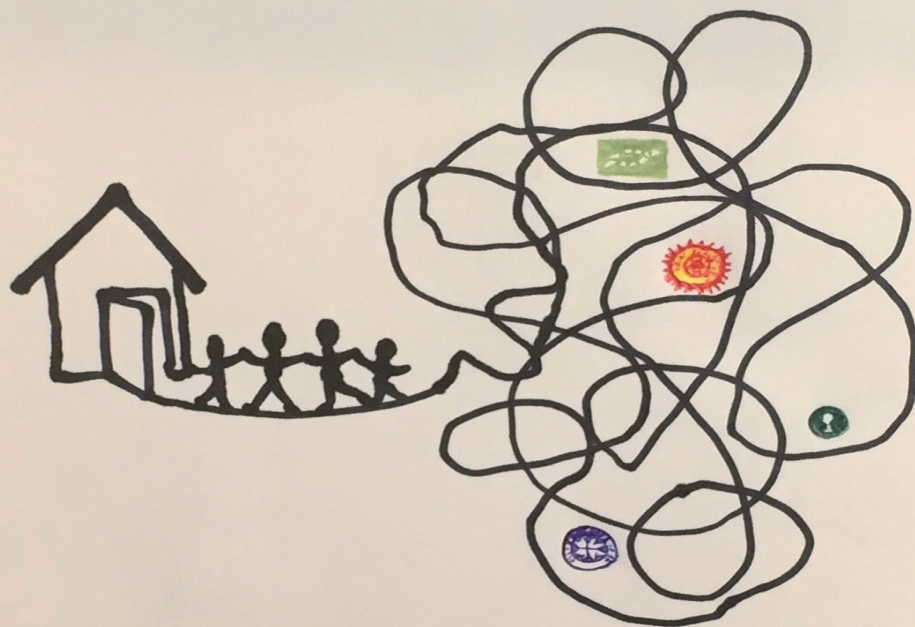


Project note no 8 - 2018

Vilde Haugrønning, Virginie Amilien and Gun Roos

Quality labels lost in everyday food consumption

-An ethnographic study of six Norwegian households food practices linked to Food Quality Schemes and sustainable food chains



OSLOMET

OSLO METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
CONSUMPTION RESEARCH NORWAY SIFO

© CONSUMPTION RESEARCH NORWAY - SIFO

Project report no 8 – 2018

CONSUMPTION RESEARCH NORWAY - SIFO

OsloMet —Oslo Metropolitan University


Stensberggt. 26.

PO BOX 4, St. Olavs plass, NO-0130 Oslo, NORWAY

<http://www.oslomet.no/sifo>

Due to copyright restrictions, this report is not to be copied from or distributed for any purpose without a special agreement with SIFO. Reports made available on the www.sifo.no site are for personal use only. Copyright infringement will lead to a claim for compensation.

OSLO METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
CONSUMPTION RESEARCH NORWAY SIFO

Title Quality labels lost in everyday food consumption - An ethnographic study of six Norwegian households' food practices linked to Food Quality Schemes and sustainable food chains	Antall sider 77	Dato 10.12.2018
Title	ISBN 82-7063-481-6	ISSN
Forfatter(e) Vilde Haugrønning, Virginie Amilien and Gun Roos	Prosjektnummer 616005	Faglig ansvarlig sign. 
Oppdragsgiver European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 678024 – as part of the Strength2food project :https://www.strength2food.eu/		
Sammendrag De siste årene har antallet kvalitetsmerker for mat (KFM), som viser til særegne kvaliteter som smak og opprinnelse, økt i norske matbutikker. Disse merkene skal hjelpe forbrukere til å gjøre informerte valg når de handler mat, men legger noen i det hele tatt merke til disse kvalitetsmerkene for mat? Denne rapporten diskuterer hvordan og på hvilke måter KFM er tilstede eller fraværende i det hverdagslige matforbruket. Forskningen og arbeidet er en del av det europeiske forskningsprosjektet Strength2Food (S2F), og analysen baserer seg på et etnografisk feltarbeid utført hos seks norske husholdninger. Analysen undersøker forskjeller mellom verdier og handling, og viser blant annet at verdier som lokal, sted og bærekraft var viktig for husholdningene, men disse verdiene ble ikke alltid manifestert i matpraksisene. Dette kan knyttes til matforbrukets komplekse natur og enkelte merker sin manglende evne til å møte denne kompleksiteten.		
Summary The appearance of Food Quality Schemes (FQS), which mention qualities such as taste and origin, has increased in Norwegian grocery stores in recent years. These labels are intended to enable consumers to make informed choices within food provision, but do anyone take notice of these food quality schemes? This report discusses how and in which ways FQS are present or absent in everyday food consumption. The research is part of the European Strength2Food (S2F) EU2020 project, and the analysis builds upon ethnographic fieldwork conducted in six Norwegian households. The analysis section explores value-action gaps and identifies that local, place and sustainability were important to the households although these values did not always seem to be manifested in their food practices. These findings are connected to the complex nature of food consumption and how some labels are unable to meet this complexity.		
Stikkord Kvalitetsmerker for mat, offentlig merkeordning, opprinnelse, bærekraft, sosial praksisteori		
Keywords Food Quality Schemes, public labelling schemes, origin, sustainability, Social Practice Theory		

Quality labels lost in everyday food consumption

An ethnographic study of six Norwegian households' food practices linked to Food Quality Schemes and sustainable food chains

By

Vilde Haugrønning, Virginie Amilien and Gun Roos

2018

Forbruksforskningsinstituttet SIFO, OsloMet – storbyuniversitetet

Postboks 4 St. Olavs plass, 0130 Oslo

Preface

The report presents results from ethnographic fieldwork in six households in Norway, which was part of the consumer analysis in the European Strength2Food (S2F) project. This research aims to deepen current understandings on consumers' food practices concerning Food Quality Schemes (FQS) and to better understand if, and how, everyday food practices are connected with FQS and sustainable food chains.

Several sections in this country report builds upon "A Taste for Labels", a master thesis by Vilde Haugrønning, handed in at the Center for Development and Environment, University of Oslo in 2018. All three co-authors, who two by two did the Norwegian fieldwork, followed several of the households and discussed together the final results. Vilde Haugrønning, first author, systematically adapted parts of her thesis to the defined structure of the country report, while Virginie Amilien and Gun Roos commented and completed by adding new parts, clarifications or observations.

We would like to thank our informants for their kind hospitality by opening up their homes and kitchen cupboards to us nosy researchers. We are very touched by your knowledge and patience, and you have made invaluable contributions to this report.

The work has been carried out as part of the S2F project funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme. Methods and analytical tools were developed together by the three authors and the "task 8-2 team" in an interactive and constant dialogue with our European partners in the ethnographic task. We would like to thank all our "8-2" partners for their enthusiasm and serious participation in both preparing and performing the fieldwork and, last but not least, the analysis and discussion of results following the fieldwork: M. Dubois de Labarre and P. Wavresky in France; K. Meyer and J. Simons in Germany; Á. Török and P. Csillag in Hungary; B. Biasini, M. La Spina, F. Arfini and D. Menozzi in Italy; J. Filipović, G. Ognjanov, S. Veljković and V. Kuč in Serbia; and Barbara Tocco in UK.

This study has been developed together with the other members of S2Food team at SIFO: Gunnar Vittersø, Hanne Torjusen, Kirsi Laitala, Torvald Tangeland, Kamilla Knutsen Steinnes and Svein Ole Borgen. Eventually we also wish to thank our colleagues Arne Dulsrud for useful comments, Marie Hebrok for inspiration to the cover page Gun made for this report and Rune Gustavsen for managing the layout of the final report.

Oslo, 5.november 2018

OsloMet – storbyuniversitetet (tidl. Høgskolen i Oslo og Akershus)

Sammendrag

Arbeidet og forskningen presentert i denne rapporten er en del av det europeiske forskningsprosjektet Strength2Food (S2F) EU2020; ”Forsterkning av bærekraftige matkjeder i Europa gjennom kvalitet og offentlige tiltak”. Denne rapporten utgjør den norske ”landsrapporten”, som en del av S2F sin kvalitative forbruksanalyse gjennomført i syv europeiske land, og rapporten fokuserer på resultatene fra et etnografisk feltarbeid hos seks husholdninger i Norge. Forskningen har som mål å bidra til en bedre forståelse av forbrukernes hverdagslige matpraksiser i tilknytning til kvalitetsmerker for mat (KFM) og bærekraftige matkjeder. Det er lagt vekt på å identifisere og forstå potensielle forskjeller mellom forbrukernes uttalte verdier og deres faktiske hverdagslige matforbruk, inkludert planlegging, innkjøp, bruk og kasting av mat. Et hovedspørsmål som diskuteres er; hvordan og på hvilke måter er KFM tilstede eller fraværende i det hverdagslige matforbruket?

Forskningsmetoden er etnografisk feltarbeid kombinert med semi-strukturerte intervjuer, ”desk study” og dialogiske samtaler. Vi valgte seks husholdninger på bakgrunn av to hovedkriterier: en interesse for KFM og lokasjon (landlig/by). Vi besøkte husholdningene tre ganger gjennom ulike sesonger i perioden mars 2017 til mars 2018. Det første besøket inkluderte et semi-strukturert intervju om gjenkjennelse, kunnskap, oppfatning og bruk av KFM, og informantene ble presentert med 8-10 ulike matprodukter med matmerker. Følgende KFM var inkludert i den norske studien: Protected Designations of Origin (PDO); Protected Geographical Indication (PGI); Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG); Norsk variant av PDO, PGI and TSG (Beskyttede Betegnelser – BB, som inkluderer Beskyttede Geografiske Betegnelser (BGB), Beskyttede Opprinnelses Betegnelser (BOB) og Betegnelse For Tradisjonelt Særpreget (BTS); Nyt Norge (NN); Norsk Spesialitet (NS); EU økologisk: Debio Økologisk; og nøkkelhullet. Det etnografiske feltarbeidet involverte observasjoner dokumentert gjennom videoopptak og lydopptak gjort hos husholdningene, i matbutikker og på matmarkeder. I tillegg dokumenterte husholdningene, gjennom bilder og notater, sin egen planlegging, eget innkjøp, bruk og kasting av kvalitetsmerker. Sosial praksisteori ble brukt som et metodologisk verktøy for å fremheve betydningen av rutiner, tid, materielle innretninger og infrastruktur, både gjennom feltarbeid og analyse.

Blant informantene var det en tendens til å anse kvalitets matmerker, spesielt PDO, PGI og TSG, som uinteressante eller usynlige, men når det gjelder matpraksiser knyttet til KFM varierte det fra merke til kvalitetsmerker. Noen merker (inkludert økologiske kvalitetsmerker, Nyt Norge og Fair Trade) lot til å være mye gjenkjent og vevd inn i husholdningenes matpraksiser gjennom rutiner. Europeiske kvalitetsordninger som PDO, PGI, TSG eller de norske BBer var, tvert imot, sjeldent tilstede i samtaler og begrunnelser. Matinnkjøp var en

'mekanisk' og rutinert praksis hos husholdningene, noe som gjorde at mindre kjente KFM, som trenger refleksjon for å bli sett, var ubetydelige i matinnkjøpet.

Forskjeller mellom verdier og handling ble identifisert. For eksempel var verdier som lokal, sted og bærekraft viktig for husholdningene, men disse verdiene ble ikke alltid manifestert i matpraksisene – informantene lot til å ignorere flere av kvalitetsmerkene når de handlet mat. Likevel er det ikke nødvendigvis en forskjell mellom det folk sier og gjør, men en komplementaritet, fordi matforbruk er komplekst og ulikheter er relatert til kontekster og sfærer som sameksisterer. I den hjemlige sfæren la informantene vekt på hvordan kvalitet og bærekraft er knyttet til tradisjon, sosiale nettverk og hverdagslige objekter, og i denne sfæren har KFM svært liten plass og fanger ikke interessen til informantene. På den andre siden, i markedssfæren må informantene gjøre valg og dermed kan KFM være en grunnleggende referanse. Komplikasjoner med KFM later til å oppstå hvis ikke KFM svarer til kompromisser og prioriteringer som er nødvendige komponenter i det hverdagslige livet, og hvis ikke merkene svarer til den komplekse og dynamiske naturen til matinnkjøp. Til og med for informantene som ønsket å støtte lokale produsenter eller som var interessert i kulturell arv var KFM, spesielt PDO, PGI, TSG og BB, ikke ansett som relevante og virket stort sett usynlige.

Summary

This report presents work that is part of the European Strength2Food (S2F) EU2020 project “Strengthening European Food Chain Sustainability by Quality and Procurement Policy”. The report, which focuses on results from ethnographic fieldwork in six households in Norway and constitutes the Norwegian “country report”, is part of the S2F qualitative consumer analysis across seven European countries. This research aims to contribute to a better understanding of consumers’ everyday food practices in connection with Food Quality Schemes (FQS) and sustainable food chains. Emphasis is placed on identifying and understanding potential gaps between consumers’ stated valuation and their everyday food consumption, including planning, purchasing, using and disposing of food. A main question to be discussed is: How and in which ways are FQS present or absent in everyday food consumption?

The main methodology was ethnographic fieldwork combined with semi-structured interviews, desk study research and dialogic conversations. Six households were selected based on two main dimensions: interest in FQS and location (rural/urban). The households were visited three times across different seasons between March 2017 and March 2018. A semi-structured interview on recognition, knowledge, opinion and use of FQS was included as part of the first visit when households were presented with 8-10 different food products with FQS labels. The following FQS labels were included in the Norwegian study: Protected Designations of Origin (PDO); Protected Geographical Indication (PGI); Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG); Norwegian versions of PDO, PGI and TSG (Beskyttede Betegnelser – BB); Nyt Norge (NN); Norsk Spesialitet (NS); EU organic: Debio Økologisk; and the Keyhole. The ethnographic fieldwork involved observations documented by video filming or audiorecording in the homes, grocery stores and food markets, and households documenting their planning, purchasing, using and disposal of FQS with photos and notes. Social practice theory was used as a methodological tool to emphasize the meaning of routines, time, material devices and infrastructure both during fieldwork and analysis.

There was a tendency among the informants to regard quality food labels, especially PDO, PGI and TSG, as uninteresting or invisible. However, food practices linked to FQS varied from label to label. Some labels (including the organic labels, Nyt Norge and fair trade) seemed to be well known and interwoven with household food practices through routines, whereas PDO, PGI, TSG and BB were seldom present neither in dialogues and justifications nor in practices. Food provisioning in the participating households was a mechanical and routinised food practice and thus made the role of less known FQS labels (that demand

reflection) insignificant in the food shopping situation. Value-action gaps were identified. For example, local, place and sustainability were important to the households although these values did not always seem to be manifested in their food practices. Moreover the informants seemed to ignore many of the labels when purchasing food.

However, there is not necessarily a gap between what people say and do, but we understand it as a complementarity because food consumption is complex. Differences between saying and doing are then related to contexts and spheres that coexist. In the domestic sphere our informants emphasized how quality and sustainability are linked to tradition, social networks and everyday objects, and thus in this sphere FQS labels have little place and interest for informants. On the other hand, in the market sphere, in which informants have to make choices, food quality labels can quickly be a basic reference. Complications with FQS seem to arrive if FQS do not respond to the compromises and priorities that are necessary components of everyday life and do not account for the complex and dynamic nature of food provisioning. Even to our informants who wanted to support local farmers or who were interested in cultural heritage, FQS logos – especially PDO, PGI, TSG and BB - were not perceived as relevant and seemed mostly invisible.

Résumé

Cette étude a été réalisée dans le cadre du projet européen Strength2Food (S2F) H2020 project “Strengthening European Food Chain Sustainability by Quality and Procurement Policy”. Le travail ici présenté constitue le rapport norvégien du projet et fait donc partie intégrante de l’analyse qualitative des perceptions, opinions, connaissances et pratiques alimentaires de consommateurs liés aux signes de qualité, dans 7 pays européens.

Ce rapport repose sur les résultats du travail de terrain ethnographique dans six familles norvégiennes. L’objectif de cette recherche est de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension des pratiques alimentaires quotidiennes des consommateurs, tout particulièrement en ce qui concerne les signes de qualité alimentaire (SQA) et la durabilité. L’accent est mis sur l’identification et la compréhension de la différence potentielle entre les perceptions et les valeurs énoncées par les ménages et les pratiques alimentaires quotidiennes, suivant les quatre phases de consommation à savoir la planification, l’achat, l’utilisation et la gestion des déchets. Une des principales questions discutées dans ce rapport s’avère la suivante : comment, et de quelle manière, les signes de qualité sont-ils présents, ou absents, dans la consommation alimentaire quotidienne des ménages en question ?

L’approche méthodologique principale réside dans le terrain ethnographique, combiné avec des interviews semi-structurées, du travail d’archive et des conversations dialogiques avec les informateurs. Nous avons sélectionné six ménages/ familles à partir de deux dimensions principales : leur intérêt pour les Signes de Qualité Alimentaire (SQA) et leur lieu de résidence (milieu rural/urbain). Le travail de terrain consiste en trois visites dans chaque ménage, à différentes saisons, entre mars 2017 et mars 2018. Nous avons systématiquement utilisé, en guise de brise-glace, une interview semi structurée nous renseignant sur la connaissance, la perception, l’opinion, et l’utilisation des SQA. Lors de notre première visite nous avons donc présenté entre huit et 10 produits de qualité avec différents labels pour introduire le sujet, en goûter certains et avoir une approche cognitive sur la consommation de ce type de produits labellisés. L’étude norvégienne comprend les labels suivants: L’appellation d’origine protégée (AOP) ; l’indication géographique protégée (IGP) ; les spécialités traditionnelles garanties (STG) ; les versions norvégiennes des AOP, IGP et STG soit les « Beskyttede Betegnelser » (BB); le label national de qualité Nyt Norge que l’on peut traduire par « Appréciez la Norvège » voire par « Le plaisir norvégien » (NN); le label de spécialité norvégienne Norsk Spesialitet (NS) qui correspond à une sorte de label rouge; le label organique européen; le label écologique national Debio økologisk, et le Nøkkelhul (trou de serrure) qui est un label de qualité nordique mettant en valeur l’aspect sain des

aliments (ou plutôt l'aspect « plus sain » de certains aliments par rapport à d'autres du même type.)

Le travail de terrain, dont l'étude ethnographique, a essentiellement consisté en discussions, observations et participation à la vie quotidienne, documentées par des films vidéos et des enregistrements, saisis régulièrement (dans les maisons, à la cuisine, à table ou dans le jardin, dans les boutiques et les supermarchés) ainsi que des photos et des notes fournies par les ménages et documentant la planification, l'achat, l'utilisation ou la gestion des déchets des produits avec des signes de qualité. La théorie des pratiques sociales s'est révélée être un outil méthodologique enrichissant, permettant de mettre en valeur le sens des routines, du temps, des choses matérielles et des infrastructures, à la fois en aval, en amont et pendant le travail de terrain et d'analyse.

