

Diversifying sustainable and organic food systems
FOOdIVERSE project

Report from Focus Groups in five European countries – Diversity in Eating Practices

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Authors	Hanne Torjusen, Gunnar Vittersø, Sabina Kuraj, Svein Ole Borgen, Maria Uldahl (Norwegian team, lead); Rosa van Kesteren, Adrian Evans, Moya Kneafsey, Ulrich Schmutz (UK team); Ewa Kopczyńska, Konrad Stępnik (Polish team); Francesca Forno, Michela Giovannini (Italian team); Bärbel Mahr, Stefan Wahlen (German team).
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Key takeaways

The report builds on data from discussions in ten focus groups in five countries. In all countries at least one of the groups were recruited from a local food network or among frequent organic consumers (UK). The rest of the focus groups consisted of participants not directly involved in special food initiatives. This approach provides for a specific insight to the role that alternative food provisioning and consumption may play for improving the diversity of local food systems.

In general, there were weak ties between consumption and production due to social and physical distances in the food system, and therefore less awareness of agro-biodiversity among eaters. Nevertheless, improved availability of local, seasonal foods of a diversity of plant varieties and animal breeds was relevant to many participants.

Awareness of changes in agro-biodiversity as experienced through lower numbers of varieties available in stores, as well as large differences between varieties that used to be available and those found in supermarkets today was expressed across the focus groups.

There were differences in the diversity of available local and sustainable food among participants, and accounts of how the participation on local food networks would increase this diversity. Being a member of a CSA provided a larger diversity, e.g. members of the Norwegian case of Hadeland CSA gained access to more than 40 different varieties of vegetables, potatoes and flowers, as well as meat from livestock at three local farms, including heritage breeds. Local food networks, such as CSAs, constitute a *mode of organisation* which favours diversity.

As an element of *modes of consumption*, diversity and flexibility in *cooking practices* play a key role in sustainable eating within local food networks. This also extends into knowledge and skills in regard to harvesting (in the case of CSAs or own production or foraging), storage, preparation and processing. Diets founded on a diversity of fresh and seasonal foods demand a different approach and set of skills as compared to diets based on standardised foods available all year around in food stores. Food culture, including both tradition and innovation and the will of exploration, with related sets of skills, may represent a key for succeeding in achieving more sustainable eating patterns.

The choice to buy organically produced food represented for some participants a way of structuring their food provisioning and limiting the number of single decisions and reflections having to be made. As expressed by CSA members in Italy, they were saved from this worry because the CSA provided them with all organic apples. Also from other cases, e.g. members of the consumer cooperative in Poland, purchasing directly from the producer or trust in others' experience were preferred strategies to only rely on information and labels on the products.

The 'functional foodscapes' as described by the individual participants were varied and different from an 'objective' description of the same food environment. Factors influencing the perception of viable local and organic food options included physical distance, but also whether it would be necessary with a dedicated trip, or it could be reached on the way to the workplace, school or similar. Perceived proximity is of course relative – the greater the abundance and proximity to foods which are not local or organic, the lower the perceived accessibility of local and Organic foods would be in comparison. One of the largest perceived barriers to increasing the consumption of foods participants thought of as ethical was the over-availability of 'tempting' foods which did not meet these ethical criteria.

The possibility of shifting the balance of accessibility from supermarkets to smaller local stores was a common aspect of future aims and possibilities which participants across focus groups and countries expressed. Making the local, organic and sustainable more accessible in practice, and doable in everyday lives.

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Background

Aims and conceptual framework

The aim of Work Package 2 has been to contribute to developing insights and knowledge on the drivers and barriers for developing diverse sustainable diets and food consumption practices as part of a more diverse local food system.

Work package 2.1 consisted of analyses of a large quantitative data material across seven European countries, providing an overview of diversity in food consumption patterns (Vittersø, Torjusen, & Kuraj, 2022). This has been complemented by a qualitative perspective in work package 2.2., in which we have investigated food provisioning and consumption patterns by conducting focus groups in distinct localities in Germany, Italy, Poland, Norway and the UK.

Three dimensions of diversity have been investigated within the FOOdIVERSE project: agrobio-diversity, bio-cultural diversity and diversity in modes of organisation and coordination (see figure 1) The focus groups in work package 2.2 have focused on bio-cultural diversity, and investigated whether, and if so how, practices and conceptions related to eating and food provisioning refer to the other forms of diversity.

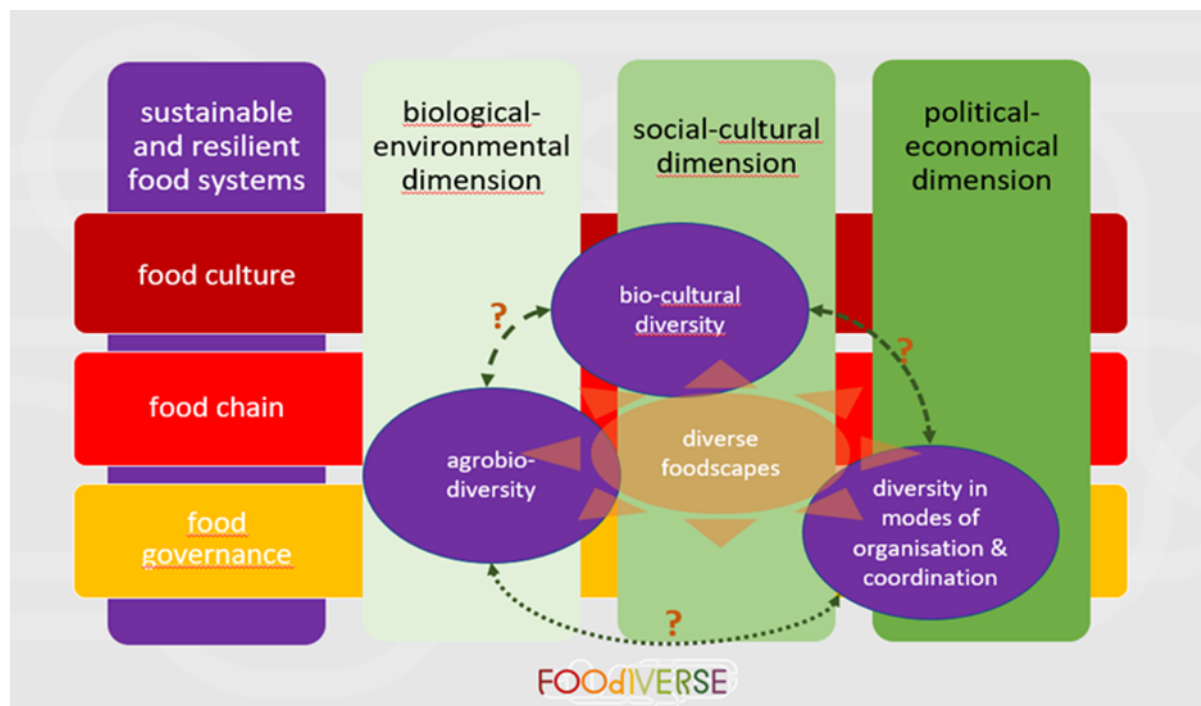


Figure 1 Diversity in food systems – a conceptual model (by the FOOdIVERSE project)

The concept of ‘foodscape’ has been central in our explorations of focus group participants’ views and ideas regarding their surrounding food environments, and the role of diversity in their food consumption practices. We will see how the dimensions of diversity are interlinked and how they are related to the perceived foodscape, including accessibility and availability of good food, of the focus groups participants.

We apply an analytical perspective on consumption in which planning and provisioning, preparation and eating, as well as handling of leftovers, waste and composting/regeneration are included (Amilien and Roos, 2022).

Focus groups

The main aim and analytical approach were to explore our research questions in a selection of focus groups consisting of consumer-citizens within and outside of particular food networks or involvement in organic food practices. The collection of ten (eleven including the pilot) focus groups provides a contextually grounded picture of diversity in food consumption in the five case-areas.

Table 1 Overview of focus groups and case-areas

Focus Groups	Germany	Italy	Poland	Norway	UK
Pilot				Øverland CSA (suburban)	
FG1	Members of Country women association, Federal state of Hesse (rural, on-line)	Members of the Naturalmente CSA, the Autonomous Province of Trento, mainly City of Trento (urban)	Members of the Wawelska Food Cooperative, Krakow (urban)	Members of Hadeland CSA, Hadeland-region (rural)	‘Frequent organic’ consumers, Bristol-area (urban, on-line)
FG2	Food Policy Council, Giessen (urban)	‘Ordinary citizens-consumers’ from the same area as the CSA members (urban)	Members of the local activity program conducted by the Municipal Social Welfare Center in the neighbourhood of Azory, Krakow (urban)	‘Ordinary’ citizens-consumers, Hadeland-region (rural)	‘Infrequent organic’ consumers, Bristol-area (urban, on-line)

With the term ‘ordinary’, we here mean to refer to participants who were not associated with any particular local food network, but otherwise had similar characteristics. In Italy, Norway and the UK, participants in the ‘ordinary’ group were recruited from the same area as participants in the focus group with members of a local food network, while in Germany and Poland there were additional differences between the two focus groups (place and social network).

Case-areas

Germany

Participants of the focus groups were recruited in proximity to the city of Giessen as well as the broader region in the Federal State of Hesse, where most research activities for the FOODIVERSE project take place as we intend to focus on short food supply chains. In the district of Gießen, the level of self-sufficiency of vegetables lies at 2% and of potatoes 25%. In the district of Kassel, from where part of the participants come, the level of self-sufficiency of vegetables is with 40% higher (Steinmetz 2020). The district of Gießen houses approximately 260,000 people on 854 square kilometres with a low range mountain landscape. On official homepages of the district, meadow orchards are mentioned to be characteristic for the region (Landkreis Gießen n.d.). The university city of Gießen has 90,131 inhabitants with approximately 42% students (ca. 35,000). In Gießen live 18% foreigners from 153 nations (Gießen 2022).

The federal state of Hesse is located in the middle (west) of Germany and has 765,300 ha agricultural land (42%, 40% forest, 18% others), of which 60% is used as arable land, 39% as grassland and 1% for permanent crops and market gardens. On almost 2/3 of the arable land are crops (grains) grown. The cultivation of winter wheat dominates with approximately 50%. On approximately 17% of the arable land are renewable primary products (mainly rapeseed and “energy corn”) grown. The federal state has a high share of sideline farms who cultivate a third of the agricultural land and only 24% of livestock farming (61% of all farms in Hesse with an average size of 28ha, 52% in Germany, 25ha in average) (Landesbetrieb Landwirtschaft Hessen 2022). Farms in Hesse were mainly small in the past, but this changed in the last decades. Farms operating as main business cultivate on average 81ha (in Germany 72 ha)¹. The amount of animals kept as livestock declines (-12.4% in 2020 since 2010), with the following allocation: 73% cattle (with 30% dairy cows), 13% pigs, 11% sheep, geese and horses, 3% poultry (Landesbetrieb Landwirtschaft Hessen 2022). Since 2020, the federal state of Hesse is a so-called “Organic model State”, which means that 25% of arable land shall be cultivated organically until 2025 (HMUKLV n.d.a). Currently, the share is 16.2% which is above average in Germany (HMUKLV n.d.b). There were 2329 organic producers in Hesse (Landesbetrieb Landwirtschaft Hessen 2022). In 2020, the average income of employees in Hesse was around 50,227€, with regional differences, for example in Wiesbaden 54,096€, District of Kassel 47,372€ in District of Gießen 44,267€ (Hessisches Statistisches Landesamt 2022).

In Hesse, there were 38 CSAs.² Two cities in Hesse (Darmstadt, Witzenhausen) are organic cities (in Germany 27 in total).³ Several (however limited) initiatives exist like Food Policy Councils or urban gardening (Frankfurt).

¹ <https://llh.hessen.de/unternehmen/agrarstatistik/>, 15.05.2023.

² https://www.solidarische-landwirtschaft.org/solawis-finden/auflistung/solawis?tx_csa_pi1%5Baction%5D=list&tx_csa_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=Farm&cHash=a25d2d655ffc6724e6f5a92a9d5d85a6, 15.05.2023.

³ <https://www.biostaedte.de/>, 15.05.2023.

FG1



Figure 2 Place of residence, Focus Group 1, Germany

Distances: Kassel -> Gießen approx. 125 km,
Gießen -> Wiesbaden approx. 85 km.
Participants were located across the federal
state of Hesse.

FG2



Figure 3 Place of residence, Focus Group 2, Germany

Participants lived (if not in the city) in the district
of Gießen or neighbouring the district (in a radius
of 6 -17 km from Gießen).

Italy

The Italian focus groups consisted of participants from the Autonomous Province of Trento, mainly involving people living in the City of Trento, which is the province's capital and where about 20% of inhabitants live.

The Autonomous Province of Trento is an Italian Alpine Region located in Northeast Italy, covering about 620'000 hectares with a total number of inhabitants at around 540 000. The province is made up of valleys and high mountains with high percentages of steep slopes. These topographical characteristics have always made cultivation activities difficult, and terraces were created to overcome this problem: 20% of Trento's territory is classified as agricultural and 50% as forest or pastureland. About 70% of the territory is covered by silvopastoral-agricultural areas, the remaining 30% is categorised as urban.

In Trentino, about 7800 farms are involved in the agricultural sector and 40% of them occupy a surface of less than 0,5 hectares. Gross Salable Production (GSP) of the agricultural and forestry sector amounts to 698.4 million Euros, 95% attributable to the agricultural sector and 5% to the forestry sector.

