in different districts of Newcastle upon Tyne, which is the largest city in the region (population circa 300,000), and its surrounding towns and villages. In order to ensure some heterogeneity across households, and in line with the methodological guidelines, their recruitment was based on the following criteria: a) their interest and involvement in food quality and sustainability; b) their residence location (rural/urban; village/town/city); c) household composition and presence/age of children; d) nationality and ethnic background; e) different socio-demographics (e.g. age, educational level, professional occupation, income)²¹.

- H1: The family lives in Fenham, an area in the west-end of the city of Newcastle upon Tyne (known for its ethnically mixed population). The family consists of a couple: Noura (F) 44 and Gavin (M) 41, with their two daughters: Sonya (F) 7 and Daisy (F) 5. Noura and Sonya are Asian British, Gavin and Daisy are White British. The household was recruited via Food Nation, a Newcastle based social enterprise, as Noura is actively engaged via local community work on promoting a good food culture and sustainability issues.
- H2: The family lives in Gateshead, a town in Tyne and Wear on the Southern Bank of the river Tyne (population 120,046), opposite Newcastle upon Tyne. The family consists of a couple: Rasa (F) 40 and Omar (M) 45, their son Jonas (M) 21 and daughter Julie (F) 8. Rasa and Jonas are EU nationals (Lithuanian), Omar is Asian British, Julie is Mixed British. The household was recruited via personal networks (Rasa is a mutual acquaintance) as very passionate about food and strong supporter of veganism.

²¹ Furthermore, the family of the researcher was used as a pilot to road test all fieldwork activities and refine interviewing techniques.

- H3: The family lives in Denton Burn, a suburb area situated 6 km to the west of the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. The family consists of a couple: Michelle (F) 57 and Marcus (M) 54, without children. The couple is White British. The household was recruited via personal networks (mutual acquaintance) and indicated as ‘average’ White British consumer in terms of food practices, with low/medium interest in food quality and sustainability issues overall.
- H4: The family lives in Low Westwood, a rural village in County Durham, which is approximately 20 km from the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. The family consists of a couple: Claire (F) 44 and Martin (M) 42, with their four kids: James (M) 9, Hannah (F) 6, Ellie (F) 6, Debra (F) 2. The family is White British. The household was recruited via H1 (H1’s Noura and H4’s Michelle are friends), as they recently moved to a rural village in the countryside and are particularly interested in food quality and local food.
- H5: The family lives in Jesmond, a residential suburb located North from the centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. The family consists of a retired couple: Karen (F) and Rahim (M), both in their 70s. Karen is White British, Rahim is Asian British. The household was recruited via H1, as they are Noura’s parents. No set preconditions regarding their food practices.
- H6: The family lives in North Shields, a town on the north bank of the river Tyne in North East England (population 34,423), which is well known for its historical Fish Quay and fishing trade, approximately 13 km north-east of Newcastle upon Tyne. The family consists of a couple: Ruth (F) 39 and David (M) 40, with their son Rob (M) 4. The family is White British. The household was recruited via personal networks (Ruth is employed at the University in Newcastle), with no set preconditions regarding their food practices.

Depiction of the icebreaker

As part of the first visit’s semi-structured interview, a basket of food products was offered to each family to stimulate the discussion on food quality products and local food, via food tasting and attention to labels. As agreed in the methodological framework, the selection of products had to be meaningful for the local / national context. The products selected were a mix of local/national/foreign products, with respective labels regarding their geographical origin (EU GI, British, local), food quality and sustainable practices (organic, from SFSC, displaying other FQS). The presence of distinctive quality attributes, regarding the brand, retailer range, marketing slogans (e.g. ‘freshness and quality’, ‘healthy living’, ‘perfectly imperfect’, etc.) were also identified. Examples of food products brought to the British families, as shown in Figure 14, include:

- EU PDO, PGI or TSG - e.g. PDO Stilton cheese, PDO Italian Parma ham, PGI Dutch Gouda cheese, PGI Italian spaghetti, PDO Greek feta, PDO Spanish picota cherries;
- Organic label - e.g. organic bread (Euro-Leaf), organic peanut butter (Organic Soil Association and Euro-Leaf), British organic apples (Organic Soil Association and Euro-Leaf), etc.;
- Local label - traditional North East pease pudding, Red Tractor Cumberland sausages, British Red Tractor strawberries, etc.;

- No label / from a SFSC - local honey from farmers' market, artisan jam from farmers' market, Northumberland Reiver cheese from farmers' market, organic little tomatoes from farmers' market (no organic label), etc.

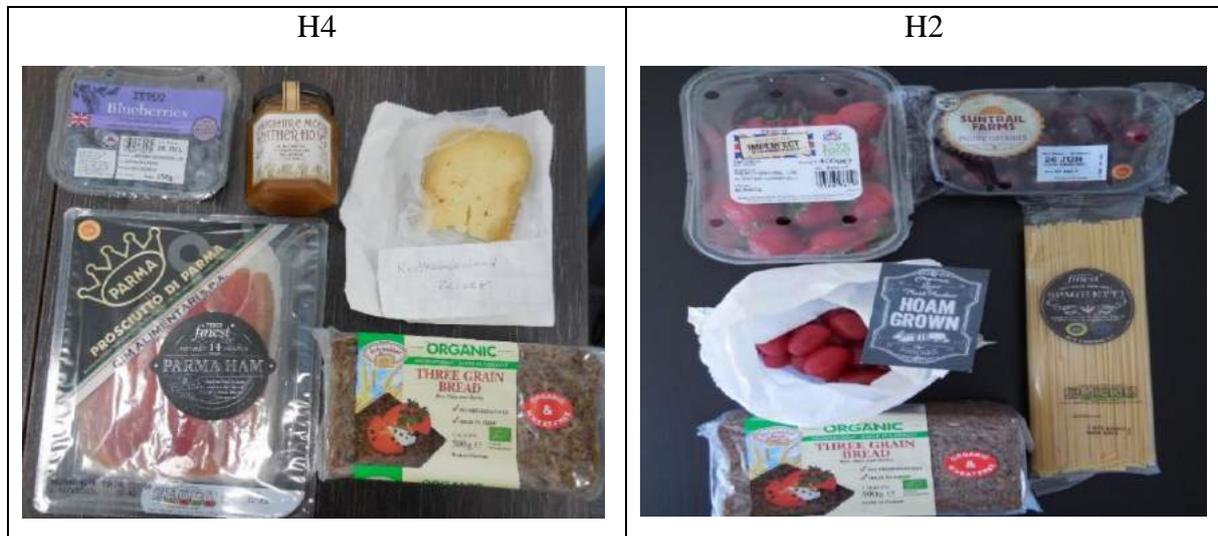


Figure 14: Some products from the British food basket

Source: UNEW - own picture from fieldwork.

7. COGNITIVE DIMENSIONS

This chapter provides an overview of the results concerning the cognitive dimensions linked to both quality and sustainability of food products and food labelling through participants' own words and expressions. Organic labels were often associated to environmental sustainability, fair trade and social sustainability, while origin and tradition were frequently linked to quality food and cultural sustainability. Localness and SFSC are more ambivalent and can be considered as mixing quality and sustainability elements.

Methodological and theoretical reminders

The idea underpinning this ethnographic fieldwork is to better understand consumer perspectives while shedding light on potential limitations / solutions for improving the sustainability of food.

The economy of conventions has been developed within a socio-economic framework by the Convention School, and builds on classical research considerations in both disciplines, including coordination of social action and asymmetrical information, among many. The concept of “economy of convention” means that a set of conventions is necessary to have any coordination, exchange or co-operation between several actors.

A convention is usually understood as a formal agreement between different actors (as various as juridical contracts, normative uses, or official conventions between states). Conventionists try to link **social behaviour to a constraint built on agreement between persons, more than to social facts or market interests**. Analysing empirical discursive data, Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) proposed six different worlds of worth that represent different kinds of agreements built on dissimilar forms for generality and corresponding to different conventions and contextual frames of thoughts of the subject or object: 1) the inspired world 2) the domestic world 3) the world of fame 4) the civic world 5) the market world and 6) the industrial world²².

Table 7: Values and dimensions linked to the different worlds of worth

World of worth	Pillar	Means of being valuable in this world	Values (moral) / objectives	Bad values	Key words
Civic	Collective action Community	To participate for common interests	Law, honesty, solidarity, social justice	VS individualism	Collectivity/ collective action, regulation, democracy, law, NGO, association, fair, justice, social sustainability
Invention/ inspiration	Invention Creation	The genial idea Art/ aesthetic	Originality, genius emotion	VS routine, uses, bodily practices,	Inspiration, creativity, imagination, good idea, alternative possibilities

²² Lafaye and Thévenot proposed a seventh world of worth (Lafaye & Thévenot, 1993): the green world. Later on, they have added two more worlds: the project oriented world and the world of simplification (Haugseth, Huseby, & Skjølsvold, 2016, p. 291).

			Passion, spontaneity	norms	
Market	Business	Competition	Money Wealth To win	VS lack of competition	Money, price, commerce, property, wealth, brand/ label
Industrial	Control Standard	Effectiveness Science/expertise performance	Machines, system Professionalism Regularity	VS amateurism Lack of efficiency	Tools, machines, expert knowledge, standardization, organization, tasks, regularity
Domestic	Transmission Reproduction	Tradition Hierarchy family	Trust Know-how Gentleness Kindness	VS innovation vulgarity	Loyalty, family, trust, education, transmission of knowledge, gestural know-how
Fame	Reputation	Seduction Success	Media Image Fashion Visibility	VS secret, To be unseen, banality	Celebrity, stars, fashion, reputation, well known brand, label,
Project	Network Links	Connexion Collaboration Cooperation	To be a part of a group Flexibility Relationship Autonomy Adaptation	VS individualism at work	Network, information, participation, integration, collaboration, cooperation, links
Green (later inserted by Thevenot)	Nature Sustainability	Pureness Natural means of doing things	Sustainable way of life Low consumption Alternative markets	VS pollution Artifice Chemicals	Sustainability, alternative, pure, green, careful, ecology, organic, garden, natural

Source: Inspired by the chapter *On Justification* (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006).

Participants' understanding, perceptions and knowledge

Organic – EU and national labels

Organic labels were commonly recognised by the participants, but there was a tendency whereby participants were more familiar with the national organic labels compared to the European organic one:

“This [German Label] I know from everywhere. This [EU-Organic] is not so striking. Ok, if you pay attention to it ... this [German Label] is always visible on top of the product, this catches my eye quite often.” (Germany)

Some participants also mentioned that they rely more on the word “organic” displayed on food packaging, without paying any attention to specific certification schemes. In this respect, consumers were more familiar and closer to supermarkets' own logos or specific organic brands (for example, Änglamark in Norway) compared to FQS from assured national and EU schemes:

“I just recognise the supermarkets' branding of organic... and I must say I don't pay attention to these [organic labels].” (UK, H6)

“Sofie: Many years ago I participated in a survey when Coop was launching their new organic products, and they had the Änglamark brand on the table and I was supposed to answer questions about what I thought about the name and such... I do not know how to explain it, but from that time on, I felt a bit of ownership over the brand (Norway)

In many countries, such as France and Germany, national organic labels have existed longer and are thus better known than the European organic label:

“and really since France, the Ministry of Agriculture has taken up the management of the logo AB, or has abandoned... because under the logo AB there is nothing left now under the logo AB. Because today it is the European logo, you see. This is why [X] uses the logo AB because the French know what it means... that this logo prevails.” (France, H1)

In Norway, even though the European organic label often appears on food products, most participants would connect the Ø-label with organic attributes. To a great extent, higher levels of trust are associated with the Ø-label, whereas the EU organic is often seen as more suspicious due to its connotations of a ‘foreign’ label. In terms of buying organic food, four of the Norwegian households (H3, H4, H5 and H6) mentioned that they bought organic products regularly, of which H3 was very consistent. H1 and H2 were not negative towards organic food, but they rarely bought organic due to higher prices or limited interests. However, all households were able to recognise the Norwegian Ø-label and they did not express difficulties with finding it in the grocery stores.

Sometimes organic food products may have several other national organic labels on the same packaging in addition to the EU organic label, or, in some other cases, they might not be labelled at all.



Figure 15: Multiplicity of FQS and logos (foreign product and local product)

Source: HiOA - own pictures.

Standards behind the organic labels and certifications were not very well known among participants, and their understanding of what organic implies was mixed. In the case of organic products, different “values” were associated with organic. For some, organic seems to be viewed as a general guarantee of quality:

“No...I don’t know anything about that, so I often choose organic wine... it might sound stupid but that’s how it is ... there is very little choice so I don’t even need to choose... you see.. organic and that’s it.” (France, H6)

Organic was often associated with health, environmental and/or social aspects. For some participants, the health benefits associated with the absence of pesticides was a main reason for buying organic food:

“I think it grows with less pesticides, or without. Then I think it’s healthier somehow and you don’t have to wash it so much.” (Germany)

“To me the most important thing is that the food is not sprayed, but I could buy Norwegian cucumbers because I know that in Norway you do not spray cucumbers, in that case I can choose non-organic because I know it is not sprayed... I think about the poison, I do not want that and I do not want to expose my children to chemicals.” (Norway, H3 - Dagny)

“According to me organic products are more controlled; less chemical products are used during the cultivation” (Italy, H1)

The avoidance of antibiotics and GMO were other important health related benefits associated with organic production, as mentioned by some participants:

“[Because of the] Chemicals they don’t use to grow them. Or that a cow does not eat GMO Soya.” (Germany)

In the case of Italy, where no specific national organic label exists on the market, participants are generally aware of the EU-leaf label. However, due to the superficial knowledge of what organic actually means, most consumers generally associate this to safer/healthier products compared to more conventional ones:

“Usually, if I see the green label, I play it safe...if I don’t know the producers, that label can make the difference.” (Italy, H1)

Moreover, the scale of production and social issues were also discussed when talking about organic food. For example, the difference between artisanal and industrial production, as well as better animal welfare conditions were specifically mentioned, with the general view that buying organic food comes with a feeling of doing the “right thing.”

For many participants, global environmental concerns came first when discussing organic food:

- “- Yes, healthier. It is more a matter of.... being better for health. In addition...*
- well, it is not so much for ourselves, in fact, it is more about the impact on the planet, you see, it is, well...*
- Yes, the impact on the planet, yes, it is not...*
- Not necessarily in relation to ourselves.” (France, H3)*

Transport distance also played an important role. Participants stated that they rather buy conventional produced local food than organic products that have been transported long distance. For example:

“On some things [foods] it says ‘organic’ and then it’s Chile. Then, I think, that’s not it. This is local, I know it is not organic but I think, then I prefer local [because of] transport distances and so on.” (Germany)

The environmental aspects were also reflected in the rejection of plastic packaging on organic food.

However, price and financial considerations were recognised by most respondents as the most important constraints to purchasing organic food. Organic food was often seen as overvalued and too expensive. For example,

“organic is an unnecessary increase of the price for an average quality product.” (Hungary)

“The first thing that will spring to mind is that it is going to be twice the price and normally it is...because of the price you wouldn’t get it.” (UK, H3)

Price considerations regarding organic food were also mentioned in Norway. For instance, H5 often emphasised that they mostly used the organic brand from Coop, Änglamark, as this is considerable cheaper than other organic food products. Food affordability was generally emphasised by several participants, especially in the context of households with children:

“My friend, they buy all organic things but they don’t have children yet and she said that they spend a fortune...[but recently] she’s started to switch now because she wants to save a little more money .” (UK, H2)

However, buying whole organic products for home cooking can still be cheaper compared to buying processed foods:

“either you can cook, or you can’t. If you can’t cook... I see people who have very little money and yet buy ready to eat stuff, that are not very good and that explode their food budget.” (France, H1)

Origin and tradition – EU and national labels

As a whole, participants were not aware and familiar with the European FQS (PDO, PGI and TSG), with only some recognising or having heard about these labels before:

“[...] cause, there a so many labels on them, so you don’t know what all of this is about.” (Germany)

“I think there's various so I don't know whether they just stick that on just to convince people or whether it really is a standard. I don't know.” (UK, H1)

Especially in the context of the first home visit, when families were offered a food basket including products with these EU FQS, most participants did not seem to pay attention and did not mention the labels. Participants focused more on the type of product, their appearance, design, quality and brand. When evoking a discussion about FQS, most participants expressed uncertainty, lack of knowledge, and/or limited interest towards these labels:

“Subconscious maybe, but not in the way that I would have reacted on it [PDO label].” (Germany)

“I look at the colour and the product itself. Now these pastry leaves are fresh. The ones that have aged several days start to get blue stains, the moulds start to kick in. So, I just look at the product. I usually don’t pay attention to what it says on the label.” (Serbia, H5)

“You taught us today about these small labels but probably I wouldn’t check in the future, if they were there or not, I wouldn’t” (UK, H2)

“I don’t remember the PDO label” (Italy, H1)

“I don’t pay attention to the label because it doesn’t give me any particular information” (Italy, H2)

PDO, PGI and TSG did not seem to be relevant signals of sustainability for participants:

“I think if I would be a fan of Italy and if I would know this [label] or the area, than I would be more likely to pay attention to it. But normally I would just think ‘I need Parmesan Cheese’” (Germany)

Criticisms were made regarding the visibility of these labels, due to their small size and writing, which make these hard to take notice:

“I can hardly see it, especially the writing and I've got good eyesight and the writing is very difficult.” (UK, H1)

Furthermore, the design was seen as unclear, not intuitive and self-explanatory, but rather difficult to deduce:

“It looks Spanish or even the Northumberland flag. So I would like labels to tell me about these things but if I knew what they meant then that would help.” (UK, H1).

Instead of the labels, the traditional character of products was usually deduced from the name of the product itself or from the geographical place to which they ‘naturally’ belonged.

Overall, PDO and PGI labels were recognised by some participants, with a much higher incidence in France and Italy compared to other countries, although they were not always differentiated. TSG just seemed to be unknown. PGI seemed to be better known than PDO to some participants, with the exception of France (because PDO label builds on the French AOC which has great tradition in the country). Perhaps it was surprising to find out how these labels were not appreciated or even considered as quality signs by some Southern Europe families:

“In fact, what appeals to me is like you say short supply chains, or whether it is really organic production, but I don’t care much for the Protected denomination of origin or AOC, it doesn’t matter to me.” (France, H2)

“then all this stuff about “Appellation d’origine contrôlée”, I’m not interested because I think it doesn’t mean anything in terms of quality...” (France, H2).

“It doesn’t matter to me if a product is PDO or PGI. Only in case of wine, maybe” (Italy, H3)

However, one of the French participants (organic farmer) insisted on the importance of the technical specifications concerning PDOs (differentiation Epoisses/Comté), stressing the social aspect: this label is a protection for small-scale producers because it limits milk production for each farmer, especially thanks to the prohibition of the milking robot. Another French couple (H5) emphasised the heritage, transmission and authenticity of PDO products.

It is worth mentioning that the PDO, PGI and TSG labels have text in different languages (including English, French, Italian and Spanish). For example, the French PDO is AOC (Appellation d’origine contrôlée). Serbia and Norway also have their own concepts and availability of foods (for example, Beskyttede Betegnelser (BBs) in Norway are limited and most Norwegians are not familiar to the BBs).

The French national quality label “Label rouge” was also mentioned, but only few respondents brought it up spontaneously:

“In reality we tend to buy... what we are used to, we often buy loose from supermarket counters; they precisely have a label rouge for marbled ham which is very very good and that we like quite a lot... And when our budget gets tighter, we also buy regular items, in fact.” (France, H5)

However, this label did not seem very important to the French participants and, even those who were strongly involved in sustainable food practices, mostly criticised it.

In Norway, H5 expressed several flaws with the BB labels (which are akin the PDO and PGI regulations, but in Norway), mostly because they did not show enough traceability. Knowledge about food products is critical here, but also reflects the lack of knowledge of the BB labels *per se*. None of the Norwegian households knew about the BGB or the European PGI / PDO labels.

Despite our explanation in visit 1, the participants showed very little interest in these labels and barely remembered their meaning in visit 3. This experience was common to other countries as well, especially considering Germany and the UK. Nonetheless, it was somewhat surprising, as it appeared that several households agreed with the logic of these labels validating the origin of a product and specific connection to the local territory. However, several Norwegian participants noticed how the ‘place’ of a product is often used as a marketing strategy to invoke notions of quality, e.g. thinking about the dried cod that H1, H2 and H3 received from the food basket (Figure 16).

Figure 16: Stockfish snacks, from the Lofoten brand

Source: HiOA - own pictures.



The most recognisable information on the packaging of dried cod was the logo from the brand ‘Lofoten’, which apparently intend to inspire associations to fish originating from the Lofoten, a region in the north of Norway where the stockfish has both a BGB and a PGI (“stockfish from Lofoten”).

As it turns out, the information on the back of the bag stated that the fish was not from Lofoten, but from Iceland. This is how H3 reacted to discovering the origin of the dried cod:

*“- this does not have a NN label, but it is very Norwegian.
- You say very Norwegian, how do you know that?
- Lofoten, it says Lofoten, although it is probably not produced in Norway.
- It may be shipped abroad and prepared somewhere.
- Do you know what, it is not Norwegian, and it is produced in Iceland for Lofotprodukt AS. Yes... but it is funny reading things like this, it is very deceptive... when I think about Lofoten I think that it is very Norwegian.”* (Norway, H3)

Before H3 knew that the dried cod was originally from Iceland, they were clearly connecting the qualities of the product to its Norwegian origin. Their perception of the quality of the dried cod decreased as they discovered that Lofoten was just a brand, and it made them suspicious to such packaging information.

“I wish that if the packaging says Lofoten it is Norwegian, that you would know that this was Norwegian and made in Lofoten, and with the NN label you know what is Norwegian, so there is something you can depend on, but not the Lofoten brand” (Norway, H3).

As it turns out, H3’s discovery of the misleading product made an impact on their purchasing behaviour, and the dried cod also became a discussion topic at the third visit:

*“- The dried cod yes, the one that was not produced in Norway.
-[Researcher] Do you remember it?
- Yes, I will never forget it, it is pretty dismal... we do not buy dried cod now as it is not from Lofoten, it was disappointing”* (Norway, H3)

Localness and SFSC – national and regional

Most participants stated that they value seasonal locally grown fruits and vegetables and are generally positive to food products from local farmers. However, they did not always seem to base this on explicit knowledge and awareness:

“If it is obvious for me, I would think ‘the closer the better’, but I would not research forever” (Germany)

“I was thinking of local to the North East, but actually local can mean buying British, doesn’t it” (UK, H6)

Although most said that they prefer to buy local, regional and national food, they were not always aware of national and regional labels. For example, in Hungary households did not know the selected local label (Traditions-Flavors-Regions). However, participants seemed mostly positive to receiving information about these types of labels:

“Now that you have shown me this [Regionalfenster], I would probably try to keep it in mind and pay attention to it.” (Germany)

The Norwegian participants were quite familiar with the Nyt Norge (NN) label, not signifying local but Norwegian production. H3, H4 and H5 were very interested in Norwegian food and in this regard, they discussed the NN and NS (Norwegian specialty) labels. Concerning origin, Norwegian food with a NN or NS label were generally perceived as ‘local’, in the sense that such products were more local than for example the organic carrots from Spain²³. The local value was important to many of the families, and this was further related to an emphasis on trust in local producers and the products’ ability to display traceability. H5 mentioned local food as a first priority with their second priority being organic food products. When they talked about the many farmers in their area, it seemed tied to the closeness they felt to farms. This became clear when they emphasised knowledge about traceability and region in relation to Norwegian produced food.

“- Once upon a time, you had a bag of potato chips that said that the potatoes were from a place down the street. You know, traceability. When it says here, you said: comes from this and that place, with this and that producer, it has more of a story line, that it is from here in Lillehammer, which is the kind of thing I find interesting. -[Researcher] But why do you find it interesting? - It does something to the product if it has a history. Many times, you get a packet of minced meat which is one out of 40.000 animals at Tulip [Danish brand], then I do not want to buy it” (Norway, H5)

Localness was often related to “home” and in the case of the ethnic minority family (both in Italy and in Norway), the concept of localness was completely different compared to the SFSC concept. The local character of food products and gastronomic preparations is strictly tied to the national origin of the food (i.e. Senegal) and recipes (e.g., the food imported by the Chinese retailers from Senegal), than with the local context where the family actually lives (Northern Italy):

“Because you know, here we eat Senegalese type cuisine, not typical Italian. Occasionally I eat pasta at home. But not always. The Senegalese community has the

²³ Which is a usual way of understanding and using the concept of local food in Norway (see Amilien 2011 for more info)

chance to have everything they have there in Senegal, the Chinese have brought food products here.... in their Chinese store” (Italy, H5)

For the Norwegian participant born in Africa, food products sold in “ethnic” shops in Oslo centre felt more local than Norwegian products from the local shop. Both quality (including the use of all senses and especially smell) and presentation (sold in bulk, without plastic bags) contributed to his “local quality” definition.