De manière générale, la plupart de nos informateurs ont tendance à ne pas voir certains signes de qualité tout particulièrement les AOP, les IGP et les STG. Ils semblent soit inintéressants soit totalement invisibles. Toutefois nous avons remarqué que les pratiques alimentaires liées aux produits de qualité variaient d'un label à l'autre. Certains signes de qualités, par exemple le label écologique, équitable (fair trade) ou le label Nyt Norge sont connus, reconnus et bien intégrés dans les pratiques alimentaires des ménages par le biais des routines. En revanche les signes de qualité européens sont rarement présents, ni dans le dialogue ou les justifications, ni dans les pratiques.

Faire les courses, pour la plupart des ménages participant à l'étude, comprend une pratique routinière assez mécanique dans laquelle il est difficile d'incorporer les labels de qualité peu connus (qui demandent de la réflexion et du temps). Les différences entre les perceptions et les valeurs d'une part, et les pratiques d'autre part, sont clairement apparues. Par exemple le lieu, l'origine ou la durabilité sont des valeurs jugées importantes lors de discussions dans les familles, mais elles sont loin d'être toujours manifestées dans les pratiques alimentaires. En fait les informateurs paraissent tout simplement ignorer la plupart des labels de qualité soulignant l'origine ou la tradition dans la phase « achat » de l'alimentation.

Néanmoins l'approche ethnographique nous a permis de comprendre qu'il ne s'agit pas nécessairement d'une différence entre « ce que l'on dit » et « ce que l'on fait », mais plutôt une complémentarité dans une consommation alimentaire complexe. Les différences notées sont plutôt liées à des contextes et des sphères coexistant(es) qu'à une incohérence du consommateur. Dans la sphère domestique par exemple nos informateurs mettent en valeur le lien entre qualité, durabilité, tradition, réseaux sociaux et objets de tous les jours. C'est une sphère dans laquelle les labels de qualité n'ont a priori pas de place. Ils s'avèrent inintéressants, voire impertinents. En revanche dans la sphère que nous qualifierons de marché, dans laquelle les informateurs doivent faire des choix en faisant leurs courses par exemple, les signes de qualité peuvent constituer une référence de base.

Les signes de qualité alimentaire deviennent compliqués et difficiles à intégrer dans le quotidien quand ils ne répondent pas aux compromis et aux priorités nécessaires pour composer la vie quotidienne, ou bien quand ils ne prennent pas en considération la

complexité et la nature dynamique de la consommation alimentaire. Même pour ceux de nos informateurs qui souhaitent supporter les fermiers locaux ou qui sont intéressés par les questions d'héritage culturel, les signes de qualité ne s'avèrent pas pertinents et deviennent tout simplement invisibles dans les gestes quotidiens liés à la consommation alimentaire.

Table of Contents

Preface.....	V
Sammendrag	VII
Summary	IX
Résumé.....	XI
Table of Contents	XV
Introduction.....	1
The Norwegian foodscape	2
Definitions and semantics.....	4
Food Quality Schemes - FQS.....	4
1. Overview over Food Quality Schemes and labels	7
1.1 FQS and food consumption in Norway	7
1.1.1 Consumption research.....	7
1.1.2 Social practice theory in the study of food consumption	8
1.1.3 Trust and consumer power in Norway	9
1.1.4 Consumers' perceptions of short travelled and local food in Norway	9
1.2 The Food labels (logos) included in the study.....	10
Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG).....	11
Nyt Norge (NN) and Norsk Spesialitet (NS) – National labelling.....	13
Debio Økologisk and EU Organic.....	14
Healthy as a Keyhole? – the Keyhole label.....	15
2. Conceptual and methodological framework	18
2.1 The methodological approach.....	19
2.2.1. Methodological tools.....	19
2.2 The six households	21

2.2.1 About the fieldwork	24
2.2.2 The Semi-structured interview at the kitchen table	25
2.2.3 Participant observation – visiting, cooking and going shopping	27
2.2.4 Analytical tool	29
3. Informants’ understanding, perception, value and trust of FQS	31
3.1. Organic	31
3.2 Origin and localness	33
3.2 Health	36
4. Informants and food practices – actual and related to FQS and SFSC	39
4.1 Planning and purchasing	39
4.2 Cooking and eating	45
4.3 Disposal and food waste	46
5. Informants’ perceptions and requests regarding additional or adjusted policy measures	51
5.1 Who has sustainable responsibility? About the roles of consumers and the State	52
5.2 Prospects of a green food label	55
5.3 Public procurement	56
6. FQS lost in the mechanical act of food procurement – About routines and constraints when buying food	59
6.1. Food provisioning as a reflexive habit	60
6.2. “We buy the same groceries”	63
6.3. Meeting the complexities	65
Conclusions – a distaste for, or a distance from, labels?	69
References	73
ANNEX 1: WP 8.2. CODE BOOK (NVivo Nodes)	79

Introduction

The work presented in this report aims at contributing to a better understanding of everyday food practices and especially their link with Food Quality Schemes (FQS) and sustainable food chains.

This report, which focuses on Norwegian households, is part of a European qualitative consumer analysis in the Strength2Food EU H2020 project - Strengthening European Food Chain Sustainability by Quality and Procurement Policy¹. This ongoing European qualitative study aims at deepening current understanding on European consumers' food practices concerning food quality schemes (FQS) and 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), the study permitted observation of households' food practices across different seasons. The aim of the research – already defined in the project application - was to better understand if, and how, everyday food practices are connected with FQS and sustainable food chains. 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. A main question to be discussed is: How and in which ways are FQS present or absent in everyday food consumption?

The present report constitutes the Norwegian “country report” and it also presents some parts of the qualitative consumer analysis of the Strength2Food project. It is based on and directly refers and quotes two complementary documents that the authors have been respectively responsible for. On the one hand, the text largely builds on the master thesis that Vilde Haugrønning presented in Mai 2018 at the SUM institute at the University of Oslo and obtained her MA in Sustainable Development (Haugrønning 2018). On the other hand, this report is based on parts of the final S2F deliverable for task 8-2 that was submitted to the EU commission in September 2018 by the co-authors and their relevant S2Food partners, the “task 8-2 team” (Amilien et al. 2018). This report is only one of the visible results of the ongoing Strength2Food qualitative consumer analysis. In addition to the final S2F deliverable

¹ <https://www.strength2food.eu/>

for task 8-2, scientific papers and articles, as well as other ways of disseminating results like popular articles and photo exhibition, are to come.

The report has the following structure. After an introductory first chapter, which provides information about the Norwegian context as well as the place of Food Quality Schemes (FQS) in Norwegian food consumption, chapter two defines our conceptual framework, including our methodological approaches and presentation of the six participating households. Chapter 3 presents findings of the cognitive dimensions linked to FQS in food practices, consumer understanding, perceptions and knowledge. Chapter 4, the core of the report, emphasizes food practices and FQS in the participating households as part of the consumption phases (planning, purchasing, using and disposal) and linked to the analytical dimensions of time and infrastructure. Chapter 5 is of a more dialogic order and it invites our informants to express their opinions about policy measures and how they would improve the sustainability of food chains. Chapter 6 offers an overview of our analytical frame, by focusing on the complexity of food consumption, and concluding remarks.

In line with Edgard Morin's basic rules for understanding "the complex thought" (Morin 2015, 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. The main angle of our study is not to focus on FQS *per se* but consider food quality labels in everyday food practices and we will, therefore, begin by contextualising the food consumption practices and their relation to FQS in Norway.

The Norwegian foodscape

Norway is a Scandinavian country, on the northern edge of Europe, with 5.3 million inhabitants living on a land area of 385,252 km². Rugged coasts, deep fjords and high mountains are geographical facts that are reflected in some of the food culture. With 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 over the past decades. While meat, fish, dairy, and egg are mostly produced at national level, cereals, vegetables and especially fruits are often imported (Norwegian Directorate of Health 2015).

One of the informants in this study, Elisabeth (H4), gave a good description of how the foodscape in Norway has changed in the last decades. She came to Norway 20 years ago from France and expressed her impression of the food selection in the beginning as "dreadful, it almost made you cry". The foodscape, at production, distribution, and consumption levels, has according to her changed considerably the last 15 years, both in term of quality and quantity, especially within possibilities of choice.

It has been identified that one of the Norwegian food cultural specificities is openness and curiosity for other types of cooking and food products (Kjærnes et al. 2001). Today's food market and everyday food practices tend to merge food products that have been used in

Norwegian traditional cooking together with so called “exotic” food products (called exotic because these food products were not usual in Norway a few generations ago).

Both trade and agricultural policies have had an influence on the current Norwegian foodscape. Especially in the bigger cities, consumers have experienced a revolution when it comes to food quality and an evolution when it comes to the accessibility of imported food products. The availability of foods is largely determined by the infrastructure, and it is worth noting that a few powerful food retail chains regulate what Norwegian consumers today have access to. Three large retail chains/umbrella groups account for 99% of total food sales in Norway; NorgesGruppen, Forbrukersamvirket and Rema 1000², and they are powerful considering that most Norwegians do all their food provisioning in grocery stores. The control of the Norwegian grocery trade by these three large umbrella groups makes it difficult to establish small independent shops selling local products. Thus, speciality shops that we know from many other European countries are rare. This results in that Norwegian consumers mostly purchase food in supermarkets, which are defined by industrial production where the retail chains buy food in bulks to keep the food prices down (Hegnes 2012, 2).

This development is also reflected in the households’ budgets for food. In 1958 Norwegians spent about 40 percent of their total income on food, while in the past years this number have decreased to 11 percent (Vegard 2018, Mørk 2008). This is especially remarkable, as food prices in Norway in general are considered to be high (Eurostat 2018) (Eurobarometer 2017, Eurostat 2018)³ and low price is an important factor when consumers choose food products⁴.

² Grocery chains mentioned in this report are Rema 1000 (low prices, online shop Kolonial.no), Kiwi (low prices), Coop Extra (low prices), Coop Mega (medium to high prices), and Meny (high prices).

³ A survey from 2017 finds that Norway was on top of the highest price levels for food in Europe. Milk, cheese, and eggs are particularly expensive, while fish prices are relatively low

⁴ MMI Spisefakta 2014

Especially alternative food products, like organic products, are considered more expensive than industrially produced food.

One of our informants, Mona (H2), who usually buys food from cheaper brands mentioned that she would have liked to buy more organic food if the prices had been lower. The only organic product that was a part of her staples was organic canned corn.

Mona: I usually buy First Price [brand] and if they do not have First Price I take what is cheapest.

R: I remember that last time you had the organic canned corn?

Mona: Yes, those are pretty cheap (H2, Visit 3).

All our six informants were to some degree occupied with price.

This observation is in line with earlier studies that have shown that Norwegians are in general concerned about the price of food (Vittersø and Tangeland 2015, 97). Although the Norwegian economy has grown since the 1950s and Norwegians spend less of their income on food, the price of food is an essential aspect of food provisioning and thus a central contextual frame of our study of Food Quality Schemes (FQS).

Definitions and semantics

Before we go further, it is necessary to define some of our main concepts. On the one hand, several of our concepts are purely 'emic' (coming from the field) and they are only delimited by the way participants express them (or not). On the other hand, we needed concepts to work with during preparations for the project, such as for developing methodological guidelines and for the analytical phase. The 'etic' notions (defined by researchers), which are presented and defined below, are consequently referred to in the report, but they were seldom directly used during the fieldwork.

Food Quality Schemes - FQS

By FQS we mean regional, national, EU and international Food Quality Schemes that our informants use or speak about. These include 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:

GIs – Origin and tradition quality labels (*PDO and PGI*)

Although they have a longer history, GIs have increased exponentially in the global agro food marketplace over the last 25 years. In Europe, the GIs PDO and PGI, as well as their supporting groups of producers, are regulated and governed under the CAP, the common EU policy framework for agriculture, and European law, while many countries, such as Norway, have their own legislation about GIs. Following the EU definition, A "*geographical indication*" (*GI*) is the name of a product where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin. It is a type of intellectual property right that can apply in the EU to different types of products.⁵” PDO designation means that the *products are produced, processed, and prepared within a given geographical area using recognized know-how* while PGI designation especially focus on *the geographical link in at least one of the stages of production, processing or preparation* (as for example easily presented the US adaptation of the FQS in the FAO information sheet in (Johnson 2016)).

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 the traditional character, in either the composition or the means of production, in addition to traditional recipe. The tradition must 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.

Local or regional product

These are products 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.

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 regarded as not being good for the soil nor the body, and, in addition, preserving biodiversity. This category includes both organic products certified by certification bodies and

⁵ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-163_en.htm, consulted 22.10.2018.

displaying organic labels, as well as organic products that are not necessarily certified but are produced in an organic way.

Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs)

In line with Regulation (EU) n. 1305/2013, and with the work of the Strength2Food project, we have defined 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”.⁶

Private quality labels and brands

Although the concept of brand, included private brand, is now often related to co-creation and interactivity with consumers, we focus here on a quite traditional understanding, where brand is a means of communication associated with logo, mark or name (Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2017). By private quality labels we refer to the retailers’ own brands and specific quality logos that distributors or producers include on the packaging of foods.

Logo

By logo we mean the graphic symbol that is used to represent the quality label.

⁶ In Deliverable 7-1- 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, 15).

1. Overview over Food Quality Schemes and labels

1.1 FQS and food consumption in Norway

Food Quality Schemes (FQS) are a quite new development in the Norwegian food landscape. Especially food labels and logos in the Norwegian grocery stores have increased greatly in the past decades. This corresponds according to Hegnes (2012, 2) with changes 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 and Tangeland 2015, 93). The Norwegian food labels and logos that we included in the discussions with the informants are all regulated by the state through the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, and are managed by the Norwegian Food Safety Authority (Mattilsynet). 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 (Regjeringen.no 2017). Thus, FQS are ideally meant to influence consumers in the act of consumption. This brings forward a need to look closer at the connection between consumption research and FQS.

1.1.1 Consumption research

Consumption is much more than purchasing a product. On the one hand, researchers usually put emphasis on four complementary basic aspects or stages in consumption behaviour: planning, purchasing, using and throwing away (disposal). Some researchers such as Desjeux has even deepened consumption into seven stages (Desjeux 2006, 96-110). On the other hand, researchers underline the fact that consumption not only has to do with economy or a wish of distinction, but should be placed in a context linked to practices, values and meanings. In other words, consumption is linked with information diffusion and transmission, with cultural values and with what Heilbrunn calls “a dynamic of collective memory” (Heilbrunn 2005, 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 (over the last three generations in Europe). Food products - like other products - have been standardised, un-contextualised or extracted from their original

production context. Following Evans and Miele "Ethical food labels are far from inevitable; indeed they emerge from and represent a particular set of social and economic circumstances, and they enshrine a particular set of relations between consumers and producers. Ethical labels are not merely labels; rather they are *icons* that encapsulate a particular form of food provisioning." (Evans and Miele 2017, 191) The authors also suspect labelling not to be the best means of supporting ethical agro-food and consider the potential efficiency of other systems, as state regulation. Wiskerke reflects upon quality food schemes and propose to concretise or reconstruct FQS through a territorial agro-food approach (Wiskerke 2009). Linking quality or ethical schemes to territory can help the consumer to easily identify them. But labels are reflected by material signs, and we do not know much about the way they are embedded in consumption practices.

One central pillar in our study is to observe food practices with a focus on local products, signs of quality and short chain distribution. As such, we need a deeper insight of *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 and Jensen 2011, 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.

1.1.2 Social practice theory in the study of food consumption

Food provisioning as a mundane everyday activity will in this study be analysed through the framework of Social Practice Theory (SPT), which is a conglomerate of theoretical works that regard social and material contexts as important for individuals' current and future actions (Wilhite 2016, 24). When studying consumption within SPT, it should be noted that consumption is not a practice in itself, but rather a moment in almost every practice (Warde 2005, 137). Thus when food practices such as shopping, cooking and eating are conceptualised, consumption will be considered as generated through those activities, but when analysing these practices it may seem sensible to think of food shopping, for example, as a practice in itself because it is recognised by actors as a specific practice (Halkier 2009, 4, Warde 2005). 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.

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). In this study the social practice theory is mainly used as a

methodological tool, emphasizing the weight of routines, time, material devices or infrastructure both during fieldwork and analysis⁷.

1.1.3 Trust and consumer power in Norway

Related to the state regulations on food labels, it is also relevant to understand the function of consumer trust in Norway as connected to limited consumer choice and a low degree of consumer activism (Kjærnes 2012a, 147). Norwegian political consumerism is found to be less significant than in many other European countries (Terragni and Kjærnes 2005 in Niva et al. 2014, 467). The tendencies observed in Norway seem to effect the role of consumers with regards to food labels, as they trust the state-regulated accessibility of food. Kjærnes argues that the Norwegian consumer is loyal but passive, that is, not a typical “choosing consumer”; the Norwegian consumer is thus not insecure, powerless, or highly self-aware and not an activist (2012b, 4). Kjærnes also underlines that the consumer power in Norwegian grocery stores has become reduced, because, overall, consumers have limited influence on the food sector (Kjærnes 2015, 216). This is somewhat contradictory to the political purpose of FQS, as labelling schemes are seen as part of regulations that enable people to become “choosing consumers” (Kjærnes 2012a, 158).

1.1.4 Consumers’ perceptions of short travelled and local food in Norway

Although food labelling is not the usual way of thinking food in Norway, considerable efforts for developing food labels and logos have been made in Norway. The most influential ones are directed towards promoting Norwegian food, underlining that the responsible consumer is seen as a consumer that prefers and buys food produced in Norway. The orientation towards Norwegian food is linked to the Norwegian word *kortreist*, which can be translated as ‘short-travelled’. However, in addition *kortreist* also implies that buying Norwegian assures that farmers are paid a decent amount for their labour, connoting social, moral and ethical values. In a previous SIFO report about consumer perception of local food (Amilien, Schjøll, and Vramo 2008), the authors underlined three concepts evolving in parallel: local food, localised food and terroir food. Here a quotation from the report:

«Local food products refer to either inputs or produced products from a special area where you live. This type of food is recognised as short travelled, near (both geographical and emotional), environmental friendly and animal friendly and with a “better” taste. This holds for commodities such as meat, fish, fruit, vegetables or processed food such as sausages or cheese from a farm or factory nearby. The relationship between the consumer and the producer is close: They know each other. The added value is so implicit and natural that few use the

⁷ For more details see DL 8-2 chapters 4 and 8 (Amilien et al. 2018)

term “local food“. “Our” or “his” (the guy that owns the farm up there) food, or “what we eat here” are the terms used by the eaters in the focus groups.

Localised food products refer to either inputs or produced products from a special geo- graphical area which they are cultural anchored to. In contrast to local food products have localised food products culture and tradition as an added value. These products have a special identity or “food with an address”. This cultural dimension allows a greater geographical distance to the food products. The food is still “viewed as localised” as when the eater has moved from the origin or for people not from the particular area. Sausage from Voss, Butter from Kviteseid or Lamb from Lofoten is also familiar to people without a personal relationship to these three places.