Fruit growing is the main business, with 33% of the GSP of the agricultural sector, followed by zootechnics with 17%, and viticulture with 15%. Apple production makes up to 82% of the GSP of fruit growing followed by small fruits (as berries) with 11%. Apple orchards extend over 10,798 hectares and involve 5,864 farms.

The organic sector, although increasing, is still very limited. In 2017, the area cultivated adopting organic methods was 7146,04 ha corresponding to 1,15% of the entire Province's surface.

The current almost monocultural agricultural landscape is a relatively recent fact. Until the middle of the XX century, the agricultural system was characterised by mulberry and tobacco growing, with corn being widespread in the valley floors, and barley and rye cultivated in three mountain areas. Nonetheless, there has always been the necessity to import fruit and vegetables from outside the province's boundaries. If the agricultural landscape of two hundred years ago was characterised by different cultivations, today it is almost made up of two main monocultures: apple orchards and vineyards.

Deep changes in the agricultural system started in the XIX century with the outbreak of plant diseases and pest infestations, a situation that worsened during the second part of the XX century due to changing dynamics in the economic sector. Indeed, competition from foreign markets in the silk and tobacco industry in the 1960s decimated that operating in Trentino. Thus, with the demise of the mulberry and tobacco industry comes the rise of that of the apple and grape as we see today.

Specialized viticulture spread during the '50s and the '60s. In those decades, many changes occurred in the agricultural production sector and the economic systems. The change from companion planting to specialized cultivations happened with the introduction of mechanized cultivation practices, the establishment of new land leases and with diversified family incomes.

The problem of the weakness of small size with the increasing global competition was overcome in this area through cooperation: farmers gathered in three producer organizations: Melinda, Trentina and Cio Serene Star, clustered in turn in a bigger association: the "Associazione Produttori Ortofrutticoli Trentini" (Apot) (lit. Trentino Fruit and Vegetable Producers Association). Other reasons for the local tendency to gather in cooperatives, could be linked to the supply of modern equipment and techniques, the rationalization of production processes and the ability to adapt to a constantly evolving market, characteristics that have made the local agricultural sector economically efficient and competitive while protecting the incomes of its employees.

However, some typical characteristics of cooperatives, such as the need to produce economically satisfactory results in the short term - to avoid internal tensions among members - can be seen also as an obstacle to the growth and balance of cooperatives in the long term as well as to the adoption of more sustainable practices. For example, the presence of a structured cooperative system seems to be a weak spot for niche agricultural production and alternative food networks which have difficulties in finding adequate marketing space. Moreover, the Province of Trento is characterized by a high land value, another factor that seem to be a crucial element against the introduction of innovations and the spread of alternative food network which in fact appear rather weak in the area (see Andreola et al 2021).

Poland

The Polish focus groups consisted of participants from Krakow, where the living lab will be carried out. The first group consisted of members of the Wawelska Food Cooperative. It is a food network that is the most important part of Polish FOODIVERSE Living Lab. The second group interview was conducted at Krakow's neighbourhood of Azory. Its participants were members of the local activity program that is conducted in Azory by the Municipal Social Welfare Centre in Krakow.

Krakow is the second largest city in Poland. The city has 800,000 inhabitants and is the capital of a densely populated agglomeration, which is one of the most economically developed areas in Poland. Krakow is also considered to be the cultural capital of Poland and an important academic centre. The Jagiellonian University in Krakow was founded in 1364. From the 11th to the end of the 16th century,

Krakow was the capital of Poland and the seat of the royal court. The rich history now enables the development of tourism. Krakow is also a large outsourcing centre for the IT industries and Business Service Centres. Agriculture is not an important part of the economy in the Krakow agglomeration. The region lacks local food suppliers, and the food system relies on long mainstream supply chains. Krakow is famous for the extremely large number of restaurants and pubs that operate in the city centre.

The city of Kraków is divided into 18 administrative districts. Azory neighbourhood is part of Pradnik Bialy district, which is located in north-western part of the city.

Norway

The Norwegian focus groups consisted of participants from the Hadeland area where the living lab is carried out. Hadeland is a region at the southern end of the lake Randsfjord. The region includes today's municipalities Jevnaker, Lunner and Gran. The region has a total of 29,530 inhabitants (1 January 2020) and measures approx. 1,125 km², distributed among the three municipalities. Lunner and Gran belong to the housing and labour market region Oslo / Bærum, while Jevnaker belongs to Ringerike.

Agricultural land accounts for just under 10 per cent of the area (120 km²), of which 59 per cent is used for cereals, 34 per cent for meadows and pastures and 3 per cent for potato production. Livestock production consists mainly of milk, pork and beef and eggs, and sheep farming is actually increasing⁴. However, it is little vegetable and fruit growing in the region, thus, there is a huge potential for diversifying the plant based agricultural production.

The Hadeland CSA is located in Jevnaker and the nearest major town is Hønefoss in the Ringerike region. The area consists of scattered settlements characterized by agriculture and forestry and the municipal centre of Jevnaker has about 5.000 inhabitants. For several centuries, Hadeland has delivered agricultural goods, timber, etc., especially to Oslo, at the earliest with the so-called load carriers, and in recent years by train and car⁵.

UK

All of the participants in the UK focus groups lived in Bristol – the largest city in the South West of England where the UK living lab is situated. Bristol is a large city of 470,000 inhabitants. It has taken some pioneering actions around sustainable food, being one of only a handful of cities in the UK to have their own food policy council, the first to achieve the Gold 'Sustainable Food Cities Award', and a growing network of restaurants trying to prioritise sourcing from local suppliers. An estimated 2,000 hectares of land in Bristol could potentially be used for food growing in and around the city, with the potential to produce several thousands tonnes of produce, and the South West region has the greatest concentration of Organic producers in the UK with 10% of the UK's Organically farmed land (1.9 million hectares) (Carey, 2011; 2).

However, as participants in our focus groups highlighted, there is still a large distance between this potential and the pioneering actions taken so far, and how far there is to go. Currently, local foods aren't easy to access or affordable for the vast majority of the city's residents and Bristol's farmers market is "woefully undersubscribed" with no more than a couple of local producers selling through it each fortnight (private correspondence). There are around 70 supermarket stores in Bristol, amounting to only 1.5% of the city's food businesses but accounting for the overwhelming majority of food shopping by its residents nonetheless (Carey, 2011; 4). The greater Bristol area has a higher

⁴ <https://snl.no/Hadeland>, 29.10.2023.

⁵ <https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadeland>, 29.10.2023.

concentration of Tesco stores than other comparable English cities, and traditional independent greengrocers have disappeared from many of the city's high streets and shopping centres (Carey, 2011; 4). Across the UK the supermarket sector accounts for over 95% of food retail (Defra, 2023) and Organic produce accounts for less than 2% of food sales (Soil Association, 2023).

Methodology

The main analytical perspective has been to explore our research questions in a selection of focus groups consisting of consumer-citizens within and outside of local food networks or dedicated organic food practices. The collection of ten (eleven including the pilot) focus groups provides ‘thick descriptions’, or a ‘rich picture’, of the issues as seen from various local contexts.

Participant descriptions

In the following, participants in the focus groups conducted in the five countries will be briefly described in terms of sociodemographic characteristics.

Germany

An overview of participant demographics of the German Focus Group participants is presented in.

Table 2 Characteristics of focus group participants in Germany

	FG 1	FG 2
Recruited from	A country women association in the Federal state of Hesse (rural)	Members of the Food Policy Council in Giessen (urban)
Men	0	1
Women	5	6
Age 20-40	1	1
40 – 60	2	3
>60	2	3
No. of members in the household	2 (mainly)	1-2 (mainly)
Area of residence	Rural	Urban
Venue	On-line	University of Gießen
Date, duration	April 07 th 2022, 6-8 pm	April 13 th 2022, 6-8 pm

Recruitment

Three participants are members of the Country Women Association in Hesse (one more was registered, but did not show up to the focus group). The country women in Hesse were asked hoping to find participants who live more rurally and are not scientifically or professionally involved in food, but might provide interesting insights or possess knowledge on (rural) bio-cultural practices. It turned out that the participants were heavily involved in food topics and practices. We contacted the executive office of the association, and they forwarded our invitation to participate in the focus group (including some information about the procedures of the focus group) to their members. After an initial call, they also sent out a reminder, because at first there was only one person interested. Due to too little feedback, we expanded the recruitment strategy. In the end we found two additional participants. One participant is member of the foodsharing initiative in Gießen who was recruited through personal contact and one participant owns a tree nursery /gardening shop with a big share of apple trees. The contact was made via a contact to the manager of the Organic Model Region of Hesse.

Prior to the focus group, the food policy council (FPC) was contacted to evaluate a potential partnership within the living lab (WP5). The food policy council was asked to consult a more urban group and people who are more “professionally” involved in the topic to expand or give another perspective. As only 4 members of the FPC were available we opened the recruitment. One participant was a friend of a participant, and one participant was recruited via contacts at the

University of Gießen. 4 participants sent the signed informed consent prior to the meeting, 2 signed them before the start of the focus group.

The focus group took place at the University of Gießen. Snacks were provided on the table and were eaten during the meeting. Different food items (organically and/or locally produced/distributed wine, honey and soup) were purchased as a reimbursement. Both focus groups lasted approximately 2 hours.

Italy

The two focus groups were carried out at the Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento. They were both video recorded and integrally transcribed. The first focus group involved members (eaters) of the Naturalmente dal Trentino CSA and the second group involved “ordinary” citizens-consumers from the same area. As the other teams, we wanted to have two distinct groups to compare and contrast their views and practices regarding local food provisioning and consumption.

The first focus group with CSA members was held on the 7th of May. We were able to recruit 7 CSA members. Member were approached through an email sent by the Italian Team. Since it was quite difficult to have a reply via email, a phone call was followed in order to make an agreement also with regard to the most suitable time and day of the week.

In total the focus group lasted 2 hours and 33 minutes.

The Naturalmente CSA was founded in 2021 and is currently made up of 11 producers and 34 households who started to cooperate together in the summer following the first wave of the COVID pandemic. Most of the farmers are owners of recently founded farms with few employees, often members of their own families, and small dimensions, both in terms of turnover and agricultural area used. Eight out of the total 11 farms were founded in the last 20 years. Almost three-quarters of the farms measure less than 8 hectares, which is the average recorded in Trentino by the Rural Development Programme.

The CSA works on a weekly basis. Every Monday eaters and producers meet in a greenhouse provided by a producer to exchange produce. Orders and economic transactions are handled by a very basic online platform. Consumers can order individual products or purchase weekly boxes containing various products.

The second focus group was held on the 25th of May and gathered 5 ordinary citizens-consumer from the same area as the CSA members. As in the case of the Norwegian team, to recruit participants for this second focus group we also used a snowballing method: we asked to CSA members for suggestions on possible participants that they knew off and that had nothing to do with the CSA. Getting enough participants using this recruitment strategy was difficult also for our team and as in the Norwegian case we were also able to build a small focus group with five people involved only, as we also experience some drop-out close to the focus group. In total the focus group lasted 2 hours and 8 minutes.

Table 3 Characteristics of focus group participants in Italy

	FG 1	FG 2
Recruited from	Members of the CSA 'Naturalmente dal Trentino'	'Ordinary' citizens-consumers from same area as CSA
Men	3	2
Women	4	3
Age 20-40	4	3
40 – 60	2	1
>60	1	1
No. of members in the household	5 households with 2 members 1 household with 4 members (2 kids) 1 household with multiple members (student flat)	1 household with 4 members (2 kids) 3 household with a single member 1 household with 2 members
Area of residence / type of dwelling	Urban / Family flats, one shared apartment (students)	Urban / Flats, one villa, one shared apartment (students)
Venue	The Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento	The Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento
Date, duration	May 7 th , 2 h 33 min	May 25 th , 2 h 8 min

Poland

The first focus group (Focus Group 1) was carried out on February 23, 2022 at the Institute of Sociology of the Jagiellonian University. The Institute is located in the very centre of Krakow, near the headquarters of the Wawelska Food Cooperative. Five of its female members were interviewed. The first focus group lasted 2 hours 45 minutes. The group was recruited through personal contacts, as one of the members of the Polish FOODIVERSE team is also a member of the Wawelska Food Cooperative. Four of the participants of focus group 1 live in different parts of Krakow. One participant lives in a village near the city, but comes from Krakow, which is still a place where her professional and social activity is focused.

The aim of the Polish team was to compare foodscapes of the members of the Cooperative with the realities of Krakow residents who are not involved in food networks. Additionally, it was intended to check how members of groups at risk of social exclusion obtain their food. For this reason, it was decided to establish cooperation with the Local Activity Program from the Azory neighborhood. It is an initiative implemented by the Municipal Social Welfare Centre in various parts of Krakow. Azory neighbourhood was chosen due to the fact that one of the members of the Polish FOODIVERSE research team lives there. It is a neighbourhood far from the city centre, which is considered poor and unattractive. The coordinator of the Local Activity Program from the Azory neighborhood was responsible for the recruitment of interview participants. Inhabitants of the district and social workers employed in the Program took part in the interview. It was a total of 6 people. The interview took place on March 25, 2022 and lasted 2 hours 35 minutes. It is worth noting that one of the projects run by the Local Activity Program at Azory is a Community Garden (this information was unknown before the interview).