Local foods were often linked to SFSC, and were generally more appreciated than organic foods, because of the proximity with producers that seem to guarantee quality better than a label. For the participants the most valued SFSC was home-grown food.

With SFSC relational proximity and communication is important:

“Yes, yes, I like that, when a wine maker talks to me about his wine, counsels me, and... it is true that it wouldn’t occur to me to buy wine from a supermarket. I don’t know. I’m prepared to pay more in... at a wine cellar, or other networks, rather than buy it in a supermarket.” (France, H3).

Concerning product characteristics, it is not always the intrinsic quality that was highlighted, such as health, taste, etc., but also other criteria, such as the impact on the environment, and the support of the local economy in favour of local and national producers.

“Yes well, it is precisely the protection of the environment. Because transportation is shorter, because we also support local production.... The farmers in [small town] or in ...” (France, H2)

“The nearer, the better [...] It depends, if there are German and French Apples I would buy the German ones.” (Germany)

“Buying Italian and 0 km products is a way to enhance local economy, to improve sustainability and to lower the environmental impact of the production.” (Italy, H4)

“I understand pineapples from Costa Rica, but you can’t get pears from Argentina. It is not protectionism, it is ecology. These pears should have travelled by plane, a huge carbon footprint.” (Italy, H3)

In one particular case, purchasing food from local producers and farmers living in areas affected by natural disasters (e.g., Italian town Amatrice, hit by the earthquake in 2016) is also a way to support the local economy and their production:

“in Amatrice we have two cheese producers that we are helping, we make an order almost every month.” (Italy, H3)

Participants who were interested in culinary activities were also interested in local food production. Admiration of craftsmanship was also mentioned as one of the positive aspects of SFSC:

“For beef, there is an excellent butcher in [small town] so...ok... who prepares his meat beautifully, who really does a great... a grand job... with animals that he chooses in the countryside around here.” (France, H4).

Moreover, the intrinsic quality (e.g. taste) of the product often gets upgraded through SFSC:

“they have to lift themselves from products that may look similar but are industrial. He needs to find its place, and in order to make his mark, one knows he needs to go upmarket, not down.

Well and also, when you are a local producer working via short supply chains, if it is not good, you get an immediate response.” (France, H1)

Sustainability

Sustainability is not designed by a specific label and is a complex and difficult subject to discuss. In its essence, sustainable consumption relates to how people can “put their environmental and social concerns into practice” (Seyfang, 2005, p. 291). Although this rationale encompasses several issues, conversations during the Norwegian fieldwork mostly referred to environmental sustainability and the ethical implications of consumption. H4, for example, would specify animal welfare as a base for sustainable agriculture. In terms of an emic definition, H4 stated an informative definition of sustainability when mentioned to their children:

“It is about being left with a bigger gain of a product than what you placed in, to make it become a finished product... you should use less resources compared to what you get in the end.” (Norway, H4)

H5 in Norway thought the issue of sustainability was highly complex and stressed how the notion of ‘sustainable food’ was very ambiguous and misused in several contexts. H4 also referred to the use of the word in certain settings expressing a similar distrust:

“Sustainability is used in a lot of weird circumstances and it is not like everything that is called sustainable actually is so.” (Norway, H4)

Overall, most households pointed to the complexity of understanding sustainability in terms of food provisioning. Such intricacies made the questions of sustainable responsibility quite entangled.

Other labels – fair trade, Halal and health

With regard to other specific certifications and assurance schemes, ethical and social standards as well as nutrition labels were the most significant ones. The Fairtrade label was recognised and was viewed positively by most participants.

Among healthy nutrition labels, the UK traffic light rating system and the Nordic Keyhole label were discussed among participants. The Keyhole label came up in conversations with Norwegian participants about trust and conflicts about what is healthy to eat and what is not. It is definitely a well-known label that children learn at school, but our participants did not trust it since the Norwegian pizza got it.

With regard to the ethnic minority family in Italy, meat products are purchased by the ethnic butcher's shops selling Halal certified meat. Although they do not really know its meaning, they buy Halal meat due to religious reasons and they trust this label:

“if I know this product is not halal or have pork in it, I do not buy it for sure, I do not eat it, I do not buy it anymore. Once in a while, when I go there [to the Arab butcher's shops] you do not have to worry, from Arabic you know you eat Halal, it's Halal so there's no pork. That's for sure” (Italy, H5)

The pragmatic regimes of engagement and cognitive dimensions

Linking the cognitive dimensions with conventions theory may shed some lights on why participants had different perceptions and knowledge.

Pragmatic regimes are social tools based on ethical values that govern our commitment to our environment, based both on the consideration of what is good and right and on a certain notion of what is real. But what is good or right depends on the context and the logic in which we think, called here regime. When one has to justify oneself to others, a wide public, the good and the right are for example of the order of the common good. This theoretical framework developed within convention theory is well adapted to the cognitive dimensions here presented and offer an interesting analytical understanding of the many arguments of our participants and the complexity of their thought about sustainable food consumption and FQS.

Thévenot proposes three different complementary ways to “justify” ourselves, as individuals speaking of our social engagements, underlining that there is no incoherence but a constant process of thought and evolution for each individual. He calls them “pragmatic regimes” of “plural engagements” (L Thévenot, 2001, 2009) and noticed how integrated they are in material dependencies and infrastructures (refer to Table 8).

The regime of familiarity is in the realm of thoughtlessness, of habit. Traditions, transmission, and expressions such as "I have always done that way" or "my mother has always told me to do so" belong to the regime of familiarity. Individuals are engaged because of love or care, but also reciprocity and trust. This regime is dominated by emotion, attachment and routine.

Within the regime of regular planned action, reflection and emotion merge and give rise to strategic reasoning where the individual finds solutions by adapting and negotiating with others, and for others. Individuals are engaged in this regime through contracts, responsibility or promise.

Being rational or at least thinking about what you do for the common good is typical of the justification regime, which aims at a sort of collective management of our common environment. We are in the field of choices based on moral values or constraints related to the common good and no longer to personal interests.

These three types of regimes appear clearly but differently in our study: the regime of familiarity is particularly expressed during observation, when we go shopping or cook with our participants. The second one is especially emerging during discussion, common thoughts and in the dialogical conversation of the third visit. The regime of justification, related to common goods is at stake during more political discussions or when we talk about suggesting ideas for a better world. In the cognitive approach of the results we will thus concentrate of the regime of planned action and the regime of justification.

Table 8: Pragmatic regimes of engagement

	<i>Regime of familiarity</i>	<i>Regime of regular planned action</i>	<i>Regime of justification</i>
Which good is engaged? With what evaluation?	Personal and local <i>convenience</i> , within a familiar milieu	Successful <i>conventional</i> action	Collective <i>conventions</i> of the common good
Which reality is engaged? With what capacity?	Usual and used surroundings providing a distributed capacity	Functional instrument	'Qualified' object
What is the format of relevant information?	Local and idiosyncratic perceptual clue	Ordinary semantics of action	Codification
Which kind of agency is construed?	A personality attached to his or her entourage	Planner	'Qualified' person

Source: Table 4.1 borrowed from (L Thévenot, 2001, p. 70).

The three regimes are not representing consumer segments but ways of considering the issue of sustainable food and the arguments potentially explaining individual agency in a given environmental and societal context. In other words, a consumer acts and justifies her/himself through one or several regimes, without any incoherence. An illustration is H5 in Norway, who is preoccupied with price, convenience and family food while organic, local and fair food are also fundamental principles. They are certain about their values but they have to make compromises and justify their choices through the three regimes.

As the regime of familiarity is well established and central to their social engagement, it makes it easier for H5 to make food choices. Within the regime of planned action, organic and fair trade labels were for them a guaranteed way to assure organic and fair food at home, especially with the Änglamark brand that combines sustainability with reasonable prices. These type of FQS have been integrated into their social food practices and have made their daily food consumption easier. They also are engaged at a more political level: when we discussed the food system and globalization of food production, we were in their regime of justification. But this did not seem to affect their regular food consumption much. They explained that they felt powerless in this regime - they think they cannot change big policy issues with a simple consumer act, while they could if being in the planned action regime.

Several participants were in the regime of planned action while reflecting about a more sustainable consumption. They would try to increase the quality of food in everyday life, in line with more general values, but mostly for their own interests such as health or convenience. Children's health or avoiding pesticides, a better local environment are issues they could work out within a regime where the organic label is perfectly fitting. Organic and fair trade are FQS that easily can integrate the regime of planned action on an everyday basis. While FQS as GIs mostly are part of the extraordinary consumption, when consumers have more time, for example.

The regime of justification concerning FQS and SFSC refer to ethical concerns based on sustainable principles and fair values. Consumers put their principles on the highest part of preferences' hierarchy and environment or fairness are first priorities. However, in some

instances consumers also have to take into account convenience and daily constraints (for example, economic considerations).

FQS are in this approach an excellent guarantee for preservation of cultural heritage, emphasizing product intrinsic qualities to a consumer who does not necessarily know them from before. Applying the different regimes helped us to better understand the apparent lack of interest in FQS in practices, while at the discursive level our participants would be relatively engaged in environmental matters (e.g. social justice, animal welfare, quality of products and the importance of local). Participants did not have neither the same repertoire, nor the need for justification, depending on the regime we were discussing or acting in. What could have been translated as incoherence is actually more the witness of several logics, making the questions of FQS in food practices very complex.

The food related cognitive views among participants suggested that FQS and SFSC are not only justified through different pragmatic regimes but also by different views of the common good, that is to say different worlds of worth. FQS were mainly justified through values and dimensions typical of the market order: reasonable price, positive benefits, competition between products, although buying FQS is usually not based on an emotional distance. But the emotional feeling is potentially directed at the product, and not the producer, as there is no direct relationship with the producer.

Thus, the emotional aspect of buying FQS is more ‘hyper real’ than real - to keep Baudrillard’s expression (Amilien, Fort, & Ferras, 2007). This does not mean that FQS are “less real” than buying food directly from the producer: the two ways of purchasing food are building on each other, both in time (diachronic experience with a product can create a real link) and in cultural meaning (FQS as a quality scheme is protecting the food product and participating to its promotion and, perhaps, to its (re-)construction). They express different realities and authenticities, one that is more part of the market world, with logos to communicate values, one is more part of civic order to emphasize participants’ support to ethical attitudes (organic, fair trade, rainforest, free range, etc.), and one that is part of the domestic order, where the consumer is closed to, knows, or at least trusts, the producer and production. This last aspect is typical for SFSC and local food. SFSC were, following our participants, closely linked to social relations and closeness, to habits and tradition, to direct trust because the local producers obviously have good practices, but also to an overall respect for nature and environment. These dimensions are important values of the domestic world of worth. These different ways of thinking and justifying may sound very different, but can also be superposed, or even combined, by the same individual in different situations and contexts.

Summary – Chapter 7

The perception, understanding and knowledge of participants regarding FQS varies considerably. At the production level, the most important issues are linked to health or environment (respect of nature, support to local farmers, respect of animal welfare, fewer pesticides etc.) where FQS as organic or fair trade play a central role. At the distribution level, fewer food miles and less plastic are underlined as central elements which can make SFSC and local food attractive. At the level of consumption, our participants spoke about strategies (weekly menu or lists), storage capacity, home-made food and recycling: avoiding left overs or too much food in the fridge are justifications which are not directly linked to FQS, but to household's organization and strategies, and presented as the pillars of a sustainable food consumption. Nevertheless, organic food or private quality brands were possibly tools for organising food procurement in everyday life.

Consumer awareness of FQS was generally low. Most informants recognised organic labels, especially the national ones. But they had little knowledge about the European geographical indication labels (PDO, PGI and TSG), and did not seem familiar with these labels or their logos. Supermarkets' own logos or specific organic brands were often more familiar and closer to consumers compared to FQS from assured national and EU schemes.

Informants were positive to SFSC and local food (supporting local producers, environment). A hierarchy can be seen in participants' perceptions. First, local foods and SFSC (especially direct sales and home-grown products), then organic foods, and last origin and tradition labels (PDO, PGI). For example, in France organic foods via SFSC (direct sales) from small producers were perceived as the best. Besides environmental, social, health and taste issues, there are financial constraints and food habits that influence purchase decisions.

8. CONSUMPTION PRACTICES

“The social is situated in the practice and is thus the smallest analytical unit. A practice is interconnections between all these elements; it cannot be reduced to one element alone. It has set patterns, but the individual can “fill” the practice with their own and unique actions. The individual is a “carrier” of the practice, but it does not, however, mean that practices cannot be changed.” (Strandbakken & Heidenstrøm, 2012, p. 38)

Methodological and theoretical reminders

This section aims at presenting words and observations of the households’ consumption practices, within a given perspective based on SPT, CT and CAW. We refer to CT (see theoretical reminders in Chapter 7 on cognitive dimensions) as a larger theoretical framework, but as we aim at analysing stability and change by deconstructing consumption through a series of social practices, the three perspectives are enriching. CAW and SPT are actually more used as methodological tools, both before fieldwork (preparation of observation to be made and guideline to semi-structured interview) and after fieldwork (in analysis).

Using SPT, we take Warde’s article *Consumption and Theories of Practice* (2005) as a starting point, but we also include insights from Reckwitz’s more philosophical approach in the article *Toward a Theory of Social Practices* (2002). SPT is inspired by discursive approaches of consumption and came from a critical view of the "rational choice" (usual in marketing and economic sciences). At the same time SPT is an attempt to resolve the relationship between structures and actors (individual) and have a better insight in the complexity of everyday life consumption, but is neither specific to individuals nor general to society (Warde, 2016). The relationship between practice and consumption is reversed between what constitutes the whole and what constitutes the part. As Warde put it: *“It is the fact of engagement in the practice, rather than any personal decision about a course of conduct, that explains the nature and process of consumption.”* (Warde 2005, p. 138). The agency is then coming from practices, not from individuals.

Inspired by several studies, we used different SPT models of analysis for constructing our semi-structured interviews (with the food basket) as well as several issues to focus our discussion on, either by observation or direct questions. We decided to focus especially on three elements defining a social practice: **Material** (the objects, things, infrastructures, tools and the body. All our tangible surroundings. Material is a part of all practices as well as being an interconnector between different practices); **Competence** (our habits and routinized actions, our practical consciousness, but also shared understandings, skills and institutionalized knowledge); and **Meaning** (social and symbolic significance, our personal engagement, meanings, emotions and motivations) (Pantzar & Shove, 2010; Shove et al., 2012).

Elements change in different ways depending upon the other elements and other surrounding practices. For example, an object might be part of several practices simultaneously but affect the competence and meaning in different ways in each practice. Practices change when new components are included, or when the existing elements are combined in new ways (Shove et al., 2012: 120). Practice theory was used as a way to transcend the structure–agency or top-down–bottom-up dichotomy and provides a more balanced approach of food practices and their link to sustainability and FQS.

Although SPT turned to be better adapted as a methodological tool than a theoretical framework, which could permit us to better understand participants' practices, we will present our results based on four main dimensions for SPT studies (following Dubuisson-Quellier & Plessz, 2013):

- **Consumption practices in general** including a set of acts, skills, words and objects/material devices or infrastructures, which are coordinated, including how people **adapt, improvise, experiment**
- **Time dimensions** (social rhythms, the routinization, including the contribution of domestic practices to the “making” of time)
- **Routine** dimension – emphasize the routine as non-reflected
- **Material infrastructures** - rehabilitate the role of objects and infrastructures in the practices of social actors.

Following the authors, CT “seeks to preserve uncertainty about people’s actions, an uncertainty that has to have a place, it seems to us, in a model purporting to account for human behaviours” (Boltanski & Thévenot, 2006, p. 216). Moreover the reference to the three pragmatic regimes (developed by Thevenot to complete the theories and the moral orders developed in “De la justification”). The pragmatic regimes refer to ways to be engaged in social life, in our case, ways to be engaged in sustainable consumption. These are applied to help to better understand ambivalence in everyday life practices or decision/non-decision making.

Consumption practices

In a number of interviews, participants would point to the importance of their network in the perception of quality as well as for culinary practices and skills. It could be a family network (transmission from father to daughter then from daughter to grand-daughters), or a network of friends, colleagues or acquaintances:

“Friends who eat organic food and little meat... They are members of the CSA (AMAP in French), they grow vegetables... yes, yes that influenced me a lot...” (France, H6)

The Norwegian H3, was not only very proud of the sustainable food practices in their family, but also of how their impact on friends, neighbours and family who had become more reflected and “greener”.

Interpersonal networks are not the only elements influencing behaviours. The role of media such as television and the internet (for example, as a source of recipes) is also important. Next, we will take a closer look at planning, the first phase of food consumption.

Planning

When it came to planning food consumption, the Serbian participants were most concerned with obtaining necessary food products from supermarkets and alternative channels and storing food to be available for preparation when needed. Food planning was typically a female job as underlined by this participant:

“Like any other mother, I’m the one who puts food on the table. I decide what we eat. I know each one’s favourite food, when and where to eat which food.” (Serbia, H5)

In France, H5 calculated how long each product will last. Such a calculation highlights financial constraints or frugality: to buy only what is necessary:

“Cereals are supposed to last a fortnight, but I know very well that they don’t last that long.” (France, H5)

In Norway, several families followed a weekly food plan, sometimes decided by including all family members. Among the British households, the weekly food plan was not very structured but some families tended to associate specific meals according to time availability and/or daily activities –e.g. H4 indicated how they tend to prepare pancakes and pizza on the weekend, and have bagels and eggs prior to the kids’ swimming lessons on Saturday.

Shopping lists are also a tool for better control for households’ expenses and food planning. Prior to visiting the food shops, most participants made a list, either on paper or smartphone. The typical list worked as a reminder for specific products that should not be forgotten. Some participants (e.g. H2 from Figure 17) behaved more spontaneously and preferred to make purchasing decisions based on seasonality and availability of products in the shops.

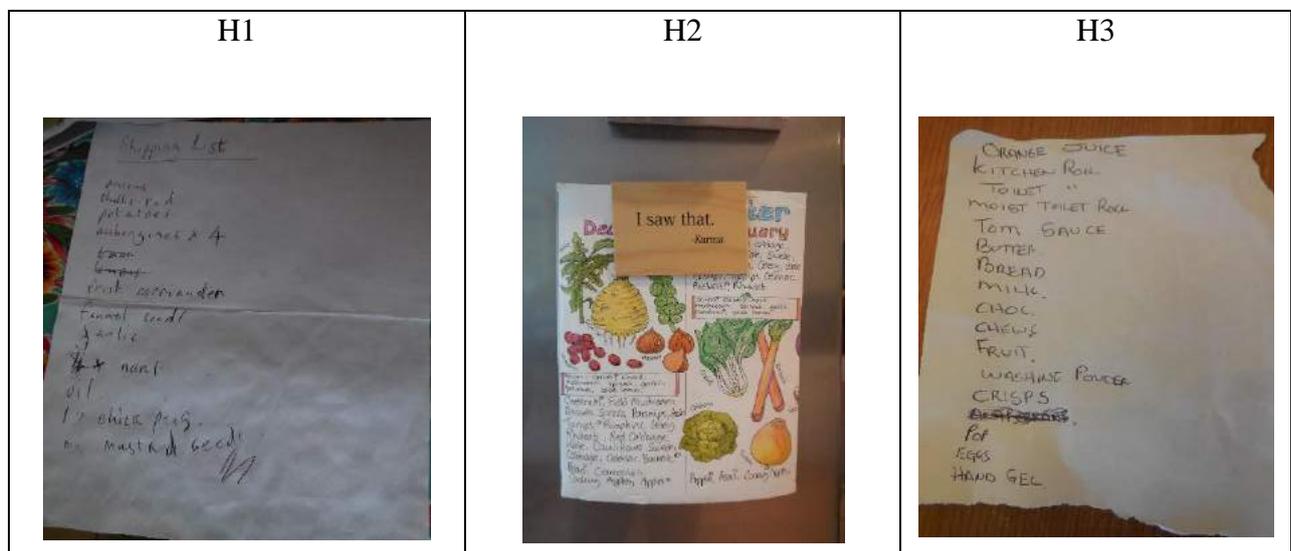


Figure 17: Examples of a shopping list across the British households

Source: UNEW - own picture from fieldwork.

Planning was also interwoven in “shopping practices”, especially for women who were in charge and had routinized skills about the products to be bought. A Serbian mother had to provide a shopping list for her husband who would do the shopping and bring the selected food products.

“When I don’t have the time, I prepare a list for him of what to buy.” (Serbia, H1)

In France, only two households did not prepare a shopping list, with the exception of special occasions, generally because they tend to prepare the same dishes (H2) or because some ingredients have been purchased regularly during the week. In Germany, only some families prepared shopping list. The places for sourcing food were diverse and complementary: several participants stated that they do one big shopping trip at the weekend, to buy basics, and then go to a local supermarket almost every day, to buy what they need for dinner or what is missing.



Figure 18: Food shopping lists from Serbia and Norway

Notes: Serbia (on the left) and Norway (on the right).

Source: BEL and HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

Except for one family (“*We never do shopping list*”, H2), the Italian households declared to plan their purchase in advance. In particular, one family (H4) used a mobile application to share the shopping list for a more efficient and convenient shopping experience.

In contrast, most of the Norwegian participants would use a list, either on paper or smartphone, and they would frequently update this before going shopping. We also observed some alternative strategies being used, such as the routine of noticing when some of their food staples had been consumed:

“We have a box in the fridge with staple spreadings (pålegg) with all the food that’s been opened and then we have a spare storage box with packets of ham and such, and when that box is empty of ham, I put ham on the shopping list.” (Norway, H5)

Thus, the shopping list would sometimes contain food that they already had in the fridge, but that families expected they would be short of in the upcoming days.

We also observed an interesting transition when H4 had transferred most of her family’s weekly grocery shopping from their local supermarket, Rema 1000, to an online store, Kolonial.no (also owned by Rema 1000). Because the family was now purchasing food online, the website provided them with a tool to save the grocery list. This appeared to involve quite a stable and continuous food provisioning, as they rarely added new products to this list. In addition, the website would calculate when the family would soon run out of a certain product and would send a reminder accordingly.

Purchasing - including growing your own

While purchasing food, several participants underlined the fact that it was important to have enough food. Price, quantity (enough food, albeit not too much) and proximity of the shop were mentioned in several countries, and often in relationship with storage capacity.

Places and frequency for food shopping were quite mixed across countries and households, although weekly shopping from supermarkets seemed to be the most common pattern (e.g. Figure 19 regarding British households).



Figure 19: Examples of food shopping from UK fieldwork

Source: UNEW – own pictures from fieldwork.

Financial aspects were mentioned as key factors for most households, but to different degrees and in different contexts. For instance, financial constraints sometimes led H5 and H6 from France to choose between different food categories (e.g. avoid meat, fish, or cheese) and places of purchase. H5 typically shops in hard discount stores and large supermarkets, developing elaborate strategies around promotions, free products to try and other bargains. Price considerations were very relevant for the ethnical minority family in Italy (H5), directing them to choose discount products among the large distribution channels. Moreover, this family was strongly tied to food tradition and this explains why they select Chinese shops to purchase food

items imported from Senegal. This type of products are in fact mainly sold by shops managed by Chinese retailers:

“The Senegalese community has the possibility to find here everything it had in Africa: Chinese have imported Senegalese products in their shops” (Italy, H5).

We observed a similar practice in the African-Norwegian household in Oslo (H2), who used to purchase food in two parallel types of shops: ethnic shops in the city centre, with huge choice of cheap products like fruits and vegetables or rice and beans, and local supermarkets chosen for their First Price brand which is “cheap but good quality” (Norway, H2). Most of the other families in Norway had a weekly big shopping day, as also observed in Germany (Figure 20).