”Terroir” food products is a French inspired term established in southern Europe before it spread to the rest of Europe. Terroir means a combination of natural characteristics, collective know-how, culture and local identity to a geographical area. We found this understanding among some Norwegian politicians, a few producers and especially for people working with The Food Research Programme in The Research Council of Norway. The same holds for people interest in or knowledge about quality labelling schemes (which are building upon this term). Very few Norwegian consumers express interest in or understand what lies behind this combination of cultural and natural factors, as underlined in previous research where we observed that, though this feeling of terroir shows up when we go deeper with the informants. Without using specific words or terms (either terroir or others) the eaters from Vik or Lofoten tell about an old beliefs that the milk from cows grassing land on one field has a different taste than milk grassing in a another field. Two important factors must be present before localised food turns to terroir food: Time and passion.»

(Amilien, Schjøll, and Vramo 2008, 20-21)

1.2 The Food labels (logos) included in the study

As a part of the Strength2food project, it was necessary to select a certain number of Food Quality Schemes in each involved country. In Norway we decided to include two Geographical Indications schemes controlled by authorities. One is regulated by EU policies (PDO, PGI and TSG) and the other one was adopted by the Norwegian state (BOG, BGB og TSG). Furthermore we wanted to embrace the “made in Norway” labels which are well recognized by Norwegian consumers, such as Nyt Norge (Enjoy the taste og Norway) and Norsk Spesialitet (Norwegian Speciality). One of the requirement was also to focus on organic labels, and both the Norwegian Debio and the EU organic labels were parts of the

study. Eventually, triggered by the discussions with our informants, we have added information about the Keyhole, although it is not defined as a FQS.

Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG)

Figure 1. Protected Designations of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) labels



Source:https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/food-safety-and-quality/certification/quality-labels/quality-schemes-explained_en#logos

Producers of “traditional” food products can apply to use one of the three EU-sponsored labels (Figure 1). PDO and PGI are the most common as they indicate geographical areas, whereas TSG refers to traditional production methods without specifying place (DeSoucey 2010, 437). These labels are a way of communicating the connections food quality has with the soil, climate and traditional know-how that exist in a region (Bureau and Valceschini 2003, 70), but such understanding of quality and region is not common in Norway. The EU quality schemes are often used on protected products (although it varies and they do not always appear on the product packaging – see figure 2), but the system is not standardised and some labels are in English (this is not a problem since most Norwegian can read English), while others are in French, Italian or Spanish (knowledge of these languages is not that

common among Norwegians). Thus, very few of our informants said that they had seen any of these labels before the initial visit.

Figure 2. Olive oil bottles with and without PDO label on shelf in grocery store



Source: SIFO - own picture from fieldwork

Beskyttede Betegnelser (BB labels)

Figure 3. Norwegian versions of PDO, PGI and TSG labels, Beskyttede Betegnelser (BB)



Source: <https://www.matmerk.no/no/beskyttedebetegnelser>

The Norwegian version of the PDO, PGI and TSG labels were made official by the Norwegian government in 2002, and they were after some years combined into one term, “Beskyttede Betegnelser” (BB – what means “Protected Designations” in English, and includes the three types of labels, that is to say Beskyttede Geografiske Betegnelser (BGB), Beskyttede Opprinnelses Betegnelser (BOB) og Betegnelse for Tradisjonelt Særpreget (BTS)) (Figure 3). The system is controlled by KSL Matmerk (The Norwegian Agricultural Quality System and Food Branding Foundation) under the direction of the Mattilsynet (The Norwegian Food Safety Authority). By granting producers a BB label, the ambition was, and is still, to increase the diversity and promote local and regional food production, as well as to preserve important knowledge about Norwegian food culture. The BBs are also intended to provide consumers with reliable information about a product’s geographical attachment, tradition and special quality (Matmerk.no 2018d). The total number of Norwegian products with a BB was 29 as of August 2018 (Matmerk.no 2018b). This number, which can be perceived as overall very low compared to France or Italy, has increased over the past years and is becoming important in a Nordic context. Nevertheless, the availability of foods with a visible BB on the packaging is limited in the grocery stores and the BBs are not very familiar to most Norwegians. Indeed, when talking with our informants about the labels on the foods

included in the Food Basket⁸ that we gave the informants on our first visit, the BB labels were the ones that were mentioned and recognised the least.

Nyt Norge (NN) and Norsk Spesialitet (NS) – National labelling

Figure 4. National Nyt Norge (NN) and Norsk Spesialitet (NS) labels



Source: <https://www.matmerk.no/no/nytnorge> and <https://www.matmerk.no/no/spesialitet>

Norway have limited traditions of visibly connecting foods with specific geographical areas. As long as a 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” (*kortreist*) in comparison to foreign products in the grocery store⁹. 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 (Figure 4). These labels are Nyt Norge (NN) that can be translated as ‘Enjoy Norway’ and Norsk Spesialitet (NS), literally meaning ‘Norwegian Specialty’. In short, both these labels indicate that the product and the production process are Norwegian, but the NS label also adds a quality stamp to the product. The NN label is more recognised of the two, due to its visibility in grocery stores and it being an easily recognised label for Norwegian food (Matmerk.no 2018c). The NS label is more focused on local food and the special quality that comes with using local ingredients or a special recipe with a high quality standard (Matmerk.no 2018e). The NN and NS labels, in addition to the BB labels, have their roots in an earlier quality scheme, the Godt Norsk foundation (Good Norwegian), which was established already in 1994 to reinforce the position of local Norwegian food within the borders of Norway to assure against competition from imported food (Amilien, Schjøll, and Vramo 2008, 41,42). Since 1992 there has been a massive effort from the Norwegian government to get Norwegians to support Norwegian food, and it was therefore not that surprising that Norwegian food, and the NN and NS labels,

⁸ The Food Basked refers to food products with FQS that we (researchers) bought before visit 1 and presented to the households to discuss. More details follow in chapter 3.

⁹ 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.

were easily recognised by our informants. They were mainly familiar with the NN label and some mentioned that they occasionally look for this label when they go shopping.

Debio Økologisk and EU Organic

Figure 5. Debio Økologisk and EU Organic labels



Source: <https://www.matmerk.no/no/okologisk/fakta>

The development of a certified labelling system for organic food in Norway was part of a series of political measures initiated in 1990s to stimulate the production, distribution and consumption of organic food (Vittersø and Tangeland 2015, 97). However, an interest for organic food production had already started much earlier in Norway. After WWI, several food producers wanted to communicate the difference between their sustainable production and the more common mass production of conventional agriculture, making organic food an alternative long before it got an official certification (Amilien et al. 2008). Since 2005, one of the main objectives of the Norwegian agricultural policy has been to increase organic food production and consumption.

The requirements for organic labelling in Norway are based on EU regulations and they follow a set of standard requirements with the aim of empowering consumers to choose organic food. One of the main requirements for using an organic label is that at least 95 percent of the ingredients are organic and these rules apply to categories in the food production system (Hillestad 2008, 15). The labelling process is managed and supervised by Debio in agreement with the Norwegian Food Safety Authority. Debio have several types of organic labels and they are all shaped like the Norwegian letter 'Ø' (Figure 5) for 'økologisk' (Norwegian word for organic). In addition to the national Ø-label, many food products also have the EU organic logo (Figures 5 and 6), often accompanied by a sentence or a specification in Norwegian or a foreign language¹⁰. Thus, some organic products have several labels on the packaging (Figure 6). For example, organic products found in the retail chain Coop, which in addition to carrying their own organic brand 'Änglamark' also have the Ø-label from Debio and the EU Organic label (some actually have all the Scandinavian national organic labels). As such this type of use multiple labels to signify organic certification of a food product seems to reflect what Heidenstrøm, Jacobsen, and Borgen (2011) refer to as 'the label jungle' in Norwegian grocery stores. Nevertheless, it seems that our informants found the organic labels visible and understandable, although some expressed that there were too many labels on one package. Even though organic labelling is recognised, the average sale of

¹⁰ The EU Organic is not exclusively discussed, as the Ø-label will always be attached next to it on organic food products, even if the product is not Norwegian.

organic food is still very low in Norway; approximately 1 percent of the total food market sales according to Vittersø and Tangeland (2015, 94).

Figure 6. Example of several organic labels used on food packages



Source: SIFO - own pictures from fieldwork

Healthy as a Keyhole? – the Keyhole label

Figure 7. Keyhole label



Source: <http://www.nokkelhullsmerket.no/>

The green Keyhole label (Figure 7), a Nordic front-of-pack labelling for identifying foods with low content of fat, sugar and salt and high content of dietary fibre within different product groups, is in Norway managed by the Norwegian Directorate of Health and the Norwegian Food Safety Authorities. Established in Sweden in 1989, the Keyhole label was in 2009 implemented as a Nordic label in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In addition to assisting consumers in making healthier food choices, the front-of-pack labelling schemes aim at motivating food producers to reformulate foods and produce healthier products. Thus,

front-of-pack labelling may also have positive effects for consumer health without consumers having to read, use or comprehend the label (Nokkelhullsmerket.no 2012).

In our study, the Keyhole label was not picked out as one of the labels we intended to discuss with the informants, as it is not a FQS. However, as almost all of the households mentioned the Keyhole label during our conversations, we found it necessary to include. The label often came up in conversations revolving around trust and conflicts about what is healthy to eat and what is not. Such controversies about the Keyhole are most likely related to a range of newspaper articles about the label some years back, see (Vg.no 2014), (Rasch 2012) and (Njarga 2014). Combined, these newspaper articles point to how many people did not agree that a popular pre-processed frozen pizza brand, “Grandiosa”, could have a Keyhole and be seen as healthy. As a consequence, it has become almost common knowledge that the Keyhole has conflicting messages about what kind of food is healthy.

2. Conceptual and methodological framework

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

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, 43).

The conceptual framework is based on a "complex thought" perspective highlighting several issues that both previous literature - for example, Warde emphasizes in "The practice of Eating" that eating is a 'compound practice' where routines and conventions merge and support each others' development (Warde 2016) - and 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 in the household or health issues are fundamental, while the sustainability of services (either public services like canteens or hospitals, or private services as for example community supported agriculture - CSA) and food 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.

2.1 The methodological approach

The main methodology used in this study was ethnographic fieldwork. But to fulfil 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 on the use of FQS, local food and SFSC, were collected in six Norwegian families throughout three different seasons (each of the three visits lasted about half a day or two half days, with three to six months 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 the focus was more generally on family food practices, because this implicitly shed light on their interest in, and use of, FQS. *The aim was to collect as much descriptive information as possible about food practices.*

Ethnography is the study of social interactions, practices and understandings/views that occur within groups. 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 behaviors and frameworks of consumers» (Salvador, Bell, and Anderson 1999).

Our approach based on the principles of ethnographic fieldwork 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 their 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 informants were or were not doing. It is a direct and first-hand engagement where observation and participation were 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.

2.2.1. Methodological tools

Participant observation is central to ethnography. The researcher seeks to experience the life of participants to the extent it is possible at the same time being aware that our view of reality

is neither objective 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 below) woven into each other within the frame of a “household and kitchen tour”. In our fieldwork, participant observation essentially concerned observation of planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal of FQS, local food and SFSC products within the household.

Video filming was used for documenting observations of practices such as shopping together and making food together with members of the household. The focus was specifically on the documentation of things and practices in that specific environment (not people *per se*). The aim with video 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 informants acted and spoke (bored, enthusiastic etc.). Prior consent and approval was requested from informants prior to any filming.

Pictures and notes (either electronic or paper notepad) were also taken, to complement (or replace) the videos. Screenshots from the videos were used to illustrate the “family context” in the Norwegian country report (for example a picture of kitchen, fridge, cupboard table with food, the products we brought etc.).

The food biography: The households documented their experiences and engagement in FQS products by taking notes, photos and videos with a tablet/iPad or other alternatives (camera, smartphone, laptop, etc.). The households were given instructions for documentation at the first field visit. They were asked to document planning, purchasing, using/cooking/eating and disposal of FQS products within the household. Informants were free to decide the format, content and the frequency of their own documentation, but we asked them at each visit (season) to choose 12 pictures/photos that were important for them on a given theme. The first series of photo should document the biography of the family’s food during a week while the second series focused on the biography of a food product. For example, before the third visit we specifically asked them to choose and follow one 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).

A semi-structured interview was used as an ice breaker at the first visit and a **dialogic conversation** with informants was introduced at the third and last visit. The purpose of the dialogic conversation was to ask questions, observe, and discuss together the semi-structured interview transcripts and 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 informants and researchers). Selected parts were transcribed and logbooks analysed.

2.2 The six households

The selection of households was based on two main dimensions: the declared interest/involvement in FQS and local food, as well as the location (rural/urban) (Table 1). These were combined with an attempt to have variation in some other criteria related to household composition (number and age of adults, presence of children, ethnic background, etc.).

Tabell 2-1: Selection criteria for recruitment of households

		Involvement in FQS and local food	
		Low to medium	Medium to High
Type of area	Rural	H6 (EB)	H5 (AC)
	Sub-urban	H4 (AC, EB)	H3 (AC)
	Urban	H2 (YC; EB)	H1 (YC)

Legend: YC = young children; AC = adolescent or young adult children; EB = non-Norwegian ethnic background.

Between March 2017 and March 2018, five households (H1-H5), with a total of 10 adult informants, were visited three times each. In addition, a sixth household (H6) with one adult was visited once in August 2017. The households were located in urban (Oslo), sub-urban (Ski, Bærum) and rural areas (Larvik area). In order to find potential households, we used several methods for recruiting. Two of the households had seen a notification ad from Facebook groups. These were groups in relation to food but also other interest groups such as ‘young mothers in Oslo’. The other households joined the project after requests to participate by friends of friends from researchers at SIFO. The recruitment was made following the selection criteria (table 1) but let’s note that it was not that easy to pre-determine the level of involvement in FQS. During fieldwork we noticed that the households’ interest in local products or cooking could vary from our expectations.

Three of the families were so called ethnically Norwegian (H1, H3, H5), while in two families the women had moved to Norway from European countries (H4 France and H6 Scotland), and in one family the man had moved to Norway from Africa (H2 Nigeria). All the families have lived in Norway for many years. The total household incomes before tax ranged 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 reported that they had spent less money on food compared to another household that earned a lot less. However, it is not possible to make any generalisation regarding income and food expenses based on six

households, and in addition it is important to remember that the families have different social and national backgrounds as well as very diverse interests in food.

Household 1. Oslo

Arne (45 years) and Anne (35 years) have two children aged 1 and 3 years. 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”. They have different family traditions for cooking food. Arne likes cooking but they do not spend so much time cooking in the week days as it is quite time demanding. 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 have 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 Rørosmeieriet¹¹ where most of the products have the NS and Ø label.

Household 2. Oslo

Mona (36 years) and Mikael (41 years) come from different countries and have three children aged 1, 3 and 5 years. They have different knowledge about food and cooking from their respective families. Concerning food provisioning, Mona and Mikael have separate arrangements; Mona buys groceries for herself and the children and Mikael mostly 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 and Mikael think it is important for the children to eat healthy. They both have several strategies to take care of food and avoid waste. Mona is preoccupied with price and would therefore frequently buy products from the brand First Price, which she appreciates. Regarding FQS she would prefer all food to be local or without pesticides but if the prices on local and organic food are high she would not buy it.

Household 3. Ski

Dagny (45 years) and David (46 years) have three children aged 8, 12 and 14 years. 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. They are aware of buying local, but primarily without pesticides or chemicals. They are often inspiring others, such as neighbours and friends, to eat more sustainable. Because of their interest in organic food, they were well acquainted with the Ø-label from Debio.

Household 4. Bærum

Erling (55 years) and Elisabeth (45 years) come from different countries (Norway and France)

¹¹ Røros is a municipality in the central part of Norway

and have two children aged 10 and 12 years. Elisabeth does most of the grocery shopping at their local Rema 1000, that she defined as practical, well-furnished and quite cheap. After visit 1 she started using an online shop (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 quite 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. The weekly menu is decided every Friday by the family together.

Household 5. Larvik

Sofie (41 years) and Sven (48 years) have three children aged 12, 14 and 16 years. They like cooking, especially Sven and their oldest son who often try our recipes during the weekend. 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, in part 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. They used to be part of a community-supported agriculture scheme and learned a lot, but stopped because it was too time demanding.

Household 6. Larvik

Linda (79 years) 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 provided with food, such as eggs, vegetables or meat, from her neighbours. She has a good knowledge about food and can also help her friends and family to slaughter or cook. Her local grocery store is Meny and she also had local farm sales close to her house. Price is a central factor in her food provisioning, together with quality. Norwegian and local food is important to Linda and she often looks for the NN label or products from Vestfold (local area).

2.2.1 About the fieldwork

The first meeting with three of the households (H1, H2, H3) took place at a local café of their choice, close to their home. The other three households (H4, H5, H6) were contacted by phone as they had social relations through our network. This was a way for us to introduce ourselves and the project and avoid making informants feel uncomfortable with 'strangers' entering their homes. The intention with the meetings and phone calls was also an introduction of the project where the informants could ask any questions they had about the research.

We presented the rationale for participating in the project as a research on households' food practices such as purchasing, cooking, eating, and their everyday routines connected to those practices. The informants received a flyer with further information about S2F and our/their

role in the project. If the household consented to the project and wanted to take part in it, we decided on a date for the first visit.