Table 4 Characteristics of focus group participants in Poland

	FG 1	FG 2
Recruited from	Members of the Wawelska Food Cooperative	The Local Activity Program from the Azory neighborhood, run by the Municipal Social Welfare Centre
Men	0	3
Women	5	3
Age 20-40	4	5
40 – 60	1	3
>60	0	3
No. of members in the household	Two of the participants live with their partners and child/ children In other cases: Not specified	Two of the participants live with their partners. One participant lives with her partner and their children. In other cases: not specified
Area or residence / type of dwelling	Urban / 4 x Flats 1 x village house with garden	Urban / Flats
Venue	Institute of Sociology of the Jagiellonian University	Local Activity Point (Krakow Social Welfare Centre)
Date, duration	February 23 rd , 2 h 45 min	March 25 th , 2 h 35 min

Norway

The Norwegian focus groups consisted of participants from the Hadeland area where the living lab is carried out. The first group consisted of members of the Hadeland CSA (Hadeland andelslandbruk) and the second group with “ordinary” citizens-consumers from the same area.

The CSA recruits members from both the Hadeland and Ringerike/Hønefoss area as well as the Oslo-region south of Hadeland. The CSA is a collaboration between consumers and farmers and the main activity is production of vegetables, potatoes and flowers. Each member buys a share of a given production and participate in decisions about what to grow and members also take part in the cultivation. The cultivated field is about 0,5 ha and more than 40 different varieties of vegetables, potatoes and flowers are grown. In addition, Hadeland CSA has an agreement with three participating farms about buying shares of eggs and meat.

The pilot focus group consisted of members of Øverland CSA in Bærum, in the outskirts of Oslo. There is a collaboration between Hadeland CSA and Øverland CSA.

Table 5 Characteristics of focus group participants in Norway

	Pilot	FG 1	FG 2
	Members of Øverland CSA	Members of Hadeland CSA	Citizens in Hadeland-region (non-members)
Men	1	2	1
Women	3	6	4
Age 20-40		1	2
40 – 60	2	4	2
>60	2	3	1
No. of members in the household	2 persons	6 with 2 persons and 2 with 5 persons	2 with 1 person, 1 with 2 persons, 1 with 4 persons and 1 unknown
Area of residence / Type of dwelling	Suburban / Villas with garden	Rural / Villas and farms (3)	Rural / Villas
Venue	Oslo Metropolitan University	Aslaksrud Farm Jevnaker	Aslaksrud Farm Jevnaker
Date, duration	November 19th, 2021, 5-7.30 PM	February 24th 2022, 5-7.30 (20.30) PM	4th of May 2022, 5-7.30 PM

UK

Participants were recruited using an advert distributed to Facebook users based in Bristol. From the 133 respondents to this advert, participants were selected to be different in their frequency of Organic food consumption and similar in terms of other sociodemographic categories (see table 9). The 6 frequent organic and 5 infrequent organic consumers were distributed across the city as shown in figure 4.

Both groups participated in two two-hour long sessions with identical structure held online two-weeks apart. Exercises were supported with the use of an online whiteboard (Miro). They were provided with participant information sheets, signed consent forms, and were compensated £50 each in recognition of the time and energy they contributed to the research.

Table 6 Characteristics of focus group participants in the UK

	FG 1	FG 2,
	Frequent Organic	Infrequent Organic
Men	3	
Women	3	5
Age 20-40	2	1
40 – 60	3	3
>60	1	1
No. of members in the household		
Area of residence	Urban	Urban
Venue	On-line	On-line
Date, duration	Two hours	Two hours

FOOdIVERSE Diversity in Eating Practices

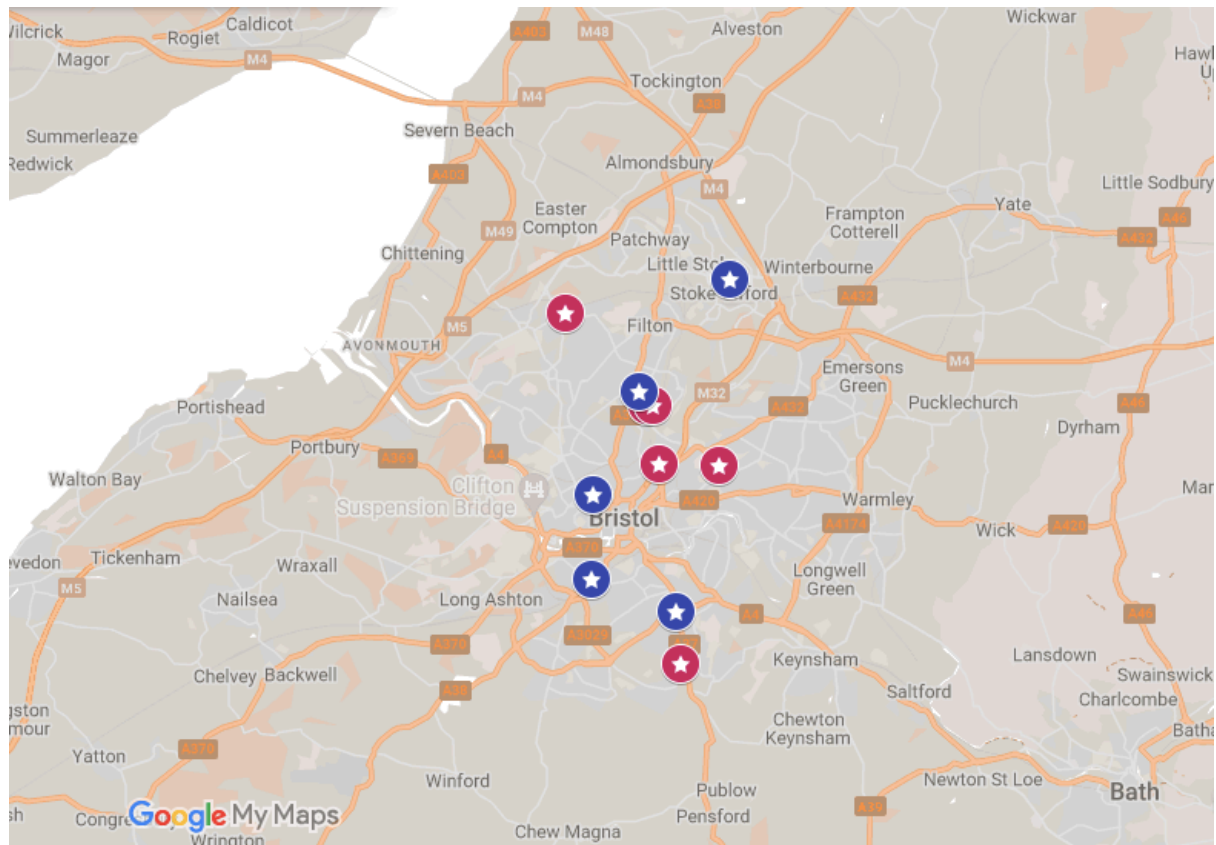


Figure 4 distribution of UK participants around Bristol. Frequent Organic in red, infrequent in blue.

Results

Food product story

Focus groups started by showing participants a display of physical products within a food category and asking them about their associations with these products. This was designed as a warm-up question, but also a method for starting our exploration of the research question in a concrete manner. The food products chosen in the various countries in most cases corresponded to case products in other work packages (e.g. case-study product for task 3.1; market audit), thus adding to our understanding across work packages.

The product varieties included the fresh/raw product as well as some examples of processed and packaged varieties of the same product. Typically, the session started with participants moving around the table where products are allocated or sending them across the table where they were seated, and commenting their associations with the products. After an initial discussion between them, we asked for brief individual comments and reflections.

Table 7 Overview of food products displayed in all cases

Germany	Italy	Poland	Norway	UK
Apples	Apples	Apples	Potatoes	Potatoes

Germany

We invited the participants to reflect upon apples to start the focus group. A variety of apples was presented on the table in focus group 2 and a slide with different products shown in focus group 1. Next to raw apples also processed apples like in apple purée was shown.

Below a table with a list of the food products that were displayed for the two groups. We chose apples, because this was the same as the case-study product that we selected for task 3.1 – the market audit. In addition, apples are commonly eaten in this region of Germany as are growing in the region.

Table 8 Apple products presented in Focus Group 1, Germany

Product (name on label)	Main characteristics
Apple pie	Self-made
Apple (Elstar)	Origin: Germany, packed in foil
Apple purée	Organic
Apples (special apples, Pinova)	In a plastic bag, apples with some damages, region: Rhineland
Apples (sweet, sourish)	Region: Baden-Württemberg
Many apples loose or packaged, picture from supermarket	



Figure 5 Pictures of apples and apple products in Focus Group 1, Germany

Focus Group 1

The participants of the first focus group were less concerned with the product itself and its range of applications, but critically questioning the declaration of organic apple purée. It displays where the product is packaged, but not where the food is from. Only one participant addressed the possible uses ("such a great fruit, what you can do with it", P1.2). Regarding the variety of apples, it was criticized that "I always see the same apple varieties in the supermarket. I don't want to call them industrially produced, but it abuts on that and I miss the variety of the regional apples" (P1.4). Also, a lack of education of the consumers is mentioned "why must an apple always be firm, why can't one let apples ripe naturally" (P1.4). Apples in the supermarket are packed in plastic and must "always meet a uniform quality standard" (P1.5). Because of that, apples with a flaw were mostly not present. However, there are discounter who sell apples with flaws for a lower price.

Focus Group 2

Table 9 Apple products presented in Focus Group 2, Germany

Product (name on label)	Main characteristics
Apple purée	Organic
Apples (loose from farmers market)	conventional
Apples (loose from farmers market)	Very small, organic, with flaws

"They are very shiny, but somehow in the wrong season" (P2.4). P2.3 replies that there exist varieties which would. One participant used to (when she was a child) store apples and carrots over the winter and says that they would not be as shiny, however another participant mentions that there are varieties which are shiny.

P2.1 appreciated the colours (especially red and yellow), the juiciness, freshness and crispyness of apples "And the small one was very appealing to me, ... it looked so juicy and I really felt like eating an apple, something that fresh, crisp" (P2.1). Furthermore, she loves Belle de Boskoop apples, purchased them in a gardening association and she stored them over the winter and "still eats them". In this region it is difficult to get good apples you can eat right away. It came to the mind of another participant that this is a very good CA-storage (controlled atmosphere). (P2.1 and P2.4 agree that the smell is different/gone.) Another participant can only eat apples steamed which she learned from

ayurvedic cuisine, and she tolerates them much better that way with less allergic reactions she used to have before. Her mother has a Belle de Boskoop tree and she can have apples from her until December/January. But after that she purchases them from stores. There also arose a discussion about apple cultivars which were suitable for people with allergies. „So, I cannot tolerate the new breedings at all, I liked to eat Braeburn, but my stomach does not like them anymore. And now I am again eating King of Pippins and Belle de Boskoop and Cox’s Orange Pippin.” (P2.5)

P2.6 appreciates how many names (varieties with great names) there are but mentions that only 3-4 varieties are available in the stores.

P2.1 mentions that she produces compote with the first and the last apples of a season and it is discussed that modern breedings are very different from old cultivars. The taste is very different, even for apples like Belle de Boskoop. It would be difficult to recognize the apples sold in retail stores as a Belle de Boskoop.

P2.3 mentions that the markets and modern ways of apple production changed the varieties immensely that there is a huge difference/gap between those and apples from meadow orchards and domestic cultivars.

Three participants get apples (at least partially) from alternative distribution channels, i.e. self-picking, from a farmer who gets apples from other farmers and orchard meadows, from a family member who has a Belle de Boskoop tree and from a fruit- and gardening association. Key issues that were commented and discussed by participants are listed in Table 13.

Associations to the apple products

Table 10 Key issues of participant associations to apples, Germany

Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Numerous options to process apples	Untypically shiny for the season (with different/no smell)
Mostly identical varieties in supermarkets with lack of regional varieties	Appreciation of colours (especially red and yellow)
Apple purée: bad declaration (only know where packaged, not origin of apples)	Very good CA-storage
	Better tolerance of steamed apples / allergic reactions to apples

Typical use of apples

P2.1 takes glass with purée into her hands: „... Compote, that is the first thing I start with, with the first apples which fall down. I start to make compote. And then afterwards, just when I realize that my apples don’t make it much longer, I put it into a glass, just before they go bad”.

But very seldom with Belle de Boskoop apples, because P2.1 likes them so much. After querying, if those apples are used for cakes, P2.1 confirms that all kinds of forms of the apple is used for cakes.

P2.4 explains that she cannot tolerate raw apples and that she eats them “But steamed [in the] morning and then as porridge. I got this now through ayurvedic nutrition and am actually totally happy with that. Before that, I was really careful with apples, because increasingly, unfortunately I, somehow reacted with intolerances and thick lips, etc..”.

A link between new cultivars (and production methods) and allergies were made.

Italy

A table with a list of the food products that were displayed for the two groups is provided below. As far as possible we made the same selection of products in the two groups. The picture below was taken before the start of the first focus group, but the products displayed during the second focus group were almost the same. We chose apples because of the importance of this product in the selected local context. Apples were also inserted as case-study product for task 3.1 – the market audit.



Figure 6 Pictures of apples and apple products in Focus Group 1, Italy

Table 11 Apple products presented in Focus Group 1, Italy

Product (name on label)	Main characteristics
Apples different variety	The apples were purchased from an organic greengrocer who has a stall in a small stable market in the city centre
Organic Apple Juice	The apple juice was bought at a supermarket
Strudel Cake	<p>Apple Strudel Cake is the most iconic apple cake, traditionally from the Trentino area.</p> <p>We decided to buy apple pie at an artisan bakery.</p>

Associations to the apple products

The participant had a few minutes to have a look at the products that were placed at the centre of the table. Then a collective discussion started.