The majority of German families rely on conventional supermarkets and discounters to buy groceries, especially due to time restrictions of working mothers and due to convenience. Only one family living in the rural area, which typically uses alternative distribution channels such as online shopping via the farm shop or attend farmers’ markets, brought us to an organic farm shop to buy groceries.



Figure 20: Back from one of those big shopping trips

Source: UBO – own picture from own fieldwork.

In the Hungarian households, it was common to combine big shops and daily shopping. Big shops usually happened once a week or every second week and families purchased in bigger quantities and not only food items. Most of the British and Italian families also tended to do their food shopping on a weekly basis. The supermarket represented the most common distribution channel for four British households, with the preference for a specific retailer due to the close distance from the family’s residence and the general appreciation of quality and availability of products in store. The same applied in most of the Italian families.

In some cases the families tended to purchase food from local/ethnic shops closely located to the house (e.g. butchers, bakeries, greengrocers, etc.), bringing home some fruit, vegetables and herbs from work community garden, with visits to the supermarket in case of small purchases and house cleaning products. In Norway, practices were directly linked to supermarkets, with each family having its preferences related to closeness from home or work, price or brands and choice of products.

The Italian household taking part in the solidarity purchasing group declared a ranking of the preferred channels. Direct buying from the farmers was ranked the highest, followed by the farmers' markets, the small retailers, the small markets, the large distribution channels and lastly the discounters. The limited bargaining power of the small producers in dealing with organised large-scale distribution networks was the main reason for which one family very rarely (only few times during the year) does shopping at the supermarket:

“If I can, I buy everything directly from the producer [...] As a second choice there is the small local shop, then the supermarket in my area [...] And then at the bottom there's the GDO, the discount, where I go only if forced.” (Italy, H3).

Storage is an important part of sustainable food consumption, including conservation methods, both technological and “know-how” dimensions, as well as the adapted infrastructure at home (in the kitchen or in the basement, for example). Cupboards or special rooms at home, cars and transportation, distance to shops and special prices, or own garden and having farmers as neighbours: all those elements take part in storage practices. The frequency of large shops is highly influenced by the storage capacities of the studied households (e.g. having a storage room or cellar, big fridge, freezer, etc.). Freezers and fridges are central in all families, some have several of them, as explained by this Serbian family:

“Since we don't have a larder and don't buy much, we keep it in the fridge and freezer, or in the kitchen. We do the shopping several times a week. We keep some food in the cold storage, some in the dry storage, all inside the kitchen you see here.” (Serbia, H1)

The African-Norwegian household in Oslo (H2), had two different diets in parallel and also two fridges: one for the Norwegian food and one for the African food. The two fridges were a usual part of their food practices and were dedicated to different uses. For Norwegian H4, which mainly eats organic or home produced food, it was necessary to have several fridges and freezers in the basement. They used to buy meat directly from a local farmer, cut and freeze it in small portions, a practice that would not have been possible without a network of other “sustainable” consumers, internet (to order and to find out where to order food), home freezers, but also new technologies such as the “sous vide machine”.

This reminds about the systems of H1, H2 and H6, in France, who deep freeze the “high quality” bread they buy, for different reasons: H6 buys the bread at the supermarket, and does not shop very often, H2 can only buy organic bread on Saturdays at the weekly open-air market, while H1 have their bread delivered at home (2kg per week). In the Serbian households, the freezers were typically filled with deep frozen meat products and some fruits and vegetables. In the case of Germany, most participants live in rented flats and therefore did not have a lot of space to store food. However, most of them had a freezer and some storage space in cupboards.

FQS do not seem to affect much consumption practices as the consumers mostly relied on their previous experiences, tacit knowledge and recommendations of more experienced family members, relatives, friends and other influencers rather than on producers' claims, including FQS. While doing shopping they mostly focused on product appearance (e.g. colour, texture, etc.), reputation of producer (and brand) and nutritional content rather than on FQS *per se* (Figure 21).



Figure 21: Looking at labels in Serbian and Norwegian shops

Notes: Serbia (on the left) and Norway (on the right).
Source: BEL and HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

Trust, or better distrust in quality labels, appeared to be key reason for such behaviour:

“I don’t trust labels. They’d put anything on it. I once placed my trust in a brand and ended up at the Allergy Department at the hospital.” (Serbia, H1)

“I only trust the advice from elderly housewives, not in these inscriptions “additive-free” and so forth.” (Serbia, H4)

The quality and the shelf-life of products were mentioned as very important factors for the French families. H5 indicated that some places such as CSA, which is *a priori* more expensive, is in fact interesting because the quality of the products compensate for the cost. Constraints mentioned for this type of procurement concern instead the limited flexibility (to be able to go and get the basket at a precise time and place every week) and imposed choice. Another French family, H4, highlighted the cost of transportation (financial as well as time-consuming aspects) linked to SFSC. Strategies were implemented in order to counter-balance the problem, such as planning multiple errands, stopping at a farm when driving to another activity, etc. H1, an organic farmer, used home delivery for bread and also for meat, as well as exchanges and gift economy:

“When we have open air markets each one of us brings his own products, and takes back other farmers’ products.” (France, H1)

Buying seasonal fruit and vegetable was often considered as sustainable: respecting nature and the seasons is linked to the quality of the products, and thus their taste:

“I never buy vegetables ... for instance tomatoes in winter, they have no taste. I only buy seasonal vegetable. When I buy them. Because in the summer, I have my garden.” (France, H6)

As mentioned by one Italian family member, the certified products bearing GIs were selected for special occasions rather than for a daily consumption. The main exception concerns certified cheese products, such as Parmigiano-Reggiano PDO and Grana Padano PDO cheese, that can be used daily to season the pasta-based dishes:

“[GIs] make the products more attractive if you plan to have dinner with friends and you want to prepare something following a specific recipe.” (Italy, H4).

Types of food – types of quality

Consumer attitudes towards food that is local, organic or marked with a quality labels may also depend on specific types of products, so that different preferences’ hierarchies may exist within the same household:

“preference is always to try and purchase organic... If you buy organic meat, there’s definitely a difference in how it looks and how it tastes and the texture as well, compared with the normal stuff.” (UK, H6)

When it comes to fish I don’t even think, I just buy. So, I don’t even look at labels or ask or enquire... I just think: it’s been caught in the ocean... you don’t have the doubts about the welfare of fish because it’s out in the ocean... I just have this assumption that they’re all swimming free in the ocean [laughter].” (UK, H6)

The presentation of food in the different shops could also influence “the quality and local food routines”, as food from local, or national, areas is often less “plastified” or presented in a more aesthetical way conveying “authenticity” and tradition (Figure 22).



Figure 22: Standard and local vegetables shelves in a Norwegian supermarket

Source: HiOA – own pictures from fieldwork.

For German families products routinely bought as organic were eggs, dairy products (with the exception of cheese) or specific types of fruits or vegetables, quite similar to the Norwegian participants.

“I would always buy this [the organic yoghurt] one.” (Germany)

Those products are often not so expensive compared to conventional ones, and the low prices obviously facilitate the organic product to be a part of the routinized practices. The fact that

everyday practices mostly concern organic products from low price product categories might be one explanation why German participants do not perceive organic products as significantly more expensive than conventionally produced foods. Furthermore, they might perceive the price difference in absolute value, and both in Norway and Germany private organic brands are appreciated.

“No there are also organic private label cold cuts, they are not more expensive, and that is affordable.” (Germany)

When buying local or organic food products participants do not pay special attention to the official FQS, but emphasize the private labels provided by retailers and food companies seem to be sufficient.

“Yes, I only see the [Supermarket] organic label ...I trust it.” (Germany)

“I believe [name of the supermarket] at this point [pointing at the retail identification for locally produced products], but I have never seen this one [pointing at the official German label for geographical identification].” (Germany)



Figure 23: Examples of food products at an organic shop, Germany

Source: UBO – own pictures from fieldwork.

The family structure also influenced the shopping habits, both in terms of form and content. Having small or active kids may be demanding and may significantly influence family routines.

“If I had more time and I know that I don’t have to rush to pick up Rob or be back for Rob, then I will make more of an effort to make sure that everything I buy is organic.”(UK, H6)

“The kids can be a bit challenging sometimes so we’ve always avoided going food shopping with them together. We might take one of them on a little trip.” (UK, H1)

In this respect, online shopping can significantly improve the time devoted to food shopping while minimising the stress associated with it and several families used it in the UK and Norway.

Home production and gift economy

Home-grown food in participants’ own garden, including fruit/vegetables and hens for fresh free-range eggs, was found in almost all of the participating households in France, Hungary,

Serbia and a few households in Italy, Norway and the UK. Although the financial aspects are important, the enjoyment of home-production and self-subsistence are key elements. For instance, H1 mentioned how they only buy vegetables they cannot grow themselves:

“No, no, but I really enjoy that... Gardening, the garden is my creation, you see.”
(France, H1)

The Norwegian family (H3) has consequently chosen to live close to rural areas, about half an hour from the capital Oslo, to be able to have their own garden and hens. The same motivations were provided by the British family (H4), who decided to move from Newcastle to a rural village in the countryside. The hens and the garden are integrated in these families' sustainable food practices – e.g. the hens eat the left overs that cannot be used as compost for the vegetables production. Gardening is not only a life style, a pleasure and a source of pride, but can be part of a sustainable family identity and food practices.

Serbian participants in elderly households (with retired family members) also tend to grow their own fruits and vegetables as well as have hens. Home production may also be an ideal for some people (France, H3) who would like to achieve a certain autonomy for some foods and who, although living in an urban context, keeps hens in their garden.



Figure 24: Orchards in Savino Selo and growing hens in Paracin, Serbia

Source: BEL - own pictures from fieldwork.

In Hungary, getting food from family member producers is an important channel for food procurement. Even the households without a garden, including the urban ones, mentioned that they often get products (e.g., fruits, processed or frozen meat products) from relatives living on the countryside. This was also the case for some of the Italian and British households, who have family/community gardens:

“I almost never buy fruits and vegetables because my parents have a vegetable garden and I get those from them. I get it fresh or frozen from them, so I have it for the whole year” (Italy, H1)

Domestically produced products are generally more highly valued compared to purchased products, such as quality food, as discussed by the Hungarian participants. Although imported products can be considerable cheaper, the ideal preference would be to buy Hungarian products, even though they may not be aware of the certification system behind the labelling system.

The fieldwork has highlighted three different types of purchasing practices:

1. A behaviour that can be called automatic, namely routines. This was documented in the videos - a hand that grabs a product from a shelf without any reflection. The participant takes the product, puts it in a shopping cart or basket and continues to shop.
2. Another practice is not to grab the product immediately, but to observe it quickly, although undoubtedly with some automation. This is particularly the case for perishable products with limited shelf-life, such as milk, yogurt or eggs. The video follows a hand stretching, taking the package, observing it closely (obviously when the participants look at the expiry date or other information). If the information is acceptable, the hand takes the product. But if the information is not satisfactory, the hand grabs another product, and checks for information. These purchasing practices can be described as semi-automatic, that is to say a mixture of routines and a need for verification.
3. The third practice observed is more thoughtful and thus requires more time. It is a behaviour that is not necessarily a routine, but can be, and which concerns the choice of products based on precise criteria. Criteria can be, for example, nutritional (such as sugar content, salt or gluten), ecological (organic or farmer, but also if there are pesticides or if the product comes from far) or even economic (a product on promotion). Several of our participants checked the origin of seasonal vegetables, such as Norwegian H4, who usually selects organic carrots, but when automatically turning the package to see where they come from eventually preferred to choose non-organic domestic carrots because the organic ones were imported. This gesture reflects a habit of observation and looking for precise information. Among our participants this was a usual practice when choosing certain products such as cured meats or cheese, looking at nutritional details or nitrites, or even considering a quality mark (like Parma ham, which quality is then more recognized in the name and reputation than by a PDO or logo).

Consumption practices related to FQS can, a priori, be found in all three models. Nevertheless, sustainable quality is an integral part of the routines of the first type of behaviour, but was not highlighted, neither in gestures nor in words. It is especially in the third type of behaviour that our participants eventually point out, to the researcher who accompanies them, quality marks or the importance of sustainable consumption. We are then in a discursive justification, which is obviously part of a consumption practice, but not for everyday provisioning.

Using - preparing, cooking, eating

Most households recognised that their food habits are profoundly driven by convenience and time availability. This is an obvious reason for which food preparation and everyday food consumption of self-made food (i.e. using, cooking and eating practices of visited households) differ substantially among our participants. In some households, cooking is more occasional than a regular everyday practice:

“I don't have time to cook every work day. Twice a week on average.” (Serbia, H1)

On the other extreme, some participants were completely relying on home-made food, including products from scratch such as jams, juices, pasta, and even processed meat, i.e. smoked ham, sausages:

“I'd rather rely on my own homemade food. Who knows what they put in there!”
(Serbia, H2)

Having home-cooked food was a central feature in most discussions. In the UK most families emphasised the importance of cooking everything from scratch to ensure good quality food, in

terms of natural ingredients being used, low levels of salt/sugar, avoidance of additives/colourings, etc.

“Quality is fresh, healthy, cooked from scratch. Now actually, we do do a lot of that... We say to the children, ‘If you make your own stuff, you know what goes in it and that's what's really good” (UK, H4)

Most of the German families cooked in the evening and ate together but it was not always a warm meal. Many participants stated that they often serve cold cuts, justifying it by the fact that both parents are working, which was the case for most of our participants with children.



Figure 25: Pictures of cold cuts

Source: UBO – own pictures from fieldwork.

Overall, most participants across the seven countries mix the two alternatives, cooking quick everyday meals while using more time for leisure meals for special occasions or at the weekend:

“We eat food that is prepared quickly and raw food.” (Serbia, H1)

All the Italian participants are used to cook at home for daily food consumption. For this reason, raw ingredients were selected accordingly to the planned recipes. For instance, Figure 26 shows a selection of home-made food preparation and home-baking commonly performed by H3. Both H3 and H4 are used to cook and prepare at home traditional and ethnic recipes obtained from specialised websites and cookbooks. In this respect, PGI and PDO labels can drive the food purchase of specific ingredients.

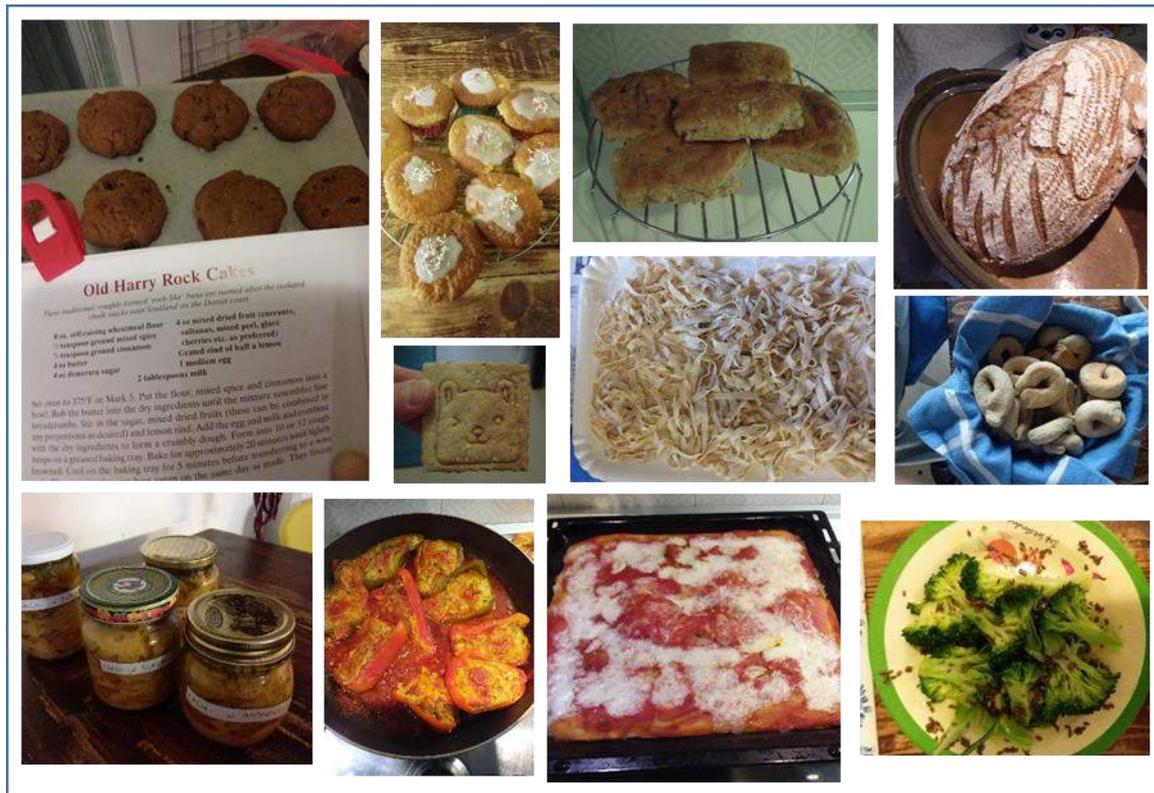


Figure 26: Home-made food preparation, Italy

Source: UNIPR - own pictures from fieldwork.

Curiosity and knowledge transmission are particularly valued by some families, when they recollect food recipes from their childhood memories, during holidays and from family / friends in everyday life:

“I used to spend all my time with my father, and my father was cooking all the time. So of course, it is my father who passed everything I know to me. [...] and my father was really... when it comes to transmission, he really had the urge to pass on. [...] So it is true that, you are right, in every recipe I make, there is always a bit of my father in it.”
(France, H5)

The importance of family culture for food knowledge transmission was also emphasised by H2 in Norway, who is originally from Ghana but has been living in Norway for more than 15 years (H2’s Mikael cooks the “Ghanian way”, as his parents taught him). Nevertheless, he mostly cooks with ingredients locally bought, sometimes mixed with spices or staple foods from his country of origin. For example, at our first visit he prepared a typical feast food “fried rice” to while using both standard foods from the local supermarket (chicken and vegetables) and special products (rice and spices) from ethnic shops.



Figure 27: Preparing food for dinner, Norway

Source: HiOA – own pictures from fieldwork.

Both cooking and buying local products were considered as quality time by our participants, as opposed to purchasing food in a supermarket. This also emphasizes the importance of tradition and the “family food” dimension.

In this respect, home traditions, or family heritage, often provokes pleasure (or hate) for cooking:

“and my grand-mother lived with us and she often cooked at home. [...] But we really ate just about everything...She would make eggs meurette with white wine.... She cooked a lot of things like that, and I used to love it all...” (France, H4).

In French H3’s case, Victor’s grand-mother also played a major part in his interest in cooking; however, he mentioned that this heritage was not retained by his brother.

In Norway, H1’s Arne loves cooking because his mother never did, H5’s Sven mostly cooks because his mother taught him and H2’s Mikael does not like to make food, although his mother was an excellent cook. In the French H5’s view, it is not only a matter of knowledge transmission, it is also a matter of sharing, during family meals, when children take an active part in the food making. This social aspect is also underlined by Norwegian H1 and several other families in other countries. In line with Miller’s theory of shopping, food practices have to do with care.

While both sharing and tradition are immaterial factors embodied in the sustainable quality dimension of food practices, quality may cover more concrete forms, such as freshness or organic. Animal welfare is very important for H4’s Elisabeth in Norway, but also mentioned by H4’s Thiphaine in France, who tries to eat everything of an animal (including offal), because “it died for us”. In this respect, animal welfare and living conditions may be considerable better in SFSC:

“this is why with Locavor²⁴, well, I’m sure that the animals were raised in decent condition, and that they were killed also in decent conditions, and that animals are respected, and that’s what you don’t have with...” (France, H3)

²⁴ Locavor is a short supply chain internet platform in France – for more info: <https://locavor.fr/>

The way of preparing food differed quite substantially among families and countries, mostly based on age but also according to different consumption habits. The division of labour in the cooking of food is not always so clear-cut: for most families, women were typically responsible for cooking (with a few exceptions, especially in Norway). However, food routines were not set in stone, so that men often cooked on weekends (e.g. pancakes, roast dinners, home bread for H6 in the UK or H5 in Norway), when the extended family gathers (traditional recipes for H5's Rahim in the UK), or when guests are around for grill and barbecue (e.g. quite common across the UK families).



Figure 28: Deep frying while preparing lunch in Vrbas, Serbia

Source: BEL – own pictures from fieldwork.



Figure 29: Weekly food menu, Norway

Source: HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

Children also influence the day or weekly menu, as for example in the Norwegian family with two children (10 and 12 years – H4) who not only participated in the regular Friday meeting for deciding the weekly menu, but also participated in cooking once a week.

Generally, families with young children, and older (retired) couples, were the most concerned regarding health issues, for example, by favouring the consumption of low processed food, based on boiling and baking rather than frying. On the other hand, other participants still used extensive food processing and deep frying (Figure 28).

This was nevertheless quite different from one family to another. For example, with the exception of the ethnic minority (H5), and specific households' members, the Italian families did not have specific food restrictions. In general, children were eating the same dishes as the rest of the family. Three Italian families (H1, H3 and H4) stated to prefer, overall, a plant-based diet and follow the seasonality of the products. In Norway and Germany, for example, some young mothers mentioned that they did not think so much about food before they had children. Being a mother provides a new framework to reestablish food priorities:

“During my studies, I did not care at all. And in the nursery, it was such an organic-parents- nursery-thing where they constantly discussed during parents’ evening: ‘the children must eat organic, where do we order our organic-boxes?’” (Germany)

This was also the case with Mona (H2), in Norway. Having three small children implies that nutrition has become a central matter (Figure 30 depicts some of the food diary pictures provided by H2).

The biography of a food product



Figure 30: The biography of organic baby food – from planning to waste, Norway

Source: HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

An important event, such as a new baby, may be an effective driver for changing food practices. Other participants who, from visit 1 to 3, have changed their practices to more sustainable ones told, for example, about how new diets or a new job had instigated changes.

Disposal - waste

Waste is a major issue related to financial, ethical and sustainable considerations. We observed waste at different levels during the fieldwork, discussing the subject when planning or storing food, explaining techniques for avoiding food waste (by good planning and reflecting about quantity) or by observing left-overs and disposal after our common meals. Several aspects emerged, as underlined by some families in different countries:

“It is more expensive to buy fruits from the farmers’ market so I buy only as much as we certainly will eat.” (Hungary)

“Let’s say that I tend to waste nothing: we eat the whole fruit with the skin, we eat fava beans with the skin, we also eat the leaves of radishes. We have as much as possible a low waste level. That’s because the food we buy is never cheap.” (Italy, H3)

Similarly, in Italy, particular care is taken for handling and preserving PDO and PGI products, considering their higher prices:

“If I get a labelled product, which therefore costs more than the others, I’m more careful when I use it. As for example, when I buy Grana Padano, I take care it doesn’t get mouldy.” (Italy, H1)

The observation of practices and the discussions with the British participants highlighted how most families are concerned about food waste, although sometimes this is unavoidable:

“[Food waste] is important, I like to use leftovers whenever possible. But, I do end up throwing stuff out.” (UK, H5)

“I’m quite conscious of it. I hate to throw things out. So, I’ll only try and buy what we need.” (UK, H6)

Rather than cooking large quantities and having leftovers, most families tend to cook what they needed for that meal, and, therefore, also preferred to buy specific quantities required.

Also in Serbia all visited households seemed to be paying attention to obtaining, storing and preparing food that would meet consumption needs of a family without having much leftovers.

“I am very practical when it comes to food. We buy as much as we can eat. We don’t pile up supplies.” (Serbia, H4)

“It happens sometimes that some of the food is left, but we usually eat it later for dinner. On occasions I cook lunch for two days, to make it easier for me, as well, but it’s something that can be kept in the refrigerator.” (Serbia, H1)

With regards to the leftovers, most families, for example, in Germany and Italy, generally reuse them as ingredients for other dishes, such as breaded cutlets or meatballs, or consume them as part of the following meals.