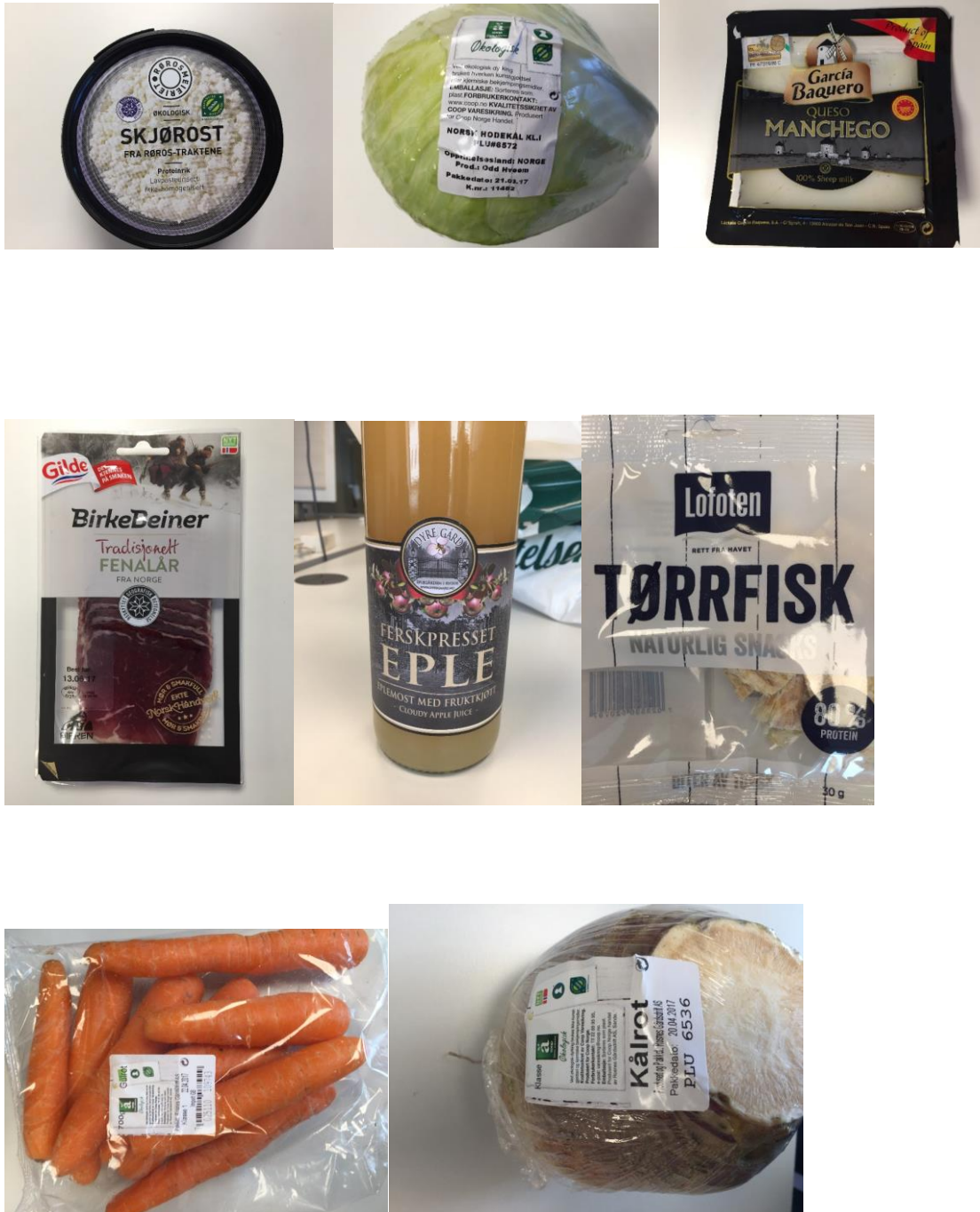
Although we had reflected and prepared for the visits, the visits to the households were not ruled by a definitive structure and our approaches to the fieldwork were, on purpose, largely controlled by the field itself. The plan presented to the households involved a visit from two researchers, where we would join at least one member of the family to go shopping at a local supermarket, followed by visiting their home, exploring their kitchen, cooking dinner together and finally eating and cleaning together. In addition, the first visit included a semi-structured interview. We used a combination of participant observation, semi-structured interviews and dialogic conversations. The semi-structured interview was particularly useful for asking the informants directly about food labels, and the interview was used in a retrospective reflection for the dialogic conversation in visit 3.

2.2.2 The Semi-structured interview at the kitchen table

As part of the semi-structured interviews, we explicitly addressed questions about food products with FQS to gather information about the informants' opinions, recognition, and knowledge of the products and the various labels attached to these. Each family was presented with 8-10 different food products (called the Food Basket) that we had bought prior to the visit and which were given to the family afterwards. 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 (Figure 8). We used a semi-structured interview guide during these conversations. This enabled us as researchers to ask questions outside of the interview guide and to follow up on interesting discussions that arose during the conversations. The interviews usually began with questions about the products from the Food Basket and if the household were familiar with these. This was followed by more specific questions about labels and origin, and discussions arose as the informants were asked to look more closely at the products and examine the information attached to them. In most cases, this was often the occasion when the informants were introduced to the PGI, PDO, TSG and the BB labels. By giving the households information about the FQS, the intention was to ask about these labels on visits 2 and 3 and explore if the information we had provided in visit 2 had affected any practices with regards to the FQS. Furthermore, the last part of the semi-structured interview explicitly

addressed food and environmental sustainability and the informants' role in society as food consumers.

Figure 8. Products from the Food Basket



Source: SIFO - own pictures from fieldwork

2.2.3 Participant observation – visiting, cooking and going shopping

The main part of the ethnographic fieldwork involved participant observation in the homes of each household, but also in grocery stores and at various food markets. Participant observation is a way for the researcher to observe and describe the habitat (Hubert 2004, 45), which in this case was the households' kitchen, cooking and storage facilities. We asked the informants to give us a tour of their kitchen and show us refrigerators and cupboards and we explored the content within. In addition to observing their kitchen and taking part in their cooking practices, we also spent some part of the fieldwork going shopping at various grocery stores. This included local supermarkets, specialty shops, and a food festival. During these shopping trips, we had many interesting observations and conversations, which would later become important for understanding more about the households' food practices.

In the following sections, we elaborate on the three visits and describe them empirically, as much of the methods in the fieldwork were, to a great extent, dependent on the field itself.

Visit 1

Our first visits with the households took place between March and August 2017 and involved going shopping, cooking, and eating dinner, and conducting the semi-structured interview. The timing of the semi-structured interview varied as some of the households preferred to cook and eat dinner before the interview, while for others it was more convenient to do the interview first. They could choose both form and content for the shopping tour, as we, on purpose, did not give a limited frame about what they would buy or cook for us. The food shopping happened in one of the households' local grocery stores. We brought our tape recorder and video camera and observed their shopping practices, asking them questions about what kind of food they usually look for, what they look at when they select the products, and other questions that came up during the shopping. Regardless of how much the informants bought in the store, it was a way for us to observe some of their practices and routines when they bought food and gave way for fruitful conversations later in the visit. Back in the house, it was time to prepare the dinner and we continued to talk with the informants about their food practices while assisting them in cooking if they wanted us to do so.

Visit 2

Our second visit to the households happened three to four months later, September-October 2017, and had a looser structure than the first visit. Our focus during visit 2 mostly revolved around FQS, and other food labels, and we wanted to ask the informants explicitly about some of the labels that we had talked about during visit 1. We were curious to see if some of them had a greater interest in food labels or had begun to look more pointedly for labels when shopping. Consequently, we invited the households who live nearby the city of Oslo to join us for the yearly food festival *Matstreif* at Aker Brygge. Our interest in the food festival was because we knew there would be Norwegian food available and possibly labels displayed at the food festival, which might encourage valuable and interesting conversations. In the end,

only H1 decided to join us for the festival, and thus for H1 visit 2 did not involve a home visit but included conversations with the family as we tasted various kinds of food and explored different brands and food labels.

None of the other households could join us for the food festival, but H4 suggested that we joined them for a trip to their local ‘specialty’ shop Smelters Mathus, located 10 minutes from their home. With some similarities to Matstreif, this store offered many opportunities to look for food labels and experience a selection of Norwegian food and a wide selection of organic food. It so happened that the second visit with household 2, 3, 4 and 5 was conducted in their homes and a meal was prepared together similarly to visit 1. The difference with visit 2 (especially for those who did not go to specialty stores or food market) was a more thorough exploration of their kitchen cupboards to look for potential food labels displayed on products they had bought and if they had thought about the labels before they bought the product. The aim with asking such questions was to find out more about how they evaluate food when they buy food products and if they look for anything specific and why. By viewing the products displayed in the households’ cupboards, we tried to understand their ways for selecting certain food items such as olive oil or yoghurt and if any information on the package had influenced their choice. This exploration was important for the later analysis on informants’ evaluations of food quality.

Visit 3

During February and March 2018, we went to visit the families for the third time. This visit was shorter than the other two as it did not involve any shopping, but most of the households invited us to have dinner with them. As this was the third visit to the households, the circumstances were more relaxed and many interesting conversations arose about FQS and food sustainability. The aim with visit 3 was to develop dialogic and reflective conversations with the informants about FQS and solutions regarding how we together can build a better, more sustainable, world. The framework of the dialogic conversations was developed within

the S2F project as part of WP 8.2, relating to the teamwork preparation of the fieldwork guidelines.

Methodological note:

This approach is influenced by Bakhtin's work on dialogical discourse as well as Edgar Morin's dialogic principle – and better described in (Amilien et al. 2018, 21 and 35-36)- allows us not only to understand fieldwork and informants as constantly in flux, reducing the risk of anchoring the informants to any fixed categories, it also to have a constant self reflection on the role of the researcher and the common construction made through the dialogue between researchers and informants.

As such, we gave the informants a transcription of the semi-structured interview from visit 1, and together, we reflected and commented on the interview in a dialogue that was strongly inspired by mentoring techniques (Ekeland 2014). Not only was this a chance for us to reflect together, but it also gave us an opportunity to ask if our impressions of their food practices were correct. However, several of the informants found this part a bit awkward, as they were not used to reading transcripts of their own expressions and statements. Following this, not all the households read the transcripts, but by reminding them about visit 1, we still managed to establish interesting conversations. With some households, it had been almost a year since visit 1 and thus the conversations also revolved around potential changes in the households since then. We wanted the households to reflect on any changes in their food practices and if their being part of this project had contributed to those changes. Interestingly, this part is where the stable continuity of their practices and habits came forward, and thus showing the value of visit 3.

2.2.4 Analytical tool

The semi-structured interviews, discussions and the dialogic conversations were transcribed. The transcribed data was thematically coded and analysed in relation to research questions using NVivo. The three main researchers who participated in the ethnographic fieldwork watched videos and discussed themes that emerged from the data. Quotes and photos were selected to inform what the households found relevant.

The NVivo coding system, called “code book”, and used for the data analysis is based on the theoretical framework and consequently refer to main dimensions of Social Practice Theory

(as time, materiality, routine etc.), Convention Theory (as different worlds of worth) or CAW (as translation or transformation for example). It was created with the S2Food team and is presented in Annex 1.

3. Informants' understanding, perception, value and trust of FQS

During visit 1 we presented the FQS to the households and asked if they recognized or used any of the labels. We emphasized the FQS as quality labels, and that the schemes' meaning signified values of origin, organic and health.

At first glance, there was a clear tendency among our informants to regard food labels, especially GIs, as uninteresting or invisible¹². In addition, a quantitative report based on a Norwegian consumer survey in WP 8.1 of the S2Food project (Hartmann et al. forthcoming) and quantitative EU surveys (as (Eurobarometer 2012): 27 studying "Consumers' awareness of five FQS logos in the EU-27") found that the participants rarely looked for food labels in grocery stores. This last 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 FQS to FQS (with a more usual reference to fair trade and organic than to GIs) and 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 (Norway is not on the EU barometer study, but Nordic countries are also around 20%).

Earlier surveys conducted in Norway suggest that consumers were not particularly interested in GIs (Amilien, Schjøll, and Vramo 2008). Most consumers mainly check price, expiry dates and brand names when buying food (Roos 2007, Roos et al. 2010). Additionally, the claim of our informants' disinterest in FQS is also supported by the observations as part of three visits over the time span of almost a year, where we regularly purchased, commented and talked about food labels with the households. Consequently, it seemed as labels, especially GIs, were not specifically helpful to our informants, as they mostly did not use or check them in the grocery stores. But let's take a closer look at the different FQS and our informants' relations to them.

3.1. Organic

All the informants recognized the Norwegian organic Ø-label, but the European Organic label was less familiar. Even though the European Organic in several cases was visible next to

¹² Such tendencies were also described in the other participating countries of the S2F project.

the Norwegian Ø-label, the informants would more often associate the Ø-label with organic values. This label was given considerable trust while the EU Organic was mentioned as suspicious due to its connotations of a 'foreign' label. Later, it will be argued how higher trust in the Norwegian organic label is an important aspect to consider in comparison between Norwegian food and 'foreign' food. In terms of buying organic food, four of the 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 the households were able to recognise the Ø-label and they did not express difficulties with finding it in the grocery stores. Compared to earlier studies mentioned, it appears that our households were more eager to buy organic than the average Norwegian household, even though this was not consistent among all members of the households.

An important factor in relation to organic food and their labels is the issue of crop spraying. Both H3 and H6 emphasized how organic values were explicitly tied to the non-use of pesticides:

Dagny: 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 (H3, Visit 1).

Dagny's trust in the Ø-label was explicitly related to crop spraying and when she puts her trust in this label she also trusts that food with the Ø-label does not contain too much pesticides. This implies that organic were not mainly about sustainable values in the case of H3, but more closely related to health and family.

Price was an important aspect that the informants considered related to organic food. H5 often emphasised the consideration of price and they mostly used the organic *brand* from Coop, Änglamark, as this is considerable cheaper than other organic food products. However, H5's continued use of the brand Änglamark was not exclusively related to the prices of the products;

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 (H5, Visit 3).

Sofie's story points to an essential element of labelling and knowledge; it may not be enough to acquire information about a new label/brand, but it is important to acquire familiarity with it and develop a form of 'relationship'. Thus, there is a difference between recognising labels and actually using them as a guide in the store. Sven and Sofie bought a lot of organic products because of their relationship and familiarity with the Änglamark brand, combined

with the fact that their local store had products from that brand available. Based on these observations, their connection with the brand seemed deeper than just the value of organic products in itself.

In addition to price, other values were important in the evaluation of organic food. Non-Norwegian organic products that were expected to have left emission miles because they have travelled ‘across the globe’ was often expressed as less valuable than Norwegian products. As such, organic labels on imported products such as Spanish organic carrots were mentioned by Elisabeth (H4) as potentially ‘unsustainable’. This points to a potential fluid hierarchy between organic, local and price. Organic could be the most important value, but not always. Even though Elisabeth mentioned organic as the most important factor for her food provisioning, she was also concerned with local food, ethical considerations and environmental sustainability. Consequently, the Spanish organic carrots were not as valuable as the Norwegian conventional carrots. Elisabeth was not the only informant who emphasised localness and Norwegian produced, which is explicitly related to the efforts of Norwegian authorities to promote Norwegian food through labels such as the NN and the NS.

If foreign certified labels, as the EU organic, do not inspire as much trust as the Norwegian certification and are not consulted while purchasing food, the private Änglamark brand is well known, actively used, recognized and trusted by our informants.

3.2 Origin and localness

As mentioned, our informants were familiar with the NN label signifying food produced in Norway. Three households (H3, H4 and H5) were very interested in Norwegian food and in this regard, they discussed the NN and NS 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 Spain¹³. 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. Sven and Sofie (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 Sven emphasised knowledge about traceability and region in relation to Norwegian produced food.

Sven: 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.

R: But why do you find it interesting?

Sven: It does something to the product if it has a history. Many times, you get a packet

¹³ Which is a usual way of understanding and using the concept of local food in Norway (see Amilien 2011 for more info)

of minced meat which is one out of 40.000 animals at Tulip [Danish brand], then I do not want to buy it (H5, Visit 1).

Sven expressed several flaws with the BB labels because he thought they did not show enough traceability. Knowledge about food products is critical here, but also a lack of knowledge of the BB labels themselves. None of the households knew about the BGB or the European PGI (or PDO) labels. Despite our explanation of them in visit 1, the informants showed very little interest for these labels in visit 3 and barely remembered the labels'

meaning. This was somewhat surprising, as it appeared that several of the households agreed with the logic of these labels with validating the origin of a product and the products connection to place. Several discussions came up related to 'place' as a marketing strategy to invoke notions of quality, related to a product with dried cod that H1, H2 and H3 received

from the food basket in visit 1 (Figure 9). This was a bag of dried cod with no FQS and the most recognisable information on the packaging 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.



Figure 9. Bag of dried cod, one of the products from the Food Basket.

Source: SIFO - own picture from fieldwork

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

Dagny: [about the dried cod] this does not have a NN label, but it is very Norwegian.

R: You say very Norwegian, how do you know that?

Dagny: Lofoten, it says Lofoten, although it is probably not produced in Norway.

David: It may be shipped abroad and prepared somewhere.

Dagny: 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 (H3, Visit 1).

Before Dagny knew that the dried cod was originally from Iceland, she was clearly connecting the qualities of the product to its Norwegian origin. Dagny and David were quite occupied with Norwegian food, even more so with organic food, and origin was important to them. 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.

Dagny: 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 (H3, Visit 1).

As it turns out, Dagny's discovery of the misleading product name made an impact on her, and the dried cod also became a topic at visit 3;

Dagny: The dried cod yes, the one that was not produced in Norway.

R: Do you remember it?

Dagny: 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 (H3, Visit 3).

We also brought the dried cod to H1 and H2, but in H1, neither the informants nor the researchers realised its origin. However, in H2 a discussion about the fish came up, but not related to its misleading brand name. Mikael (H2) had a different way of perceiving the logic of the branding strategy;

Mikael: You think that fish should come from the north of Norway, as if it is going back to the original. But if the fish comes from Austria, you think that it cannot be fresh fish... Lofoten [the brand] can sell more fish, because you do not think that it comes from Iceland, you only think Lofoten and then North of Norway.

R: Is that good or is it a problem?

Mikael: It is good because it means that if I were to sell fish, I could use Lofoten to sell my fish, like Iceland uses Lofoten.

Mona: But it is misleading... it is scary.

Mikael: If it had indicated that the bag was from Iceland, I wouldn't have been impressed and would not have bought it.

R: But is that because you live in Norway? What if you lived in a different country?

Mikael: First of all, you cannot just go to a shop and buy stuff, you need to know what to buy. I need to think about what I know, if I knew something about fish from other countries, I might buy it. It might be that there are other places with

better fish, like Malta or Egypt, but I need to buy the one I know the most. So I feel like I know that the fish from Lofoten is good (H2, Visit 1).

Mikael's point in this discussion is related to how knowledge can have an influence on how you judge food quality. In his case, quality is strongly associated with place as an idea of food quality. Mikael defines quality based on a type of 'closeness' to the food, which is also dependent on reputation of the product or the brand. This case demonstrates the relevance of context, as some products 'belong' to a certain place of quality. The informants gave certain quality products, like manchego cheese or cured lamb, strong associations with the places of which they 'naturally' belonged. However, despite this emphasis on place and region, the informants had difficulties perceiving the quality the BB, PGI and PDO labels. Thus, obviously because none of the households had any conscious empirical knowledge of the BGB, PGI and PDO (except during our visits), it appeared that they found them generally uninteresting. This is not to disregard the value of the labels, but the *use* and knowledge of these labels were extremely limited.

3.2 Health

In the previous section, Mona (H2) mentioned it was alarming that the dried cod had misleading information on the packaging. Our conversations with her were often related to healthiness and the issue of knowing what is actually 'safe' to eat. The type of food she fed her three children was very important to her, and she based most of her quality evaluations on nutritional value for her children. Mona had many questions for the researchers about what kind of food was healthy and it became apparent in visit 2 that she found it difficult to find both affordable and simultaneously nutritious food options. This was particularly difficult with her youngest child, a one year old baby. Through her social circle, she was exposed to rumours about the food you should not give to babies, like raisins, which made her doubt whether it was safe to give raisins to her children or not. In order to judge the quality of the products, Mona usually read the nutritional information. However, she was not particularly excited about the Keyhole label despite its alleged purpose of indicating 'healthy' foods.

Mona: I think the issue with the Keyhole label is that there have been many products granted the label, which are not typically healthy products, and they say the standards have become narrower now, but... it is not negative that there is a Keyhole on the products we buy, but it is not a decisive factor for what we buy (H2, Visit 1).

Based on information Mona had acquired about the Keyhole she was unsure whether she could trust the label to be a true indicator for healthiness. This was similar to how the other households perceived the label, as was mentioned in chapter 1. What is interesting in the case of the Keyhole is how the public discourse about its ambiguity has reached all of the households, and none of the households saw the label as a helpful guide to healthiness.