Table 12 Key issues of participant associations to apples, Italy

Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Territory	Apple, associated with the territory.
Product transformation/How to exploit the product of the territory	Products that I like, and I would buy only in Trentino.
Representation of Trentino	Local reality: Modern Bakery. Purchased at this shop, products are “something different”, when compared to the supermarket.
Tasty	Apples look different: some more cured, some less so. Wouldn't take the cured ones.
Process, three different degrees of processing	Products that look healthy at first glance.
Circularity between the product and the various transformations and by-products.	
It's like a supply chain	

Between the two focus groups we noticed higher attention towards the food chain rather than to the product only among the participant of the CSA Focus Group. This is maybe the consequence of the educational work done within this “organizing context”.

Associations to the appearance

Pesticides issue: In Trentino there is a high awareness of the potential adverse health and environmental effects of pesticides used by the apple industry and this despite the fact that since 1991 apple growers in this area have adopted integrated control strategies aimed at reducing and at replacing the most toxic compounds of pesticides.

We noticed a particular attention on the pesticide issue especially in the focus group 2, as one of the participants illustrates:

“... let's say that the history of Apple is well known ... as consumers we are quite alerted because it has been the subject of so many treatments, but there have been also battles to preserve its naturalness and genuineness, and therefore every product that we eat, especially fruits and vegetables that grows in nature we always ask ourselves “how has it been treated? Will it be good for me? Will it hurt me? What will happen to me? Should I peel it, should I not peel it? [...] when I eat them.... sometimes I try to get apples from friends. Other times I buy them from supermarkets, sometimes I pay more attention, sometimes less, because I think it is important on the one hand to defend local products, but on the other hand food cannot become an obsession” (TO, M-FG2).

Participants in this second focus group refer that they use to read labels before buying their food, and especially regarding apples, they check whether they are organic or not. The way apples are grown also influences the way they are eaten, that is, whether they are peeled or eaten with the skin on:

“... I try to make sure that they are organic, so that I can keep the peel. Actually, you can see it at the supermarket because there are those (organic apples, Ndt)...of course unfortunately they are packaged, there is packaging and everything that maybe one tries to take the products without packaging so that you don't have too much plastic to throw away. That's another thing I pay attention

to, which is not to take too many packaged things, even though it would be much more convenient” (FF, F-FG2)

Within participants in the focus group 1, the issue of pesticides emerged less evidently, but it seems that few of them are actually eating apples regularly. The lower salience of the issue could also be a consequence of the fact that CSA members have access to apples produced by the CSA associated farmers, and therefore to organic apples.

With regard to apple juice, several participants in both focus groups signalled to pay special attention to ingredients and that they tend to prefer juice that do not contain additional sugar:

“...if I were to buy it, I'm going to read the labels precisely to see what it's made of” (NC, M-FG2)

“... unfortunately nowadays juices always start from concentrate, and so the first thing I look at when I see a product like this is to check what's in it, particularly regarding apple juice” (ER, F-FG1)

Baking or even consuming apple strudel cake is not common among the participants in the two focus groups. In some cases, it is reported that apple strudel cake is a processed product that requires a lot of work if one wants to make it at home. In fact, it is usually prepared on special occasions.

Typical use of the apple products

While apple and apple juice are usually eaten/drunk for breakfast or during breaks, apple strudel cake is usually bought or baked in special occasions:

“...if I have to prepare a snack because there is somebody coming over... I usually do simpler things. ... [baking strudel] it's not really super quick “ (ER, F-FG1)

“...maybe you bring strudel when they invite you for a dinner” (SF, F-FG1)

In general, we did not notice strong differences between the two groups. Both members of the CSA and the others did show quite a lot of interest in organic/natural farming.

Those involved in our study say that they are used to check labels before buying. Some people even search companies on the internet to have more information about who produces the food they buy. Regarding this aspect, some do not approve the way ingredients are written on products as they find information too confusing, written in small characters and incomprehensible. Also due to these reasons, some rely on suggestions from friends and people they “trust”: *“it happens to me very often to rely on trust of what people I trust tell me' 'because very often we don't really have the time to do research about what we buy” (GA, F-FG1).*

Apple

- Is it eaten with peel or without peel? Only one person (ER, F-FG1), of the 12 participants, stated that they eat apple without peel, not explaining why.

Only in FG2 (FF, TO, EU, F-FG2) the habit of eating apples with peel is linked to attention to production methods. They point out that it is important that the apple is grown organically in order to eat it with the peel. In focus group 1 this clarification is not hypothesized: is this connection so internalized that it does not come naturally to make it explicit?

- Differences in food diets: there are those who do not like apples very much and therefore hardly ever eat them, there are those who eat them almost every day because they like them, those who hardly ever eat fruit, and those who eat fruit every day as a habit they can no longer give up. No difference was recorded between the two focus groups.

- Differences in purchasing: there are those who get apples at the supermarket by checking the origin, those who get them without having information about them, and those who get them at the farmer's market or who eat their own apples.

Apple juice

- Processing product: in both focus groups this is something that is noticed and emphasized by participants who pay special attention to ingredients.

- Particular attention to ingredients: [GA, F & SF, F-FG1, and NC, M & FF, F-FG2] explain how it is important for them to know the ingredients of juice and that it has no added sugars or preservatives.

- Single consumption problem: SF, F-FG1 and NC, M-FG2 explain that they limit their consumption of apple juice because they find mainly 1L packages, which are too large to dispose individually in a short time. To avoid waste, they do not buy them. NC, M-FG2 looks for half-liter packages, MA, F-FG1

Strudel

- Strudel ritual: it is prepared or bought on special occasions of celebration and conviviality. ER, F-FG1 makes strudel for her own children when they have a snack with friends; FF, F-FG2 and her family, on the other hand, often have it made by their mother. Strudel, a typical Trentino cake, could be seen as a 'culinary pampering' that is exchanged between affections and for more or less special occasions.

- Modern Bakery: MA, F-FG1 and FF, F-FG2 both point out that the strudel displayed come from a Bakery renewed to use high quality products and ingredients that sells at rather high price.

- Processed product: this is a consideration that comes up with GA, SF, RF, MA & ER, F from FG1. The former prefers not to buy it; the other two, rather than deprive themselves of it, prefer to make it at home.

What is important to know about a product?

- Ingredients

- Method of production

How do you get this information?




- difficulty in reading labels (RF, M-FG1 & EU, F, FF, F-FG2)

- trust/no trust in others' experience (GA, F and RF, M-FG1)

Poland

Below we have listed the food products that were displayed for the two groups. We made exactly the same selection of products for both of the groups. We chose apples and apple products because apple was our case-study product for task 3.1 – the market audit. They were chosen as case study product because of the fact that Poland is the world's 4th biggest apple producer.

Table 13 Apple products presented in Focus Group 1 and 2, Poland

Product (name on label)	Main characteristics	Illustration
Grey Reinette apple (unlabelled, loose)	An old variety of apples, highly popular in Poland. It is well-known for its sour taste and green and grey colour. It is traditionally used for cakes and preserves. It differs from modern varieties as its appearance is not so attractive. This is a reason why it hasn't been available in big chain stores for a long time. It led to growth of its price, which is some kind of paradox - once the most common and ordinary variety of apple can now be considered as a premium product.	
Szampion apple (unlabelled, loose)	A variety of apples originating from Czechia. It is popular in Poland, both among farmers and consumers. It is suitable for direct consumption.	
Prince apple (unlabelled, loose)	Big, sweet, hard and good-looking apples.	

Szampion apples (packed and labelled as Auchan product)	4 apples placed on paper plate and wrapped in a plastic bag	
Tarczyn apple juice in a bottle (33 cl)	Product of well-known polish brand "Tarczyn". It is especially popular among children for the "fun facts" which are printed on the internal side of a bottle top.	
Dried apples	Product available in chain supermarkets. It is labelled with EU Organic Farming Certificate. In Poland they are commonly called "apple chips" and are considered as an alternative for salty potato crisps.	

Associations to the apples and apple products

In both groups apples and apple products were already placed on a table when participants arrived. They weren't given extra time to check out the products, as they were able to do it before the interview started. In both groups we discussed one product after another, starting from raw, unpacked apples. Key issues that were commented and discusses by participants are listed in Table 17.

Table 14 Key issues of participant associations to apples, Poland

Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Many varieties of apples are available in stores. Participants say they pay attention to what variety they buy. However, the discussion showed that they have trouble recognizing varieties.	Participants were convinced that apples of different varieties have different properties, but they had difficulties with assigning particular properties to specific varieties.

Plastic packaging of apples is poorly assessed. Loose apples (and other vegetables and fruits in general) are preferred. Excess packaging is a problem with organic food.	The use-by date for processed and unprocessed foods varies.
The food cooperative gives you the opportunity to buy apples (fresh and dried) of better quality than those available in stores.	The practice of packaging the fruits is a marketing gimmick.
Apples are a Polish, local product. They are a symbol of Poland.	The right way of storing apples. Some participants were convinced they should be kept in the refrigerator, while others claimed that they should not be refrigerated.

Associations to the appearance

Discussion on fresh, loose apples

Focus Group 1- members of The Wawelska Food Cooperative.

- *"I do not know apple varieties at all, because when I buy apple in Cooperative, I choose only one variety, which is my child's favourite. When I was buying apples at the market, I used to ask for sweet apples. The sellers usually mentioned the names of the species they were selling me, but I've never absorbed these names."*

Focus Group 2 - Participants of the local activity program from the Azory neighbourhood

- *"I associate apples with an export to Russia. Not now, but once apples were exported to Russia."*
- *"The products on the table have different expiry dates. Fresh apples in a week will not look as good anymore, but the rest of the products will still be good."*
- *"I do not pay attention to a variety of apples, but I would not buy an apple in a plastic bag."*

Discussion on apples placed on a plate and wrapped in a plastic bag

Focus Group 1- members of The Wawelska Food Cooperative.

M: *"Do you buy these kinds of products?"*

Q1: *"I would have to be very desperate to buy it."*

Q2: *"If I buy, it is with great remorse."*

Q3: *"If I am on vacation in a small town and there is only one store that only sells these packed apples then yes."*

Q4: *"Often, when I am in a large supermarket, I have a choice in such a way that either ordinary fruit is available in bulk or packed in foil with an organic certificate. And there is this dilemma: do I prefer to buy something that is organic or something that is unpackaged?"*

Q2: *"I haven't been to Lidl for a long time, but this is what I associate with this type of store, that bio products there are packed to the maximum."*

Q5: *"Ecological products often don't come from Poland and have to come from somewhere. Thereby they are packed. This is illogical."*

Q3: *"In the ecological trend it is anthropocentric, other aspects are not taken into account. The point is that the person who is to be healthy should be sure that she is buying this particular thing. This may result from the law that organic products are to be packaged so that they cannot be replaced or confused with others."*

Q2: *"People for whom it is important that this apple is healthy and organic very often have views related to sustainable development and not hastening the end of the world due to a climate catastrophe. This contradiction always amazes me."*

Q1: *"They explain to us that this organic food cannot come into contact with non-organic food. However, ways of labelling bio food on the skin have been invented. So there is no need to use packaging. But before this trend reaches Poland, it will take a while."*

Q2: *"I've seen such stamps on avocados and bananas."*

P5: *"I've seen signs like that on coconuts. This contradicts the idea of environmental friendliness that such products from afar are available in Krakow at all. But many more products already have such stamps burned out."*

Focus Group 2 - Participants of the local activity program from the Azory neighbourhood

P1: *"I prefer loose apples. Food should not be kept in plastic. When restaurateurs bring their groceries, they are usually packed in some boxes. If they do so, we should do it the same way."*

P5: *"In my opinion, such packaging is only for increasing the aesthetics of the product. The apples in that bag are the same as the loose ones."*

P1: *"It's a marketing gimmick."*

Discussion on apple juice in a bottle

Focus Group 1- members of The Wawelska Food Cooperative.

P5: *"This is a product from the school shop or something that my mother or grandmother gave me in a backpack for school. Now I wouldn't buy it anymore because I know that this juice has little to do with apples."*

P1: *"It is not sweetened but it is made from concentrated juice. It is a different product than freshly squeezed juice."*

Discussion on dried apples

Focus Group 1- members of The Wawelska Food Cooperative.

P5: *"I love apple chips."*

P4: *"Me too! I am a fan of those available in The Cooperative."*

P5: *"I also buy this product in The Cooperative. When my friends visit me, they always ask: Where did you get these apples? Where can they be obtained?"*

P4: *"I think these apples were for me the main reason to join The Cooperative."*

P3: *"The ones from the store do not always taste good to me."*

P1: *"I have the impression that those from The Cooperatives are also better in terms of price."*

P2: *"I have to try them because I haven't eaten them so far. "*

P1: *"Now I buy apple chips only in The Cooperative. I do not buy them in stores, because the price and small packaging scares me, it is only 40 g."*

P5: *"Besides, the store ones are often just tasteless, too dry. Dried apples are one of my favourite snacks. I had been buying them in stores until I tried the ones from The Cooperative. Before that, I did not know that you can eat such good quality dried apples."*

Focus Group 2 - Participants of the local activity program from the Azory neighbourhood

P1: *"In the past, when apples were dried at home, they lasted for years. Therefore, it is strange that these bio dried apples have a short shelf life. The manufacturer could have used something that speeds up the apple drying process and thus shortened its shelf life."*

P2: *"In my opinion, the more processed the food is, the longer its shelf life is."*

Norway

Potatoes were the chosen food product for the Norwegian focus groups, and we displayed a similar selection of potatoes and potato products in all focus groups. The selection included raw potatoes in various types of packaging, as well as processed potato products such as potato chips and potato salad. Potatoes are produced in the case area Hadeland, including the variety 'Ringerikspotet from Ringerike' which was among the first to achieve a protected geographical designation in Norway (Hegnes 2012).