“I reuse leftovers to make something else. For example if Carlo doesn’t eat the whole steak, I can make breaded cutlets or meatballs out of it. If we have some leftover pasta, we eat it again at dinnertime, but I certainly don’t throw it away because we can give it to the dog” (Italy, H1)

“If there’s any leftover, it never is thrown out in the rubbish, it doesn’t exist.” (Italy, H4)

“We only freeze some types of food: the roast, breaded cutlet for example, and not the bread” (Italy, H2)

The other second best alternative, was to freeze any left-overs for reuse:

“We reuse the leftovers, we don’t throw away. We keep them in the fridge and if after one week they are still good, so we can eat them. [...] We freeze.” (Italy, H5)

A further alternative consisted in using the left-overs to feed the animals they breed or pets, even among those households which did not actually have any:

“We breed animals. Mother has an entire range of animals so nothing is wasted in the dumpster.” (Serbia, H5)

“We have leftovers, but there isn’t anyone to give it to – a dog or a cat. We sometimes hang it by the dumpster.” (Serbia, H1)

Because of the length of the preparation and cooking time required for traditional dishes, the “ethnic minority families“, both in Italy (H5) and Norway (H2), cooked these type of dishes three times a week in larger quantity and then used leftovers during the following days. A similar pattern was described by H5’s Rahim in the UK, who tends to cook large quantities of curries when the extended family gathers at the weekend, and the ‘kids’ (e.g. H1) will take home some of the left-overs.

Although the participants expressed quite a negative attitude toward the idea of throwing away food that had not been consumed during a meal, our observations showed that the quantities of food that were prepared surpassed their actual needs. For instance, in all but one Serbian household, plenty of food was left on the table after our common meal (see Figure 31). Similarly, the Italian researchers observed that these declared practices were not followed. When Italian households took part in the dinner, the leftovers of the traditional Senegalese unique dishes were, in fact, wasted. Another Italian family justified wasting leftovers:

“Sometimes we buy that big piece of meat because it is more convenient or it’s in discount. But actually there is no convenience at all because after we eat part of it, I should freeze the remaining part. But if I don’t remember to do it immediately, I throw it away.” (Italy, H4)

In the UK, as declared by the same participants, fresh products such as salad, fruits and vegetables, as well as other unfinished processed products (canned sauces, condiments, etc.), often ended up not being used.



Figure 31: Food left on the table after lunch in Vrbas, Serbia

The disposal infrastructure varies across countries and regions, but regulations and official schemes create given frames. For example, in our Norwegian families, disposal was

systematised through different recycling structures and leftovers could easily become compost. In contrast, in the North-East of the UK, one of the main limitations faced is the impossibility to compost food scraps, with the exception of those households with own garden or with access to other community gardens, as the local council does not collect such waste. Nonetheless, it is surprising how different food waste collection mechanisms are applied in the south of the country.

To a great extent, leftovers were a major subject of waste, but so were packaging and other disposal waste. As illustrated by the biography of a food product in Norway (Figure 32), recycling in a central part of H2's sustainable food practices.

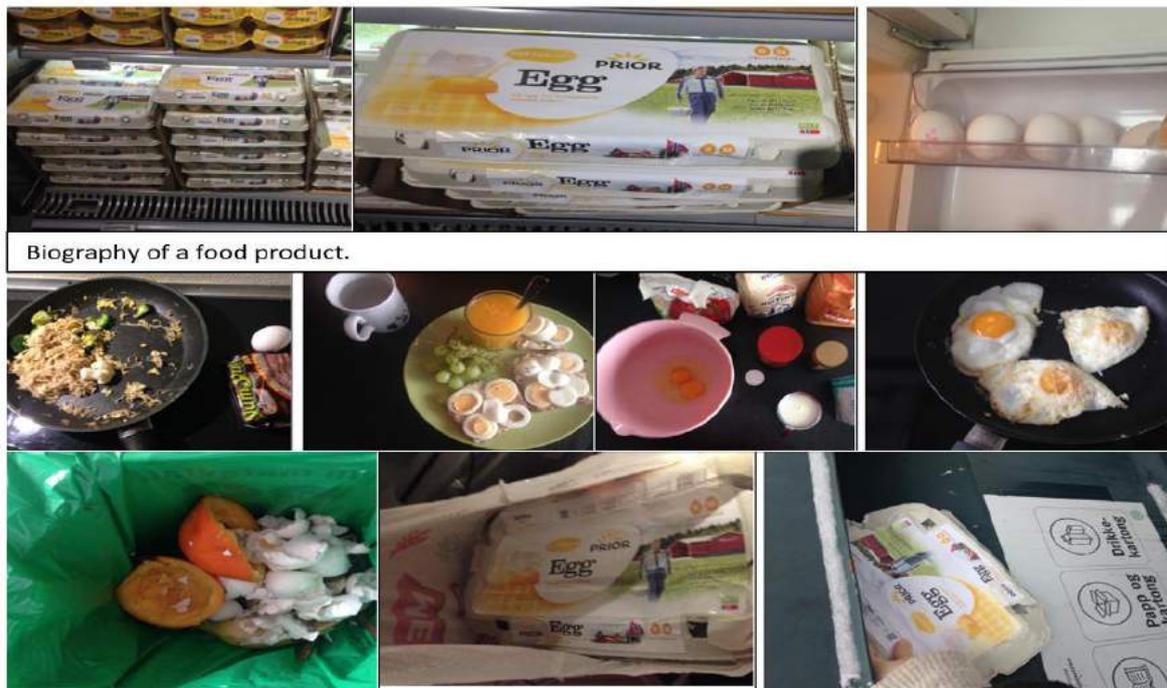


Figure 32: The biography of eggs, Norway

Source: HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

In this respect, it was also interesting to observe that some of the most ‘sustainably living’ families involved in the fieldwork were not actually interested in sustainability or in discussing the subject. A notable example is, for instance, a family which, based on a combination of African tradition and strict financial considerations, used all left-overs without almost any food waste: all parts of vegetables (from root to leaves) and all parts of animal food were used. Dried food (dried shrimps and fish) were used as spices, etc.

To end this section on food waste practices, we refer to a recent Norwegian report on food waste that argues that a key reason for waste is consumers’ experience of uncertainty: waste is more linked to practices than to perceptions or attitudes (Hebrok & Heidenstrøm, 2017). The authors find that the participants know that they should not throw food away, but often do not know what to do with the food in question because of its “value” (monetary value, quality value, value of time and utilization of value). Moreover, the authors argue that long-term planning also could

contribute to more food waste when days did not go as planned. Another observation concerns the fact that consumers often are unaware of how much food they waste.

Time dimension

We cannot imagine social practice without a time dimension. Regarding food consumption, time is at core for planning, purchasing, cooking and eating. The time at disposal can be a constraint or a factor for pleasure.

A first aspect related to time has to do with the local infrastructure (availability of local shops, convenient transport, opening times, etc.) and working schedules, as underlined by some British families:

“The opening hours of that fishmonger; they’re really limited. I think they’re only open in the morning.” (UK, H6)

“Then you’ve got a supermarket .. that’s 24-hour. So, you do end up doing what’s convenient instead of really what you would prefer to do.” (UK, H6)

Their comments seem to reflect the views of most of the interviewed families in the seven countries, especially households with children or in households where both adults work.

Time can also be a positive part of practice, as for the French H4, for whom the importance attributed to cooking goes together with the importance given to the kitchen utensils. In H4’s kitchen, such utensils are synonym of the time spent in the kitchen:

“I like it nice, I like that...I spend a lot of time in my kitchen so it is the place where I spend most of my time, in fact.” (France, H2)

The time spent while cooking was seen, in most households, as ‘quality’ time, whereas the time spent purchasing food or buying local products at the market was considered as ‘wasted’ time. Pleasure attached to food is often combined with the pleasure of conviviality, an observation we shared during many of our common meals with participants. Having researchers at home often emphasized the “extraordinary” aspect of eating and involved a social-leisure dimension. The importance of conviviality during meals was emphasised in France:

“it is very convivial, because we make lengths of black pudding so we invite people over and share with neighbours. It is the occasion to share a friendly meal.” (France, H4)

Furthermore, time is an interesting factor to take notice of, as the feeling of less time during the week clearly changed what H1 in Norway thought was manageable to cook. This was a repeating pattern for most of the households and is a good example of how practices are linked to the structures in everyday life. As Ilmonen (2001, p. 21) noted: *“Weekends and visitors seem to break through this repetitive eating behaviour when another sort of mechanism enters to govern the choice of food”* (Kaj. Ilmonen, 2001, p. 21).

We experienced the “flexibility of time” together with our participants, when we purchased and cooked together. Not only because we had three visits in three different seasons, and could observe the seasonal impact of food choices (types of products depending on offers and prices) and uses (eating salads or stews, inside or outside), but also the impact of time in everyday life and on extraordinary situations. Although all participants were very friendly, in some situations (often weekdays) we had to hurry through the shop and prepare simple food, because they had little time, while in other situations (often weekends or Friday evening), making food together was really a moment of shared pleasure crowned by eating dinner together. The ethnographic fieldwork emphasized both the multidimensional aspect of food consumption and the impact of

time on “what we do, how we do it, and what we eat and how we eat.” Time is a central part of food practices.

Routine dimension

Routines and habits are often referred to when studying social practices, and it can be useful to be aware of their complementarity. Routine is here considered as a non-reflected habit. Although the two concepts are related to each other, it is worth emphasising that not all habits are routines.

Everyday consumption

The provision of food is typically recognised as a consumption routine. Food purchases for typical daily consumption are characterized by routines: coming back from work, visiting a supermarket once a week, or a home delivery after ordering on internet, are usual patterns for our participants in all countries. For example, as mentioned by one of our participants: “*When coming home from work I normally stop by the store and do the shopping.*” (Serbia, H1)

The food shopping was influenced by the distance between the shop, work place and home. In Hungary, participants had a massive purchasing “session” once a week, but they also commonly purchased some products, such as bakery and dairy products, on a daily basis. This “double” way of purchasing was found in all countries, and both are affected by time, price, taste and place constraints. In Germany, participants usually chose those points of sale that fit best with their daily routine as expressed by this woman: “*because it is next to my son’s day care centre and if I want to cook, and something is missing, I do a quick stop there*”. Minimising transport was also important, for example, one woman expressed that she tried to get everything in one supermarket. Purchasing everything in one place, if possible close to the place of living, are elements that determine the routine of food shopping.

Purchasing products from SFSCs, e.g. farm shops, farmers’ markets, community gardens, local shops (butchers, fishmongers, bakeries, etc.) was a routine for some French participants who were very aware of sustainability. However, we also have to keep in mind that specialty shops and farmers’ markets are a usual part of the French food landscape. Although accessing SFSC food is not an easy task in Norway, it was the pillar of H3’s food consumption: the family first plans orders and deliveries from SFSC, or home-grown production, and then complete with other products from the supermarket.

FQS were also part of family routines when it came to specific products such as Guerande salt (PGI), Parmigiano Reggiano (PDO), different types of olive oils (PDO, PGI or/and organic) and other cheeses/ham. The label itself was not that significant, but our participants were attached to these types of products that they had integrated into their food practices. However, for most of the other participants, buying these types of products was typically the result of spontaneous improvisation or the attractiveness of a specific product. Essentially, these types of products were not representative of the weekly food menu. They were related with outlets typically being visited for special occasions, here called “extraordinary consumption” - e.g. for weekend treats, when family/friends were visiting, during the summer period, etc. The presence of the researchers may also have stimulated such “extraordinary consumption” during the ethnographic shopping visits.

The fieldwork also paid attention to routines both at home (storing groceries, filling the fridge, using the pans, cutting the bread, etc.) and in the shops (parking the car, taking a cart, going to

a specific shelf, etc.). One of the interesting routines related to FQS is linked to the way some participants selected specific products. For instance, with H6 in Norway, we could observe how a routine based on “taking a plastic bag and filling it with the usual tomatoes” changed into “checking the different choices and choosing the local one”, as illustrated by Figure 33.



Figure 33: Purchasing practices, Norway

Source: HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

One of the interesting point here concerns the use of plastic: plastic bags to put vegetables or fruits are an integrated part of the food consumption practices in Norway, whereas in other countries, such as France, banished them few years ago. Picking up a plastic bag is a routine that participants did not really question, while the pre-packed vegetables were often highlighted as a sustainability issue. The use of plastic bags is even more discussed in the case of organic food, which is always pre-packed (and has to, to be differentiated and protected) in Norwegian supermarkets, while conventional food is not. Both the infrastructure of the shop, and the material culture embodied in procurement practices have to be changed, or adapted, to permit any other solutions.

Procurement planning during holidays was an issue mentioned by some households in France, when they choose to buy local products in accordance with their ethics. H3 buys wine directly from a Corsican wine-maker, while H1 selects producers on the internet according to the combination of two criteria: organic and peasant farming.

All German participants expressed that they enjoy grocery shopping at farmers' markets, organic shops and speciality stores – or even just the fresh counter in a supermarket compared to picking products off the shelf.

“Next to [name of a church] is a farmers’ market, but that’s too far away [...]. Of course I do dream about strolling over the market and buying nice things. But those markets which I dream of, those do not exist here.” (Germany)

Moreover, this feeling of shopping at an alternative outlet was described as more important than the actual product attributes.

“It is nice; it has something more natural ... a more natural feeling.” (Germany)

“It depends on what kind of shopping you would do, doesn't it? If you were doing a food shop, I'd probably just walk past this, even if it was cheap. But if I was in a different environment, I would probably choose to... if I was in a little farm shop and I saw some stuff like this, I'd be more tempted.” (UK, H4)

“Or if we were having friends round or doing something nice, then I'd... it's like this is all special stuff that wouldn't go in our normal basic weekly shop, which unfortunately is a bit ruled by money and kids, I don't know.” (UK, H4)

Those expressions underline the duality of everyday/leisure food practices that we also outlined in the previous section on time dimension.

Material infrastructures

A major material infrastructure in food practices is the place for purchasing food, either a shop or a market. In this perspective, “localness” could be “proximity” as underlined by several participants:

“For me, the crucial factor in shopping is proximity. Going to the farmers’ market is an exotic event and I enjoy it as a sort of special occasion. Even though Deram farmers’ market is close to my home, Maxi is closer.” (Serbia, H4)

All Norwegian households had one or two local grocery stores that they used several times each week. Most of these stores can be defined as stores with relatively low prices and limited choices, compared to some of the more expensive supermarket chains in Norway. The stability of using the same grocery store seemed to create routinized shopping practices. For example, Elisabeth (H4) and Linda (H6) were both very persistent in their shopping and knew their path in their respective stores well. When they selected products, like vegetables, they would turn the product around and look, mostly for the origin but also for organic. However, they did not look for any specific FQS, but rather other types of information that would reveal the origin, and the production method, or information related to local food or potential chemicals respectively. Mona (H2) would prefer to choose the retailer with the First Price brand, which she liked and trusted, but there was no shop in the proximity of her home. As she had small children and did not have a car she was dependent on the local infrastructure and had to make compromises.

In France, proximity was the most important criterion in choosing a shopping outlet, as in the case of Christine (H5), who had no car and little time. This family buys the largest part of their groceries once a fortnight from a nearby hard-discount store, more for practical reasons than financial ones. As mentioned by the family, this type of store limits their food choices.

For the Hungarian participants, the most typical place of purchase was a discount store/supermarket (Aldi, Lidl, Penny market, Spar etc.) or a hypermarket (Auchan, Tesco etc.). The vast majority of the food items were purchased here and other market channels, such as farmers’ market, local shop, bio-shop, were usually only used as supplements. Choosing the

supermarket above speciality shops is also an example of the material infrastructural constraints, as highlighted by David (H6) in the UK:

“I would really prefer to buy our fruit and veg from a fruit and veg shop and our meat from a butcher, but it’s just so hard. I mean, they’re only open nine till five thirty and most of the time you’re at work nine until five thirty. So, you have to rely on supermarkets; they’ve kind of got you in that way, where you’re just doing shopping when it’s convenient for you and usually all the smaller, independent type shops are closed.” (UK, H6)

Even if with a different frequency, the Italian families claim to do shopping at the supermarket. Supermarkets constitute the most used distribution channel by H2 and H4, while for H1 it represents an alternative along with other SFSC, such as farmers’ markets and direct sourcing from producers/traders. The distance between the family’s residence and the supermarkets (15-30 km) is the reason why H1 cannot go there more than once or twice a week and for which other local shops are in fact more convenient.

To summarize, the shop tends to determine the scale of prices, the choices and the type of food participants can, or cannot, buy. In other words, the shop often frames the embodied habits, together with financial constraints, local regulations and own commitments. The lack of interest in FQS thus builds on the fact that none of the participants had an embodied habit of reflecting about them or looking for them in the stores.

FQS and sustainability in food practices

One of the main conclusions of practices based on the observations is that FQS are little used and not part of everyday routines. This was a little bit surprising as most participants requested for better and more reliable information about the origin, animal welfare and composition of food products. One Italian family claims that the meaning of the PDO and PGI labels should be explained more clearly on the labels:

“In my opinion the meaning of PDO, PGI should be explained on the label in a clear and visible way.” (Italy, H1)

Observing sustainable practices is a complex task, because sustainability is not an emic concept and the way our participants understand or practice things is different from one person to the other. The German participants, in assessing whether a product is sustainable – from the viewpoint of personal health, environment or animal welfare – frequently used other cues than FQS. The most common were the point of sale (e.g. farmers’ markets and organic stores), the degree of processing of a food product, its ingredients (e.g. content of sugar), and its packaging (e.g. plastic or not).

Aversion to packaging and excessive plastic on food products was an important issue emphasised by several households. In the UK it was because of this reason that some consumers preferred buying products in bulk, e.g. from wholesalers, or directly from greengrocers:

“The reason I like going to that fruit and veg shop is it’s not in packaging, whereas I always feel guilty buying pears in a massive plastic container.” (UK, H5)

“We’ve got a thing about how they wrap everything up...so it’s the packaging we also feel we should do more than anything else, why can’t they keep it all in their natural?” (UK, H1)

Almost all participants in the seven countries said that they would prefer to buy unpacked food and complained that this was not possible as most of the products in conventional supermarkets came with plastic packaging (see Figure 34 from Norway). Nonetheless, we did not notice any concrete actions against it during our fieldwork.



Figure 34: Plastic packaging on fruit and vegetables, Norway

Source: HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

As a German participant put it: *“I think plastic is awful”*. Packaging was so important for our German participants that beside organic and local food, the absence of plastic packaging was seen as an indicator for sustainability. Plastic is not only about wrapping the products, but also transporting food from the shop to the kitchen (see Figure 35). In this respect, the households who declared (at a discursive level) to be sustainable seemed to avoid using plastic bags when shopping, while others did not mention the problem.



Figure 35: Returning home after food shopping, Norway

Source: HiOA - own pictures from fieldwork.

The “plastification” of food is an excellent example of one of the complex dimensions of everyday food practices. Plastic is often characterised as unnecessary and polluting. It is one of the problematic material points participants would like to avoid thinking about, but that is fully integrated in practices from production to distribution systems, so they feel powerless. We found similar situations with animal welfare, fair-trade food or health aspects, e.g. use of pesticides, and in most cases our participants have to make choices or ‘trade-offs’, which often build on a hierarchy of values.

In line with Vermeir and Verbeke (2006) we emphasize that “*behavioural intention and behaviour are strongly, though never perfectly, correlated [...] and that in real life purchase situations a lot of factors can influence the decision making products*” (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006, p. 188). Our ethnographic approach permits to deepen and specify the result from a quantitative survey based on “experimental design and manipulation of key constructs” with a closer knowledge about everyday practices.

The regime of familiarity (refer to previous discussion in Chapter 7) was particularly evident during the fieldwork observation, when we went shopping or cooked with our participants. Familiarity is the realm of thoughtlessness, automatisms and habits. Not only the one who acts does not need to justify him/herself so much, but sometimes he/she actually does not really know why he/she did something in that particular way. In the regime of familiarity, moral choices are based on routines and food social practices (a set of traditional preferences interwoven in material and time constraints, as well as technological or infra structure dimensions) like convenience and price. Well-known quality products or familiar brands are at the top of the hierarchy for choices and trust. FQS, and especially GIs, are not integrated in this regime, although some of the food products may be.

Furthermore, the combination of the three regimes of engagement can explain a hierarchy of choices and trust. The complexity of choice preferences might be easier to understand through examples from our ethnographic approach. For instance, based on Elisabeth’s (H4, Norway) statements and observed practices, her hierarchy of food quality placed organic as the most important aspect, followed closely by local. But this was not always the rule because sometimes she prioritised Norwegian conventionally grown carrots to organically produced Spanish carrots. So, organic was important, but the localness of production sometimes came first. If the reader now wonders what Elisabeth would *actually* purchase, if she had to choose between organic or Norwegian carrots, this did not become completely clear during our fieldwork. Practices do vary and are obviously dependent on other considerations, as depicted in Figure 36.

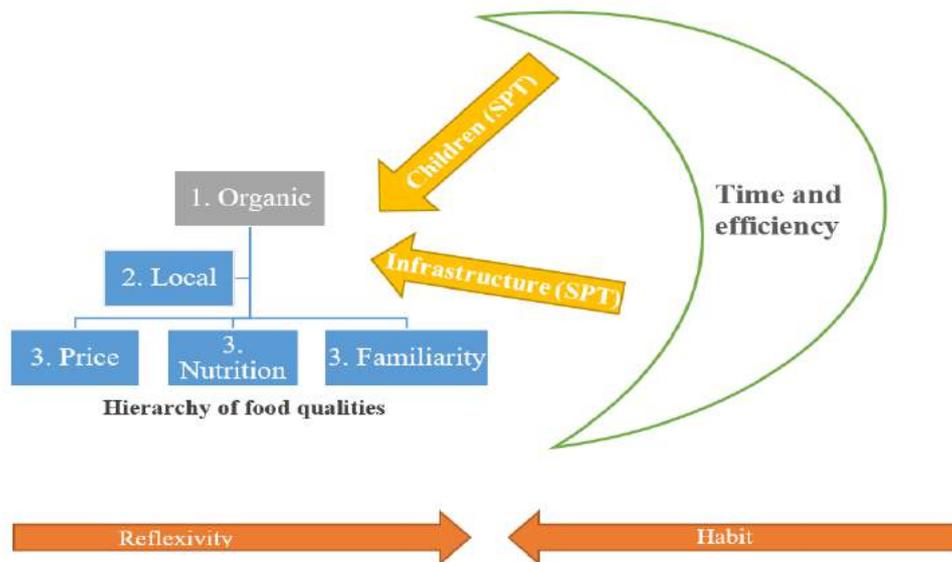


Figure 36: Considerations and external circumstances working in conjunction within the scope of food provisioning - example from H4 in Norway

Source: HiOA national country report.

Price, nutrition and familiarity with products influenced H4's evaluation of quality differently at different times. Though she stated that she prioritised organic aspects over others, this hierarchy was fluid. All five aspects from the hierarchy worked together in the act of evaluating food quality. As Warde (2016) emphasises:

"A coherent practice-theoretical account is likely to find its explanation partly in embodied habits but more generally in the affordances of the social and cultural environment, in both material and communicative aspects of the settings in which the practice of eating occurs" (p. 119).

This means that social contexts, such as having a family and local infrastructure, have the potential to influence the hierarchy of evaluations, implying that the hierarchy is not fixed and certainly not when strategies of time and efficiency are factors in food provisioning²⁵. This suggests that if time and efficiency are important, then routinised practices become the default and sometimes this means that non-quality products, like frozen pizza, ends up on the dinner table. In other words, when time and efficiency are prioritised, routines and habits inform the practices carried out in the grocery store, which can create a gap between stated quality evaluations and the act of food provisioning. This type of situation was clearly expressed by Sven (H5, Norway):

"- Our choices have something to do with time and place and how much time you have. If you have more time you can choose differently. -[Researcher] How do you choose when you have limited time? - Price, price, price." (Norway, H5)

²⁵ In Germany for example, if the sustainable option was not liked by the shopper, or the family members, it was not bought.

Although H5 has a totally different relationship with food and FQS than H2, both families take price seriously into consideration. Mona's (H2, Norway) quality evaluations and food practices, as illustrated in Figure 37, are also different from that of Elisabeth (H4, Norway).