Concerning the controversies of the Grandiosa pizza mentioned in chapter 2, the following quotes are some of the extracts on what the informants had to say about the case.

Arne: 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 (H1, Visit 3).

David: 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 (H3, Visit 1).

Sofie: 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 (H4, Visit 1).

This confusion about the Grandiosa pizza shows that the type of food it represents, easy-to-make fast food, does not meet the health or quality requirements in any of the households. Furthermore, confusions about the Keyhole also revolved around common sense, Dagny and David (H3), in particular, stressed the lack of value in the label;

Dagny: I never look for the Keyhole.

R: You do not think that the product is better because it has a Keyhole?

Dagny: 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 (H3, Visit 2).

Dagny: 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 (H3, Visit 3).

In an ideal food labelling system, Dagny would have preferred a label that indicates environmental values instead of the Keyhole. There were several food products that Dagny found unnecessary to specify as healthy, which often have the Keyhole. Some of the products that have the label were not, according to her, healthy. This feeling seemed to be mutual in the households whenever the Keyhole became a topic, pointing to clear expressions of distrust towards the Keyhole. Our informants did not necessarily distrust the producer, but we would argue that it shows distrust towards the conflicting information of food in general.

4. Informants and food practices – actual and related to FQS and SFSC

4.1 Planning and purchasing

Elisabeth: The days are quite tight as it is for many others who have children. If we do not plan we end up with bad food and that is not what I want... My children probably think it is very exciting when we do not plan well. But it has been working fine to plan every week and it is the only point in the budget where we can save money (H4, Visit 1).

Several of the households stressed how the planning of grocery shopping and meals during the week was helpful. As they all, except H6, had more than one child, their everyday lives were quite hectic and planning was mentioned as a strategy to lighten the ease. H1 was very insistent on the importance of planning their weekly dinner meals, and their idea of the ideal weekly dinner menu included one vegetarian and two fish dishes. Arne mentioned an explicit example of why planning was important; “On the weekdays there is a big advantage of not having to wonder what to buy, with crying children and a crying self”. However, at visit 3 both Anne and Arne were both working full-time and they admitted that they could not keep up with the weekly planning. They expressed that it would be advantageous to plan their dinners for the week, but on the weekends, they occasionally had a different approach. They did not always have a particular plan on Saturdays and Sundays, because they preferred going to specialty shops to find the products that looked appetising that they could buy for dinner. Sometimes they went to Mathallen (indoor food market in Oslo), where many specialty shops are located in one place, to find, as they said it, “inspiration”. Additionally, if they had guests coming for dinner, they would make a solid plan, often specifically prioritising food quality. Their weekly plans were often changed by unforeseen circumstances or by their inability to plan properly, but planning for guests was something they took quite seriously;

Arne: We are experiencing a bad period with regards to weekly menus... a year ago we were still on paternal leave and it was easier.

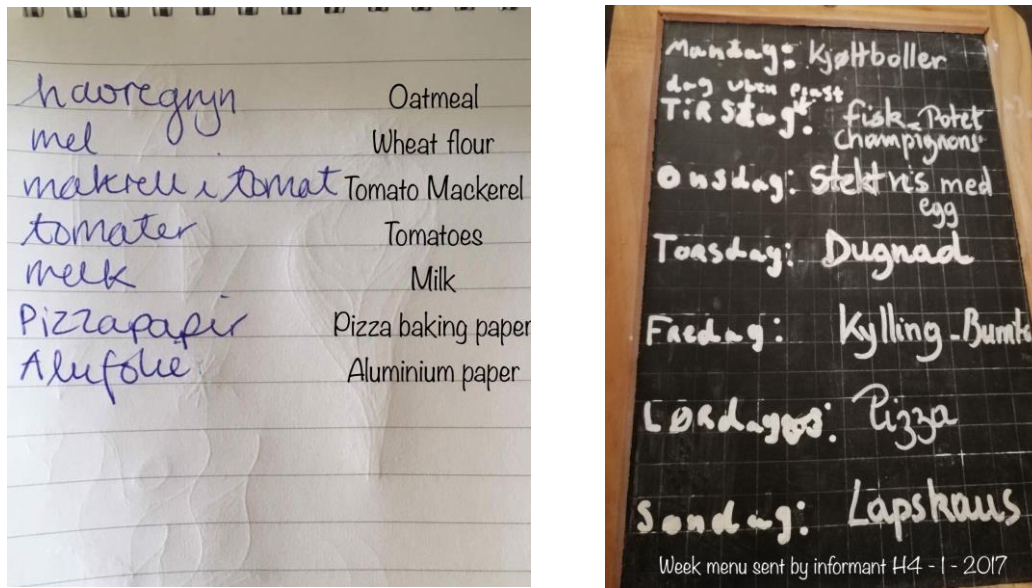
Anne: But we talk about and think about food a lot and if we are having guests or going to the cabin, when we know we will have time to cook good food, then we plan, especially you [referring to Arne].

Arne: Last Friday we tried two different appetisers before dinner because I was

considering what to serve when my colleagues come to dinner this upcoming Friday (H1, Visit 3).

As Ilmonen (2001, 21) has noted; “Weekends and visitors seems to break through this repetitive eating behaviour when another sort of mechanism enters to govern the choice of food” and this was especially the case for Anne and Arne. Furthermore, time is an interesting factor to notice here, as the feeling of less time during the week clearly changed what Arne and Anne 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 structures in the everyday life. Weekly planning is one way to handle the difficulties of limited time (Figure 10).

Regarding practices related to the planning of grocery shopping, most of the informants used a list, either on paper or smartphone, and they would frequently add to this list until the shopping occurred (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Examples of planning: shopping list and weekly dinner menu plan

Source: SIFO - own pictures from fieldwork

We also observed some alternative strategies and Sofie (H5) had established a routine in their fridge, in addition to her food list, for noticing when something from their food staple was missing.

R: How does a shopping list work? Do you have one in the kitchen and then you add products as you go short?

Sofie: We have a box in the fridge with staple spreads (pålegg) with all the food that has 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.
(H5)

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

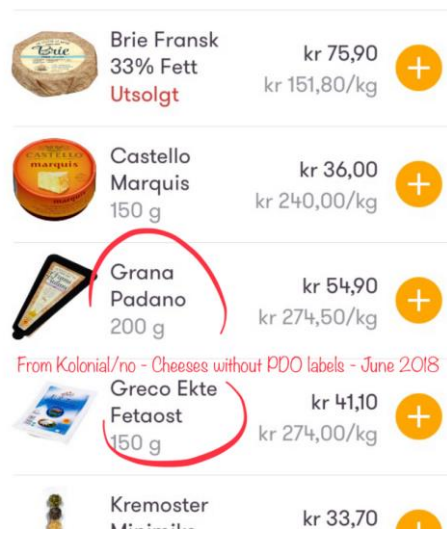
On the topic of lists, we also observed an interesting transition in H4 when Elisabeth had transferred most of her family's weekly grocery shopping from their local supermarket, Rema 1000, to an online store, Kolonial.no (owned by Rema 1000). Because she was now purchasing food online, the website provided her with a tool to save her grocery list. This appears to involve a quite stable and continuous food provisioning, as she rarely added new products to this list. In addition, the website would also give Elisabeth a reminder when the website had 'calculated' that they would soon run out of a certain product. The shopping list still was a basic social practice based on new technology (internet purchase), other materiality (smartphone or PC), convenient use of time and room (purchasing whenever it was convenient, from wherever it was possible) and new infrastructure (home delivery) but without a direct impact on the content and type of food. In overall, the online shopping at

Kolonial.no provides a different context for looking for FQS, and figure 11 illustrates a difference in how FQS are connected to products online.

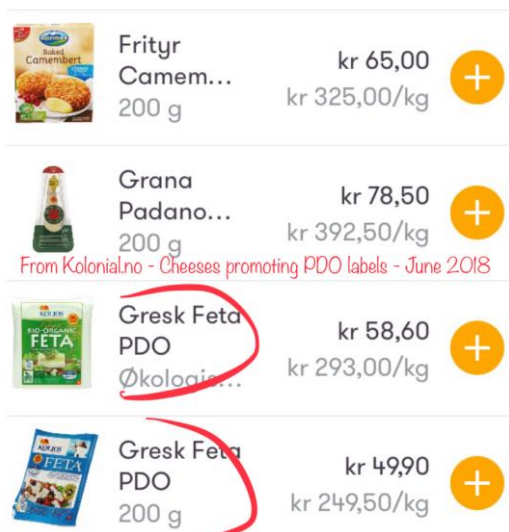
Figure 11. Screenshots with examples of information on PDO on online shop



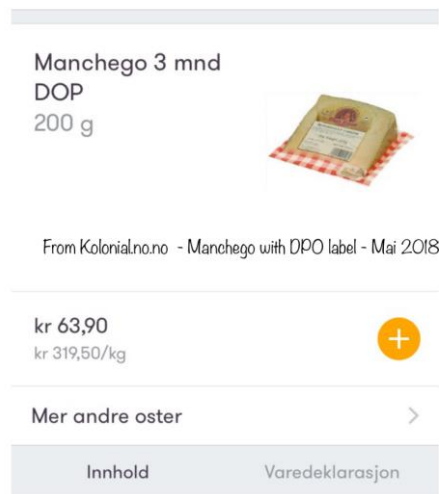
a) Rema 1000 cheese shelf



b) kolonial.no cheese page



c) kolonial.no cheese page.



d) kolonial.no detail on Manchego

a) and b) From a Rema 1000 physical shop, where PDO cheeses have been promoted with more visible labels in 2018

c) and d) From kolonial.no (alike Rema 1000 but online shopping): 3 pictures emphasizing the FQS but the inconsistency in their promotion.

Source: SIFO - own pictures from fieldwork

Elisabeth (H4) was very pleased with the opportunities provided by the website, but she had not noticed any appearance of the FQS (that we emphasized in figure 11). She was more focused on how it could support her ambition to plan a weekly dinner menu for each week. The issue of planning seemed even more important to her on visit 2, as she had a new job and she was therefore more dependent on planning than before: *“If we are very organised and stick to the plan I use Kolonial, but if we do not manage to be organised I go to Rema”*. Thus, Elisabeth did not find use in the website’s efforts to point out FQS. These efforts consisted of writing PDO, or DOP, on some products (see figure 11), but there was not any other text explaining about the products, or a systematic reference to the FQS. As such, the FQS on the website are portrayed in a similarly as a physical store. This point is worth underling, as the online store would potentially have more and easier possibilities for promoting the FQS. However, an elaboration is missing, just as in a physical store.

Related to planning and purchasing, H3 proposed an interesting approach to purchasing food where the material elements, such as fridges, freezer or higher technological utensils such as sous vide machines, were central and combined with a well reflected organization. For example, in the case of meat, H3’s planning practices included much preparation and work on their part and involved a dependency on having meat in their freezers. As David and Dagny would preferably buy their meat and fish from other places than the local grocery store, they need to coordinate when they buy food, put it in the freezer, and save for later use. This obviously takes a great deal of planning, for example remembering to defrost the goods in time to prepare for the actual dinner. Dagny has a phrase for this; ‘working with the freezer’.

David: *Our freezers are full, but sometimes we forget to take stuff out*

Dagny: *We try to plan but it is not that easy.*

Daniel: *That is why we have some stuff that is easy to defrost quickly*

Dagny: *Fish is easy, you just put it in cold water.*

Daniel: *We package pork meat in separate pieces so that it takes shorter time to defrost.*

Dagny: *When we do the packaging ourselves we vacuum-pack the food and freeze it flat, and it only takes a couple of minutes to defrost in water, it is very quick. Like when we buy a whole pig we just think what is easy to have in the freezer, because we do not need Sunday dinners we need everyday dinners, wok meat is the easiest to defrost... and minced meat (H3, Visit 1).*

To some extent, David and Dagny’s way of buying meat from alternative suppliers may appear as more complicated than buying from the grocery store, but because they are opposed to buying meat and fish that cannot be traced when purchased from a store, they have developed other strategies. They described several incidents with tasks they had to overcome.

David: *We received a whole deer.*

Dagny: *My cousin brought it to us in the evening, and we thought what do we do now you know? There was extra buckshot because my cousin missed the first shot.*

David: *But it worked out.*

Dagny: *It is my cousin who shoots these deer, he has stopped using buckshot and started using rifle ammunition, so that was good.*

Daniel (oldest son): *Mum found buckshot in her food.*

David: *You always get surprised when you find metal pellets in the meat*
(H3, Visit 1).

David, Dagny and their oldest son Daniel were all very casual when they explained the challenges they faced, including new knowledge and know-how, such as the need to learn how to slaughter animals. Although they would often look at what kind of meat they had in the freezer and planned dinners around that during weekdays, it appeared that they rarely had a set weekly plan. Dagny confirmed this “no-plan” attitude once we were shopping together at their local store in visit 1, when she expressed; *“Yes, we are here all the time, it is embarrassing, we do not plan”*.

All households had one or two local grocery stores that they used several times during the week. Most of these stores can be defined as stores with relatively limited selection and low prices, compared to some of the more expensive store 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, such as vegetables, they would turn the product around and look, mostly for the origin but also for checking if it was organic. They did not look for any specific FQS, but rather any type of information that would reveal the origin, and the production method for Elisabeth, and information about local food or potential chemicals for Linda.

As mentioned in the section about health, Mona (H2) had a habit of reading the content information on products and she was particularly aware of the sugar content. She expressed how she rarely introduced any new products to their food staples, but if her children wanted to try something new she would read the content information carefully and look at the price. The price of products was in most cases decisive for what Mona bought and she had developed a good ‘relationship’ with and trusted the brand First Price. Her habit of buying First Price products had become so strong that she would go to two of her local stores for food provisioning; she bought First Price products at Meny and the other groceries, based on a lower price on food in general, at Coop Extra. A similar relationship to brands can be observed with H1, Rørosmeieriet, H4, Änglamark, and H6, GoGreen (although she knew and noticed that GoGreen products was not always organic). Such ‘successful relationships’, where our informants trust and systematically buy products from a brand, was not found with any of the FQS. In other words, nobody from the six households looked consequently for FQS labels the way they did for brands in grocery stores, although they might buy products having a FQS.

When Arne and Anne (H1) went shopping, their routines in the grocery store involved physical experiences with products such as touching and looking. Thus, they did not look for any FQS, but would pay attention to smell, consistence, expiration date and a ‘scale on bread’

indicating levels of whole wheat in bread. Appearance of products was highly decisive for their evaluation of products. One example mentioned by H1 is a trip they made to their local organic specialty shop to look for vegetables, which turned out to be a disappointment.

Arne: We hardly ever shop there [in the speciality store].

Anne: No, but there is a reason for that. We went buy it once and intended to buy some vegetables, but then the vegetables were brown and soggy and not very tempting... and on top of it all it is more expensive than the other fruit and vegetable shops (H1, Visit 1).

Because Arne and Anne experienced the quality of vegetables as poor they rarely went to the speciality shop again, even though it was just around the corner from where they lived.

4.2 Cooking and eating

By observing the cooking practices of our informants we could also observe how their values and beliefs related to food issues were embedded in their cooking practices. Elisabeth (H4) for example, expressed how she was uncomfortable preparing raw chicken meat and she would use a knife and a work, instead of her hands, to separate the skin from the rest of the meat;

R: Do you always use knife and fork to prepare the raw meat?

Elisabeth: Yes

R: And with meat from cow and pig as well?

Elisabeth: Yes actually, particularly with meat because I think it is sort of disgusting, so I do not use it (fork and knife) because of hygienic reasons... But fish is okay (H4, Visit 1).

Elisabeth's ambiguity towards the preparation of raw meat may be connected to her concern for animal welfare, and possibly to the fact that if it were entirely up to her, her family would eat mostly vegetarian meals.

In general the households' practices related to cooking and eating were, as with their purchasing practices, much routinized. H4 mentioned that they used the same recipes, but would occasionally cook other meals when they had guests for dinner. This was similar in H1, but as mentioned earlier, having guests would involve more reflexive food choices and sometimes new recipes were tried out. In addition, Arne and Anne (H1) liked to explore new recipes also for their everyday dinners. They mentioned how they would cook new recipes that they discovered on food pages on internet or food magazines, and if they enjoyed them, it could potentially become a part of their recipe repertoire. Additionally, H1 mentioned several examples of exploring new ways of cooking or new types of ingredients. Before visit 1, they had recently been a part of a box scheme with local and organic vegetables and meat, but dissolved the membership after a few times because they received too many products that

they could not find any use for, in addition to Anne being allergic to several types of food. On visit 2, as they joined us for the food market, Anne signed up for trying a week with “Adam’s dinner box scheme”, but they told us on visit 3 that although it was a fun way to cook they did not continue ordering the box scheme.

The other households did not mention similar tendencies to explore new recipes and ingredients and they appeared to stick with their routines and the products they had become familiar with. This implies that they all have solid staple ingredients, spices and oils, and these basic foods mostly constituted the FQS products we found in their kitchen during our visits. Several households had olive oil with a PDO or PGI (either Italian or Spanish), but the label was not the reason why the products had been bought. An exception was an organic olive oil from the brand Änglamark that had become a food staple for H5. This is yet another example that brands were more popular and familiar to the households than any of the FQS. H4 had several bags of salt with a PGI from Guérande in France, which they brought back from France to Norway every year. This product had connections to Elisabeth’s childhood area and they would give this salt as a gift to friends and family. The salt was bought for its excellent quality and good reputation combined with cultural heritage, but the fact that the salt had a PGI label had not crossed their minds until it was pointed out by the researchers. Similar observations were done in other households for salt (from Oléron elles Ré), olive oil (PGI or PDO from Italian or Spain) or cheese (as Granado or Parmesan).

Products with FQS were bought, used, or found at home because of their taste, quality or because of habit, but not because of the label itself. In this perspective we can underline that some products with FQS are integrated in social practices, but not the FQS alone.

4.3 Disposal and food waste

Elisabeth: *Do you know why they wrap everything in plastic? I think it is... I just do not understand why* (H4, Visit 1).

R: *In the store you talked about plastic.*

Linda: *Yes, I am so sick of it. All that packaging that is totally unnecessary... there are certain products that I really do not understand why they have used plastic packaging* (H6, Visit 1).

There was a noticeable tendency within the households to complain about the plastic surrounding the foods they bought. Plastic was mentioned frequently during all three visits, which probably relates to the recent media attention that the topic has received in Norway and Europe. However, despite their frustrations they had not found a way to get around the plastic, as for example organic bananas are required to be protected by plastic. There were especially some foods, like tacos, where the food products would automatically involve a lot of plastic packaging. Despite the households’ many frustrations regarding plastic, it was a noticeable

tendency that they felt incapable of actually doing something about this, much because the grocery stores would already have wrapped so much of the food in plastic.

As for food waste, we observed several practices where the households' had successfully managed to reduce their waste by engaging with certain strategies. H3 had hens in their backyard and much of their leftovers ended up as food to the hens;

Dagny: It is great to have hens because our kids always have a lot of leftovers from their lunch box and such

R: So they [hens] eat almost everything?