Table 15 Potato products presented in Focus Group 1, Norway

Product (name on label)	Main characteristics
"Potatoes"	Generic bag of potatoes
"Ringerikspoteter"	Protected origin label, locally produced
Organic potatoes	Paper bag without window. "Ånglagård"-label
Delicacy-potatoes (red and yellow)	Small sized, washed, in plastic, visibility
"Potato-salad"	Processed with sauce
"Sørlandschips"	Potato chips, Label indicate region of processing (Sørlandet)
Paper bag with potatoes with soil	Bought direct from farmer through REKO-ringen, Larvik (non-organic)
Paper bag with potatoes with soil	Bought from „Mølleren Silvia" (specialty shop, Oslo), organic with no label



Figure 7 Picture of potatoes and potato products in the Pilot Focus Group, Norway

Emerging themes potatoes and apples, Norway⁶

Table 16 Key issues of participant associations to potatoes and apples, Norway

	Potatoes	Apples
Production	Organic, provenance/location (own garden, local place, domestic vs imported); distance between place of production and consumption; season/availability; some varieties more difficult to grow organic, knowledge of farmer	Organic, location (own garden, local place, domestic vs imported); distance between place of production and consumption; season/availability
Ways of provisioning	Supermarket, local food network (CSA, REKO, Cooperative), own garden	Supermarket, own garden, CSA, directly from farm
The product/potatoes	Type/variety; appearance; washed or with soil; keeping quality; taste, plastic (visibility vs quality (solanine); processed potato products: avoid or use less or enjoy at special occasions.	Type/variety of apples; taste (dilemma: taste vs. organic and local (imported Pink Lady); keeping quality; plastic /paper/loose weight
Preparation practices	Specific varieties for specific dishes, consistency, festive dishes; easy/laborious to prepare (shape, surface),	

⁶ From the discussions in general as well as related to the voting session – as apples were not the chosen product in the Norwegian focus groups

Eating	Health (processed potato products; chips etc), taste, main food/side-dish, with or without peel, nutrition, various dishes	Taste, texture, various uses
Embeddedness	Natural: from own garden/CSA; Social: festive occasions, childhood memories; Culinary: specific uses for traditional dishes; origin (PGI, renown locations, specific varieties	Social (sharing/gifts..), significance of site (own garden, renown locations (Lier), domestic), ethic/obligation of 'taking care of' the harvest (own garden), norm from up-bringing

Organic production was particularly highly valued and prioritized in focus group 1 with CSA members. This was in the forefront when one of the participants was commenting on the selection of potato products:

- P1.3: *"There are two organic qualities here (pointing at potatoes from Mølleren Sylvia, and the organic labelled bag of potatoes from a supermarket). I don't quite know what that one is?"* (referring to the anonymous bag of potatoes bought at the Reko-ring)
- Interviewer: *"That is not organic. Straight from a farmer in Vestfold."*
- P1.3: *"Then we have... Mølleren Sylvia – where you see what you get – a store in Oslo, which focuses on organic products with as little packaging as possible, avoiding plastic. People have to bring their own bags, or one gets it in paper bags. That goes for all food products. That is the most sympathetic. I find that those 'Änglamark-potatoes' (organic label) are struggling with the quality. I am very eager to buy organic, but heavens, they are not keeping up to standards. Unfortunately. And that is a pity. And then – the rest of the potatoes are conventionally grown. Some a bit better and some a bit worse. One tries to avoid plastic packaging on potatoes."*

Organically produced and home-grown was the preferred combination:

- *"Is it organic?"*
- *"Are you saying that you prefer that?"*
- *"Yes, but I want to grow it myself!"* (P1.7)
- P1.2: *"One last thing is that we who are 'CSA farmers', we do have our own self-grown potatoes, so we use those and make products from these on our own. So, it is not often that I go in the store, and little of this [the potato products displayed] is relevant really."*
- P1.3: *"We do have our own potatoes at least for about half a year."*

Some comments in the initial round of looking at the potato products displayed were about what the appearance could convey about the inner quality or other characteristics of the potatoes:

- *"Is it an early potato? Because it is quite light [in colour]"*
- *"These go in the category 'home-made' to me (laughter). Home-made with soil on them! And that makes the keeping quality much better – that they are not washed."* (P1.2)

Other initial comments were about what they would look for and wanted to know about the potatoes:

- *"The first thing I would do is to check if they are Norwegian or not. Then I would like to taste it, since it is Norwegian. They look very good, so if I had them served to me... "(P1.2)*

The potato with protected geographical designation from the region where the focus group took place, 'Ringerikspotet', received some attention:

- *"I have not seen 'Ringerikspotatoes' in the stores since I moved here. I have only heard about them. But I have thought that 'it must be possible to get hold of'? And it is (looking at the table)! I just don't know where!" (P1.1)*
- P1.6: *"Those ones sell very well⁷ – at least here in Ringerike."*
- Interviewer: *"The 'Ringerikspotatoes'?"*
- P1.6: *"Yes. They have become very popular. Very strange: In the Coop-store at Jevnaker they are usually sold at half price. That is very strange. They are not organic. And 'Ringerikspotatoes' are very difficult to grow organically. They are prone to disease, so I guess those who grow them are having a hard time with that."*

Towards the end of the round with potatoes, participants are asked about their personal use of the 'Ringerikspotatoes'.

- Interviewer: *"May I just ask about one thing – the 'Ringerikspotatoes' – are there any one of you who use them?"*
- P1.6: *"We buy them for Christmas. We know one of those who grows them, and I do think that they are particularly well-tasting – and I think that most people who live in Ringerike want them for the 'rakfisk' dish and..."*
- P1.8: *"But again, it is a little like – because of the shape – I think, when we make 'pinnekjøtt' then I find that these are the best ones – to lay underneath, when we steam⁸ 'pinnekjøtt' – and it is also nice that it is local – I buy it a little bit because of that too. But mostly perhaps because the taste is what it is, really. But you buy it perhaps mostly because it is someone we know?"*
- P1.6: *"No, I buy them because I think they are really good potatoes."*

Different varieties of potatoes were discussed in the context of the different characteristics making them suitable for different dishes and occasions:

⁷ She uses a common expression, which could be directly translated as: 'it goes (sells) like chopped dung'

⁸ Traditional preparation of pinnekjøtt is steaming in a large casserole by placing the pieces of meat (ribs of lamb or sheep) over a grid of sticks of birch in the bottom of the casserole.

- *"These ones are probably also Norwegian – 'starchy' (reading on the packaging) – for sure, they would be good for making 'potetball'."*⁹(P1.2)
- *"They are the most boring ones."* (P1.8)
- *"Yes, but I think perhaps I could have chosen them if I were to make 'potetball' – then they are supposed to be kind of old, starchy potatoes."* (P1.2)

The packaging of the potatoes was discussed, and one of the aspects that were addressed was the effects on the quality and healthfulness of the potatoes:

- *"What I do not like, is that they are placed in that kind of bag (with a window)"*
- *"Yes, then they can become green – yes."*
- *"That goes for those ones as well (pointing at the 'delicacy potatoes') – those 'snobby potatoes'."*

Further on the packaging, there was a discussion about the dilemma between good keeping quality with unwashed potatoes kept in a closed, paper bag on the one hand, and the benefits of being able to 'see what you get', and a tempting and delicate presentation of washed potatoes in a plastic wrapping on the other:

- *"From my point of view, I would have had to check if they are Norwegian potatoes, and that they seem to be. And then we have talked about that it is nice with soil on them – we like that, because then they last longer."* (P1.2)
- *"Paper bags, preferably, and with soil on them. But on the other hand, I must say that those red ones (washed, delicacy potatoes in a small plastic bag) look very delicate and tempting. So it is also a plus that you can see what you can buy."* (P1.5)
- *"I could easily have passed that bag (paper bag of labelled organic potatoes), because often when I open it, there are lots of germination or there are no good potatoes, so, therefore... That bag over there, which is open (plastic window), is perhaps the most appealing when one thinks of the overall impression."* (P1.8)
- *"I have bought that one occasionally, and then I do like this (squeezes the bag), I open it and look. Because often, they have germinated and they are green as well actually. I don't know what they do – I guess they keep them improperly in the stores, probably they are stored at too high temperatures?"* (P1.6)
- *"Well, I find those to be very appealing, but I do not like the plastic packaging. So how do we get some visibility, and an appealing wrapping without plastic? What do you do to solve it? Anyway, I go for organic or self-produced potatoes."* (P1.7)

Another practical point which was raised as a problem when buying unwashed potatoes was the need for enough and proper space both for handling and storing. In addition to the issue of space, skill, time and knowledge about hygiene and keeping quality could be implicit in a comment on the

⁹ Potetball (also known as ball, klubb, kumle, komle, kompe, raspeball) is a traditional Norwegian potato dumpling. A similar German dish is called Kartoffelklöße.

The main ingredient is peeled potatoes, which are grated or ground up and mixed with flour, usually barley or wheat, to make the balls stick together. [Raspeball - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raspeball) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raspeball>)

small bags of washed delicacy potatoes made by one of the participants, who is living on a farm herself:

- *"It is very appealing – I am sure that most people would grab them, because it is so easy, and having soil inside on one's kitchen bench, that is something people dread – they panic about soil – and if one does not have any other place than a fridge to keep them in, then I can understand that it is difficult for them to bring home such a bag with soil."* (P1.8)

Towards the end of the focus group discussion, participants had a round of descriptions of their own 'good potato' stories:

P1.6: *"Very good potato mash with potatoes from here (own farm)."*

P1.7: *"Baked/pan-fried potatoes in 'boats' (longitudinally cut). They could also very well be served with other vegetables as well."*

P1.5: *"I eat a lot of potatoes – and I have just bought a potato-cookbook (laughter). To get even more ideas for preparing potatoes."*

P1.3: *"I think that my favourite food to make of potatoes – potatoes alone, that is – is to take those baby-potatoes that you have been brushing and rubbing and cuddled with a lot – and then bake them on the fireplace for half-an-hour. That is very tasty. With butter. Mmmm."*

In the pilot focus group, the significance of home-grown potatoes was highlighted in similar way as in focus group 1:

- *"(...) for us, who sow, grow, and harvest them ourselves, potatoes are something quite different than when you go to the store and buy 2 kilos of potatoes – because then we would not have eaten so much of it – and I think I am speaking for all of us here, right? It is a different potato when you harvest it yourself."* (P01)

- *"Yes, it is."* (P0.2)

- Interviewer: *"Could you tell a bit more about that?"*

- *"Well, it is something completely different when you buy such a bag of potato. Because it is also another cool thing; there are different varieties of potatoes, and I think not so many people are aware of that."* (P0.2)

- *"Yes, because potato is for some 'starch' – that is the consistency and the chemistry. (...)"*

She continues talking about the significance of using the characteristics of specific varieties of potatoes for specific dishes:

- *"For example – that is why Italians make gnocchi, because gnocchi you can only make with a storage potato and not with a newly harvested potato, even if it is starchy - the red ones are often starchy and the white ones more often waxy - it tastes completely different with a potato that you just harvest and eat at once."* (P01)

Home-grown potatoes eaten freshly harvested, with very simple preparation were enjoyed:

- *"We always have a pan at the edge of the field and make potato chips; straight up from the soil, barely passing by the washing station, and then into the pan. That is really something." (P0.2)*

In focus group 2, with participants who were not members of an alternative food network, one of the main issues that was brought up was the origin of the potatoes, particularly in the sense that potatoes grown in Norway were preferred (for eating in Norway).

- *"When we buy potatoes, especially in the barbecue season, then we...I don't know if it is exactly that label, but that type of potatoes: Liker those smaller, cute potatoes – easy to cut and put on the barbecue (grill). But in our household, we are very conscious about – in any case, that they are Norwegian potatoes." (P2.2)*

Place of origin was discussed both in terms of wanted as well as unwanted places or countries of origin, and also terms of transport distance.

- *This one I would have avoided for sure. I don't support Israel.*
- *No, I see. So, you found the country of origin.*
- *Yes, I always check – I have started checking where things are produced. (...) For some reason it is always in small letters. So, it is evident that they don't want us to see it. (P2.3)*
- *Then there is the transport. Should we transport potatoes from France? (P2.3)*
- *Not when we live in Norway, really. (P2.2)*
- *No, that is non-sense. (P2.3)*
- *It is. Absolutely. (P2.2)*

Suitability of the different types of potatoes for preparation of dishes was another aspect which came up in the initial round of looking at the displayed potato products.

- *I think I would have gone for that one.*
- *Why?*
- *Large. Easy to just cut in 'boats' and throw in the oven. Don't need to wash them, and you get a little taste from the peel. Alternatively [use them] for a potato salad. (P2.1)*

As in focus group 1, keeping quality in relation to packaging was an issue that was raised in focus group 2:

- *I would have taken those ones – without doubt. (...) and perhaps those (points at potatoes in paper bags without windows). From what I have learned, washing deteriorates the quality of potatoes. Then they get bad faster. (P2.3)*

Another similarity between the focus groups was the concern about the use of plastic in the packaging – something several of participants wanted to avoid:

- *It is an advantage to be able to see them. The disadvantage is the plastic. I am one of those who is very conscious about the plastic. (P1.1)*

Connections between the price and the size or type of packaging was also brought up:

- *I often find that these small packages are a bit expensive (P2.4)*

Much of the discussion of the various potato products was referring to the eating context:

- *I mostly do not use waxy potatoes. (...) because I either use them for a dish with sauce, or I use them for barbecuing or frying, and then I prefer starchy potatoes. And then I use so to speak only almond potatoes, because I find them best in taste. (P2.4)*

The use of 'Ringerikspotatoes' was also discussed in relation to eating context, among others. These potatoes were mostly, but not only, talked about as part of traditional dishes and festive occasions.