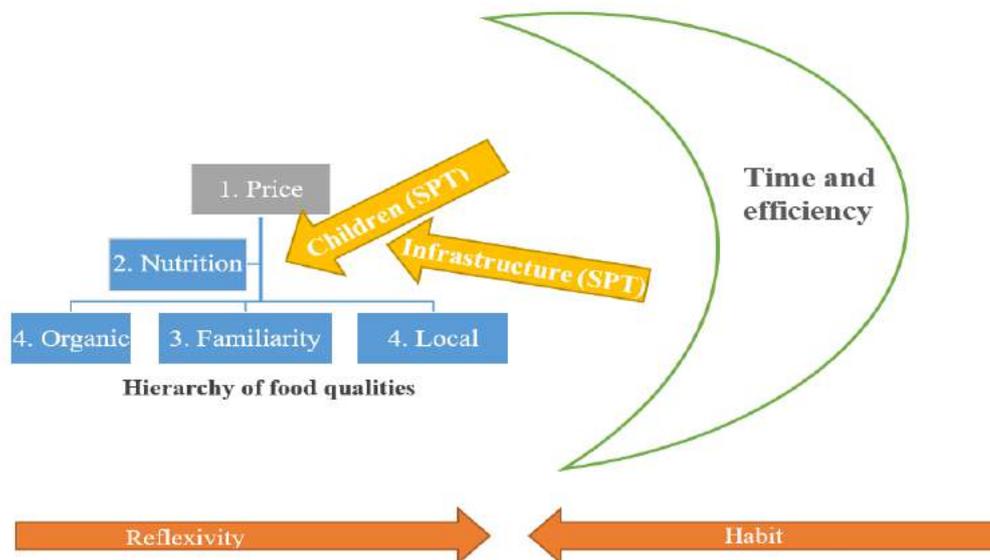


Figure 37: Considerations and external circumstances working in conjunction within the scope of food provisioning - example from H2 in Norway

Source: HiOA national country report.

Summary – Chapter 8

FQS are mostly an integrated, but seldom reflective, part of everyday routine - either by their absence or presence. They are embodied in consumption routines and even GIs products were used in almost all households: habits, taste and reputation, and not FQS, was stimulating this type of procurement (in other words consumers buy *Parmigiano Reggiano*, *Manchego* or *Comté* because they know the cheese, not because of the FQS). The meaning of the certification and the FQS was little known and FQS did not directly affect consumption food practices much, in the sense that participants mostly did not explicitly choose them. The choice relied on their previous experiences, tacit knowledge and recommendations from family members, relatives, friends and other influencers rather than on producers' claims, including FQS. Participants pointed out the importance of their network for their perception of quality as well as for culinary practices and skills.

Planning. To have better control most informants used a shopping list that they wrote prior to shopping, or weekly menu.

When **purchasing food** they mostly focused on product appearance, the reputation of the producer or brand, and nutritional content rather than on FQS. Price, quantity and proximity were named in several countries, often in relationship with storage. When buying local or organic food products, participants did not pay special attention to the official FQS, but emphasized that the private labels provided by retailers and food companies seem to be sufficient. The family structure also influenced shopping, both form and content.

Using – preparing, cooking and eating. Most households recognised that their food habits are driven by convenience and time. Because of this, food preparation and everyday food consumption of food differed substantially between participating households. Some households relied mainly on home-made food, others on ready-made options. Most participants mixed the two alternatives, cooking quick meals on everyday basis and using more time for leisure.

Both cooking and buying local products were often considered as quality time by our participants, as opposed to purchasing food in a supermarket. This emphasized the importance of tradition and the “family food” dimension. While both sharing and tradition are immaterial factors embodied in the quality dimension of food practices, quality may cover more concrete forms, such as freshness or organic.

We observed **food waste** at different levels during the fieldwork, discussing the subject when planning or storing food, explaining techniques for avoiding food waste (by good planning and reflecting about quantity), or by observing leftovers and food disposal after our common meals. Participants found it more difficult to throw away FQS products, which have both a higher moral and economic value, than regular food.

9. TRUST AND DISTRUST IN SUSTAINABLE FOOD CHAINS AND FOOD QUALITY SCHEMES

The literature underlines a general problem with trust for quality and local food, FQS and SFSC consumption. In line with previous results, trust in FQS and SFSC were mixed among our participants. Most families placed considerable trust in SFSC and some other labels, including national organic standards, compared to some others, including PDO, PGI and TSG. For example, Fairtrade and organic labels were associated with positive perceptions and higher levels of trust in the UK.

Trust in organic labels

Organic food was often discussed either because of its positive or negative aspects, respectively higher prices compared to conventional products, but better for personal health and the environment. The Italian participants showed a higher knowledge toward the organic certification that often constitutes a guarantee for the purchase, since the label is trusted and provides a sense of safety when the producers are not directly known.

“I certainly trust bio [organic] products, I think it is treated in a better way, they also use less fertilizers, and less toxic products on it. So I trust this kind of certification almost more than the typical product, because you don’t know, for example, which flour they use in those; how do you know? I can’t have an answer so I trust the bio product better than the typical one. I also trust the bio more than the PGI and the PDO. [...] If I don’t know the producers, that label can make the difference.” (Italy, H1)

In some cases, the large retailers are more trusted compared to smaller shops just because they sell products carrying labels and certifications:

“I trust more on the supermarket because of the labels.” (Italy, H4)

According to other participants, the organic label is not generally perceived as a tool to increase alone the value of the products since other information, such as the ingredients, energy content and the area of production, are considered as more important.

“If a product is organic but produced in non-EU countries, it doesn’t seem to me as trustworthy.” (Italy, H3)

The EU organic leaf logo is recognized but several participants were dubious to “mass“ organic production, and if the requirements associated with the organic production are really applied by the farmers, also because of the certification costs, or because of logistic issues (e.g. the small distance dividing organic from conventional crops).

“I’m not sure that all the producers authorized to use organic label on their products comply with regulations. [...] I don’t know who is the person in charge to give the labels. I know there is a policy document however I don’t know who is the guaranteeing person. Sincerely, there are always interests’ lobbies behind, consequently I don’t have trust: When a person speaks about money he answer to no one.” (Italy, H4)

“The fact that a product is labelled PDO or PGI or organic is, for me, a secondary criterion. I have met producers that got out of bio [organic] because it was expensive, institutions asks some thousand euros per year for nothing concrete. So I have lots of doubts about certifications.” (Italy, H3)

On the other hand, national organic labels were generally trusted. All the Norwegian participants recognized the Norwegian organic Ø-label from Debio, while the EU label was less familiar in Norway. Even though the EU-leaf is in several cases visible next to the Ø-label, the

participants would more often associate the Ø-label with organic. The national label was thus given considerable higher trust whereas the EU-leaf was treated as suspicious as it is a ‘foreign’ label (as previously mentioned in Chapter 7).

Origin and tradition –PDO, PGI and TSG

Participants did not express high levels of trust towards PDO, PGI and TSG mostly because they did not know what the labels really meant and who are the actors responsible for these certifications. Instead, they seemed to place higher trust in private brands:

“I don’t know who is responsible for these labels. These labels absolutely don’t give me greater confidence about the product. If I know the brand, then that’s the one that gives me more confidence” (Italy, H2)

However, some well-known PDO products, such as Parma ham, were highly trusted:

“The product specification is very strict, moreover it is the only ham without preservatives ... in the Parma ham there is only salt.” (Italy, H3)

Local food and SFSC

Participants tended to trust local products more than products with FQS:

“I trust local products more. If I have to go and buy ham or salami, I go to whom I know nearby. I rather do in this way instead of going to the supermarket and buy the DOP products. [...] I trust the local product without a known label, but with a producer I know. For example I buy honey because I know the producer, I buy it even if it doesn’t have any label.” (Italy, H1)

Foods from SFSC were trusted because the origin is known. In particular, participants living in rural areas, as well as household involved in community-supported agriculture initiatives (e.g., the Italian solidarity purchasing groups), underlined the importance of direct knowledge of the producer to establish a solid trust relationship:

“The local brand gives me more confidence because we need less information compared to a product that comes from elsewhere. You can trust something more when you know where it comes from.” (Italy, H2)

“I don’t often buy ham. And when that happens, I buy it in a local shop, as I trust better the shopkeeper who chooses the ham himself. I don’t know what brand it is from. [...] The problem with Gragnano pasta PGI is its origin: Campania. I would need a further guarantee to buy it, as I don’t know the producers and I don’t trust them. I’m sorry for that but I can’t buy it. The fact of knowing the producer gives me extra trust, because it’s all base on relationship of trust.” (Italy, H3)

Similarly, the direct relationship with, and knowledge of, the local traders may be the foundation of (informal) trust:

“However sometimes they go to a producers’ cooperative nearby, in which they buy local cheese and local and fresh fruit; we like it because of the quality and the freshness of the products they have. We trust on the producers who supply their food there.” (Italy, H4)

Other labels

The Halal certification had a key role in driving the shopping of the Senegalese family in Italy. They expressed blind trust towards the products bearing this label, even though they were not sure that the required practices during the production had been respected since they were not aware of the professionals in charge of the controls:

“Who guarantee Halal certification? I don’t know... but I believe to what they say...”
(Italy, H5)

Another important reason underpinning this feeling is the fact that Halal product are usually sold by other Muslims respectful of the same religious duties. Also thanks to specific smartphone applications, it is possible to select the shops that sell halal food:

“The retailers of products with halal certification are the same who attend the mosque, so that they can’t do it [...] Muslim have to eat halal certified products.” (Italy, H5)

Hierarchy of trust

The participants seemed to share a form of hierarchy of trust regarding food products and labels. The direct personal relationships with producers were associated with high levels of trust. Such direct relationships are experienced when purchases take place via SFSC. The combination of interpersonal relationships with organic production were considered as positive, but personally knowing the producer was more important than having an organic label. Second in hierarchy was the organic label. Especially the national organic labels were well-known among the participants and were used as purchasing guides. Then following the Fairtrade label (easily recognisable and guiding some customers in their choice of specific products, such as chocolate and coffee), PDO labels (associated to AOC which is the more ancient French version), then the PGI (the TSG label does not seem to be known at all). Lowest in the hierarchy were retailers’ private labels. These were less trusted and were criticised by participants as being forms of untrustworthy advertising (however, some exceptions exist for the UK, where superior retailer brands, such as M&S, and supermarket’s superior range can be quite significant). Overall, trust was built primarily through personal relations and, second, through labels, when the former was not available.

Trust is expressed at different levels within different regimes, but can be illustrated through a sort of, very simple, pyramid of trust based on discursive approaches (see Figure 38), and confirmed in practices, in almost all households (here under the most common FQS or SFSC represented).

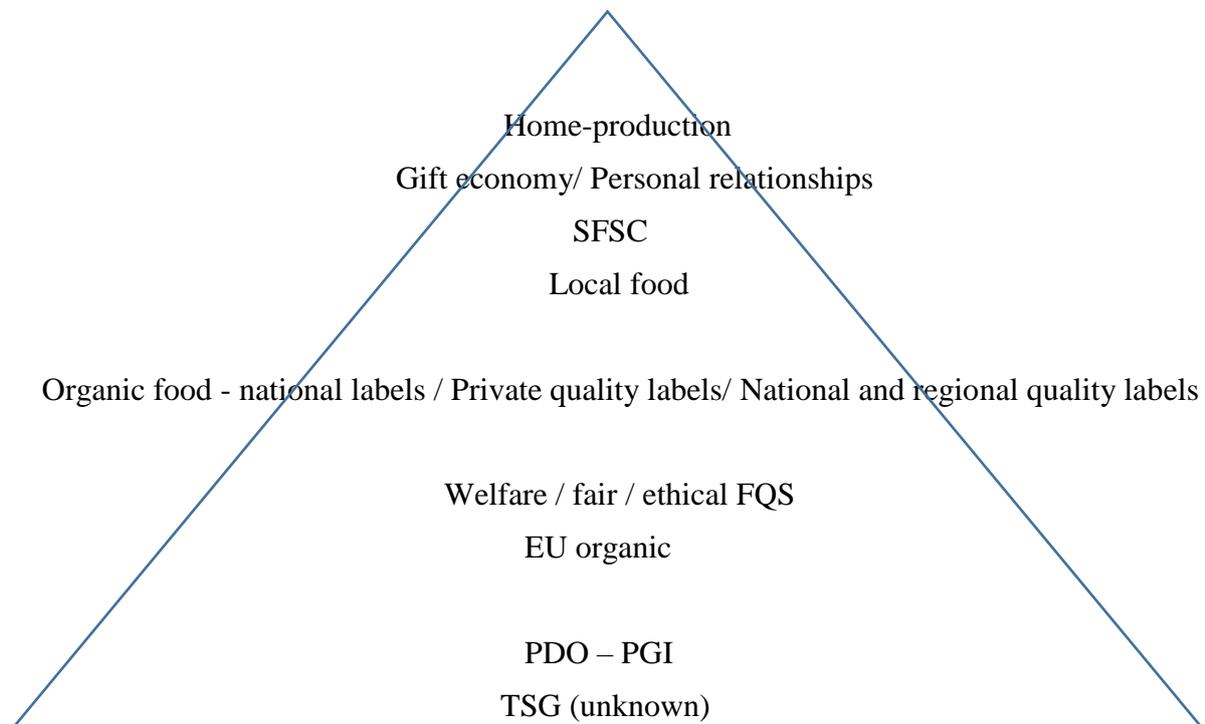


Figure 38: Pyramid of trust based on the ethnographic fieldwork in seven countries

Note: higher levels of trust on top of the pyramid.

Source: Own illustration based on participants' sayings and doings in the seven countries.

Trust and practices

From the ethnographic fieldwork we detected that trust is implicitly integrated into routines: there was no questioning about the food products participants are used to buy or the way they are used to cook. When issues emerged, they abandoned the automatic habits and thought about ways to solve the problems. For example, Mona (H2, Norway) told us that she often read about food on the social media and that she has re-considered her habits, changing from one brand to another or stopped using some food. Based on some negative information that she had acquired about the Keyhole label she was unsure whether she could trust the label to be a true indicator for healthiness.

The Keyhole label, which is well known and used in Norway, is an interesting case, especially because the public discourse on this label is ambiguous. Mona's point of view was similar to how the other Norwegian households talked about the label. None of the households saw the label as a helpful guide to healthiness, because of the controversy of having the Keyhole label on a popular frozen pizza (as previously mentioned).

“There have been some discussions, I think they started when a Grandiosa was given a keyhole, because then I realised that what the label means is something that is relatively healthy compared to other products of its kind, and then some people got irritated

because it was supposed to indicate healthiness and then it actually does not (Norway, H1). ”

“When the Grandiosa pizza has the keyhole, so many people do not understand it, they buy it because it has the keyhole, and it looks healthy because it has a keyhole, but that only means that it is more healthy than the other one and then the question is how they have measured this.” (Norway, H3).

“You can risk getting the keyhole on the Grandiosa you know, so... the fact that it is more healthy than other pizzas, that is pointless.” (Norway, H4).

This confusion about the pizza shows that the type of food it represents, convenient fast food, did not meet the health or quality requirements in any of the Norwegian households. Furthermore, conflicts about the Keyhole also revolved around common sense, as H3, in particular, stressed the lack of value in the label:

“I never look for the keyhole. They should not bother with it for our sake, that deceptive label, they should not bother with it, and the cereal section, that is the worst, and you find many keyholes there.” (Norway, H3).

“I care little for the keyhole, I would like to know that what you buy is sustainable, the keyhole does not say anything, and everyone knows that carrots are healthy food... there is no logic.” (Norway, H3).

In an ideal food labelling system, H3 would have preferred a label that indicates environmental values instead of the Keyhole. And some of the products that have the label were not, according to the family, healthy. This feeling seemed to be shared: whenever the Keyhole became a topic of discussion, distrust towards the label was expressed. Our participants did not necessarily distrust producers, but we would argue that this reflected distrust towards the conflicting information of food in general. Similarly, the general distrust in the food industry as a whole in the UK, implied that some consumers appeared to be cynical about labels:

“Anybody can put a label on and you know yourself, especially in the food industry, there’s so much misinformation going on... That documentary about five or six weeks ago about the meat industry and the dairy industry and that and there’s just so many lies and deception.” (UK, H2)

It is often claimed that trust is reinforced by direct contact with producers, but from the fieldwork we apprehend that this may be more complex. Direct contact is maybe not always required if people have a conception that a certain producer is better than an other, for example, in terms of environmental sustainability. The role of personal contact for trust has been underlined in earlier literature. However, our study suggests that trust may also be established through personal contact with traders, distributors or shopkeepers, in addition to producers.

Summary – Chapter 9

In line with earlier literature, trust in FQS and SFSC varied between participants. They placed most trust in SFSC. Some labels, such as national organic labels, were trusted more than others, including PDO, PGI and TSG. Participants did not express a high level of trust towards PDO, PGI and TSG mostly because they did not know what the labels really mean and who is responsible for those labels.

Organic food was often discussed in both negative and positive terms - high prices and unaffordable on one side, but better for the health and the environment on the other.

Direct relationships with, and knowledge of, the local producers and retailers are central to (informal) trust. The informants trusted local products more than products with FQS. Foods from SFSC are trusted because the origin is known. In particular, those living in the rural areas, as well as households involved in community-supported agriculture initiatives, underlined the importance of the direct knowledge of the producer to establish a solid trust relationship, which stimulates food purchases.

Informants seemed to share a form of hierarchy of trust regarding food products and labels. The combination of interpersonal relationships with organic production was considered as positive, but knowing personally the producer was more important than the organic label. Second in hierarchy was the organic label. Especially the national organic labels were well-known among the informants and were used as purchasing guides. Then followed Fairtrade and other FQS, PDO labels and then the PGI. The TSG label does not seem to be known at all. Lowest in the hierarchy were retailers' private labels. These were less trusted and were criticised by informants as being forms of untrustworthy advertising. Thus, trust was built primarily through personal relations and, second, through labels, when the former was not available.

10. PERCEPTIONS AND COMMENTS ABOUT PUBLIC FOOD PROCUREMENTS AND SUSTAINABLE FOOD CHAINS AND FOOD QUALITY SCHEMES

During the third visit, dialogic conversations were used to reveal the households' knowledge, opinions and perceptions in relation to public food procurement, on the basis of their own experiences. The perceptions varied from one country to another, as the structural contexts are very different. In most countries food served in hospitals and in the army are part of public food procurement, while school meals are not always the case. For example, the French, Italian, Serbian and, to some extent, the UK participants were used to having school meals, whereas the Norwegian participants did not have this alternative available.

Institutional catering at school: ambivalence between positive initiatives and negative experience

In France, almost all participants (apart from H6) were affected by the subject of school catering via their children. Some of them (in H2 and H3) were even affected not only because of their children but also because they are teachers. Some ambivalence was observed when they were talking about the subject. A few initiatives were described quite positively. H2's Tiphaine told about her school restaurant that serves local products, H4 talked about successful experiences in the rural school restaurants in their area, and H3's Victor described the action called "fair trade breakfast" that he was involved in setting up in his high school. Yet, their own children's experiences were described as negative.

The Italian participants showed clear differences between the reported experiences and the perceived quality of the served school meals, independently from the rural or urban areas of residence. Four families had direct knowledge of the school food procurement due to their occupations or due to children that eat lunch at school. The respondents were aware of the procedures underlying the school meal service which, in all the reported cases, is carried out by a private catering staff following an agreement with the dietitian of the municipality.

Some examples include the primary school teacher, who lives in the rural area of Parma province (H1, Italy), complaining about the quality of the food served in the school where she works. She states as reasons: inappropriate cooking methods and bad taste of the products. The meals are cooked in an internal kitchen and then delivered and served to the pupils and teachers in the school canteen. She stated that the plate waste from the pupils is very high, but she did not know what happened to the leftovers of the prepared food. She knew that fruit leftovers were used by the catering service to make cooked fruit or fruit salad.

The Italian family recruited within the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines National Park (H2, Italy) reported a different model of preparation and delivering of school meals in the school where the mother was employed as a primary pre-school teacher. Some dishes and snacks were prepared and cooked in the internal kitchen, while the second and the side dishes were prepared and cooked in a central kitchen. She described school food procurement as mainly local (including 0 km products) and involving local farmers. The overall food quality was good according to her.

Appreciation towards meals served in a canteen context were also expressed by participant H4 who works in the Italian army and every day eats a lunch meal in the associated canteen. A private catering service prepares and serves the meals. The army personnel is invited to select the dishes on the basis of their nutritional value to promote the consumption of a nutritionally balanced meal. Concerning the amount of food waste, he could not say if it is relevant since he

generally has the lunch earlier than most of his colleagues. Moreover, with regard to the unserved food, he thinks that it is not reused as ingredients in other dishes.

The participant H3 (Italy) was part of the canteen commission when the oldest daughter attended kindergarten. Thus, she knew how school food procurement works in Parma. She claimed that food waste from the pupils is high. However, according to her, food variety should not be reduced by the catering service serving only those dishes that are appreciated by the children.

From the discussion with the Senegalese family (H5, Italy), not much information was given regarding food procurement in the canteen where the participant sometimes had lunch. He stated that Halal certified products are not served and that he generally chooses fish or chicken. The school canteen represents for the children an occasion when they can eat Italian dishes that they generally appreciate, and his daughter who attended school in Italy sometimes asked for this type of food once back at home.

In the UK, the provision of school meals constitutes a ‘hot’ topic at the political level, especially regarding their dietary and nutritional standards but also their availability/ subsidisation across the country. As discussed by the families, the majority of food is prepared off-site and delivered to the school (H1, H2), with few exceptions where food is prepared on site from scratch (H4, H6). There is also the option to bring packed lunch from home, but most families prefer to rely on school meals (with the exception of H4’s oldest son – aged 9). The families receive the food planner in advance, which shows weekly meals (typically three options) on a seasonal rotating scheme. Nevertheless, parents have no specific awareness of the specific quality standards in place nor public procurement of the schools, and are not involved in the food choices of their children.

It seemed interesting to observe three main facts, which relate to UK food practices, although not specifically linked to sustainability. First, the families are concerned about children having a ‘cooked’ and ‘hot’ meal, and appreciate the fact that the meals are cheap and subsidised (meals are typically free until year 3 of school, e.g. 8-9 years, with further reductions based on income, number of children, etc.). Second, fruit is only optional and offered as an alternative to desserts on the daily menu – thus, it is not a surprise how most children do not eat any fruit at school, and as a consequence, may refuse eating fruit once back at home. Third, most of the families have noticed a change in children’s food preferences and diet variety since eating at school - e.g. previously eating ‘boring’ and bland food and now more varied meals. As a result of this, most kids are willing to try different and unknown food which, in turn, has expanded parents’ possibility of cooking different types of food at home.

Very few Norwegian participants had specific opinions or experiences related to sustainability and public procurement. One reason is that public food procurement is not common in Norway, except in the health sector (hospitals, nursing or retirement homes), military, after-school programmes and some kindergartens. Both H1 and H2 (Norway) had children in kindergarten and we asked them if they would have liked the kindergartens to be more focused on sustainable food. H1 were rather sceptical to this idea, as they suspect that a sustainable turn would result in a higher kindergarten fee. They were more interested in the type of food that their children were served in the kindergarten:

“I think it is more important that the children can enjoy nice food ‘adventures’ together, that they can participate in cooking, rather than a focus on sustainable food, even though that is good as well. Especially if they were to use food from the school garden and cook something from that, I would have been very positive.” (Norway, H1)

H1 seemed more interested in trying new food and recipes, that it was not surprising to discover that this aspect was more important compared to sustainable food. As for Mona (H2), she was very positive to the idea of a sustainable focus in the kindergarten. Her children received one hot meal a day in their kindergarten, and even though the food was not sustainable *per se*, the kindergarten is ‘sugar reduced’, implying that the kindergarten give the children food with as little sugar as possible. Mona expressed great satisfaction in relation to this and she had transmitted this to her food provisioning; she was very insistent on checking the amount of sugar in the food product she bought for her children.

The example of a ‘sugar reduced’ kindergarten points to how a focus on healthy food was important to Mona (H2). As such, healthy food in relation to children was important to H3 as well, especially when we discussed public procurement. Dagny (H3) was not happy with the food that was served to her children during the after-school programme. She had noticed that the food served was both cheap and processed, and according to her, the food was not nutritious enough. In relation to the after-school programme, she wished that her children could learn about healthy and sustainable food and stressed that quality food does not necessarily imply the most expensive option. Sofie (H5) also mentioned that the school as an important place where children can learn about sustainable food, but she also emphasized financial constraints as a barrier for potential transition to more sustainable food in schools.