Dagny: You know, if you fed them chicken they would have eaten that as well, it is sort of disgusting with hens, they eat everything you give them... they are totally nuts (H3, Visit 1).

In addition to their hens being a valuable resource for food waste, H4 also used a compost system and thus they would rarely need to buy soil for their garden.

Mona (H2) had developed several reflexive strategies to keep the food waste in her household low.

Mona: When the kids are having cereal or oats with milk and do not finish their food, I put it in a waffle mix and make waffles... So there have been many waffles made (H2, Visit 2).

R: Do you do something else in addition to waffles to prevent food waste?

Mona: I only give them [children] bread with butter in their lunch box every day, because it usually comes back untouched... and I do not like bread with old spreading, but if it is old bread with butter I can put it in the toaster and eat it (H2, Visit 2).

In addition to these strategies (making waffles and reusing her children's lunch box bread), Mona would sometimes let her children eat dinner first and then she would eat their leftovers and thus save more food for the next day. These strategies were unique to H2 and were not common in the other households. Mona was quite occupied with reducing food waste and it

appeared that this was more related economic reasons and saving money than ‘ethical’ or ‘environmental’ reasons.

As leftovers go, we got the impression that all of the households would prefer not to waste leftovers from their dinners and such, but occasionally they did not manage due to other influencing factors in their everyday life. Sofie (H5) described a particular situation with leftovers;

Sofie: Sometimes we are very good at eating leftovers, but other times not... For example, two days ago we had sweet potato mash and we put its leftovers in the fridge, without any cover, to eat as an evening meal. But then we never ate it and the next day it had hardened... So, you know, we gave it to the dog... except she did not want it either. This will occasionally happen, that there are some food that we just muddle about with, but we are quite conscious about it (H5).

We were also interested in exploring if the treatment or care for leftovers were in any way connected to the informants’ perceptions of the food. For example if the food was local and/or organic. Thus, when we asked the informants to follow a food product with FQS and take pictures of purchasing, cooking, eating and disposal. As a follow up we asked if the quality of the food would affect the leftovers and potential waste. None of the households mentioned FQS or special quality as a unique reason not to waste the food. It seemed like food waste was ideally to be avoided in general.

Elisabeth: I would like to make real choices without spending too much time on it (H4, Visit 1).

The statement from Elisabeth is short and explicit, and it points to the core of what many of our informants found difficult with food provisioning and FQS. In Elisabeth’s case, her reference to ‘real choices’ is much related to ethical and sustainable issues with food. She found that it was very difficult to know what kind of food is good, in ethical and environmental terms. In relation to the FQS, Elisabeth did not see them as a helpful guide in the store, and she frequently mentioned that she missed the aspect of animal welfare in the FQS:

Elisabeth: ... in our case I am mostly preoccupied with animals and how they are treated.

R: Animal welfare?

Elisabeth: Yes, I think it would be nice if it is written, I do not need to know everything they eat and such, but a label which says that the animal had a relatively nice life and that what they eat is okay and not just antibiotics, I think that would have been nice.

R: What about price, would you pay more for e.g. a chicken if you knew its life had been better?

Elisabeth: *Yes, I would do that and then we would not eat it as often (H4, Visit 1).*

In addition, Elisabeth was also positive about a green label, that is, an ethical label, while her husband Erling was more sceptical.

R: *In relation to the quality labels, they do not necessarily include sustainability, but do you think that if there was a label stating this, that it would be more interesting to buy than a BB label?*

Elisabeth: *Yes, absolutely. To me it would have been. Animal welfare [is important] and it would help us from undermining our own health by buying products. Instead, we could do the opposite and be sure that we are contributing to a better planet... (H4, Visit 3).*

Elisabeth mentioned the BB label because she thought it lacked several aspects of what she saw as important to quality, such as animal welfare. In addition, she stressed that sustainability was not only about the environment.

Elisabeth: *Like the avocados, even if they are organic or not, they need so much water that the forest in Chile dries up and probably other places, then it is not sustainable. So a balance in the production and how it is done, not just with food but also with the people growing and picking the products, I think all of this is important.*

R: *How should we as consumers affect this?*

Elisabeth: *I think we should have more labelling that we can trust, I thought maybe organic was a solution but it turns out it is not, there is always a dark side.*

R: *Then what can we do? You say we need more labelling but we see that we already have all these different labels.*

Elisabeth: *I think maybe more visibility would be nice. And I think [the existing labels] are not enough because right now animal welfare and ethical issues are not communicated (H4, Visit 3).*

Elisabeth's point in these statements are clear; she would have preferred other labels than the present FQS because she was interested in knowing more about the ethical and sustainable impacts of the food products she bought. Interesting to note here, is that Elisabeth was unsure about organic food and its ability to be a better alternative than conventional food. This uncertainty is likely to be connected to a two-split attention on organic food in the Norwegian media. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that Elisabeth was the only informants who were explicit about wanting to buy foods with green food labels, although Dagny (H3) also hinted at this in an earlier section. However, the most important aspect to Dagny was the use of pesticides and she would like a label with information about spraying or no-spray;

Dagny: *I think it should say if the food is sprayed or if it is not sprayed. That is what we should be informed about. But you cannot write 'sprayed' ... like Norwegian cucumbers they are not sprayed, but who knows that, it is not that*

hard to write 'no-spray'.

R: But then you have the issue of too much information.

Dagny: Yes, but I would rather have that than the Keyhole, everybody knows that vegetables are healthy, so maybe you could clear away silly labels that are unnecessary (H3, Visit 3).

The part about a 'no-spray' label involves something other than pure organic qualities; it is about conveying information purely about the production of the food, and Dagny considered this information important because she feared the residue from pesticides. Looking at her statements combined, she might have found value in a green food label as long as the label also could prove a non-use of pesticides.

5. Informants' perceptions and requests regarding additional or adjusted policy measures

During the fieldwork, aspects of sustainable consumption were referred to by our informants. They provided several different aspects and perceptions of the concept and we tried to make sure that we did not give them a definition, as it often led to many interesting discussions. In etic terms¹⁴, a precise definition of sustainable consumption is complicated to provide (Seyfang 2006, 385). A widely accepted theoretically notion of the concept is defined as;

The use of services and related products which respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life while minimising the use of natural resources and toxic materials as well as the emissions of waste and pollutants over the life-cycle of the service or product so as not to jeopardise the needs of future generations (OECD 2002, 9).

In its essence, sustainable consumption relates to the how people can “put their environmental and social concerns into practice” (Seyfang 2005, 291). This rationale applies to several issues in addition to environmental, but the conversations during fieldwork mostly referred to sustainability as environmental sustainability and the connection to ethical implications of consumption. Elisabeth (H4), for example, would specify animal welfare as a base for sustainable agriculture. Sustainability was addressed already in visit 1, and in visit 3 it was accentuated in case the informants had any new thoughts to the issue. In terms of an emic definition, Erling (H4) stated an informative definition of sustainability when he explained about it to his children;

Erling: 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 (H4, Visit 3).

Sven (H5) thought the issue of sustainability was highly complex and stressed how the notion of ‘sustainable food’ was very ambiguous and misused in several contexts. In this instance, we sensed that he was referring to trust and how he often did not trust the use of the word in

¹⁴ It can be fruitful to attentive to the division between an emic and an etic point of view when analysing qualitative data. The emic perspective belongs to the informants understanding and use of concepts, such as sustainable, while the etic perspective is termed as the external perspective of the researcher (Miller and Deutsch 2009)

certain settings. Erling also referred to 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”*.

Thus, like Erling and Sven, all the households, except H2, pointed to the complexity of understanding sustainability in terms of food provisioning. Such intricacies made the questions of sustainable responsibility quite entangled, and even more so when discussions of a ‘green’ food label aroused.

5.1 Who has sustainable responsibility? About the roles of consumers and the State

R: The last part of this interview is directed at how you as consumers can convey your ideas and responses to the EU and how new types of labelling and quality products can be developed. This is much related to sustainability, and what do you think about sustainable food, should this be regulated by state policies?

During visit 1, all the households received a phrasing of this question as part of the semi-structured interview. We wished to receive the informants’ opinions and feedbacks on what they missed with the FQS and also with food provisioning in general. These situations also provided an opportunity to talk about sustainable food and what roles they thought they should have as consumers and what kind of responsibility they associated with the State in such issues:

R: Who should be responsible for conveying sustainable food?

Dagny: I think the state should be responsible (H3, Visit 1).

Dagny, along with many of our informants, thought the State had much responsibility in a potential transition towards sustainable food, through means such as policy measures. This implies that our informants showed trust in the State and would probably have trusted potential sustainable food measures. However, this has more to do with regulations than with labels, and we observed that private brands were, both for organic and quality food, often more trusted than the ones certified by the state.

Moreover, our informants also addressed the issue of what is sustainable food and how it should be measured. Related to these discussions, it became clear that our informants are also sceptical to several sustainable initiatives.

R: During the first visit, we talked about sustainability and you spoke about kortreist. And even though organic may not be that harmful to the environment, it does not always come from your local region.

David: That is true, it [the food] can come from long distances. But you know the Norwegian tomatoes versus the Spanish ones during winter, it is apparently much more sensible to buy the Spanish tomatoes produced with sunlight than the Norwegian ones produced on the ‘tomato island’, which takes a lot of electricity

[during production]. In that case, it is more sustainable to buy tomatoes from Spain despite the long transportation (H3, Visit 3).

As mentioned in the previous section, many of our informants did not like the heavy use of plastic packaging in grocery stores, and this was one initiative that was suggested to be downsized.

Arne: I think one of the most essential efforts would be to cut down on plastic packaging (H1, Visit 1).

When we asked Anne and Arne (H1) about suggestions to achieve more sustainable food practices, it was interesting that they emphasized the wrapping of food as one of the most important efforts. But again, this also seemed to be connected to stories they had caught from the media.

Anne: 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 (H1, Visit 1).

The quotes referring to more regulations on waste such as plastic is much related to how our informants often felt incapable of doing something themselves about such issues. It may indicate that informants like Anne and Arne knew that they would not engage in more sustainable practices unless it became more convenient or compulsory. Nevertheless, they also expressed a normative belief that most consumers in Norway have a rich footing to act more sustainable;

R: In relation to sustainability, what do you think about the consumer role? Do you have a role?

Arne: Yes, you do. If we say that it is important to buy sustainable food then we should purchase it, and if that food is more expensive it may become a fluctuation issue for people. But we live in a country with high welfare and many people could afford it (sustainable food) and I believe that you yourself have a responsibility to take this matter seriously (H1, Visit 3).

Arne’s statement is highly ideal and reflexive, because the price on food is very important to Norwegian consumers despite high welfare. Such economic constraints were also discussed by Sofie and Sven (H5), in relation to changing our habits of consumption;

Sofie: 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 (H5, Visit 3).

Sofie: But 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.

Sven: But the most unsustainable means of transportation is also the cheapest one; by boats. I do not know how many boats are travelling around the world's oceans with food, but it is very cheap and they get tax reductions. And it should have been that you must pay for every mile you travel because that [kind of travelling] is not sustainable...

Sofie: This is the communist talking next to me here, but I agree partially with some of what you [Sven] say, but I also think that it would have been nice if people wanted it to be like this from their own free will.

Sven: That will never happen, in that case it would have been peace in the world (H5, Visit 3).

Complicated discussions about responsibility and sustainability were not uncommon during the questions about more sustainable food habits. Due to high trust in the state, most of our informants assigned a certain responsibility to the State in terms of making it easier for consumers to act more sustainable. Ironically, while there are many informative food labels in Norwegian grocery stores, it seemed that our informants wanted even more information;

Elisabeth: I think it should be much easier to see what is sustainable food and what do you actually buy, you know, it is not always easy to know (H4, Visit 1).

Elisabeth was particularly clear on how she missed information on both animal welfare and sustainability and she found it problematic that the FQS in question could not enlighten her on these issues. Related to information about ethical and sustainable food, we asked the informants if they would like a green food label to convey such information. That is, a food label which can be defined as “markers that are presented to consumers or professional purchasers, and are assumed to help to distinguish environmentally beneficial consumer choices from ‘conventional’ ones” (Boström and Klintman 2008, 3). A label such as this could potentially be a way of dividing the responsibility as the state would provide a trustworthy label and consumers could use this label as a guide in stores on their quests to

buying more sustainable food. In the following sections we will present how our informants perceived the idea of a green food label.

5.2 Prospects of a green food label

Elisabeth: *I would like to make real choices without spending too much time on it (H4, Visit 1).*

The statement from Elisabeth is short and explicit, and it points to the core of what many of our informants found difficult with food provisioning and FQS. In Elisabeth's case, her reference to 'real choices' is much related to ethical and sustainable issues with food. She found that it was very difficult to know what kind of food is good, in ethical and environmental terms. In relation to the FQS, Elisabeth did not see them as a helpful guide in the store, and she frequently mentioned that she missed the aspect of animal welfare in the FQS:

Elisabeth: *... in our case I am mostly preoccupied with animals and how they are treated.*

R: *Animal welfare?*

Elisabeth: *Yes, I think it would be nice if it is written, I do not need to know everything they eat and such, but a label which says that the animal had a relatively nice life and that what they eat is okay and not just antibiotics, I think that would have been nice.*

R: *What about price, would you pay more for e.g. a chicken if you knew its life had been better?*

Elisabeth: *Yes, I would do that and then we would not eat it as often (H4, Visit 1).*

In addition, Elisabeth was also positive about a green label, that is, an ethical label, while her husband Erling was more sceptical.

R: *In relation to the quality labels, they do not necessarily include sustainability, but do you think that if there was a label stating this, that it would be more interesting to buy than a BB label?*

Elisabeth: *Yes, absolutely. To me it would have been. Animal welfare [is important] and it would help us from undermining our own health by buying products. Instead, we could do the opposite and be sure that we are contributing to a better planet... (H4, Visit 3).*

Elisabeth mentioned the BB label because she thought it lacked several aspects of what she saw as important to quality, such as animal welfare. In addition, she stressed that sustainability was not only about the environment.

Elisabeth: *Like the avocados, even if they are organic or not, they need so much water that the forest in Chile dries up and probably other places, then it is not sustainable. So a balance in the production and how it is done, not just with food but also with the people growing and picking the products, I think all of this is important.*

R: *How should we as consumers affect this?*

Elisabeth: *I think we should have more labelling that we can trust, I thought maybe*

organic was a solution but it turns out it is not, there is always a dark side.

R: Then what can we do? You say we need more labelling but we see that we already have all these different labels.

Elisabeth: I think maybe more visibility would be nice. And I think [the existing labels] are not enough because right now animal welfare and ethical issues are not communicated (H4, Visit 3).

Elisabeth's point in these statements are clear; she would have preferred other labels than the present FQS because she was interested in knowing more about the ethical and sustainable impacts of the food products she bought. Interesting to note here, is that Elisabeth was unsure about organic food and its ability to be a better alternative than conventional food. This uncertainty is likely to be connected to a two-split attention on organic food in the Norwegian media. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that Elisabeth was the only informants who were explicit about wanting to buy foods with green food labels, although Dagny (H3) also hinted at this in an earlier section. However, the most important aspect to Dagny was the use of pesticides and she would like a label with information about spraying or no-spray;

Dagny: I think it should say if the food is sprayed or if it is not sprayed. That is what we should be informed about. But you cannot write 'sprayed'... like Norwegian cucumbers they are not sprayed, but who knows that, it is not that hard to write 'no-spray'.

R: But then you have the issue of too much information.

Dagny: Yes, but I would rather have that than the Keyhole, everybody knows that vegetables are healthy, so maybe you could clear away silly labels that are unnecessary (H3, Visit 3).

The part about a 'no-spray' label involves something other than pure organic qualities; it is about conveying information purely about the production of the food, and Dagny considered this information important because she feared the residue from pesticides. Looking at her statements combined, she might have found value in a green food label as long as the label also could prove a non-use of pesticides.

5.3 Public procurement

In relation to policies and regulations, we also asked the informants about their thoughts on public procurement and how such efforts can be made more sustainable. However, very few had any opinions or experience on the matter, as public procurement of food is not common in Norway, except for in the health sector (hospitals, homes), army/ military sector and some communal kindergartens or "after-school programs". Both H1 and H2 had their children in kindergartens and we discussed the possibility that kindergartens would be more focused on sustainable food. Arne and Anne (H1) were a bit skeptical to this idea, as they had suspicions that a sustainable turn would result in a more expensive kindergarten fees. They were more oriented around the type of food that their children would be served in the kindergarten.

Arne: ... 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 (H1).

Anne and Arne were quite occupied with trying new recipes and types of food and it was not a surprise that this was more important to them than 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 showed great satisfaction in relation to this and she had transferred the idea to her own food provisioning and was very insistent on checking the amount of sugar in the food product she bought for her children.

The example of 'sugar reduced' kindergarten points to how a focus on healthy food was important to Mona. As such, healthy food in relation to children was important to H3 as well, especially when we mentioned the idea of 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 they 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 more about both healthy and sustainable food and stressed that quality food do not necessarily have to be the most expensive option. Sofie (H5) also mentioned the schools as an important place where children can learn about sustainable food, but she also mentioned the barrier of economy in a potential transition to sustainable food.

6. FQS lost in the mechanical act of food procurement – About routines and constraints when buying food

R: *Do you miss going to the shop?*

Elisabeth: *Not that kind of shopping, it is so mechanical... the weekly cooking is just smack, smack, smack!* (H4)

Elisabeth's (H4) way of describing her shopping as mechanical is a very accurate word for what happened when she was shopping in the grocery store. As mentioned before, most of our informants knew their way around the store completely and they had a routinised way of choosing products, going to a shelf, taking one product without looking at the other, driving the shopping cart to the next shelf and choosing again a couple of pre-chosen food products: Following our informants in the store made food provisioning seem easy, because they conducted it as if they had done it a thousand times before, which they probably had. This perfectly illustrates the *complexity* of routines and food provisioning as a social practice that builds on a physical store, a cart, products, hands, lists etc. And sometimes, like Linda in H6, the hands would stop, go back to the shelf, another product was chosen and observed, the content and origin read with precautions and a new product was bought.



Figure 12: Purchasing practices, Norway

Source: SIFO - own pictures from fieldwork.