Interviewer: These 'Ringerikspotatoes', are those something that any of you are using?

P2.3: *"Yes, yes. Grow them as well."*

P2.2: *"Perhaps at dinner parties. We do not eat a lot of them, and it is a large bag".*

P2.1: *"Mostly when there is a special price offer. We go a lot after prices."*

P2.4: *"Well, I do not think I do that very much [look at prices], so that is not why [I don't use them], but I am not so sure about how they taste."*

P2.3: *"The 'Ringerikspotato' is really good. And if you serve 'rakfisk'¹⁰, it automatically is a given to serve them with it. That or Almond potatoes."*

P2.4: *"Then I go for Almond potatoes. It is very easy to deal with the Almond potato."*

P2.1 *"That is like 'Christmas Eve' to me, the Almond potato – the way I see it."*

The practical issues related to the preparation of the potatoes were also part of this discussion, as an uneven surface with little 'holes' and knobs are characteristic of the Ringerikspotatoes:

P2.4 *"But – I must say, I think that when there are such 'knobs' inwards and such, then I become a bit like 'ugh, so much hassle to peel away'."*

Ideas about 'the proper way' to prepare 'Ringerikspotatoes' were presented by the participant who seemed to be most familiar with them and who had also grown them himself:

P2.3: *"Again, with 'Ringerikspotatoe' – to 'rakfisk' – if you are an experienced lover of 'rakfisk', then your potatoes should be small, and you absolutely do not peel them. You wash them with a brush, and I have been at the table with posh people who absolutely did not peel their 'Ringerikspotatoes'. And they taste better with the peel on. And even more – it is healthier, as that is where the vitamins are."*

¹⁰ Rakfisk (Norwegian pronunciation: ['râ:kfɪsk]) is a Norwegian fish dish made from trout or char, salted and autolyzed for two to three months, or even up to a year. Rakfisk is then eaten without cooking and has a strong smell and a pungent salty flavor. [Rakfisk - Wikipedia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rakfisk) (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rakfisk>)

By the end of the session with looking at the displayed potato products, the processed potato products had received little or no attention spontaneously, so participants were asked about them specifically.

The first of these products was a package of pre-processed potato flakes for mash. Participants were asked whether anyone used this or similar products.

- *"If my husband had been here, he would have been very happy. He likes it, but the question is whether he would be allowed to buy it, to put it that way (laughter). Not everybody wants it."* (P2.2)
- *"I used to use it, when I was a student, but after I finished, I am making my own potato mash."* (P2.1)
- *"[home made potato mash] With rutabaga."* (P2.3)
- *"Yes, that is really good."* (P2.2)
- *"It is lovely. And broccoli. Which you don't get if you buy ready-made."* (P2.3)

Next, some bags of potato chips were discussed:

- *"Potato chips are of course very good (well-tasting). It is a little too many calories in them. We don't eat much of it in our home. (...) 500 kcal per 100 grams."* (P2.1)
- *"Certainly, that you may say, but you would not eat potato chips every single day and drink coke..."* (P2.3)
- *"No, but I try not to buy any of it, because I don't want to eat it every day."* (P2.1)
- *"It may be a little different having things in the cupboard when you have children living at home."* (P2.4)

Is any of the information on the package decisive for what you buy?

- *"When we buy potato chips, if there is a party or something like that, then I am very fond of these which are produced in Norway. And I am very conscious about the packaging. So if it is something which seems like it may be better recycled, then... That one is very good. I have tasted it. So for me, the price does not matter much."* (P2.1)
- *"We also think about the packaging, but more in the sense that we mock it. We could say 'oh my God, could they possibly have managed to use any more packaging here'? But we buy it anyway. But this one seems not to have unnecessary much packaging. It seems like they have filled the bags a bit more than some of these other bags here."*
- *"Well, I suppose we have it at home once a year or something like that – perhaps once or twice on a fishing trip. So, I will manage to live with that."* (P2.3).
- *"Yes."* (P2.2)
- *"So then what matters is whether it tastes good or not."*

The session was wrapped up with a final round of what the participants find to be a 'good potato' dish:

- *"For me, the most important thing is that there is a good sauce. That I can mash. Then, I do not need anything else."* (P2.4)
- *"For me it means that - well the potato..., but that there is good meat or good fish, and vegetables – that is the meal as a whole. I like pure ingredients. I do not like processed food very much. So for me, if I get pure – say, a fillet of trout or pork og lamb – and then pure potato – either fried or boiled. And vegetables. A little sauce or sour cream with it is OK. I want pure food. I would rather not have to read a list of additives on the back side of the packaging."* (P2.1)
- *"I completely agree. Absolutely."* (P2.3)

This was followed by a spontaneous round of discussion about additives, as one of the participants talks about the importance of distinguishing between different types of additives, and comments that many of them are harmless. The following was just the beginning:

- *"Additives [E-numbers] are not so dangerous. It depends on what they stand for. There is essential difference."* (P2.4)
- *"But they are so many, so it is impossible to keep track of. The easiest it just to avoid..."* (P2.3)
- *"But that is just about getting the book, then you can keep track of it."* (P2.4)
- *"Yes. It is much better just to skip it all together. Much easier."* (P2.3)
- *"But the E-numbers are not harmful basically. It is just a form of registry."* (P2.4)

Similarities between the two focus groups included an interest in country of origin, awareness of packaging, and the use of various types of potatoes for different dishes. Environmental considerations were discussed in terms of transport and avoidance of plastic packaging. Taste and consistency of the various potatoes were important quality aspects, as well as avoiding solanine (green potatoes). On the practical side, how easy they were to peel and prepare was an issue, as well as what was required for proper storage (size of packaging, washed or unwashed potatoes). The processed potato products received least attention in both groups, and they were considered least relevant in focus group 1. The processed products were described as used mostly for special occasions, and not an everyday product, therefore not so important either in terms of health considerations or household budget. Awareness about avoiding excess – and plastic packaging was also present in the discussions about processed potato products.

The PGI product 'Ringerikspotatoes' were known and partly used in both groups, for the most part associated with traditional dishes and festive occasions. The Almond potato (Mandelpotet) was another potato variety that was mentioned specifically. This potato variety was associated both with festive occasions, such as Christmas, but also used in everyday contexts. Potatoes were also described as a versatile staple food and a more generic category, e.g. as any starchy potato suitable to be eaten mashed in a well-tasting gravy. Regarding the eating context, descriptions of eating potatoes ranged from elaborate use of specific varieties of potatoes for specific recipes associated with social and cultural norms to very simple dishes, in some cases with potato as the only ingredient. The joy of potato eating did not necessarily increase with the complexity of the dishes but could just as well be

related to intimate knowledge of the land if it was harvested from, short distance from field to table, and very basic preparation. Price was mentioned, but not a central part of discussions in either group, and least so in focus group 1.

Organic production method and home-grown potatoes was more highly prioritised in focus group 1, among CSA members, and discussions in this group included more specific references to the growing conditions, different varieties, and the specificities related to proper handling, storage and preparation of different types of potatoes.

UK

Potatoes were chosen in the opening part of the UK focus groups, and the variety of products showed to participants are displayed in Figure 8.



Figure 8 Pictures of potato product presented to participants, UK

When presented with the collection of potato product images shown in figure 8, both groups initially commented on the amount of plastic packaging on most of the potatoes: *"It seems quite wasteful"*, it is particularly hard to get *"new baby potatoes"* not wrapped in plastic, and before *"there would be brown paper bags at the supermarket."* There was also some discussion of how they *"often... only sell them in bags [at my local supermarket] and I've got to lug a big bag home"* and the potential food waste problems this can create for single person households who *"resent having to buy a massive great big bag of them."*

The Less Organic group commented that it was the branding that first *"jumped out."* One participant commented *"My eyes automatically go to the McCain ones, because they've got such a good brand identity... [their adverts are] always really cute, so it makes me feel warm and happy - it's like a familiar friend - even though I don't buy McCain."* And another mentioned the Tesco's branding *"Because that's where I probably do quite a lot of my shopping so that was what was more familiar to me."*

The Organic group noted how the products were in many ways very “detached” from their origins “apart from the ones in the sack, everything’s very clean and uniform” apart from national origins which were heavily promoted *“There’s a lot... of nationalism going on on the packaging... enough already!”*. One participant wondered if this was a particular feature of potatoes: *“people are really interested in the origins of certain foods and then just don’t care about other foods – it seems like potatoes are something people are particularly interested in where they come from.”*

Both talked about processing and health, noting that they didn’t feel a lot of the processed options were healthy, but also that this might be holding them back from foods they might enjoy: *“I saw... all the processed stuff and thought I never have those and actually they’d probably be quite nice, in an unhealthy way”* (infrequent), *“maybe a guilt food meal... I would very much enjoy eating them, but I wouldn’t feel great afterwards... I wouldn’t have had them as part of my good food basket”* (Organic).

The infrequent organic group noticed that the Organic potatoes didn’t mention which variety they were, which sparked a discussion about the importance of variety information to them: *“It really struck me that the organic potatoes doesn’t tell you what kind of potatoes because organic stuff normally costs more... and potatoes that have names normally cost more.”* Why are “some... named and some aren’t named?” Responses ranged from variety being crucial *“[it] really throws me if I’m in the supermarket and I don’t know what kind of potatoes they are because.... I don’t know how different potatoes might be and I don’t want to waste my money on the wrong kind of potatoes that wouldn’t cook properly or something”* to irrelevant *“To me all potatoes kind of look the same and I don’t know the difference, so I just go with whatever the cheapest potato is.”*

Procurement

Only a couple of participants across the two groups mentioned variety as information they would want to know when buying potatoes. The focus was mostly on suitability for preferred use; *“I like jacket potatoes so... I’ll always go for just a large potato. It doesn’t matter”* beyond that (Organic); origin *“I’d like to know where they come from... that they’re as local as possible and Organic”* (Organic) and convenience for use *“I would probably go for whatever is the cheapest and also looks like it doesn’t need a big scrub - I like it to be really easy to use if I’m buying them”* (infrequent). Several mentioned that to them ‘a potato is a potato’ and they don’t think about it much *“Your question makes me think that I should care more than I do... I... [don’t] see a potato without information and want to know more”* (Organic).

Participants in Organic group noticed the ‘Organic’ label on one of the products but didn’t pick up on it, with many saying they would be more opposed to unnecessary plastic packaging in principle, although some did comment that they would prioritise Organic in potatoes particularly as they are *“one of the crops that I believe are heavily sprayed.”*

Groups differed in where their potato products primarily came from, with the Organic group primarily getting their potatoes from local greengrocers or their veg boxes *“We almost get too many potatoes a week from the veg box”* - *“apart from chips”* occasionally which several agreed *“you’ve got to go to the supermarket for.”* The infrequent Organic group were more mixed, more often including *“whichever supermarket I’m in.”*

Personal consumption habits

There was substantial discussion in the infrequent Organic group about the contextual nature of their food choices, and how the different products would suit different circumstances: *“I would possibly buy them all at different times and under different circumstances...sometimes, when I was working long hours, and I was traveling work, and I would keep convenience things in the freezer...but... now*

that I've got more time to cook I don't tend to buy things like that, and it would just be potatoes themselves that I would make different things from" (infrequent). "I do set aside an hour or so every evening to cook, sometimes more, but every so often you just don't have time. My partner enjoys putting scampi and chips in the oven and saying 'hey, I've cooked dinner tonight'... but it's great - I enjoy having someone cook the food sometimes" (Organic).

Summary of food product story session

Key diversity aspects

The focus group participants differentiated according to bio-cultural values of potatoes and apples e.g. the cultural and culinary importance of specific dishes. Especially for apples, distinctions were also made regarding place of origin, either national or regional origins.

Apples of national origin were typically preferred in all focus groups, and interestingly perceived as of particular importance and of especially high and unique quality from their own country. Apples were described as an 'iconic food' in Poland ("*Apples are a Polish, local product. They are a symbol of Poland*"), and in the Norwegian focus groups, there was agreement about a perceived uniquely high quality of Norwegian apples. In addition to the national origin, there was strong awareness of regions which are particularly favourable for apple production, and where apples are perceived as a defining quality of the region. In Italy, apples were associated with the territory in both focus groups, and as '*a product that I like and I would buy only in Trentino*' (FG2). The Apple Strudel Cake was perceived as the most iconic apple cake, traditionally from the Trentino area'. In Norway as well, particular regions were mentioned that are renowned for high quality of apples: Lier, Hardanger, and Telemark. Also in the German focus groups, there were strong associations of apples to the particular region, and there was specific mention of several specific varieties and descriptions about their qualities (e.g. taste, appearance and storage qualities) as well as culinary uses and bodily tolerances.

Both apples and potatoes are defining ingredients in culturally and culinarily important dishes which participants had personal affections for and referred to in terms of specific recipes and social occasions when they were eaten (e.g. apple strudel cake, Italy).

The participants also differentiated according to varieties. For apples regarding taste and also season (local varieties in season). For potatoes it was important to know the potato variety in relation to various types of use and types of dishes it goes with. Some varieties are mostly used in special traditional dishes and for special occasions (e.g. 'Ringerikspotatoes' for festive dishes in Norway). At the same time some participants stated that "a potato is a potato" (e.g. UK).