Summary – Chapter 10

The conversations revealed the households’ level of knowledge, opinions and perceptions in relation to public food procurement. These varied across countries because of different structural contexts. For example, school meals are not provided in all of the countries. In the countries where school meals are provided (including France, Italy and UK) participants expressed ambivalence, heterogeneous experiences and variation in perceived quality related to the subject. In the UK the participating parents had no specific awareness of quality standards nor involvement in the food choices of the children.

11. SUGGESTIONS FROM PARTICIPANTS TO IMPROVE THE SUSTAINABILITY OF FOOD CHAINS AND FOOD QUALITY SCHEMES

Based on the extensive fieldwork experience with the 40 households and their perceptions and suggestions on the current food system, some key priorities have been identified with respective recommendations where the state, infrastructure or education system are at stake.

Among the opinions raised in the semi-structured interviews and during the household visits, the idea that the government should play a role promoting food sustainability prevailed. It was stated that the government should take actions enhancing the bargaining power of the producers in dealing with the large distribution channels and should support and promote small local producers.

➤ STATE, EU and REGULATION

“I think the state should be responsible.” (Norway, H3)

“The process to reach the food sustainability must start from as small as it may be a family, but if the Government doesn’t operate for this purpose, the food sustainability remains an unattainable objective” (Italy, H4).

Moreover, some participants argued that the government should increase controls of production practices and promote educational programs addressing consumer awareness not only of what to eat, but also about the dynamics behind the food production and provision systems. For instance, one Italian participant proposed an increase in the number of the personnel and frequency of controls by local health authorities and school directors (H1, Italy). Another participant recommended that regulations should be more strictly applied:

“Regarding the food sustainability, I don’t think there is any need of new laws or new institutional interventions. I believe instead that the existing laws shall be applied differently, optimising the public resources and promoting campaigns in favour of conscious consumption” (Italy, H4).

Several participants, in Serbia, Norway and Italy, for example, would expect the government to protect their rights and control production practices as well as communication of food claims and insertion of food labels, but on the same time they are also aware of the limited power, and thus effectiveness, of the state authorities:

“I believe that the state inspection authorities are doing their job. And they generally don’t take action without a complaint. Perhaps the advantage of buying at large supermarket chains is the fact that the stores themselves inspect the quality of products they buy from producers.” (Serbia, H3)

“I believe we are very little protected. Actually, I think we are not protected at all.” (Serbia, H2)

“I have the impression that regulations are always by the side of the factory.” (Italy, H3).

Regulation was also named as an effective means of changing towards a more sustainable consumption, but although our participants indicated that higher animal welfare / environmental standards should be in place, particularly in large-scale farms, the use of taxation to reduce unwanted outcomes was subject of controversy. In the UK some participants felt that taxing unhealthy food (e.g. the sugar tax recently imposed in the UK in 2018) and unsustainable behaviour (e.g. the retailers’ 5 pence charge of plastic carrier bags in 2015) may be a highly

effective measure, whereas others felt that, despite being unethical, it would hit the poor the hardest. On the other hand, most participants stressed that organic food and sustainable food options are typically too expensive for the large majority of consumers. As price is a critical factor, the subsidisation of healthy and more sustainable food should be used to change societal perceptions and shift consumer practices. Rather than supporting multinationals and large-scale production, public money could be spent to support producers delivering ‘public’ goods, and food production which preserves biodiversity, ensuring ethical and fair standards, and with higher animal welfare standards.

In this context, public procurement policy should promote the supply of local, seasonal and organic products as much as possible. Moreover, attention should be placed on the meal preparation and delivery, differentiating servings based on age of the pupils since all the primary and secondary school pupils are served together at the same time. For this purpose stricter public contracts should be drawn up:

“I work at the nursery school and they try to get zero-mile products. They try to get as much as possible local products. Cheese is from here and also ricotta comes from the area. And I think this is done in order to reduce the km of travel.” (Italy, H2)

➤ EDUCATION

“Perhaps with some kind of propaganda or education. Just education to raise awareness among people. If the awareness existed, the Government wouldn’t have to do anything.” (Serbia, H3)

The key role of education programs as a strategy to counteract food waste at school was brought up during the discussions. For example, education programmes, also in terms of cooking courses, addressed to the parents who should be aware of the available food variety and get the children used to it.

“[the children] have to adapt and learn to eat what is served to them, they have to learn to eat a variety of foods [...] There must be education also towards the buyer, for example if you still want strawberry in January, then the problem is yours, and not the product’s” (Italy, H3).

“It is also possible to think that instead of laws and regulations, sustainability should be more involved with information, in schools for example, making people conscious so that it becomes a positive thing and not a regulated thing.” (Norway H5).

“Of course, everyone should make a contribution. It’s just that... It should be a part of the school curriculum. Everyone should think about making their own contribution to the sustainable food supply chain. They could organize workshops on the topic to familiarize the people with the concept and get them to make their own contribution.” (Serbia H2)

It is clear how consumer awareness is essential for making better informed choices, so that consumer trust towards FQS has a direct impact on their use. In this respect, it may be worth starting the discussion with what food sustainability means and ‘good’ practices, as proposed by our participants. New communication tools would be not only essential for encouraging consumers on good eating and sourcing more sustainable food, but also for changing people perceptions and thus trigger behavioural change. For instance, some British participants mentioned how cooking has become more accessible to people and socially acceptable for men compared to previous generations.

Some participants suggested the idea of special sustainable courses or food consumption topics to be included in formal education (school curriculum).

“When courses on environmental protection stop being elective in schools, which has always been the case, then entire generations would become more aware.” (Serbia H4)

“Of course, everyone should make a contribution. It’s just that... It should be a part of the school curriculum. Everyone should think about making their own contribution to the sustainable food supply chain. They could organize workshops on the topic to familiarize the people with the concept and get them to make their own contribution.” (Italy, H2)

To overcome the limited awareness about organic labels and sustainable related practices, the Italian participants claimed for a more incisive promotional and information campaign by the public authority:

“In my opinion, the labelled products should be more advertised, showing which damages humans cause to the planet producing non-bio food, showing the impact of chemical fertilizers on the environment and on human health. In supermarkets, bio food has an anonymous space, they should add more value to it.” (Italy, H1)

“Advertising insisting on children about industrial products is not a good thing. There isn’t any regard for nourishing and sustainability behind there” (Italy, H3).

➤ EXPANDING THE LIMITS OF EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURES

The major criticism regarding some FQS, specifically the EU GIs and, to some extent the EU-leaf organic logo, concerns the fact that they are not intuitive or self-explanatory. In other words, without consumer prior knowledge, guessing what the labels stand for is not immediate, as opposed to other assurance schemes such as Fairtrade, UK organic Soil Association, Dolphin Safe, etc. Their visibility is also problematic with most of these labels not typically being noticed, except for those consumers already familiar with them. The wording is also particularly small and hard to read. Moreover, the confusion between PDO, PGI, and TSG, does not only concern their meaning, but also reflects the little distinctiveness of their visual clues and patterns. In this respect, the simplification or change in design of some of these labels may increase consumer recognition in future.

The multitude of quality labels on the food packaging, in addition to other marketing claims without a specific certification (e.g. from supermarkets), are becoming increasingly overwhelming for some participants who are now averse to take any notice of these. In this respect, the profusion of eco-labels and the numerous assurance schemes on the market regarding food quality/safety and sustainability make it harder for consumers to make informed choices when shopping. Some consumers felt that some standardisation of food labels is required in order to increase consumer recognition and trust:

“We need some sort of standard system which everybody understands.” (UK, H5)

For instance, the traffic light labelling in the UK has significantly facilitated consumers understanding towards nutritional labels, while influencing British consumers’ eating habits²⁶.

²⁶ A discussion on the following scheme and other EU countries’ attempts to address food consumption health concerns can be found at: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/agriculture-food/news/traffic-light-food-labels-gain-momentum-across-europe/>

In the case of the EU GIs, such standardisation could combine the PDO, PGI, TSG trademarks into a unique framework design.

Moreover, as all the actors involved in the food supply chain are responsible for ensuring a sustainable food system a collaborative network is required to meet the economic, social and environmental challenges. In reality, individual actors are confronted with priorities, e.g. the producers are driven by retailers' requirements on volume / quality / delivery, etc., retailers are driven by profits, and consumers are often driven by cheap and convenient food. Although the government has a responsibility towards the society, it is often pressured by interest groups and political lobbies in the food industry.

“How can we get consumers to want to buy sustainable products and how can we get producers to produce sustainable food?... It is about economy and the producer's intention and the consumer's intention is often in conflict because the consumer wants to pay as little as possible and the producer wants to earn as much as possible.”
(Norway, H5)

In this framework, a better cooperation in the food industry and more active role is required – consumers have an important role in shaping the industry and can put pressure by making food choices while demanding for more information (e.g. on the provenance of food, methods of production being used, etc.) and higher standards (e.g. boycotting products and supermarkets, paying a premium for more sustainable products, etc.).

Some specific barriers to adopting more sustainable practices at the local level were also identified. First of all, some participants indicated their preference to shop from local independent shops (e.g. fruit and vegetables, butcher, fishmonger, bakery) and/or organic/farm shops, however the unavailability of such places close to their homes, or the limited opening times (e.g. until early afternoon), implies that supermarkets remain the most convenient and reliable source of food for the ordinary shopping of families, except for special circumstances.

Secondly, households' recycling and food waste collection were sometimes problematic, as in the case of Newcastle and the North-East in the UK, whereby food composting can only be made by households with own garden or with those operating community gardens. On the other hand, separate food waste bins are commonly used in public sector facilities, e.g. hospitals, schools, universities, etc.

Lastly, most participants emphasised their concerns over the excessive (plastic) packaging from supermarkets which, in most of the case, cannot be recycled. In this respect, following our participants, one of the benefits for purchasing food from wholesalers and local shops (butchers/fishmongers/bakery/fruit & veg), is the possibility to avoid unnecessary packaging. In this regard, it is worth noting how in recent period supermarkets are coming under growing pressure to reduce / abolish plastic packaging (e.g. Greenpeace campaign 'plastic pledge'). In the UK, since the Guardian investigation reported, in early 2018, that UK supermarkets currently generate more than 800,000 tonnes of plastic packaging every year, this topic was placed at the centre of political debate. Whereas some retailers have started to introduce plastic free aisles, as well as a new plastic-free 'trust mark' labelling, more action is required to induce other supermarkets to commit to similar actions and enable consumers to make their choice. Several participants named the regulations launched by the French government about plastic or food waste as examples that their state or EU could adopt:

“I think a change coming from the government is necessary, like in France where they talk about banning plastic cutlery and such. Because then you have to do it. Everyone

can say “yes, I’ll decrease” but there are so many who could not be bothered to think about it, so I think it must be changed with force.” (Norway, H5)

“The Government should impose environmentally sustainable projects. Until the Government allows companies to enter the market with not recyclable packaging problems will continue to exist, as we can’t recycle that. This is not sustainability.” (Italy, H3).

Summary – Chapter 11

To overcome limited awareness about FQS and related practices, participants requested promotional and information campaigns by public authorities. Special courses or topics to be included in formal education were also suggested.

There is a clear confusion on FQS due to over-labelling and little knowledge and some participants suggested a more standardised certification system.

Participants expected the government to protect their rights and control production practices, as well as control the communication of food claims and food labels. However, they seemed aware that authorities have limited power. They suggested that the government could play a role in promoting food sustainability, take actions enhancing the bargaining power of producers in dealing with large distribution channels, and support and promote small, local production. Moreover, they suggest that the government should increase controls on production practices and promote educational programs regarding the food system and dynamics behind food production and procurement.

Participants felt that public procurement policies should promote the supply of local, seasonal and organic products, as much as possible.

12. CONCLUSIONS

How consumers do (or do not) purchase and use products with quality labels (FQS) and via SFSC?

The first concrete result of this ethnographic study is obviously the observation that food practices linked to FQS are very variable, not that much from country to country, but from label to label. Food quality labels are woven in practices, but mostly through routines and habits, and are not necessarily underlined by knowledge or justifications.

Differences between FQS are fundamental: the organic label, fair trade, private quality labels and national quality labels seemed to be well integrated into our participants' practices while GIs were usually not a part of everyday food practices in the forty studied families across the seven countries. Although the number of households is small and thus cannot permit generalisation, it was surprising how little we heard about FQS as an integrated part of food practices. The finding that the EU official GI labels did not interest our participants is not unexpected (see Eurobarometer 2012, 2015). However, we were surprised to learn how their involvement in our study (for around one year with repeated visits in three different seasons), which had a specific focus on FQS, did not have any influence on their interest or knowledge about FQS (or at least, GIs). This result actually contradicts one of our hypotheses about creating knowledge and stimulating interest through ethnographic fieldwork.

The second result, linked to the first one, is the fundamental difference between the GI labels, which on one hand is a system for protecting or enhancing certain qualities of a product and on the other hand a logo or symbol, representing the quality label. The quality mark, or label, is developed through a diachronic process that intertwines agricultural policy, marketing, and consumer preferences. The logo, is a communication tool for consumers, acting at synchronic and aesthetic levels. The quality label seemed interesting as a tool of sustainable development (but not a food practice), to some of our participants who were familiar with the agricultural sector. They appreciated FQS as a support to farmers, the enhancement of the cultural heritage and the stimulation provided by a political tool that often brings together and strengthens the collective food dimension. The FQS logos (especially PDO, PGI and TSG) were not perceived as interesting by our participants, but rather difficult to understand. They mostly seemed to be invisible, for example, in the case of the appellation of origin.

In the following section, we provide a short overview of the main results. In doing so, we address our three major research questions: How consumers do (or do not) purchase and use products with quality labels and local food products via SFSC? Why consumers do (or do not) purchase and use food products with FQS and via SFSC? What is needed for a transition toward more sustainable food consumption?

Overview of the main results

❖ Low awareness of FQS - focus on PDO, PGI and TSG

As noticed previously, consumers in the visited households showed little awareness, knowledge and general interest in GIs, although those FQS could be part of their food practices. The concerned and FQS certified food products (as a given cheese or olive oil) could be integrated in every day consumption, but not as FQS. FQS did not create meaning for participants especially in countries with few products denominated with PDO, PGI and TSG labels. In countries, like France and Italy, where FQS are better known, the food practices integrated the name of the product, that is to say its denomination and often several of the explicit and implicit

qualities, but without using the label. We did not notice that participants were specifically looking at the logos, for example, in purchasing situations. Not even in planning situations, while some participants mentioned the FQS as a source of distrust because it concerns “supermarkets’ products” and not local or direct sales. Claims on packaging are perceived as marketing and do not inspire much trust, unless participants were familiar with specific certification (for example, the AOC in France). Purchasing local food was then more sustainable as there is little packaging and no labels.

Except for organic and local food, food quality and trust seemed to be generally more associated with private brands and company logos than with the EU official quality labels. Even though it is relatively simple for consumers to access information about food quality labels, participants demonstrated a lack of interest. The FQS labels, and especially the logos, are only one among many other, and most participants in the study think there are too many labels.

❖ *Sustainability: organic, FQS and SFSC*

The EU organic label is quite known among our participants, but they trust the EU label less than the national one. Organic food, and particularly the national labels for organic, are well known and often integrated in food practices for what we could call “sustainable oriented households”. So is also SFSC. The participants selected SFSC products mostly because of the perceived benefits in regard to supporting the environment, local economy, animal welfare and personal health. Selecting SFSC products gave them a feeling of doing “the right thing”. However, this feeling was also evoked through other factors (e.g. alternative points of sale, retailer labels, buying unpacked products), not just quality labels.

❖ *Sustainable food practices*

The concept of “sustainable practices” or “sustainable food” is not an emic one, and only a few participants discussed it. But sustainable practices are definitively integrated into food practices. One of the main and common dimension was the disagreement of excessive packaging. Another common issue was food waste: the fact that the observed food practices are, or not, contributing to less waste can be further discussed, but saving food and using leftovers were both part of sayings and doings. Moreover low food miles/transport costs (environmental reasons), or procurement in favour of ethical/social (Fairtrade or local food for supporting local farmers) were also central. Fairtrade was well known, used and recognized, even if (or perhaps because), it only concerns a few products.

❖ *Ethnocentrism*

Most participants were positive to choosing local, regional or national food products instead of products that had been imported and transported. Quality, support and trust are the main components of the ethnocentric preferences. Moreover, participants mostly selected local or regional product because of the name and the quality they know about it: reputation, habit, tradition are prevailing on the fact that those products are part of FQS. For example, in Italy local Parmigiano-Reggiano and Grana Padano cheese with a PDO label were perceived as quality products because they are local and because of the longstanding quality reputation of the designation, rather than because of the EU labels. Self-production played an important role in some countries, including Hungary, Serbia and France. Self-produced food was considered high quality (may be the highest) and extremely valuable.

❖ Price sensitivity

Although several surveys indicate a quite high willingness to pay for FQS, this aspect was limited among our participants. At a discursive level, most participants would accept the idea of paying more for better quality. But while purchasing, price was a few times not so pertinent (if we had fieldwork in a special shop or at farmers' market) but was often decisive for what they ended up choosing in supermarkets. Price is definitively a central element of food practices.

❖ Hierarchy of trust

Participants shared a hierarchy of trust regarding food products. First, direct personal relationship with the producer was highlighted as the pinnacle of trust. Such direct relationships can be experienced when purchases take place via SFSC. The combination of personal relationship with organic was considered as a "bonus", but it did not necessarily enhance trust. In other words, knowing personally the producer is more important than the organic label. Next, in hierarchy was the organic label. One of the reasons was that it was the most well-known label among our participants, and it was used as a purchasing guide. Then followed, the fair trade label (easily recognisable and guiding some customers in their choice of specific products, such as chocolate and coffee), PDO labels (associated to AOC which is the older French version), then the PGI, whereas the TSG label did not seem to be known at all. Last in the trust hierarchy were retailers' private labels. These were criticised by participants as being forms of untrustworthy advertising. What is interesting to note is that when it comes to labels that they know and trust (particularly the organic label and also PDO and PGI) participants found them useful in guiding their choice when they buy food in places where there is no direct relation to producers (supermarkets or retail shops). This means that trust is built primarily through personal relations and, second, through labels, when the former is not available.

Dialogues with our participants emerged to several propositions about transition to more sustainable food consumption practices

- It would seem imperative to increase consumer understanding on how food is produced, its provenance, and the meaning behind specific FQS
- A discussion on what food sustainability actually means and an indication of 'good' practices may also be helpful
- Increased knowledge may lead to more sustainable food practices and increased attention to FQS (if the standards in question are in line with consumer preferences)
- Encourage interpersonal relations between consumers and producers, networks or those distributing local food.
- More information and transparency are required to build trust in the food system and confidence in related certification standards / bodies.
- In this respect, the organic certification has a lot of potential – however, willingness to pay remains low
- Facilitate accessibility to sustainable food among all populations groups

- Potential solutions: subsidise more sustainable food (e.g. organic) and encourage people to shop at alternative outlets such as SFSC (though convenience remains the largest barrier for many consumers)
- The EU GIs concern authenticity of a product, link with territory, traditional methods and marketing of these – an empirical assessment on sustainability of GIs is important, however consumers seem more interested to support environmental / social aspects of sustainability, rather than the ‘economic’ side, especially if they show large aversion towards large-scale producers. Overall, a different educational campaign is required to increase consumer awareness of what the GIs are, examples and why they matter from a social, environmental and economic perspective.

A pragmatic and sociological understanding of the results

We reflect here on the fact, often pointed out in literature, that there is an inconsistency between what consumers say and what consumers do. In this respect, studying consumer practices, defined as the daily routine, incorporating both material and immaterial dimensions, i.e. gestures, technology, socio-cultural and political context, etc. is perfectly in line with the objectives of the study of pragmatic regimes which seeks to understand social engagement, which is often ambivalent or equivocal (L Thévenot, 2006) in addition to the theory of conventions.

The regime of familiarity is not rich in words, except for expressions such as “I like this cheese, this one” or “I always buy organic”. There is no much need for justification and participants reveal it by taking a product on the shelf or serving us a given recipe. This is the regime where close relationships, trust and family are central values. FQS are not visible, although they can be in observed practices.

The regime of planned action can be both observed and discussed: our participant takes a product, looks at it, reads information (it could be the expiry date or the place of production, it could be nutritional or territorial values) and explains the reason of the choice. FQS have their place in this regime, when they help for better planning and choosing.

The regime of justification concerning FQS and SFSC refer to ethical concerns based on sustainable principles and fair values. Consumers put their principles on the highest part of preferences’ hierarchy, where the environment and fairness are the first priorities, even though not continuously, because everybody has to compromise with convenience and daily constraints (such as economic considerations, discount/ promotion or other issues). FQS are in this regime an excellent guarantee for the preservation of cultural heritage, emphasizing product intrinsic qualities.

The three regimes are not representing consumer segments but way of considering the issue of sustainable food and the arguments potentially explaining individual agency in a given environmental and societal context. In other words, one consumer acts and justifies her/himself through one or several regimes, without any incoherence. An illustration is H5 family in Norway, who is preoccupied of price, convenience and family food tradition (expressed through a regime of familiarity) while organic, local and fair food are fundamental principles to all of them. Those types of FQS have then integrated their social food practices and make daily consumption easier. They also go through the regime of justification when we discussed food system and the globalization of food production, but this does not affect their regular food consumption too much, while feeling powerless in this regime as they think they cannot change so much with a simple consumer act.

This approach through the different regimes helped to better understand the apparent lack of interest in FQS in practices, while at the discursive level our participants would be relatively engaged in environmental matters (e.g. social justice, animal welfare, or quality of products and the importance of local.) Participants did not have neither the same repertoire, nor the need for justification, depending of the regime we were discussing or acting in. What could have been translated as incoherence is actually more the witness of several logics, making the questions of FQS in food practices very complex and the on-going process towards a more sustainable consumption.

In other words, there is not necessarily a “gap”, or an incoherence, between what people say and do, but a complementarity. The differences are related to situations, constraints and especially the different regimes of justification.

This complexity can be simplified if we think about the worlds of worth. The worlds of worth express worldviews based on values that correspond to a given logic. Our analysis leads us to suppose the existence of several worlds of worth in parallel that could explain both an apparent inconsistency and the lack of interest for FQS.

On one hand, we have the domestic world, which almost "goes without saying" and is integrated into the regime of familiarity. Nevertheless, speaking about quality and sustainable food our participants emphasize the importance of the transmission (what they have learned from their parents, their grandparents) of the tradition (such as seasons or local know-how), friends or social networks, but also everyday objects (such as the freezer or the car) or purely practical aspects and constraints (such as economic or time constraints). In the domestic world, the quality labels have no place; it is undoubtedly the reason why our participants had no interest with regard to neither FQS labels, nor logos.

On the other hand, we have the market world, which is an integral part of everyday life since most of our participants buy the food they cannot produce themselves. The regime of justification and planned action are fundamental in the market world, where our participants (as a consumer, citizen, father or mother) have the need to make choices and to justify their preferences. The environmental impact of food - from production to consumption through distribution - as well as animal welfare, or the quantity of pesticides as well as the nutritional aspects, are recurring themes. Our participants also show great knowledge on these topics, together with hesitations and often questions. They often ask for information to learn more, even ask for advice, to make better choices. In the market world, the quality label should constitute a basic reference. As far as ecological products are concerned, the organic FQS is known and recognized. Our participants are more likely to trust the local or national eco-label than the EU one - whose control bodies seem more distant from their daily lives. In terms of nutritional quality and product components (such as dyes, pesticides or nitrates) most of our participants are very careful. When we go shopping together they study the packages, turn them front and back, and read carefully what seems relevant to them. If the official GIs, in these situations, do not seem to be relevant, several other labels are cited as health labels, nutrition content, etc.

It is also within this market world that some participants ask for more information about animal welfare, for example Elisabeth (Norway, H2) who regrets that the GIs do not highlight good animal welfare. This underlines a problem of communication about labels, or an incompatibility between the two logics.