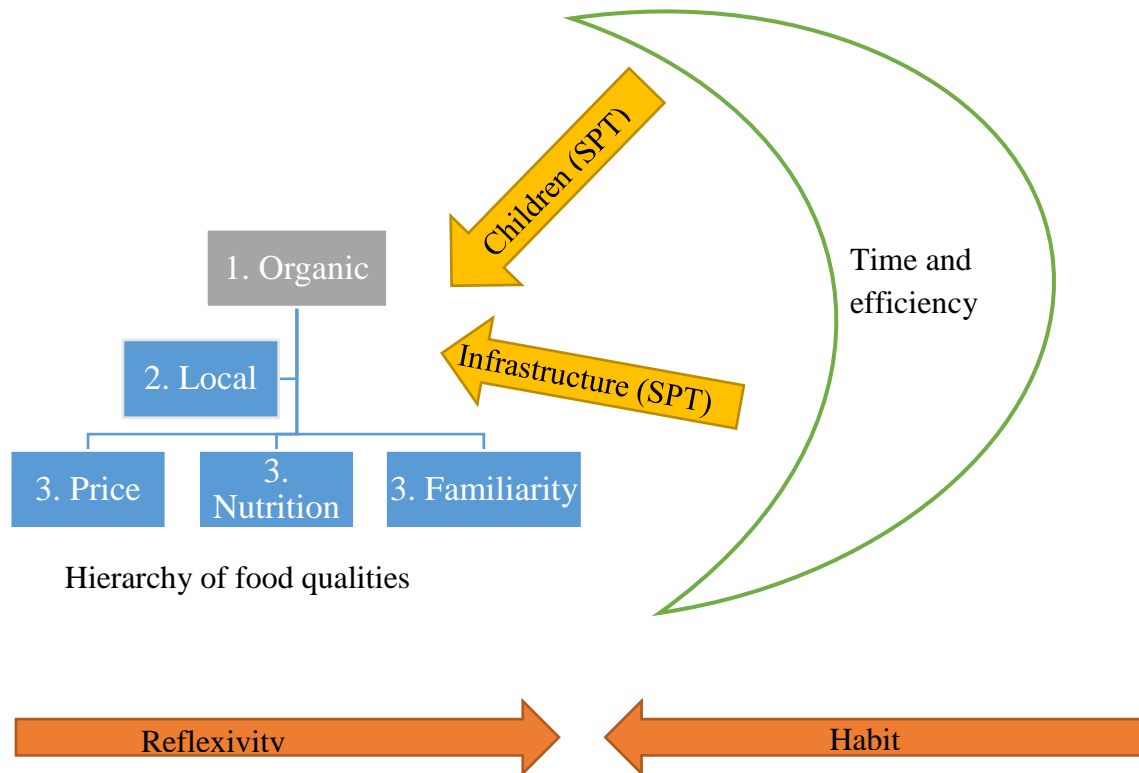
Buying groceries is part of everyday routines and can be carried out subconsciously, perhaps only disrupted by renovation or restructuring of the store. Changes such as these can bungle the routinised behaviour of customers in the store (Krogh 2007, 226). Accordingly, it seems as if Elisabeth did most of her shopping completely by habit, with little time spent reflecting between the choices of groceries. “Food shopping, being repetitive by nature, often gives rise to habitual behaviour because agents tend to avoid deliberation” (Dulsrud and Jacobsen 2009, 204). However, in line with Halkier’s argument there is no clear line between routines and reflexivity. “Consumption practices are neither entirely reflected nor routinised, and may be both at the same time” (Halkier 2001, 34). Food provisioning involves some degree of contingency, but at the same time, it also involves determined practices. These practices are conducted through social and material contexts, meaning that the material and social contexts have a significant impact on routines and habits.

6.1. Food provisioning as a reflexive habit

In the case of Elisabeth (H4), her reflexivity in the store came out when she evaluated similar products that had different origin or production method. An example is the organic Spanish carrots and Norwegian ‘conventional’ carrots, where she tended to choose the latter in most cases. If the store did not have Norwegian carrots, she might have picked the Spanish organic ones, as Elisabeth was concerned with organic food. Point being, such decisions are part of both reflexivity and habit, because as long as it mattered to her what kind of food she put in her shopping basket, her practices would be influenced by both. Figure 12 is an illustration of some of the considerations employed by Elisabeth when it comes to food provisioning, which

have the potential to affect her way of shopping differently depending on which ‘forces’ are in play.

Figur 13. Summary of factors affecting Elisabeth’s (H4) food provisioning



Source: Haugrønning 2018

Figure 13 presents the considerations and external circumstances working along each other within the scope of food provisioning. Based on Elisabeth's statements and observed practices, food quality was hierarchal with organic as the most important quality followed closely by local. But this was not always the case, considering that sometimes she prioritised Norwegian grown carrots to organically produced Spanish carrots. Thus, organic was important, but not always. If the reader now wonders what Elisabeth would *actually* purchase, if she had to choose between organic or Norwegian, this never became completely clear during our visits. It is likely that her purchase would be much dependent on the other considerations from figure 13. Consequently, price, nutrition and familiarity with certain products may all have informed her 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” (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 provisioning. 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, 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 grocery store, which can create a gap between stated quality evaluations and the act of food provisioning. Sven and Sofie (H5) are an excellent example of this case, regarding food provisioning, time and the value-action gap;

R: We try to understand how we as consumers choose, let us say between organic, Norwegian and other things. What is it that affects our choices or is it merely accidental?

Sven: It has something to do with time and place and how much time you have. If you have more time you can choose differently.

R: How do you choose when you have limited time?

Sven: Price, price, price.

Sofie: A lot depends on if I go shopping alone, or if Sven is with me... (when I am alone) I am more like efficient but Sven is likes to look more and touch. And that is great if I have the time, but if I do not have the time I like to shop alone. But we are very different there, I am more like ‘smack, smack’ and determined to get in and out and home (H5, Visit 1).

Sofie expressed how she spent as little time as possible in the grocery store because she just wants to get home. As a result, she did not reflect much on the groceries she bought and her routines guided her shopping. An example of this, frequently mentioned during the visits, is how she once came home with potatoes from Israel, which both Sofie and Sven did not generally choose to buy. If Sofie had noticed that the potatoes were from Israel in the store, she would probably not have picked them, but caught up in her routine behaviour, she did her shopping by habit with little reflexivity. Furthermore, the notion of ‘familiarity’ from figure 12 relates to looking for products that have become part of the household’s staples. Another example of this is from Dagny and David (H3);

David: If they do not have organic tomatoes we take Delicious [brand] tomatoes, which we know are good.

Dagny: Yes the tomatoes that come in a bunch are always good.

David: We just close our eyes because they are more expensive.

Dagny: But we do that because we know that they are good (H3, Visit 3).

These tomatoes are an example of a food product, without any FQS, that has become a part of the routines of H3. When they bought groceries and did not find organic, they still had other options based on their repertoire of familiar food products. These staples are likely to stay the

same as long as the households' infrastructure, such as the local grocery stores, remains constant. Bringing up the example with Elisabeth (H4) and Kolonial.no, a probable reason for the continuity of her food habits when she began using the online store, is that Kolonial.no has the same selection of groceries as her local grocery store Rema 1000. Based on this and the forthcoming examples, we argue that the local grocery store largely framed her embodied habits. Because different stores will have different brands and products, the development of habitual purchase of food staples would necessarily be dependent on the brands and products that are regularly available in the local grocery store(s). As such, one probable reason for the lack of interest in FQS is that none of the informants had an embodied habit of looking for them in stores. The exceptions, in H3 and H6, is Debio (Ø-label) and the NN label, but even those were not chosen because of the labels alone, and can be linked to staple foods being a part of the informants' social practices. If the informants were to incorporate any of the FQS in their shopping routines, it would require them to be more reflective, at least until they could incorporate the FQS into their routines. This incorporation is further complicated considering that the household's food habits and choice of staples are firmly established, as we observed during the year that we conducted the visits.

6.2. "We buy the same groceries"

Between visit 1 and 3, the households made few apparent changes in their food provisioning. When we asked them if anything had changed between the first and third visit, none had experienced any significant changes in their food practices. However, three households experienced changes in their job situations, which had an impact on their food provisioning to some extent. The fact that none of the households said that there was a significant change in their food provisioning between visit 1 and 3, demonstrates that the households rarely included new food products into their food staples, reinforcing that food habits, conceptualised as embodied, are firmly established and difficult to change. In his work on eating as practice, Warde (2016, 101) emphasise the mindlessness and automatic tendency connected to eating. This also relates to Wansinck's studies that "show how little people reflect about their eating and how this has consequences neither intended nor desired" (Wansinck 2006 in Warde 2016, 102). The argument here is that the informants do not often reflect on ordinary or familiar activities and are likely to repeat the same actions in similar situations (102, 104).

Embodied habits, temporal routines and established norms within social networks are factors particularly emphasized by theories of practice. They are important factors affecting large sections of the population and push eating beyond the control of individuals (Warde 2016, 119).

Based on Warde's argument, it seems reasonable to understand embodied habits as particularly stable. In addition, habits are simultaneously affected by aspects of agency; "agency in consumption habits is distributed among body, material context and social context" (Wilhite 2012, 90). Agency in this sense is "the capability or power to be the source and originator of acts" (Ortner 1989 in Sahakian and Wilhite 2014, 28). This stresses the variable influences that contribute to the complexity of food provisioning. For example, social

contexts have agency (by having children) in that major changes in embodied habits can occur when the material and social context shifts. Recalling figure 13, the agency of children is, in some situations, more influential for the established habits that will matter in the act of food provisioning.

Regarding agency, the S2F project could potentially have influenced some of the households' routines as our conversations made them reflect about their own food provisioning. However, as was discovered in visit 3, in all of the households, this reflection did not lead to any greater incorporation of the FQS. We argue that this was the case because the FQS was irrelevant to the households' food provisioning and were not a part of their food habits. There are three reasons supporting this argument; firstly, the continuity apparent between visit 1 and 3 was most visible when the informants would mention the same topics in visit 3 as in visit 1. The stories they told were the same and they used the same examples as responses to questions. This does not imply that nothing new came up in visit 3, but it became more evident that labels such as the PDO/PGI and the BB were not interesting enough to the informants for them to incorporate them. This could mean that the *information* the researchers shared regarding labels in visit 1 and 2 was not enough to change behaviour. Secondly, it was not surprising that those labels were previously unknown to the households, but the lack of interest and inability to remember them, is interesting. This is especially fascinating because all households mentioned that place and traceability are highly relevant when it comes to food quality. This may suggest that place and traceability must be manifested in ways that does not necessarily coincide with the FQS. Thirdly, the labels that *were* familiar to the informants seemed to be interpreted as redundant because much of what the label was trying to convey was perceived as implicit to the products.

Sofie's (H5) earlier mentioned story about her participation in a consumer study about the Änglamark brand (p. 26), points to a very essential element of labelling and knowledge; it may not be enough to acquire information about a new label/brand, but it is important to acquire familiarity with it and develop a type of 'relationship'. Again, there is a difference between recognising labels and actually using them as a guide in the store, recalling results from surveys that found recognition and not use of labels (p. 14). Sven and Sofie purchased a lot of organic products because of their relationship and familiarity with the Änglamark brand, combined with the fact that their local store had products from that brand available. Their connection with the brand seemed deeper than just the value of organic products in itself. Thus, it would make sense that consumers have become familiar with some labels that are aligned with their interests, but not necessarily all labels that are associated with similar connotations.

Additionally, certain brands may be perceived as quality based on economic aspects, such as Mona (H2), who mostly paid attention to the brand First Price. In relation to quality, Mona evaluated the price of products and even if she thought organic would be nice, she rarely bought it if the price was not competitive with First Price. If the researchers spotted any of the FQS on her food products, she expressed that she had not reflected about upon them, as none of the FQS are focused on price. Thus, Mona's quality evaluations and food practices are

quite different from that of Elisabeth (H4), and an illustration of Mona's potential considerations within food provisioning is presented in figure 14.

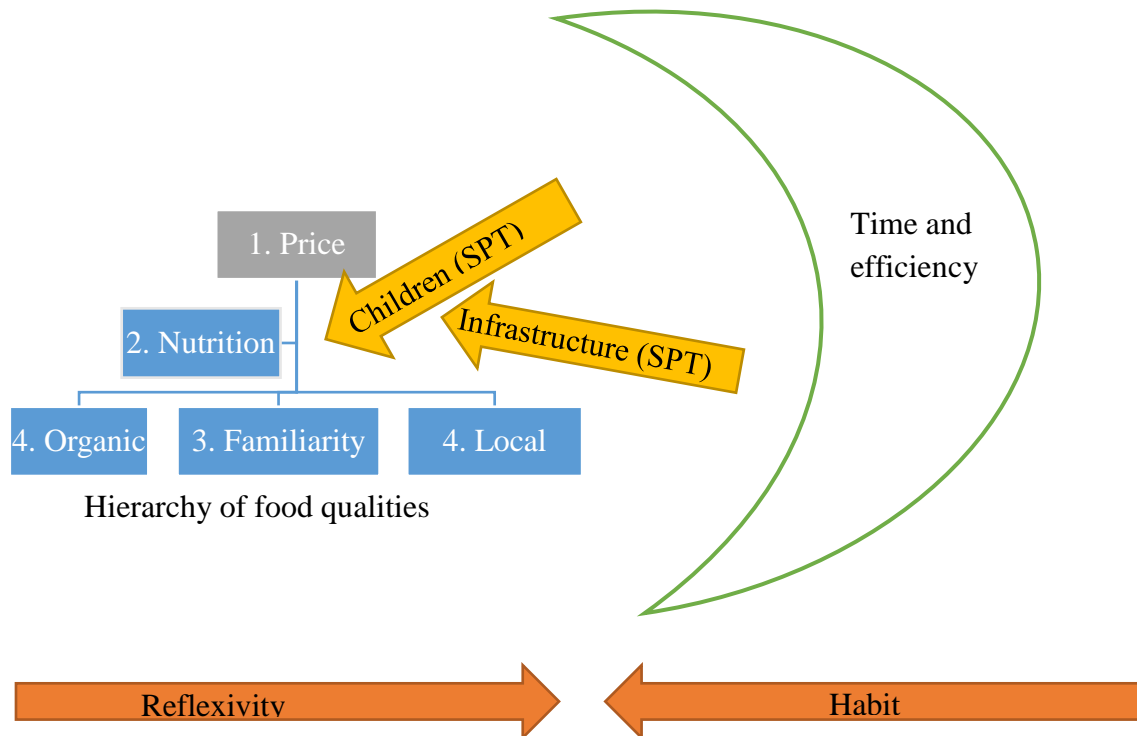


Figure 14. Summary of factors affecting Mona's (H2) food provisioning

Source: Haugrønning 2018

Mona's devotion to providing her children with nutritious and 'safe' food at affordable prices was the most prominent aspect in her food provisioning. This relates to how ethical shopping, oriented towards local and organic qualities, may be discarded in favour of moral shopping, an orientation towards the household, driven by thrift and saving money (Miller 2001, 134). This could suggest that if the price on 'ethical products' had been lower, Mona might have bought some of them. In addition, Mona often experienced ambivalence in relation to certain food products that could be perceived as potentially dangerous to her children. Based on this, Mona rarely chose products that were not already a part of their food staples, making familiarity highly important in her shopping habits.

6.3. Meeting the complexities

As noticed previously, organic or fair trade labels, as well as the NN-label were often used and quite well known, although not more than brands or peculiar labels such as the Norwegian flag or a written indication without any mentioned control agency. GI labels were specifically unhelpful to our informants, either in a cognitive or a practice approach. This was somewhat surprising when our informants also asked about more information and an

established and recognized system to assure good quality, support to small farmers and animal welfare, to give a concrete example. Little knowledge and low interest for FQS “as such” can explain the lack of visibility, underlining that FQS are not the right tool to meet the complexity of food consumption.

Moreover, we would emphasize the discrepancy between our findings and the public discourse about FQS, for example how the organisation in charge of the Norwegian food quality labelling, Matmerk, presents the success of their food labels. Quantitative surveys of official food quality labels in Norway were carried out in 2015 and 2017 (Matmerk.no 2018a). The results did not change much from 2015 to 2017, and the 2017 results were presented as follows: 34% said the labels were helpful, 53% said the labels were neither helpful nor unhelpful, 13% said the labels were unhelpful. Even though people asked responded more positive than negative in relation to food labels, half of the participants in these studies were clearly showing tendencies of ignorance towards the label, an attitude that confirms Kjærnes’ (2012b) notion of the passive Norwegian consumer.

The fact that Matmerk has presented these results as positive can possibly be explained by an increase in the number of respondents that are positive to those labels, compared to 10 years ago (see Amilien et al. 2008). Furthermore, we should underline that earlier studies do not say much about the *use* of labels in real life purchasing situations, but more about knowledge (including passive knowledge) and attitude (Roos 2018). Thus, our qualitative study makes more visible the complexity of food provisioning and complements Matmerk’s studies by noting the differences between agreeing with labels and using them in everyday life and grocery stores. The main question arising during fieldwork was eventually not *if* the informants use labels or not, but *why* they found food labels uninteresting and often ignored them in stores.

By regarding the differences between the figures representing Elisabeth (H4) and Mona (H2), several points can be noted related to how the complex considerations and the strength of habits within food provisioning affects the role of FQS. There is a contrast between figures 13 and 14 related to which qualities become most prominent in the act of food provisioning. Noting the difference in these qualities can be fruitful in order to explore what kind of labels ‘fit’ the informant’s quality perceptions. Based on figure 14, labels related to price are the most relevant ones, and in the case of Mona, this was the brand First Price. As for figure 13, organic and local qualities are important, and Elisabeth is therefore more likely to choose a ‘green’ food label than Mona, and also because Elisabeth agrees with ethical consumerism. However, because there is no such label that suggests animal welfare and environmental sustainability (yet), Elisabeth opted for the organic option. Nevertheless, just because organic was on top of the hierarchy in figure 13 does not necessarily imply that organic *labels* are always prioritised. Elisabeth did not mention any close relation to the Ø-label, or any organic label, and even though the label made it easier for her to find organic food, she bought

organic mainly because of its ethical qualities, such as environmental¹⁵ values, and not because of the label itself. Point being, it may not be important to have organic *labels*, as long as any information, on the product itself or in the store, could refer to the product's organic production.

In sum, figures 13 and 14, despite their differences, both point to how the FQS do not correspond well with the everyday complexities of food provisioning. In everyday life, unreflective and routinised practices are a necessity and such practices leave little room for reflecting about FQS in the grocery store. Thus, it was inconvenient for the households to use and incorporate the FQS in their food provisioning. Regarding this, Boström and Klintman (2008) have summed up some points concerning eco-labelling and consumers;

“In the long run, the reflectivity and ambivalence of consumers could very well undermine the potential of labelling if its proponents stick with a simplistic notion of the consumer. We believe it is critically important to bear in mind that not every consumer is concerned, not all consumers will identify themselves as political or ethical consumers, and not all consumers will ever be interested in expressing their visions in the supermarkets. Again it is wise to see labelling as a tool that must supplement a wide range of other mandatory and voluntary tools, and as one form of democratic participation” (Boström and Klintman 2008, 195).

Two essential points from this quote are relevant for our study: 1) that labelling should work as a supplementary tool and 2) that if this approach is taken without other actions, consumers and their food provisioning, remain oversimplified. Noting figures 13 and 14, the FQS have difficulties in achieving their goal because FQS do not account for the complex and dynamic nature of food provisioning. The issue with the FQS is, according to the presented cases, not related to a lack of recognition within the households but rather a lack of connecting relationships. This aligns with previous surveys that have focused on labelling (see chapter 2). The results have shown that recognition of labels is not necessarily the problem. It is the use of labels.