What is a typical food basket of everyday food in your household?

Participants were asked to take pictures of their typical food basket prior to the focus group, and these photos were shown and discussed at the meeting (for about ten minutes). Key questions in this session were “what is a typical food basket in your household?”, and “why are these foods/ingredients always available (a must)?”

Germany


Focus Group 1

Table 17 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 1, Germany

	<p>The first participant (P1.5) reported that the most important "nutrients" are always available. The boxes contain dry ingredients that are durable. (The fridge was too empty, because of her field service) Always available are grains (rye, spelt, wheat, kamut), different kinds of flour (because she bakes bread herself), oatmeal, pearl barley, legumes, poppy seeds and pasta. On the contrary canned food or highly processed food products are rarely present in her typical food basket.</p>
	<p>The second participant's (P1.2) typical food basket also contains mostly staple foods as fruit (<i>"more the seasonal fruit"</i>), cabbage, lentils, pearl barley, various flours, brown rice, pasta (whole grain or spelt), or bananas (<i>"even the dark ones are used"</i>). Additionally, she always buys oils and potatoes produced in her local area (<i>"I'm proud that I can buy that regionally. That's important to me, because then I know where the food comes from"</i>). Depending on the season she preserves lots of vegetables from her own garden and buys in the winter cabbage and potatoes from a neighbouring farm.</p>
	<p>Based on her involvement with Foodsharing (a food rescue organization that utilizes food discarded by retailers as unsalable and saves it from being thrown away) the third participant's (P1.1) everyday food is highly variable. Because of Foodsharing, especially fruits and vegetables are always available and she has <i>"little need to buy fresh food, only basics or specialties are purchased occasionally"</i>. Moreover, always available are staples (flour, oatmeal) ketchup, smoked tofu (!), organic canola oil, almond butter, preserved fruit/tomato sauce (made from food generated at Foodsharing) and a variety of tea. When she buys food, she pays attention to an organic quality and mostly buys in stock. (She and her partner are vegans.)</p>





The fourth participant (P1.4) emphasized that *"stockpiling is very important to me"*. During her childhood on a farm, a lot of seasonal fruits and vegetables were processed or preserved, which still influences her typical food basket today (*"we look at what is ripening and growing now and then we eat that"*). Thus, preserved seasonal and regional food (e.g., in the form of cider, tomato sauce, jam) are always available. She tends towards a vegetarian diet with low/moderate meat consumption, but needs to make compromises as her husband's family has a butcher background and his eating of to eat meat every day influences what ends up on the table. Just like the other participants, highly processed food products are rarely present.

	<p>Due to her place of residence, stockpiling is also very important for the fifth participant (P1.3) (“I have several chests in which I freeze everything that is seasonal and then I take out accordingly”) (for the typical food basket see pictures 8-13). Moreover, always available are herbs from her own herb patch and staples such as flour, pasta, milk or potatoes yogurt and curd. She also has a variety of oils and teas. Since her husband is a hunter, the typical food-basket always includes organic meat.</p>
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In summary, the requirements of the typical food basket of participants of this focus groups are very similar. The food basket consists of staple food, many regional and seasonal food and variously (self) preserved fruits and vegetables. In contrast, convenience and exotic food is very rare. Likewise, stockpiling is perceived as important by all participants.

Focus Group 2

Table 18 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 2, Germany

	<p>P2.6: “This is kefir, I always have it, because I have kefir grains. I always prepare one daily. No, every two days”. “Kefir is wonderful”. She processes it also and appreciates it for its health beneficials for the gut.</p>
	<p>This picture displays the breakfast of P2.5. “I always have sprouts, so continuously, also in winter, I make them then myself. And otherwise much vegetables and there is still the apple, but I fried it a bit in ghee. And otherwise spread and goat cheese, tea and coffee and then I am full for now. And the three nuts for selenium.”</p>

Additional observations and comments from Focus Group 2 (without pictures), included:

P 2.3 was in the beginning of the 1980s almost self-sufficient including processing and slaughtering, etc. Now, due to the store they take a lot of the products which are out of date. Otherwise, they always have potatoes, pasta, rice, bread, butter, garlic, chili, honey and red wine. Eggs are also always there, because they have their own chicken.

P2.2 is vegetarian since the age of 14. It is important to her that everything for breakfast is there (cereals, milk, yoghurt and an apple, tea). She does not want to make a decision in the morning what to have for breakfast. Otherwise, she keeps staples like rice and pasta (less compared to rice).

P2.1 always has one or two big bags of potatoes at home and one with spelt, a variety of lentils, beans and grain varieties, seasonal and organic vegetables (organic because of the taste).

For Focus Group 2 also staple food is important and not that many processed foods were mentioned. In both groups several participants underlined to cook themselves a lot and hence mainly have basic food items.

Italy

Typical food basket / basic food in the household




Almost all participants have as the basis of their food basket:

- vegetables,
- legumes,
- pasta,
- rice,
- bread.

Focus group n. 1

Table 19 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 1, Italy

	<p>RF, M-FG1: <i>"This is what I usually purchase: oranges because now is the season, there is one yogurt. There is a beer, eggs, a cabbage some asparagus. There are some kiwis that were given to me for free as they would have been thrown away because they are oversized and they are not marketable"</i></p>
	<p>ST, M-FG1: <i>"I am very essential. Here is a picture of a mix salad, we usually make big salad so we put cherry tomatoes, carrots. What we had put inside is a way to empty the fridge it is a dish that I always buy even out of season: products from the greenhouse at the supermarket. It is a product that I like, that we like, to eat at home".</i></p>
	<p>GA, F-FG1: <i>"I did not include pictures of the fridge because the fridge was empty this week. The pictures relate to the pantry ... below are the preserves that my mom and my aunt make, because my parents live in Abruzzo so when they come to see us they bring me all the things they make. Above are some organic jams from a small producer located above Riva del Garda, my mother-in-law buys them and she usually gives them to me. There are also some olives that my mom prepares and some tomato preserves from an organic"</i></p>

	<p><i>producer from Abruzzo. They are all gifts, I didn't buy any of this stuff here, but I use it.</i></p>
	<p><i>In the other picture there is pasta, we never lack flour. As our fridge is often empty and often 'crying', there are always ingredients to make pasta with tomato sauce ... We never lack legumes ... such as chickpeas, as I love hummus. I eat hummus even for breakfast on a slice of bread; I would eat it at all hours of the day and night and so let's say the pantry saves my life..."</i></p>
	<p>AT, M-FG1: <i>"Basically we try to have a lot of vegetables in the house usually in season. Supplies mainly from the CSA but not only. There are other products that we routinely consume especially fair trade products that come from another "working channel" in our family that is my wife who works for a fair trade organization. The meat we consume now comes also from the CSA. We also have cheese and yogurt that are also coming from local producers as we try as much as possible to buy from the local organic producers at the market in Dante's square. We usually go to Dante's square Market or in other similar farmers' markets as the new one at san Martino, which is right above my house, so that one is convenient too".</i></p>



SF, F-FG1: *"Our fridge is always empty, and it is also a micro-fridge. However, yesterday it was magically full, or it seems fuller because it is shown from this side. In short, there are some main things like some vegetables that were coming from the CSA and some things like mozzarella that are always there. One thing I am greedy about are eggs. Mozzarella and eggs are those things I always try to have in the house, more than pasta that I do not care. Although lately I'm a little inconsistent with orders from the CSA, we use to eat a lot of vegetables either from the CSA or from the Saturday's morning market or the Thursday's market"..*




ER, F-FG1: "Legumes are always there, so as pasta and vegetables. These are always in the house. I do not eat a lot of meat, usually once a week. The meat you see in the pic is an experiment I did with Anege Taneghe meat (a CSA producer). What I always try to do is to have a cooked vegetable along with a raw vegetable. This picture represents our dinner, but the fact that there is meat is a causality, as there are usually legumes or cheese. I try to do more fish, always accompanied by cooked vegetables and raw vegetables. I also try to get the children used, because obviously not both of them like the same stuff. One thing that they really love are raw spinach from Stefania (a CSA producer). For breakfast, we eat a piece of cake or bread. I bake bread. I started to bake it at the beginning of the lockdown and I continue to do it. I just bought a new mixer. We do not buy bread anymore. We also try to have always homemade jams. I do it some time, or my mother-in-law and my aunt make the jam. We usually also get honey from a producer from Marche. Since my father-in-law is from Marche, when they come to see us they usually bring us honey and, when I manage, I also make cakes for the children".

MA, F-FG1 (no pics): We are ten students living together. We have an oven full of legumes. Usually things that are never lacking in our house are rice, pasta and lentils. We don't buy meat or fish, although not all of us are vegetarians. We simply avoid buying those things as we do our shopping in common and we share everything. So, we buy a lot of legumes as we have to feed ten people per meal. So, a lot of pasta, a lot of rice, other grains so we can vary a little; however, unfortunately the situation is much less varied as we do not have a lot of money at our disposal. This is also why I didn't take pictures, since the refrigerator has been crying for more than a week, we've been eating rice and lentils for a week.

	<p><i>The main meal is made from carbohydrate and vegetables. There are two or three of us who like to cook. Then we share a little bit of everything."</i></p>
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Focus group n. 2

Table 20 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 2, Italy

	<p>FF, F-FG2: <i>"Breakfast is quite a fixed thing and it's something that I really like to do and it's maybe the meal that I spend the most time to eat. I usually try, because then it depends on who's awake, to have breakfast almost always with a good bread. The one in the picture is a nut bread. Then there is butter and jam. This jam is my favorite, because from what I understand there's only apple juice and there's no sugar. Then, there is coffee, water and fruit, some fruit. More in general, we always tend to try to buy good bread or at least some bread that looks like that... Then we tend to have a pretty full fridge because we have to eat anyway... my partner and I have lunch at home a few times and at dinner there is always the four of us, so there must be a few things for the week. There is usually never a shortage of carrots and potatoes. All basic ingredients that you need to make a soup, if necessary, are always available. There are some dishes that more or less we eat at least once a week and so we have always vegetables and meat, for example white meat or fish fillet or so ...eggs are usually there. I should say that with eggs I'm very careful since I was in college. At that time a friend of mine had sensitized me on the subject, she showed me as you can recognize the production code from the eggs".</i></p>
	<p>TO, M-FG2 (no pics): <i>"When I am away from Trento, I really have days when I don't have</i></p>

	<p><i>a lot of things in the fridge or cupboard. But I am lucky because in the countryside there are many products, then we have chickens, so we get the eggs from the chickens. Now a lot of borage is growing, and salad from the garden. Therefore, we eat these things here. The bread we manage to make it ourselves. and then I really like yogurts, we also try to get Trentino fish, also some meat sometimes. Then, for example, I really like chips, so I also get bagged chips ehehe because I like to eat them”.</i></p>
	<p>SE, F-FG2 (no pics): <i>“I if I had sent a picture I would have sent it identical to FF and because for me breakfast is sacred too, and I always have bread, the one from the Modern Bakery. I buy it once a week since I am alone. This is something that I have been doing for years, before at Sosi now at the Modern Bakery, because I live closer. It is already cut into slices, so for those like me who don't feel like doing anything at all it is perfect. I put it in the griddle in the morning, it's warm and I'm happy. Concerning jams, I usually get Rigoni or my parents make it, so most of the time it's homemade. I don't have cow's milk butter, animal, but I have vegetable butter, so not margarine but peanut butter or almond's or cashew's. Then coffee. There's never a shortage of good coffee, this is also something I always try to get local where possible. The Bontadi in Rovereto is what I use now. Pasta is another thing that never lacks in my house. I always have pastas with different local or particular flours, kamut or other grains. Of course lots of vegetables and legumes. I sometimes also eat eggs especially when my colleague gives them to me because she has “happy chickens” as I say. So regarding eggs I'm not one of those extremist vegans who says absolutely not, I eat them gladly also because I used to have chickens, so I always ate them”.</i></p>



NC, M-FG2: *"this is my fridge. In my house there is never a lack of bread, pasta possibly whole wheat and then fruits and vegetables possibly in season. Then, as I said already, being southern, although my wife is from Trentino, we often prepare pasta with vegetables of any kind and if by chance I don't have them I go to look for them or buy them maybe hoping to find those ones, those natural ones, I don't say organic. For example, now predominantly we have pasta with arugula, I have arugula in the countryside that is natural, in the sense that I don't do any treatment, nothing, then often we add tomatoes or we add arugula or borage".*









EU, F-FG2: *"I never lack legumes, chickpeas, lentils. I eat a lot of them because I almost never eat meat and so to supplement. Then the cherry tomatoes I like them very much, since you can make a salad with pasta and you can really put them anywhere. I also like couscous very much, since you can put any vegetables in it. And piadinas, because they are very quick and especially in this period that I have to study and I have to make my lunch in the morning, I don't really want to get into making pasta... piadinas are very quick to make, you heat it and fill it and then you close it! Then oat milk, because I prefer not to drink cow milk as oat milk is lighter and for ethical reasons. In general, I prefer to take vegetable milk because you don't really know how it's produced and usually organic milk costs more. So, I prefer to drink vegetable milk".*