Especially considering ethical considerations about food and sustainability, we could also have focused on the green world, or the civic world. But we choose to consider the green aspect of FQS as part of the market world, and the civic dimension of FQS as integrated in the domestic

world. Consumers who care for the environment and feel responsible for the society, often called “ethical consumers”, typically integrate sustainable food into their regime of justification (Halkier, 2016; Kjærnes, 2012). But as we especially focus on FQS, we decided to integrate the civic value as an element of the market world, represented by dedicated labels.

The analysis indicates that GIs function as FQS in a market world, at least at two levels:

- By protecting products (assuring the link to terroir, name, reputation, know-how etc.) reinforcing cultural heritage with strict specification and control bodies and stimulating the adequate production by a significant added value and proudness.
- By creating a virtual product, that we would call ‘hyper real’ referring to Baudrillard (Amilien, Fort, & Ferras, 2007), for consumers who do not have familiar contact and do not know the original product itself, but have values and preferences based on quality, originality of food culture and taste, respect of fair values and cultural heritage. This hyper real relationship to GIs and other FQS can obviously be found in a quite specific segment of consumers.

Eventually, our qualitative results about consumers’ perceptions of FQS are totally in line with previous literature and with other S2F results, such as the consumers' survey in Task 8.1 or the consumer reflections on SFSC from Task 7.1. More importantly, the ethnographic approach gave the unique opportunity to observe and understand the role of FQS - and especially how and in which way FQS were actually present or absent- in everyday food consumption. This research opens up several reflections and policy recommendations, which will be further developed in WP10 of the S2F project.

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DOCUMENTS IN ANNEX**ANNEX 1: ON FIELDWORK – PREPARATION****First personal contact - Café visit - 30 min./ 60 min. Max**

We invite our participant at the local coffee shop (we ask on the phone/ by email where they would like to meet us – they choose place and time)

If it is more convenient, we can have a skype meeting too. The aim is to know each other better and to present ourselves.

Objectives of this first meeting: to meet, see and hear each other.

1. We present ourselves and the project
2. What does this fieldwork involve
3. Why do you want to be a part of this project?
4. Presentation of incentives/ vouchers/ cash – Necessity to have a tablet/ smartphone, at least a device to record, film, take pictures and write notes on
5. Information about consent forms/ anonymity/ general agreements
6. We agree about the first visit (that the participant gets to decide – week day/ Saturday/ time of the day etc. – while we adapt): When? Where? How?

We give our participant a leaflet with written information about what we have spoken about during this first meeting (leaflet information to be given at the café visit)

Documents to prepare before the first visit at home

(Note: this list is not exhaustive...)

To get or reserve:

- Prepare the Camcorder/ reserve it – including stand, useful if you are alone
- Prepare the audio recorder/ reserve it – buy batteries if necessary
- Test the electronic devices to feel comfortable – test how long you can record before saving data on your PC
- Prepare a hard disk (extern or intern) to save ALL data from the project
- Notepad + pencil

To be printed:

- Interview guide 2 copies
- Consent forms
- Form for receipt (voucher or cash – for food)

To purchase:

- 1st visit: the food products / gifts
- Vouchers/ Gift Card

Using the tablet for the participants

We would like our participants to use the tablet for getting more concrete data about their food habits, when we are not together with them. We agreed that the households should film, take pictures and notes to describe their food practices in everyday life. They can also use the electronic notepad for preparing the list of food to be purchased, taking pictures of these, or writing recipes etc.

The situations to record should include how and where they buy, prepare, eat, store and waste food items during the day throughout the week.

We cannot get too many data and we have to define what we precisely want from our participants. We do not need to keep the focus on FQS, quality, sustainability, local food, etc. but just see what they do, so not to influence them too much so we can assess their habits without bias – also our presence will always make practices different-

We prepared a flyer with information about “why do we use the tablet and how do we do it?”.

We collect data (the 12 pictures they have chosen) from the tablet after a few weeks / after each visit. Collecting them after a few weeks is also a way to remind about this.

The idea is that we **will let the participants choose** what he/she wants to record, **and then we progressively ask about more concrete use** of the tablet/ smartphone.

At the first visit, we deliver the information flyer about the use of the tablet. There is almost not guideline and participants are quite free to decide what they want, or not, to document through the tablet. Nevertheless, we emphasize that breakfast or lunch would be nice to be illustrated and that we wish them to choose 12 pictures that they mean are “important”.

At the second visit, we will specify that we would like to have more data about a specific day in the week. Everything which is related to food can possibly be documented this very day. They could take photos/make videos with the aim to follow all food events, and items, bought and consumed during this very day. If possible we choose a week day. If it is too complicated for them, a Saturday.

Before the third visit, we will request for 12 pictures focusing on 12 different food quality labels: which participants may know / don't know, trust / not trust, which are national / EU / regional / other, etc.

We will also specify that we would like the participants to choose and follow 1 (or more) food products with quality food labels and documenting with pictures/notes/videos their ‘destiny’ and ‘use’ (planning, shopping, preparing, eating and waste).

By foods with ‘quality’ labels, we are not just focussing on EU labels (organic, PDO, PGI, TSG), but any label signalling quality, including national/regional schemes and logos/trademarks, e.g. own brands from the supermarket, indicating ‘superior freshness and quality’ of the product. Here note that participants can have different views of what label/labelling/quality schemes/logos/etc. means and this can affect the discussion when we are talking about different things. For example, in Norway we use the work “merking” for both for brands, nutrient content and quality schemes. Also we have noticed in earlier studies that consumers may include everything on a package in the concept of labelling.

ANNEX 2: FIELDWORK - VISIT THE HOUSEHOLD**Example from visit 1- we had a similar information sheet for visit 2 and 3****First visit at home**

Reminder:

- Be open minded and almost “naive” – without judging
- Focus on practices – on the relationship between human beings and things/ objects
- Ask question/ be curious, especially about local food and organic food
- Ask questions about where the participants get knowledge and inspiration from (recipes, mother/ grand-mother/ internet etc.); if possible get to see recipe books or speak with parents (we could maybe meet them in visit 2 or 3)
- Ask households to document their “food” everyday life – using the tablet, the way they want (at the second or third visit we will give a more concrete frame, asking to take pictures of the food they like/ do not like, of their recipes, etc. Children to take pictures or videos of parents making food or purchasing it etc. Special breakfast and the meals we will not share with them)

Check list – everything we have to take with us

Note that some of the items have to be prepared / ordered a week or two BEFORE the visit (for example reserving a webcam at University or buying the vouchers etc.)

Ice breaker at first visit: Semi-structured interviewThe Semi-structured interview guide

The fieldwork in a household will start with a semi-structured interview with one adult to understand representations and thoughts about FQS products within the household.

This interview is based on the framework for interviews we made for Task 7.1 and 8.2 (to be sure that we have some common points that could be interconnected in the analysis).

This interview will be fully transcribed and we will then be able to read this interview together with our participants, as the basis of a dialogic conversation, the last time we meet at their home.

The researchers bring food products (quality labelled or no label but from SFSC) and use these products as point of departure for questions. We will look at the food products, and talk about perception, appearance and understanding, then we taste them and have more questions. First, we focus on the products and later on the labels.

“Basket of products” containing a few products (3 to 8) with at least:

- **1 with PDO or PGI or TSG**
- **1 with organic label**
- **1 with a local label**
- **1 without label, but from SFSC**

Series of note – *emphasizing the need for adaptation to each person and situation:*

Note that one product can have several labels. The basket can vary from one household to the other, from one place to the other and from one season to the other. But we should try to have the same types of products as described here over in the “basket of products”.

Adapt your choice of food products, so that they are pertinent for the participant, your expert judgement, and the local place. Choose at least two products that can easily be tasted in this 1st visit at home, with a face to face contact (e.g. juice, cheese, biscuits etc.).

Note that the interview is a bit repetitive when we speak about product 2. So it is nice if the two products are quite different. Moreover, as we would like to keep the interview to around one hour, we plan to use about half an hour per chosen product. If you feel you need several products to answer all questions, just adapt.

Furthermore you will also have to adapt the questions (the interview is semi structured, so you can easily change the order of the questions, as people perhaps answered one question during a previous discussion) and perhaps the time schedule (sometimes the interview has to be done after the shopping, for example) to the situation and the possibilities of your participants.

First phase of the ethnographic fieldwork (about 1 hour, maximum 2)

We come with our basket containing the few products we agreed about

1. We present ourselves and the products we come with (remember to specify that for this first visit, we will not pay directly for food, but we give these products as our participation for the dinner. Next visit we will share the cost – REMIND that costs/ vouchers have to be adapted to each country and situation following your own fieldwork budget)
2. We go through the semi structured interview together (ice breaker – see previous pages-print the guide – it takes around 30-60 min.)
3. At the end of the interview, we fill together the household background questionnaire (see below)²⁷.
4. We inform about the use of the tablet/ smartphone- see information sheet / present it
We also find a pertinent occasion (about 10 min.):
5. To sign the consent form
6. To give the voucher/ present
7. To sign receipt for the voucher

“Read out the consent form /or go through it with the participants making sure that they understand issues such as ‘data archiving’ in particular. Ensure that written consent is obtained from anyone who is going to be present during any recording, filming or taking pictures. We CANNOT / MUST NOT use data from anyone who has not given written consent (younger

²⁷ Inspired by https://www.food.gov.uk/sites/default/files/818-1-1497_KITCHEN_LIFE_APPENDICES_A-J_10-07-13.pdf, p. 14

children will not be asked for written consent, but their involvement must be discussed with adults in the HH and you must not involve children who clearly do not wish to participate – use your judgment here).²⁸”

Household background questionnaire – we will go back to questions c) and d) in the dialogic discussion, at the last visit. Note that this is also possible to collect this background information on the first meeting at the cafe’ – so we check their suitability for our study etc.

- a. Who lives at home? Age?

General information: Employment status- Education – Income for household

Are you from a rural or urban area? Living in a house/ garden or apartment etc.

- b. Who has regular access to the kitchen (and if they have children, do they have free access to fridge etc.)?
- c. Who is responsible for shopping, cooking, cleaning?
- d. Where do you use to purchase food?
- e. Do they have any ‘help’ for cooking/ cleaning? (e.g. box schemes etc.)

In case you could not go through all those points, just remember to take them next time (for example if you did not have time to collect background variables, just do it later)

²⁸ From https://www.food.gov.uk/sites/default/files/818-1-1497_KITCHEN_LIFE_APPENDICES_A-J_10-07-13.pdf, p. 18

ANNEX 3: TOUR OF THE KITCHEN

We have a few concrete questions about the devices in the kitchen

We go through the kitchen in a quite systematic way (*lists electric devices, tools and utensils in the kitchen*)

Fieldwork activities:

- 1- We go and **purchase** together – can be on the same day, or another day (day+1 or day +2, depending of what the participant prefers)

To listen/ observe/ question – we film the shopping visit

Note if participants have routines or not- which ones: do they have any special way to shop in this place – hierarchy/ order

- 2- Back from shopping

We unpack together and put the food in different places / video recording when we put things in fridge/ cupboard

Note all details, for example how long the fridge door/ freezer doors are opened

- 3- Preparing food together – cooking
- 4- Eating together
- 5- Cleaning together

About shopping and storage practices

Explore in as much depth as possible:

- Shopping routines – planning, frequency, method, by whom
- Shopping put away at home
- Storage of foods – where and how, before and after opening
- Fridge and freezer management – system of organisation, monitoring of temperature

Food preparation practices

Explore in as much depth as possible:

- Food preparation- weekend/day routines – and by whom (include non-residents)
- Engagement with intermediaries/appliances (e.g. microwave, mixers, blenders, grills, sandwich makers)
- Any differences in practices when preparing food for non-family members.

It is important to observe and to probe, or at least note, INTERACTIONS and NEGOTIATION (conscious or unconscious) between different household members, especially when a couple is interviewed.

Keep in mind the study's research questions and objectives.

From the second visit, we will also need time to discuss the data from their tablets (their own pictures/ videos or comments on notepad) and, if necessary, better adapt to the project (by asking more concrete tasks). This could seem very intensive, but it is just a part of the visit. Our objectives with those “deepen” visits are to find out the way FQS are, or not, embedded in family practices (further adaptations reflected in common methodology document in Annex 1).

ANNEX 4: AFTER FIELDWORK – BACK TO THE OFFICE

Ethnographic fieldwork is an intensive work, full of impressions and feelings. Within a few hours we gather a lot of information, through discussions, pictures, films and audio records etc. We go back to work with a huge amount of data: how do we deal with that?

Data storage - about saving data

The data we collect in S2F has to be anonymised. Following the ethical research rules and European law on the privacy of individual, it is forbidden to save the data with faces and names on Dropbox.

The best solution is to have an external hard drive/USB key you keep in your office, and systematically save data from the videos and audio recordings (best to have a second hard disc, for security copy)

- Remember to delete data from the videocam and the audio recorder after you saved them

Dealing with data – how do we use film, pictures, records and own notes?

In this task, one fascinating, but challenging, aspect is to let the field speak to us, or direct us.

We agreed that we will mostly focus on words, wordings and expressions in our analysis. Video recording is mostly an instrument for remembering the fieldwork and having a better and more objective perception of the field. It is a tool for participating observation.

Our role is then to observe (during fieldwork, but also by looking at the video once back at work where we can note the parts which are the most pertinent for S2Food.) “Going back” to the field through videos or tapes is often an enriching, and sometimes new, experience, as we do/did not remember everything and as we could not observe everything.

Step 1: Hearing at tapes or looking at videos:

- Going through the data, together with the research team- discussion- comments
- Systematically note the most pertinent parts (note where they are (for example from minute 31 to minute 32.45 in tape 1). This will be re-transcribed and used in the report
- Read our fieldwork notepad / check with other colleagues and discuss together

The objective of this sequence is to better know the data/ to have a good overview AND to prepare the codification and find out the parts which are connected to our theoretical framework and the quotations we can potentially use.

Step 2: Transcription

- Transcription can be done manually, with help of applications on PC or from a professional transcriber. Using a tool like Siri, is actually a quite easy way to make the transcript AND to know the quotes or expressions we think are noteworthy
- We have to transcribe the semi structured interview

If the answers are not in the same order than in the interview guide, please reconstruct your interview, so we can easily compare from one family to the other.

- When you agree about the parts you would like to keep to emphasize your analysis, you can transcribed them.
- Parts of the video, or pictures, can also be transcribed to words if necessary.
- Pictures (the 12 per family) film and other data will be seen, observed and studied by the researcher team. Each country will choose the data (sequences, pictures etc.) they want to keep for the analysis.

Step 3: Using the data in theoretical framework

ANNEX 5: SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW - FACE TO FACE

This interview is semi-structured - and not structured- what gives the researcher a certain freedom in asking questions or following a discussion.

The researchers bring food products (quality labelled or no label but from SFSC) and use these products as point of departure for questions. We will look at the food products, and talk about perception, appearance and understanding, then we taste them and have more questions. First, we focus on the products and later on the labels.

Remember to take pictures of the products you bought and will give/ share with the participants (to be sure you remind all specifications later) BEFORE and eventually casher receipt (often describing what you have bought, and at least the price)

Refer to Food basket (Annex 1)

The questions that follow below concern ONE given product at time. But you can self-differentiate the answers later, or you can save some of the products for a later occasion, as for the dinner etc. (as meat, fish, vegetables etc.).

Note that we should avoid any alcoholic drinks (we were warned off on this by EC as we should not do anything which might promote alcohol consumption)!

We present the Concrete product – a gift- We look at the packaging/the product. We talk obviously more than the few questions here under: But we would like all partners to be able to get information on at least these questions. Note: Follow-up questions are in italics

“As discussed previously we are working in a EU project focusing on the quality and sustainability of food. We took here with us a few products – shall we have a look at them? “

About
Perception
appearance

- Do you know them? Some of them?
- Did you buy/use them before?
Why?
Where?
- So, you did not know about this/these product(s) before ... Just by looking at it, what are some reasons you would have bought it / you would not??

We can observe, look at, touch and smell the products...

Then we taste them- same questions for each product

About
Taste
Sensory

- So...what do you think? / Do you like it?
Why? Why not?
- Does it taste like you expected it would?
What did you expect it to taste like?
(additional questions to know more about the similarities/ differences of this product compared to their expectation)
- Does it remind you about anything in particular?
- So, you did not taste this/those product(s) before... Do you think you would buy it now?
(Why/ why not – when? In which occasion?)

About
Four phases of food consumption

We have a short discussion about the products we tasted, that we will refer to as “this kind of food” in agreement with the participants (i.e. quality schemes food products, organic and SFSC)

- Do you plan to buy such kind of food next time you purchase food?
If yes, which one?
- Where do you plan to buy such kind of food?
from a regular shop, farm, or an alternative shop/food channel
Which one do you plan to use?

- Do you usually discuss or plan food purchasing in your family? Do you use shopping list?

Who usually decides? Who decided it last time?

- Did you buy such kind of food the last time you were purchasing food?

If yes, which one? Do you have any preferences – in term of products, or origin etc.?

Why?

- How did you use such kind of food the last time you were eating some?

- *which one? Do you have any preferences?*

Why?

If not, when did you eat some?

- Do you use such kind of food at home?

When? Why?

If you never eat them: Why?

EXTRA potential questions – if you feel that it is pertinent to ask about these IT IS ALSO nice to keep those questions for later, after the dinner/ during the dinner etc.

- Do you usually buy food from an alternative food channel?

- How do you cook such kind of food?

How do you prepare it?

- Did you have any leftovers?

What? How much? May be you do not remember?

Is there any difference with other food products?

- Do you look for information on food products?

What? Why?

- What about storing such kind of food (question for EACH product)?

Is it different than other products?

LABEL part

Here, direct intervention of the researcher to emphasize that these products have labels / or other signs of “recognitions” – here we will focus specifically on labels.

As previously discussed this interview is part of a European project which looks, among other things, at food labelling. I would like to know if you have noticed that some of these products have particular labels?

We show label(s)/ we emphasize them/ talk about them:

More generally: About label understandings

- Have you seen this label before?
If yes - Where? On what product?
- Why do you think the label is there?
- What do you think they mark?
- What is your opinion about these products: are these good products?
- Do you think that these products have a good or bad reputation?
- Do you think that this type of labelling makes the product more attractive?
Why?

Reminder: We use one concrete product at time, as an example.

- Do you look for labels when you buy food?
If yes, which one?
If no, what do you look at?

If yes:

Which labels do you trust or not trust?

If no:

Why?

- Do you know who is responsible for the label?

Food Quality & Sustainability

Here, direct intervention of the researcher to explain the next questions –

As we informed previously this interview is part of a European project where we have the opportunity to send feedback and particularly new ideas or requests from consumers.

Even if our participants do not answer or do not really know how to answer, it is important to ask these questions as we will go through this interview again at the last (third) visit under the dialogic discussion

- How do you determine good food quality?
- Tell me about any ethical standards that affect what you eat. *Have you any thoughts about food waste influence your food consumption?*
- Do environmental or ecological considerations affect how you eat? *How? What other considerations are important to you when you eat?*
- Are the foods you choose to eat affected by religious beliefs?

About
general values
on quality and sustainability

- What do you think about food sustainability? Does it matter to you?
- How would you explain what food sustainability is?
- Do you think that food sustainability, and especially sustainable food, should be regulated by state?
Or by others actors? (distributors, producers ?)
- Do you think that consumers have a role to play?
What kind of role?
*What kind of role would **YOU** like / be able to play?*
- Do you have any idea, or proposition, for a better regulation for sustainable food?
Or for a more effective system?
- What do you miss in today's system? What would you like to have?
- Do you have any suggestions to improve food sustainability?

ANNEX 6: WP 8.2. CODE BOOK (NVIVO NODES)

[QLABEL] QUALITY LABELS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ QL-EU ▪ QL-National ▪ QL-Other 	PGI, PDO, TSG, EU organic
[CONS] CONSUMPTION PRACTICES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Planning ▪ Purchasing ▪ Gardening ▪ Hunting/gathering ▪ Storing ▪ Cooking ▪ Eating ▪ Disposing 	<p>Fishing, berry and mushroom picking</p> <p>Waste management</p>
[PROD] PRODUCTION PRACTICES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Organic ▪ Integrated ▪ Conventional ▪ Processing ▪ Animal welfare 	
[PLACE] PRODUCTION PLACES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Self-produced ▪ Local ▪ National ▪ EU ▪ World 	
[SHOP] DISTRIBUTION PLACES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Supermarket ▪ Specialty shop ▪ Alternative channel 	
[SP] SOCIAL PRACTICES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Habit, routine ▪ Constraints ▪ Social norms ▪ Technology ▪ Time ▪ Infrastructure 	
[JUST] WORLDS OF JUSTIFICATIONS / MOTIVATIONS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Inspired ▪ Domestic ▪ Fame ▪ Civic 	<p>Creativity, aesthetic pleasures of food, emotions</p> <p>Trust, family, tradition, relationships, small scale</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Market ▪ Industrial ▪ Green 	<p>Reputation, recognition, fame, brand</p> <p>Fair price, collective, solidarity, justice, public health</p> <p>Price premium, value, profit</p> <p>Product standard, efficiency, technology, professionalism</p> <p>Less waste, organic, value of nature, animal welfare</p>
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[HEALTH] HEALTH	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Health 	
[SUS] SUSTAINABILITY	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Environmental ▪ Economic ▪ Social 	
[TRUST] TRUST	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Trust 	
[KNOW] KNOWLEDGE	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Formal ▪ Tacit 	
[FUTURE] FUTURE	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Visions ▪ Actions ▪ Suggestions 	

ANNEX 7: FIELDWORK OVERVIEW PER COUNTRY*France*

Household Involvement in FQS/local food Urban/rural	Fictive names and composition (age, gender)	1st visit Date Place Participants	2nd visit Date Place Participants	3rd visit Date Place Participants
High / Rural	Barbara and Bernard A couple in their 40s-50s, with 3 sons (17, 15 and 10 years old)	July 10 2017, at their house with the whole family	December 15 2017, at their house with the whole family	June 8 2018, at their house with the whole family
High / Urban	Tiphaine and Tristan A couple in their 40s, with 3 children (one 11 year old boy, two girls aged 9 and 6)	July 6 2017, at their house with the whole family	December 9 2018, at their house with the whole family	June 26 2018, at their house with the whole family
High / Urban	Victor and Violette A couple in their 30s-40s with 3 children (two girls aged 9 and 7 and one 2 year old boy)	July 13 2017, at their house with the whole family	December 11 2018, at their house with the parents only	June 5 2018, at their house with the parents only
High / Rural	Alain and Aline A couple in their 50s, with three girls (12, 15 et 22 years old - the eldest is the daughter of Aline from a previous marriage)	July 12 2018, at their house with the whole family	February 14 2018, at their house with the whole family	June 18 2018, at their house with the whole family
Low / Urban	Christian and Christine A couple in their 30s, with two children (12 and 9 year old girls)	July 7 2017, at their house with the whole family	December 2 2017, at their house, with the parents and one child	June 5 2018, at their house with the whole family
Medium / Rural	Léa Single woman aged 70 (two children, 50 and 47 years old, but they no longer live in her house)	July 15 2017, at her house, with daughter and her three young children	November 18 2017, at her house, with daughter and her three young children	March 23 2018, at her house, alone

Germany

	Household 1	Household 2	Household 3	Household 4	Household 5	Household 6
Involvement	Low to medium	High	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Place	Urban	Rural	Sub Urban	Sub Urban	Urban	Urban
Houshold Members	Mother and Father (in 30s), two young children (2y and 4y)	Mother and Father (in 60s), children left household	Mother and Father (in 30s), one young child (4y)	Single mother (in 40s), 2 adolescent children (10y and 13y)	Mother and Father (in 30s), 1 child (10y)	Mother and Father (in 30s), two children (13y and 2y).
Comments	Recently from Berlin to a smaller city (still urban). Migrant background. Split up during the course of fieldwork.	Father had health issues in the past Regular shops at a local farmer shop. Grown up on a farm.	Moved from city to suburban area recently. Migrant background. Mother was vegan.	Mother is in the middle of a divorce which lead to monetary difficulties. Migration background.	Mother living with her boyfriend and her child. Child is sometimes with his father. Mother is vegetarian.	Patchwork family. Migration background.