¹⁵ Elisabeth did not say that organic was environmentally sustainable, but her impression was that organic food was more environmental than conventional food and therefore more altruistic.

Conclusions – a distaste for, or a distance from, labels?

To the main question about how and in which ways are FQS present or absent in everyday food consumption, a first answer would be that food provisioning in the participating households involved routines and contingency, which made the role of new FQS labels and logos, such as the PDO and PGI, insignificant in their daily shopping practices.

The trip to the grocery store was in general quick and ruled by routines and habits, and as part of the fieldwork we observed our informants efficiently assembling their food staples in the store. One of the questions eventually explored in this study is more: why are not FQS more integrated in our informants' routines? A somewhat protracted explanation lies in our investigations of the informants' food habits. The everyday food provisioning of households is rarely subject to big changes as routinised food practices are a necessity to keep life efficient and easy without too much reflection. Thus, complications with FQS arrive as such labels demand reflection, and we noticed that some labels, such as the PDO and PGI, were not well known among our informants. An exception was when the FQS was part of practices and routines in relation to specific products, well known from before and totally integrated in food practices, such as parmesan cheese and the PDO label for Parmigiano Reggiano.

In terms of quality, concepts such as local and place were important to five out of the six households participating in the study. In addition, sustainable consumption was met with enthusiastic agreement. However, in everyday life these ideas and values did not always seem to be manifested in the informants' food practices, thus emphasising the potential of value-action gaps. In other words, we often observed what is often described as a value action gap. Despite the magnitude of existing labels, the informants expressed uncertainties connected to ethical food products or to animal welfare. Interestingly, three households (H3, H4 and H5) wanted even more information about food. The informants' food provisioning was connected to a flux of considerations, shown by figures 13 and 14, page 61/65) that had little or no room for a potential 'label hunt' in the grocery store. As such, FQS do not respond to the compromises and priorities (children, time, price etc.) that are necessary components of everyday life. Thus, FQS did not create meaning for our informants. Besides, based on the findings, we argue that even if one FQS would convey rigorous ethical and sustainable relations about food production, it is unlikely that our informants would use it. Concerning sustainable food practices, measures should potentially look beyond labelling.

One concrete result of this ethnographic study is the observation that food practices linked to FQS varied from label to label. Food quality labels are interwoven with practices, but mostly

through routines and habits, and not necessarily underlined by reflected knowledge or justifications. Differences between FQS were fundamental. The organic label, fair trade, private quality labels or the *Nyt Norge* (NN) labels seemed to be well integrated into the informants' practices whereas GIs were usually not a part of the everyday food practices in the households we visited. Although the number of households was small and thus doesn't permit generalisation, it was surprising how little we observed or heard about FQS as an integrated part of food practices.

A second result, linked to the first one, is the fundamental difference between the GI labelling scheme, which is a system for protecting or enhancing certain qualities of a product, and the logo or symbol communicating the quality to the consumers. The quality labelling scheme 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. To the informants who wanted to support farmers or who were interested in cultural heritage, the quality label seemed theoretically interesting as a tool for sustainable development, but the FQS logos (especially PDO, PGI and TSG) were not perceived as interesting and seemed rather difficult to understand and were mostly invisible.

The ethnographic approach gave us a unique opportunity to observe and try to understand the role of FQS - especially how and in which way FQS were actually present or absent - in everyday food consumption. There are two main issues that open up for reflection about how to improve consumer policy:

- 1) About FQS: There is little knowledge and understanding of FQS at a general level, but there are visible differences between the different FQS and the values they certify. Organic, fair trade or labels promoting animal welfare or protection of natural resources seem to be more important to our informants and are more used than GIs. GIs were seldom present in dialogues or justifications, and when they were it was because the researchers specifically put emphasis on them. There was even less interest and emphasis on the FQS in food practices, although they can be a practice or part of food routines. In other words, our informants' food practices were not much related to GIs, and if they did it was by doings (they might use products with a GI) but not by sayings (they did not talk about using products with a GI, but talked about a specific product such as Parma ham or Parmagiano Reggiano).
- 2) About everyday food consumption: Everyday food consumption is complex and contextual. Our results describe food consumption at a practical level and the importance of routines, in addition to constraints such as time, efficiency or economy, and contextual frame such as infrastructure, cultural values, material culture, technological devices or norms, and policies in practices.

The approach with different regimes and contexts helped us to better understand the apparent lack of interest in FQS in practices - more on the theoretical approach in DL 8-2 (Amilien et al. 2018)-, while at the discursive level our informants were relatively engaged in environmental matters (e.g. social justice, animal welfare, or quality of products and the importance of local). Informants had neither the same repertoires nor needs for justifications.

It depended on the regime or context 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 and the on-going process towards a more sustainable consumption very complex. In other words, there is not necessarily a “gap” or incoherence between what people say and do, but a complementarity. The differences are related to situations, contexts, constraints and especially the different regimes of justification¹⁶ (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006).

This complexity can be simplified if we consider different contexts or spheres. Our analysis leads us to suppose the existence of several spheres in parallel that could explain both an apparent inconsistency and the lack of interest for FQS.

On one hand, we have the domestic sphere. Speaking about quality and sustainable food our informants emphasized the importance of transmission (what they have learned from their parents, their grandparents), 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 sphere, the FQS labels have no place; it is a reason for why our informants had no interest in FQS labels and logos.

On the other hand, we have the market sphere, which is also an integral part of everyday life since most of our informants buy the foods that they cannot produce themselves. The regime of justification and planned action are fundamental in the market world, where our informants (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, were recurring themes. Our informants also showed great knowledge about these topics, but also hesitations and often questions. They often asked for information wanting to learn more, sometimes they even asked for advice on how to make better choices. In the market context, quality labels should constitute a basic reference. The organic FQS was well known and recognized. However, our informants were more likely to trust the local or national organic label than the EU one because the 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 informants said that they were careful. When we went shopping together they studied the packages, turned them front and back, and read carefully what seems relevant to them. If the official GIs, in these situations, did not seem to be relevant, several other labels are cited as health labels, nutrition content, etc. It was also within the market context that some informants asked for more information about animal welfare. For example, Elisabeth (H2) who regretted that the GIs do not highlight good animal

¹⁶ See DL 8-2 for more details (Amilien et al. 2018 chapters 4 and 12)

welfare. This underlines a problem of communication about labels, or an incompatibility between the two spheres.

Our qualitative results about consumers' perceptions of FQS are in line with previous literature. The ethnographic approach gave us a 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. We can then ask if labelling schemes are the best adapted communication tool for informing and promoting sustainable food practices, or if measures based on education, social arrangements, democratic dialogues or changes in markets' infrastructures could be both more enriching and engaging for consumers? .

References

- Amilien, V., G Roos, F Arfini, B Biasini, P Csillag, M Duboys de Labarre, J. Filipović, V. Haugrønning, V Kuč , M La Spina, D Menozzi, K Meyer, G Ognjanov, J Simons, B Tocco, A Török, S Veljković, and P Wavresky 2018. Deliverable 8.2 – ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY: Qualitative Research Findings on European Consumers' Food Practices Linked to Sustainable Food Chains and Food Quality Schemes. EU commission.
- Amilien, Virginie, Alexander Schjøll, and Lill Margrethe Vramo. 2008. Forbrukernes forståelse av lokal mat. In *Fagrappport / Statens institutt for forbruksforskning ; nr. 1-2008*. Oslo: Statens institutt for forbruksforskning.
- Boltanski, Luc, and Laurent Thévenot. 2006. *On justification: Economies of worth*. Princeton University: Princeton University Press.
- Boström, Magnus, and Mikael Klintman. 2008. *Eco-standards, product labelling and green consumerism*: Springer.
- Bureau, Jean-Christophe, and Egizio Valceschini. 2003. "European food-labeling policy: successes and limitations." *Journal of Food Distribution Research* 34 (3):70-76.
- Christopher, Martin. 1998. "Logistics and supply chain management: strategies for reducing cost and improving service. London." *Financial times*.
- Desjeux, Dominique. 2006. "La consommation." *Lectures, Les livres*.
- DeSoucey, Michaela. 2010. "Gastronationalism: Food traditions and authenticity politics in the European Union." *American Sociological Review* 75 (3):432-455.
- Dulsrud, Arne, and Eivind Jacobsen. 2009. "In-store Marketing as a Mode of Discipline." *Journal of Consumer Policy* 32 (3):203.
- Ekeland , J. 2014. *Mentoring lærende allianser i ledelse* Bergen Fagbokforlaget.
- Eurobarometer. 2012. "389, Europeans' Attitudes Towards Food Security, Food Quality And The Countryside." *Report. European Commission, Directorate--General for Agriculture and Rural Development*.
- Eurobarometer. 2017. "386 (2012)." *Europeans and their Languages Report*.
- Eurostat. 2018. "Comparative price levels for food, beverages and tobacco." https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Comparative_price_levels_for_food,_beverages_and_tobacco.

Evans, Adrian , and Mara Miele. 2017. "Food Labelling as a Response to Political Consumption: Effects and Contradictions." In *Routledge Handbook on Consumption*, edited by Margit Keller, Bente Halkier, Terhi-Anna Wilska and Monica Truninger, 191-203. Routledge

Halkier, Bente. 2001. "Routinisation or Reflexivity? Consumers and Normative Claims for Environmental Consideration." In *Ordinary Consumption*, edited by Jukka Gronow and Alan Warde, 25-44. Routledge.

Halkier, Bente. 2009. "A practice theoretical perspective on everyday dealings with environmental challenges of food consumption." *Anthropology of food* (S5).

Halkier, Bente, and Iben Jensen. 2011. "Methodological challenges in using practice theory in consumption research. Examples from a study on handling nutritional contestations of food consumption." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 11 (1):101-123. doi: 10.1177/1469540510391365.

Hartmann, M., C-H. Yeh, V. Amilien, T. Aton, B. Biasini, J. Filipovic, G. Giraud, and et al. forthcoming. "Report on quantitative research findings on European consumers' perception and valuation of EU quality schemes and SFSC as well as their confidence in such measures."

Haugrønning, Vilde Anine Rydal 2018. "A Taste for Labels? - A qualitative exploration of Food Quality Schemes and food provisioning in five Norwegian households." Master in in Development, Environment and Cultural Change, Centre for Development and Environment, Oslo

Hegnes, Atle Wehn. 2012. "Introducing and practicing PDO and PGI in Norway." *Anthropology of food* (S7).

Heidenstrøm, N, E Jacobsen, and SO Borgen. 2011. "Seleksjon og ignorering. Forbrukerstrategier for å manøvrere i merkemangfoldet." *To select or to ignore: Consumer strategies for manoeuvring in the label diversity'*, SIFO Oppdragsrapport:2-2011.

Heilbrunn, Benoît. 2005. *La consommation et ses sociologies*. Vol. 128, *Sociologie*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Hillestad, Margaret Eide. 2008. "EUs strategi for merking av matvarer."

Hubert, Annie. 2004. "Qualitative research in the anthropology of food." In *Researching Food Habits*. Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books, edited by Helen Macbeth and Jeremy MacClancy, 41-54.

Ilmonen, Kaj. 2001. "Sociology, Consumption and Routine." In *Ordinary Consumption*, edited by Jukka Gronow and Alan Warde, 9-23. Routledge.

Johnson, Renée. 2016. "Geographical Indications (GIs) in U.S. Agricultural Trade." *FAO - IN FOCUS* 7-57000.

Kjærnes, Unni. 2012a. "Ethics and action: A relational perspective on consumer choice in the European politics of food." *Journal of agricultural and environmental ethics* 25 (2):145-162.

Kjærnes, Unni. 2012b. Tillitens betydning. Accessed 20.03.2018.
doi:<http://www.salongen.no/?p=1326>.

Kjærnes, Unni. 2015. "Forbrukernes makt i norsk matsektor - for liten eller for stor?" In *Norsk Matmakt i Endring*, edited by Hilde Bjørkhaug, Reider Almås and Jostein Vik. Fagbokforlaget.

Kjærnes, Unni, Marianne P. Ekström, Jukka Gronow, Lotte Holm, and Johanna Mäkelä. 2001. *Eating Patterns. A Day in the Lives of Nordic Peoples*. edited by Unni Kjærnes: Statens institutt for forbruksforskning, Lysaker.

Krogh, Erling. 2007. "Konkluderende betraktninger." In *Den Kultiverte Maten: En bok om norsk mat, kultur og matkultur*, edited by Virginie Amilien og Erling Krogh. Fagbokforlaget.

Matmerk.no. 2018a. "Folk orienterer seg godt i merkejungelen." accessed 26/01.
<https://www.matmerk.no/no/matmerk/aktuelt/folk-orienterer-seg-godt-i-merkejungelen>.

Matmerk.no. 2018b. "Godkjente produkter." accessed 23/01.
<https://www.matmerk.no/no/beskyttedebetegnelser/godkjente-produkter>.

Matmerk.no. 2018c. "Hva er NYT Norge?", accessed 25/01.
<https://www.matmerk.no/no/nytnorge/hva-er-nyt-norge>.

Matmerk.no. 2018d. "Om Beskyttede Betegnelser." accessed 23/01.
<https://www.matmerk.no/no/beskyttedebetegnelser/om-beskyttede-betegnelser>.

Matmerk.no. 2018e. "Om Spesialitet." accessed 25/01.
<https://www.matmerk.no/no/spesialitet/om-spesialitet>.

Maxwell, Joseph A. 2012. *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Vol. 41: Sage publications.

Miller, Daniel. 2001. *The Dialectics of Shopping*: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, Jeff, and Jonathan Deutsch. 2009. *Food studies: an introduction to research methods*: Berg Publisher.

Morin, Edgar. 2008. *On Complexity*: Hampton Press.

Morin, Edgar. 2015. *Penser global: l'humain et son univers*: Robert Laffont.

Mørk, Eiliv 2008. Vekst og velstand gjennom 50 år - Husholdningenes forbruk fra 1958 til 2006. edited by **SSB**. Oslo.

Niva, Mari, Johanna Mäkelä, Nina Kahma, and Unni Kjærnes. 2014. "Eating Sustainably? Practices and Background Factors of Ecological Food Consumption in Four Nordic Countries." *Journal of Consumer Policy* 37 (4):465-484.

Njarga, Berit B. 2014. "Nye krav til Nøkkelhull." *DinSide*. Accessed 25.03.2018.
<https://www.dinside.no/okonomi/nye-krav-til-nokkelhullet/61239742>.

Nokkelhullsmerket.no. 2012. "Information about the Keyhole in English." Last Modified 10/10/2012, accessed 22/01.
http://www.nokkelhullsmerket.no/frontpage_en/article418.ece.

OECD. 2002. Policies to promote sustainable consumption: an overview.
[http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=env/epoc/wpnep\(2001\)18/final&doclanguage=en](http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?cote=env/epoc/wpnep(2001)18/final&doclanguage=en).

Pongsakornrunsilp, Siwarit , and Jonathan E. Schroeder. 2017. "Consumers and Brands: How Consumers Co-create." In *Routledge Handbook on Consumption*, edited by Margit Keller, Bente Halkier, Terhi-Anna Wilska and Monica Turninger, 72-82. Routledge.

Rasch, Jonas Sverrisson. 2012. "Et paradoks at frukt ikke er nøkkelhullsmerket, mens Grandiosa er det." *Dagbladet*. Accessed 25.03.2018.
<https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/et-paradoks-at-frukt-ikke-er-nokkelhullsmerket-mens-grandiosa-er-det/63172389>.

Roos, Gun. 2007 Symbolmerking av sunn mat: forbrukersurvey. SIFO Oppdragsrapport nr. 12-2007.

Roos, Gun. 2018. Consumer views of health-related food labelling: from front-of-pack logos to warning labels. In *Consumer Perceptions of Food Attributes*, edited by Shigeru Matsumoto and Tsunenhiro Otsiki, 252-262. CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

Roos, Gun, Kjærnes, Unni, Ose, Tommy. 2010 Warning labels on food from the point of view of consumers. SIFO Oppdragsrapport nr. 6-2010.

Sahakian, Marlyne, and Harold Wilhite. 2014. "Making practice theory practicable: Towards more sustainable forms of consumption." *Journal of Consumer Culture* 14 (1):25-44. doi: 10.1177/1469540513505607.

Salvador, Tony, Genevieve Bell, and Ken Anderson. 1999. "Design ethnography." *Design Management Journal (Former Series)* 10 (4):35-41.

Seyfang, Gill. 2005. "Shopping for sustainability: can sustainable consumption promote ecological citizenship?" *Environmental politics* 14 (2):290-306.

Seyfang, Gill. 2006. "Ecological citizenship and sustainable consumption: Examining local organic food networks." *Journal of rural studies* 22 (4):383-395.

Vegard, Kristine Erstad 2018. Dette bruker nordmenn penger på In *Nasjonalregnskapet* edited by SSB.

Vg.no. 2014. "Fleipet med nøkkelhullmerking av Grandiosa." *VG*. Accessed 25.03.2018. <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/xL05G/fleipet-med-noekkelhull-merking-av-grandiosa>.

Vittersø, Gunnar, and Torvald Tangeland. 2015. "The role of consumers in transitions towards sustainable food consumption. The case of organic food in Norway." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 92:91-99.

Warde, Alan. 2005. "Consumption and theories of practice." *Journal of consumer culture* 5 (2):131-153.

Warde, Alan. 2016. *The Practice of Eating*: John Wiley & Sons.

Watzlawick, Paul. 1976. "How real is real? Communication, disinformation, confusion." *Nova Iorque, Random House*.

Wilhite, Harold. 2012. "Towards a better accounting of the roles of body, things and habits in consumption."

Wilhite, Harold. 2016. *The Political Economy of Low Carbon Transformation: Breaking the Habits of Capitalism*: Routledge.

Wiskerke, Johannes S. C. 2009. "On Places Lost and Places Regained: Reflections on the Alternative Food Geography and Sustainable Regional Development." *International Planning Studies* 14 (4):369-387. doi: 10.1080/13563471003642803.

ANNEX 1: 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 ▪ Market ▪ Industrial ▪ Green 	<p>Creativity, aesthetic pleasures of food, emotions</p> <p>Trust, family, tradition, relationships, small scale</p> <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>

[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 	

Consumption Research Norway SIFO at OsloMet - Oslo Metropolitan University has a special responsibility to contribute to the knowledge base for consumer policy in Norway and will develop new knowledge about consumption, consumer policy and consumer position and role in society.

Key research topics are:

- consumers in the market and consumer choice
- household resource allocations
- consumer economy - debt development and poverty
- technological development and consumers' every day life
- digital daily life and coping
- environmental effects of different types of consumption
- food and eating habits
- textiles - value chains - consequences for everyday life and environment
- consumption significance for social inclusion
- consumer policy

CONSUMPTION RESEARCH NORWAY - SIFO
OsloMet - Oslo Metropolitan University

OsloMet - Oslo Metropolitan University
Consumption Research Norway
PO box 4 - St. Olavs plass - NO-0130 Oslo.

Visiting address: Stensberggt. 26, Oslo.

Phone: +47 67 23 50 00

E-mail: post@oslomet.no **Internet:** www.oslomet.no/sifo