Hungary

Household	Fictive names and composition (age, gender)	Café visit	1 st visit	2 nd visit	3 rd visit
Involvement in FQS/local food Urban/rural		Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants
H1, low involvement, rural	Ferenc (57, m) Ágnes (58, f)	personal meeting at the Szekszárd farmers market with the wife, middle of July 2017	12 th September 2017 The whole family participated	19 th January 2018 The whole family participated	9 th March 2018 The whole family participated

Comments	Two adult children (age 28,30), living separately		Only the wife came for shopping, the venue was a Tesco hipermarket		
H2, high involvement, rural	Mihály (39, m) Barbara (39, f) Ágota (9, f) Béla (7, m) János (3, m)	phone contact with the husband, middle of July 2017	13 th September 2017 The whole family participated	20 th January 2018 The whole family participated	10 th March 2018 The whole family participated
Comments			All the family came for shopping, the venue was an Interspar supermarket		
H3, low involvement, small town	Márk (34, m) Noémi (36, f) Benjamin (2, m)	phone contact with the husband, middle of July 2017	4 th August 2017 The whole family participated	2 nd October 2017 The whole family participated	13 th January 2018 The whole family participated
Comments			Only the father came for shopping, the venue was a Spar supermarket		
H4, high involvement, small town	Gábor (36, m) Mariann (38, f) Hanna (1, f)	phone contact with the husband, middle of July 2017	23 rd July 2017 The whole family participated	11 th November 2017 The whole family participated	27 th December 2017 The whole family participated
Comments	the family is lacto-ovo vegetarian		All the family came for shopping, the venue was a Tesco hipermarket		Right after Christmas

H5, low involvement, urban	Márton (35, m) Anikó (33, f) Dóra (5, f) Márk (2, m)	phone contact with the husband, middle of July 2017	14 th July 2017 The whole family participated	10 th November 2017 Only the parents participated	9 th January 2018 The whole family participated
Comments			For the shopping the parents came, the children were left with the grandparents. The shopping venue was an Aldi supermarket		
H6, low involvement, urban	László (53, m) Anikó (42, m) Eszter (23, f) Dominik (21, m) Hanna (20, f) Géza (13, m) Tamás (10, m)	phone contact with the wife, middle of July 2017	20 th September 2017 The whole family participated except the two oldest children	30 th March 2018 Only the parents participated	31 st March 2018 The parents and the two youngest children participated
Comments			Only the wife came for shopping, the venue was an Aldi supermarket		

Italy

Household Involvement in FQS/LF Urban/rural	Fictive names and composition (age, gender)	First personal contact	Semi- structured interview	1 st visit	2 nd visit	3 rd visit
		Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants
H1 (Medium to high)	Babila (39 y, female); Roberto (42 y, male); Carlo (12 y, male)	01/08/2017 Family's home Babila	04/08/2017 Family's home Babila	11/08/2017 Family's home Local shops (greengrocer; butcher; bakery) Supermarkets (Crai; Migross) Babila, Roberto, Carlo	03/01/2018 Family's home Supermarket (LIDL) Local producers (miller; local farm) Babila, Roberto, Carlo	24/03/2018 Family's home Babila
Comments		An email exchange and a telephone call were used to get in touch with the family and describe the activities provided for by the project		The husband and the son were present only at the lunch, not during the shopping experience	The husband and the son were present only at the lunch, not during the shopping experience	Dialogic conversation
H2 (Low to medium)	Maria (60 y, female); Gloria (25 y, female)	25/05/2017 University Parma site	29/06/2017 Family's home	25/07/2017 Family's home supermarkets Maria; Gloria	04/12/2017 Family's home supermarkets Maria; Gloria	13/03/2018 Family's home Maria; Gloria

		Gloria	Maria; Gloria			
Comments		An email exchange and a telephone call were used to get in touch with the family and describe the activities provided for by the project	The mother and the daughter were present during both the shopping experience and the dinner	The mother and the daughter were present during both the shopping experience and the dinner	The mother and the daughter were present during both the shopping experience and the dinner	The mother and the daughter were present during the entire visit (dialogic conversation)
H3 (Medium to high)	Martina (42 y, female); Luca (42 y, male); Sonia (7 y, female); Agata (3 y, female)	05/04/2017 Martina's office at Parma University Martina	16/05/2017 Family's home Martina, Sonia and Agata	15/09/2017 Family's home Farmer's market Martina, Luca, Sonia and Agata	20/01/2018 Family's home Farmer's market Martina, Luca, Sonia and Agata	18/04/2018 Family's home Martina, Luca, Sonia and Agata
Comments	The household was recruited within GAS-Kuminda, which is a collective organisation of solidarity-based purchased groups	An email exchange and a telephone call were used to get in touch with the family and describe the activities provided for by the project	Sonia and Agata did not participate to the conversation	Luca was only present to the dinner, while Sonia and Agata participated both to the shopping experience and to the dinner	Only Martina was present to the shopping experience	Only Martina was present during the dialogic conversation, while Luca, Sonia and Agata participated to the happy hour offered to us by Martina after the visit.
H4 (Low to medium)	Pietro (36 y, male); Elena (31 y, female)	Family's home	10/05/2017 Family's home	23/08/2017 Family's home Supermarkets (Coop)	15/11/2017 Family's home Supermarkets (Conad; Oasi della frutta)	06/03/2018 Family's home

			Pietro and Elena	Pietro and Elena	Pietro and Elena	Pietro and Elena
Comments	Pietro and Elena come from the south of Italy, but they have lived in Pontenure from more than 15 years	An email exchange and a telephone call were used to get in touch with the family and describe the activities provided for by the project	Both Pietro and Elena participated to the conversation	Both Pietro and Elena participated to the shopping experience and to the dinner	Both Pietro and Elena participated to the shopping experience and to the dinner	Both Pietro and Elena participated to the dialogic conversation
H5 (Low to medium)	Pier (51 y, male); Dora (33 y, female); Aina (3 y, female); Jalia (0.5 y, female)	29/04/2017 Café Pier	07/06/2017 Family's home Pier, Dora, Aina	27/09/2017 Family's home Supermarket (EuroSpin) Muslim shop Pier, Dora, Aina, and the new-born Jalia	18/12/2017 Family's home Muslim shop Pier, Dora, Aina, and Jalia	20/03/2018 Family's home Pier, Dora, Aina, and Jalia
Comments	The family encompasses also other three sons (22 y, male; 20 y, female; 7 y, female) who live now in Senegal.	The personal contact was anticipated by an email and a telephone call to get in touch with the family and describe the activities provided for by the project	Only Pier and Dora participated to the conversation	Only Dora and Jalia were present to the shopping experience	Pier was not present to the shopping experience	Pier and Dora participated to the dialogic conversation

Norway

Household Involvement in FQS/local food Urban/rural	Fictive names and composition (age, gender)	1st visit Date Place Participants	2nd visit Date Place Participants	3rd visit Date Place Participants
H1 High / Urban	<p>Anne – mother 35 years Arne – father 45 years Alma – young girl 3 years Anton – young boy 1 year</p> <p>Interested in good food (holidays in France – been there to food market – good raw materials in season), in aesthetics, in visiting special restaurants (Astral, Maaemo). Arne has taken cooking classes and cooks mainly, likes to cook from scratch – Anne helps. Have a well equipped kitchen. Try to plan weekly dinners – have meat free Monday. Anne has some intolerances (lactose) and dislikes (milk, onion, garlic, chili, broccoli, cauliflower etc.).</p>	<p>28.3. and 30.3.2017</p> <p>Day 1: Home of household – semi-structured interview Day 2: Shopping food in local food shop and local vegetable shop and dinner at home of household. The whole family participated.</p>	<p>23.9.2017</p> <p>Matstreif in Oslo – annual food festival for local and Norwegian food. We walked slowly and stopped and talked and tasted some foods (rakfisk – Anton liked it, whale etc.). Anne decided to order a dinner box scheme that had a special offer. The whole family participated.</p>	<p>27.02.2018</p> <p>Home of household – dialogical conversation. Dinner together. The whole family participated.</p>
H2 Low / Urban	<p>Mona – mother 36 years Mikael – father 41 years M1 – young boy 5 years M2 – young girl 3 years M3 – young girl 1 year</p>	<p>28.04.2017</p> <p>Home of household – semi-structured interview first</p>	<p>16.11. 2017</p> <p>Home of household – discussion first based on the twelve pictures she took.</p>	<p>10.02.2018</p> <p>Home of household – dialogical conversation.</p>

	<p>Qualified themselves as ordinary consumers</p> <p>They said not to be especially interested in food.</p> <p>At first visit he is unemployed. Second and third visits, both are unemployed.</p>	<p>Shopping food in local food shop with the father- we bought food for the dinner. The he made a Nigerian dinner, at home of household</p> <p>The whole family participated</p>	<p>Shopping food in local food shop with the mother. Then she made dinner at home of household.</p> <p>Mother and children participated after they got home from daycare</p>	<p>We go through semi-structured interview first the father- showed us special food he took from his original country, Nigeria. We tasted some food.</p> <p>All except the oldest son participated.</p>
<p>H3</p> <p>High / Suburban</p> <p>small city about 30 minutes outside Oslo.</p>	<p>Dagny – mother 45 years</p> <p>David – father 46 years</p> <p>Daniel – son 14 years</p> <p>Dennis – son 12 years</p> <p>Dina - daughter 8 years</p> <p>High involvement with organic food, Dagny grew up on an organic farm - members in Øikos (get RenMat magazine).</p> <p>Also aware of price. Weekend and weekdays different.</p> <p>David says that he wants good food from good raw materials.</p> <p>Have a small vegetable garden, strawberries, have a compost and hens. Buy some meat from farm shop – cut it themselves. Buy organic food in Sweden – much cheaper. Also, look for products (for example, chicken, bread) that are on sale because of date.</p>	<p>28.4.2017</p> <p>Home of household.</p> <p>Shopping food in the nearest shop, cooking and eating taco together.</p> <p>Semi-structured interview.</p> <p>The whole family participated.</p>	<p>13.10.2017</p> <p>Home of household. Relaxed atmosphere.</p> <p>First tour in garden with Dagny. Grow their own vegetables, herbs and berries.</p> <p>Kitchen tour of cabinets and fridge.</p> <p>Dinner together.</p> <p>The whole family participated.</p>	<p>13.02.2018</p> <p>Home of household – dialogical conversation.</p> <p>Dinner together with family – all except the daughter participated (she had dance lesson)</p>
<p>H4</p> <p>Medium / Suburban</p>	<p>Elisabeth – mother 45 years (originally from France)</p>	<p>05. 07.2017</p> <p>We met at their house to talk and</p>	<p>01.11.2017</p> <p>Day after Halloween</p>	<p>06.02.2018</p> <p>Busy day with work and</p>

	<p>Erling – father 55 years two children Eva (10) and Eric (12) years.</p>	<p>plan before shopping. They have a typical Norwegian house, quite large with a garden in a 'suburb', wealthy area, about 15 minutes by car from Oslo.</p> <p>We stay in the garden. Discussion and eating outside.</p> <p>The whole family participated, it mostly Eric and Elisabeth.</p>	<p>We met each other in a local speciality shop at Bærumsverk. They had a lot of local food (meat and eggs from Nordmarka), some organic food and quite a lot of fancy gourmet food (cheeses, biscuits, beers from local microbreweries, olive oil etc.) – 30 min.</p> <p>We went home – made food- ate together –</p> <p>Food was made from the pumpkin used for Halloween the evening before.</p> <p>The whole family participated</p>	<p>several activities.</p> <p>We go through the dialogic conversation while food is cooking.</p> <p>We eat all together.</p> <p>Eric is cooking; the family introduced a new system where Eric is cooking twice a week.</p> <p>The whole family participated, but Eva left the table quite soon.</p>
<p>H5 Medium-high / Rural</p>	<p>Sofie – mother 41 years Sven – father 48 years Sander – teenage boy 16 years Simon- Boy 14 years Sigurd – Boy 12 years</p> <p>Interested in buying local food and organic food.</p> <p>Sven has introduced Sofie to food (travelled a lot and likes cooking). Sofie tells that she fell in love with him mostly because of his way of talking about and making food.</p> <p>Purchase based on routines (she loves routines / effectiveness)</p>	<p>06.06.2017</p> <p>Home of household.</p> <p>Sofie and Sigurd meet us at the train station in L. and take us to a specialty shop - butcher. On the way to their house we stop at a local farm shop to buy fresh cabbage and at the local grocery store to buy milk and some other products.</p> <p>The whole family (minus Simon) participated</p>	<p>31.10.2017</p> <p>Halloween.</p> <p>First visited big supermarket together with both parents and youngest son. He was dropped off at a friend's house.</p> <p>Dinner (traditional chicken stew) with the other members of the family. Sander Cooks together with his father, but the recipe is a family one.</p> <p>The whole family (minus Sigurd) participated</p>	<p>08.03.2018</p> <p>Home of household – dialogical conversation.</p> <p>Dinner (herring salad – leftovers from family party) together with the parents. Two of the sons were not feeling well and had pizza in their rooms.</p>

	Price important but sometimes more expansive food			
H6 High / Rural	<p>Linda 79 years.</p> <p>After husband died lives alone in the forest (built already in 1962, a house totally integrated in nature). She is originally from Scotland and came to Norway 17 years old-married a Norwegian.</p> <p>She obviously likes to have guest and to share time and food with people. She likes cooking but is careful with price.</p>	<p>15.08.2017</p> <p>We come around 16.00</p> <p>She welcomes us with fresh eggs. We eat. Discussion about food and habits.</p> <p>We discuss and go shopping at the local supermarket.</p> <p>She show us around (seaside/ forest) we go back and make food.</p> <p>We eat and clean.</p> <p>Interview at the end. We leave around 22.30</p>		

Serbia

Household	Fictive names and composition (age, gender)	1st visit	2nd visit	3rd visit
Involvement in FQS/local food Urban/rural		Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants	Date Place Participants
H1 High / Urban	<p>Maria – mother 40 years</p> <p>Marko – father 39 years</p> <p>Sara – daughter 14 years</p> <p>Petar – son 12 years</p> <p>Interested in good food.</p> <p>Mother is in charge of grocery shopping and cooking.</p> <p>Well equipped kitchen.</p>	<p>18.06.2017</p> <p>Home of household – semi-structured interview</p> <p>Shopping food in local supermarket, cooking and having lunch together at home of household.</p>	<p>19.12.2017</p> <p>First we went with Maria to supermarket focusing on organic and healthy food.</p> <p>Next step was local food market.</p> <p>Home of household – discussion based</p>	<p>20.04.2018</p> <p>Home of household – dialogical conversation.</p> <p>We went through semi-structured interview.</p> <p>Talking and recognizing the labels (using cards with different food labels)</p>

	Purchases are performed very often in small quantities.	The whole family participated.	on the twelve pictures. The whole family (minus Marko) participated.	All except the father participated.
H2 Low in FQS/ High in local food Rural	Slavica– single mother 35 years Miki – son 4 years Mira – grandmother 64 years Live in a house with a large garden where they grow vegetables and fruits for their own needs. Very low income level. Slavica is responsible for shopping while grandmother helps in cooking and accompanying activities.	19.06.2017 Home of household – semi-structured interview. Shopping food in local food shop with the Slavica- Cooking, eating and talking about food we had at home of household The whole family participated	18.12.2017 We went with Slavica to supermarket focusing on organic and healthy food. After that we went to local vegetable shop (local food market works only one day in a week). Home of household – discussion based on the twelve pictures. The whole family participated.	21.04.2018 Home of household – dialogical conversation. We go through semi-structured interview Talking and recognizing the labels (using cards with different food labels) The whole family participated.
H3 High Suburban /	Dona – mother 33 years Dejan – father 35 years Ana – daughter 7 years Ina - daughter 4 years High involvement in organic food. Own the chain of health food stores. Having in mind the family business, they purchase food in their	20.05.2017 Home of household - Shopping food in the nearest shop, cooking and eating together. Semi-structured interview.	25.11.2017 Ethnic food and drink fair in Belgrade We walked slowly, stopped and discussed about what they pay attention as	27.03.2018 Home of household – dialogical conversation. semi-structured interview.

	own stores and alternative food channels.	The whole family participated.	well as tasted some food. Dona recognized a lot of local producers and brands. Dona participated (father was taking care of the children at home).	Discussion based on the twelve pictures. Recognizing the food labels (using cards with different food labels). The whole family participated.
H4 Low / Urban	Ema – female 32 years Milos – male 35 years Young married couple High educated Live in an apartment in the city centre of the capital of Serbia Equally participate in the purchase of food while the wife is more in charge of cooking.	08.06.2017 Home of household – semi-structured interview Shopping food in local supermarket, cooking and having dinner together at home of household. The whole family participated.	24.11.2017 Ethnic food and drink fair in Belgrade We walked slowly, stopped and discussed about what they pay attention as well as tasted some food. Ema participated.	31.03.2018 Home of household – dialogical conversation. Semi-structured interview. Discussion based on the twelve pictures. Talking about labels (using cards with different food labels). The whole family participated.
H5 Medium-High Suburban	Filip – father 49 years Nina – mother 48 years Aleksa – son 24 years Baka – grandmother 67 years Live in a house with a garden where they grow	26.05.2017 Home of household – semi-structured interview	08.12.2017 We went with Nina to the biggest supermarket	13.04.2018 Home of household – dialogical conversation.

	<p>vegetables. They also grow some types of poultry (grandmother's help).</p> <p>Parents are in working status. Father is frequently absent (owns passenger transport company) while mother is in charge of shopping and cooking.</p> <p>Son is a student (accommodated in Belgrade).</p>	<p>Shopping food in local supermarket, cooking and having lunch together at home of household.</p> <p>The whole family (except Filip and Aleksa) participated</p>	<p>focusing heathy food.</p> <p>Next step was local food market.</p> <p>Home of household – discussion based on the twelve pictures.</p> <p>Lunch at home.</p> <p>The whole family (except Filip) participated.</p>	<p>Semi-structured interview.</p> <p>Talking and recognizing the food labels (using cards with different labels)</p> <p>The whole family participated.</p>
<p>H6 Medium / Urban</p>	<p>Old married couple: Ilija – father 64 years Sandra – mother 61 years</p> <p>Young married couple: Nikola – their son 37 years Tara – son's wife 32 years Aco – boy 6 years</p> <p>Three generations.</p> <p>Number of household members varies as the younger married couple leaves for work in Sweden.</p>	<p>27.05.2017.</p> <p>Home of household – semi-structured interview</p> <p>Shopping food in local supermarket, cooking and having lunch together at home of household.</p> <p>Young couple did not participate (vacation on mountain).</p>	<p>09.12.2017</p> <p>First we went with Sandra to the local supermarket focusing on heathy food department.</p> <p>Next step was local food market.</p> <p>Home of household – discussion based on the twelve pictures.</p> <p>Lunch at home.</p> <p>Old married couple participated.</p>	<p>14.04.2018</p> <p>Home of household – dialogical conversation.</p> <p>Semi-structured interview.</p> <p>Talking and recognizing the labels (using cards with different labels)</p> <p>Old married couple participated.</p>

UK

Household	Family Composition	1st Visit: Summer 2017	2nd Visit: Winter 2017/18	3rd Visit: Spring/Summer 2018
		Plan, Date and Participants	Plan, Date and Participants	Plan, Date and Participants
H1	Noura (F) 44, Gavin (M) 41, Sonya (F) 7, Daisy (F) 5	Home interview and kitchen tour: 19/06/2017 (2 hrs) At home - all family present Food shopping, cooking, eating and disposal: 15/07/2017 (3.5 hrs) Noura and Sonya food shopping (local Oriental shops, fruit and vegetables greengrocer), Noura cooking, all family eating, Gavin disposal	Shop visit: 12/01/2018 (1.25 hrs) Shop visited: Noura's natural community garden (vegetables and herbs) – with Noura Repeat home kitchen tour: 23/01/2018 (0.5 hrs)	Dialogic conversation and card game: 19/04/2018 (1.75 hrs) At home – with Noura (Gavin trying to put the girls to sleep)
H2	Rasa (F) 40, Omar (M) 45, Jonas (M) 21, Julie (F) 8	Home interview and kitchen tour: 25/06/2017 (4 hrs) At home - all family present Food shopping, cooking, eating and disposal: 15/08/2017 (5.5 hrs) Rasa food shopping (fruit and vegetables wholesaler, greengrocer, Asian shop), Rasa cooking,	Shop visit and repeat home kitchen tour: 14/12/2017 (3.25 hrs) Shop visited: supermarket (Asda) – with Rasa	Dialogic conversation and card game: 17/04/2018 (2.75 hrs) At home – with Rasa (Omar joined some parts of the conversation)

		Rasa and Julie eating, Rasa disposal		
H3	Michelle (F) 57, Marcus (M) 54	Home interview and kitchen tour: 31/07/2017 (1.75 hrs) At home - all family present Food shopping, cooking, eating and disposal: 23/08/2017 (3 hrs) Michelle and Marcus food shopping (Morrisons supermarket), Michelle cooking, all family eating, Michelle and Marcus disposal	Shop visit and repeat home kitchen tour: 11/12/2017 (2 hrs) Shops visited: Christmas market (with both local and international food), traditional style covered market (local butchers, fruit and vegetables greengrocer), supermarket (Tesco) – with Michelle	Dialogic conversation and card game: 16/04/2018 (2 hrs) At home – with Michelle (Marcus was working)
H4	Claire (F) 44, Martin (M) 42, James (M) 9, Hannah (F) 6, Ellie (F) 6, Debra (F) 2	Home interview and kitchen tour: 24/07/2017 (2.5 hrs) At home - all family present Food shopping, cooking, eating and disposal: 18/09/2017 (2.4 hrs) Claire food shopping (Sainsbury's online shopping), Claire cooking, all family	Shop visit and repeat home kitchen tour: 2/02/2018 (2.3 hrs) Shop visited: local farm shop which also sells products from other local/organic farms – with Claire	Dialogic conversation and card game: 9/07/2018 (2.2 hrs) At home – with Claire (Martin was working)

		eating, Claire and Martin disposal		
H5	Karen (F) 70s, Rahim (M) 70s	Home interview and kitchen tour: 9/08/2017 (2.5 hrs) At home - all family present Food shopping, cooking, eating and disposal: 16/08/2017 (5 hrs) Karen food shopping (Sainsbury's supermarket), Karen cooking, all family eating, Rahim disposal	Shop visit and repeat home kitchen tour: 29/01/2018 (2.25 hrs) Shops visited: traditional style covered market (cheese shop, bakery, fruit and vegetables greengrocer), delicatessen shop which sources from local/small producers but also from around the world – with Karen	Dialogic conversation and card game: 23/04/2018 (2.25 hrs) At home – with Karen (Rahim joined some parts of the conversation)
H6	Ruth (F) 39, David (M) 40, Rob (M) 4	Home interview and kitchen tour: 19/09/2017 (2 hrs) At home - all family present Food shopping, cooking, eating and disposal: 23/09/2017 (3 hrs) Ruth food shopping (Morrisons supermarket), Ruth cooking, all family eating, David disposal	Shop visit and repeat home kitchen tour: 12/12/2017 (2.3 hrs) Shops visited: local fishmonger, delicatessen shop which sources from local/organic producers, fruit and vegetables greengrocer – with Ruth	Dialogic conversation and card game: 24/07/2018 (2 hrs) At Newcastle University premises – with Ruth (David was working)



The Strength2Food project in a nutshell

Strength2Food is a five-year, €6.9 million project to improve the effectiveness of EU food quality schemes (FQS), public sector food procurement (PSFP) and to stimulate Short Food Supply Chains (SFSC) through research, innovation and demonstration activities. The 30-partner consortium representing 11 EU and four non-EU countries combines academic, communication, SMEs and stakeholder organisations to ensure a multi-actor approach. It will undertake case study-based quantitative research to measure economic, environmental and social impacts of FQS, PSFP and SFSC. The impact of PSFP policies on nutrition in school meals will also be assessed. Primary research will be complemented by econometric analysis of existing datasets to determine impacts of FQS and SFSC participation on farm performance, as well as understand price transmission and trade patterns. Consumer knowledge, confidence in, valuation and use of FQS labels and products will be assessed via survey, ethnographic and virtual supermarket-based research. Lessons from the research will be applied and verified in 6 pilot initiatives which bring together academic and non-academic partners. Impact will be maximised through a knowledge exchange platform, hybrid forums, educational resources and a Massive Open Online Course.

Website: <https://www.strength2food.eu/>