Poland

Typical food basket / basic food in the household




Table 21 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 1, Poland




	<p>P1:</p> <p>"Milk, mayonnaise, ketchup. And a cider from Mr. Cebula" (local farmer, providing apples for co-op).</p> <p>"I have 3 jars of kimchi which I made but which I do not eat as it is only eaten by my husband.</p> <p><i>"My fridge is mostly dairy. Poor my fridge is. I'm just before shopping."</i></p> <p><i>"I usually cook dinners for two days and keep them in pots in the fridge. There are no pots in the photo. That's why it seems empty here now."</i></p>
	<p>P1:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>"This is my cabinet with long-lasting products. My disgrace is there - tinned fish. Recently, after watching a documentary about fishing, I found that I would never buy any fish again."</i> <i>"There are also preserves made by me and preserves obtained from the Coop."</i>
	<p>P1:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>"I have loose things packed in boxes. I have a problem with insects and I fight them all the time."</i> <i>"Insect problems have taught me to buy products in small packages. It's less of a shame when you have to throw them away because of insects."</i>
	<p>P3.</p> <p><i>"Most of them are things from the Cooperative. We offer some of them to all members. I am the caretaker of the farmer who provides us with tomatoes. She gives me her various preserves as a gift. (...) There are no preserves of mine here."</i></p>


	<p>P2.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"The photos were taken during the pandemic, when the purchases in the Cooperative were transported in boxes. These are my typical purchases from the Cooperative in the summer season. I always have a lot of leaves. (...) Whenever green things are available in the Cooperative in the summer, I have them in my orders.</i> • <i>I transport orders very often by bike. You can't see it in the photo, but I'm sure I'm also hung with bags on my shoulders.</i> • <i>It is rare for me to buy these types of items outside of the Cooperative, if they are available in the Cooperative. "</i>
	<p>P4:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"If I have to say about what's always in my fridge, this photo is a good illustration. On the right side is cheese, because my mother-in-law works in a supermarket in the dairy section. So this is freegan food, because she brings us what she could throw away Unfortunately, these are usually very large pieces of cheese.</i> • <i>We always have something green, most often sprouts or leaves. Here is the spinach that I got from a friend, because it was also out of date.</i> • <i>There is also some meat substitute in the form of vegetable sausages. I'm not a fan of that, it's my husband's food. Same as ham, because now it is such a moment of transformation for us.</i> • <i>We always have yeast, because I bake a lot.</i> • <i>I also have vegetable pastes that I always buy at Cooperative.</i> • <i>There would definitely be a lot more vegetables here in the summer. "</i>

	<p>P5:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “I always have a lot of groats, oatmeal, various types of flours. I always have everything described because I like to make labels. I have small jars in the drawer close at hand, and I have more of the same products in my pantry. When the moment comes to pour them into a smaller jar, it excites me. I like it a lot, that's why I have been working with loose products for a long time at Cooperative.”
	<p>P5:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “These are my purchases from the farmers' market on Saturday. There are beets, oatmeal, spelled flour, kombucha, mushrooms, a piece of cheese, oranges and honey. Every week I go to the farmers' market and do my shopping. At the market I buy on Saturdays, and in the Cooperative on Wednesdays.”
	<p>P5:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “These are vegetables and fruits from my pantry. (...) In winter, I buy citrus fruits.”

Table 22 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 2, Poland

	<p>P5:</p> <p><i>"I usually buy food in advance because I don't like going to the store too often. I like to have a lot of products at home so that I have a choice and prepare what I want. I have my quick recipes fast and I have recipes that require more time. I like having the products I need at hand."</i></p>
	<p>P5:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"These are products that have been taken out of the refrigerator."</i> • <i>"I find this pre-made pizza dough good, so I buy it. But I prepare the sauces and other ingredients for the pizza myself."</i> • <i>"I like cheeses very much and I cannot abstain from eating them."</i> • <i>"Cottage cheese is my typical breakfast. I have never eaten breakfast since I was in college. Now, when I go to work by bike, my body feels tired if I don't eat anything earlier. This cheese is so textured that I force myself to eat it in the morning even if I am not hungry. I only eat to have energy."</i> • <i>"I experiment with tofu and use it for many things. I'm swapping meat for tofu."</i>
	<p>P5:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"I buy grated cheese because it is as good as a piece of cheese and I save time."</i> • <i>"I also buy sous vide boiled potatoes out of laziness."</i>

	<p>P4:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"I have been on a heavy diet for 2.5 weeks, so I try to eat the things that are presented. Products without lactose or 0% fat."</i> • <i>"In the store next to me, there is now a whole shelf of lactose-free products. They are a bit more expensive, but I prefer to spend more and feel better."</i> • <i>"There are ham sausages, 90% meat, I try not to go below this value, so that there is no MSM in them - mechanically separated meat. These sausages have a lot of protein and little of the wrong type of fat."</i> • <i>"Rice cakes are the basis for me. I like them and they also replace bread for me."</i>
	<p>P6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are dips upstairs that I got from someone who got them at the Food Bank, but he doesn't eat them because he doesn't like them. • "The second shelf from the top is for breakfast. For example, cold cuts, so that the child has something to go to school. Cottage cheese. The products are packed and arranged in a pyramid, just to open the fridge and take out all the ingredients. • Third shelf: packed things in small containers, so that the child can heat up his lunch himself when he returns from school. There are also canned sausages here. • 4th shelf - my pre-cooked homemade soups, also for dinner. • There is a freezer on the left. There aren't many things there yet. There is a mixture of frozen vegetables and a frozen soup. I have a lot of frozen egg whites. I make a lot of egg liqueurs and I have egg whites that I don't know what to do with.
	<p>P6:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>"These are ready-made lasagnes from Biedronka supermarket. I buy a lot of such things, because I come home at the earliest around 7. I don't want to cook then, so I buy ready-made things."</i> • <i>"These yoghurts are so artificial, nasty. But my kids like them. I do not like them."</i> • <i>"My partner is addicted to cola, he drinks it a lot."</i>

	<p>P2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "In my home there is only healthy stuff. No alcohol here." • "This is what my fridge looks like every day. Tomatoes, peppers, cottage cheese. That's all I have. I don't cook because I don't have time to cook, I'm on a diet."
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Similarities between participants within the group and between the groups

There were no significant similarities between the groups. There were, however, significant similarities between the participants of particular interviews.

- Focus group 1 participants were members of the Food Cooperative. In their pantries and refrigerators there were similar products that they obtain from it. These products were identified on the basis of the names of their producers, e.g. "*cabbage from the Gorzkowski family*", "*cider from Mr. Cebula*".
- The products that focus group 2 participants had at home came mainly from chain supermarkets. The participants knew them well and identified it with individual chains, eg "*Oh, you bought it in Lidl!*", "*It's a yoghurt from Biedronka*".

Did the content of the pictures vary between the groups? In what ways?

- The photos taken by the participants of focus group 1 show greater product differentiation. There are products from Cooperative on them, but there are also products from other sources. The photos of focus group 2 participants are *dominated by products* from chain stores, especially those offering budget food. This dominance of the pantry by market products is visible even in the participant of focus group 2, who experimented with the diet (he visited restaurants with world cuisines, he bought plant products instead of meat).
- The photos of the participants of focus group 1 show the preserves. Some of them come from the Cooperative, and some were taken by the authors of the photos themselves. The preserves practically do not appear in the photos taken by the participants of focus group 2.
- In the photos from focus group 1, there are fewer highly processed products and there are no ready-made meals.
- There are more meat products in the pictures from focus group 2.

Focus group 1 participants paid attention to the time of year in which the photos were taken. They claimed that the contents of their pantries and refrigerators changed seasonally. This thread did not appear at all during focus group 2. The photos taken by the participants of the second interview were dominated by products that are available in supermarkets regardless of the season.

Norway

Pilot Focus Group (November)

In figure 9, photos brought by the pilot focus group among members in Øverland CSA are shown. Photos of meat are missing because most of the participants are vegetarian/pescatarian. In order to preserve food for the winter season, participants would dry, freeze or ferment many food products. Herbs were an essential ingredient used to make the food tastier.

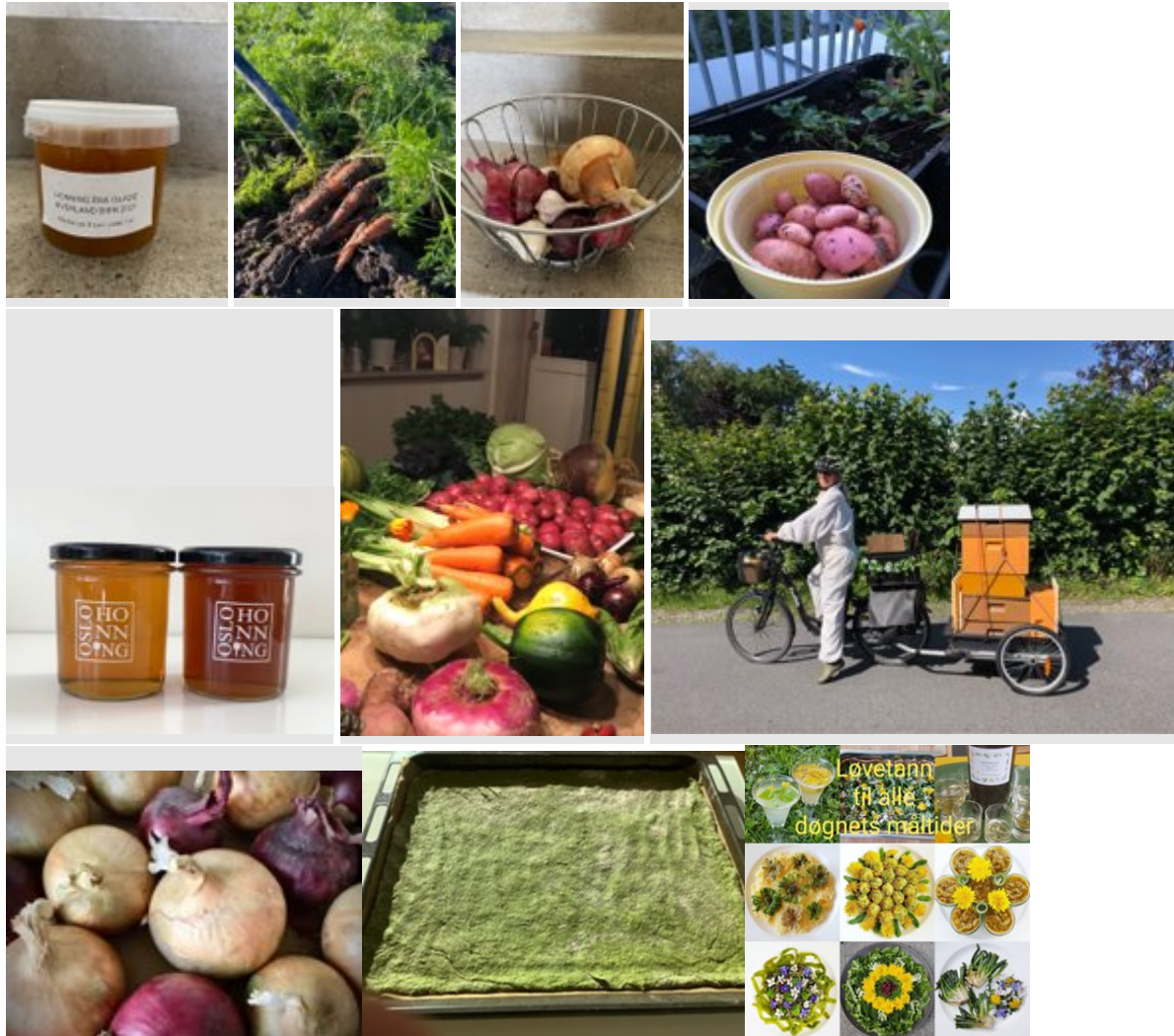


Figure 9 Everyday food pictures, members of Øverland CSA, Pilot Focus Group, Norway

Comments to the photos included the following:

"Onion and honey are two things that are always present in my food basket." (P0.2)

"I don't buy much fruits during winter." (P0.3)

"The food available in my food basket depends on the season." (P0.4)

"This time of year [November], I eat a lot of fermented vegetables." (P0.4)

- *"I eat a lot of berries, and mostly fresh, but berries I eat all year around. Fruit, I only eat during the summer really, I never buy it during the winter." (P0.4)*
- *"Neither do I." (P0.2)*
- *"But I have dried and conserved quite a lot of plums and apples (...) but I don't buy anything at the store. And we can eat it on salty foods too, on pasta and stews and...(...) as an element that stands out – it is very very interesting/joyful if you take rowan berries (Rognebær) or other berries into a casserole, then you don't need any lemon or lingonberries or that sort of thing." (P0.4)*

The use of wild foods in everyday-cooking was also exemplified in a photo of dandelions, reading "Dandelions for all the meals of the day". (P0.4)

Another way of 'following the seasons' that was described, was paying attention to fruits when in season at the place of origin, when they were to be found in speciality shops or delicacies in Norway.

"I do eat oranges – I eat them in the season, because that is when they taste good. (...) And similarly with mangoes, when the Pakistani mangoes arrive – and the dates for example, being aware...(...) It gives meaning to me with the seasons." (P0.2)

"For Christmas baking in the fall, I do buy actually, I make a sweet bread (vørterbrød) and then I buy - in the Pakistani shops - I buy dates and dried apricots." (P0.4).

The practice of preserving seasonal food from nature, in order to make it available in the household all-year around, was described.

"I find it exciting to learn more about what the forest and nature has to offer, the fact that we can go outdoors... so now, I have (wild) spring onion (Ramsløk) puré in a jar in the fridge, which I made last fall, and I put a layer of olive oil on top, and then one can make a pesto when you need it. That you can keep throughout the winter, and that makes a dressing that is suitable for almost all dishes – fish and meat and everything. So that is one of my favourites." (P0.4).

The use of different types of organic grains was among the cooking practices described in the pilot focus group:

"Sunday it is pizza, that is my pizza-day. (...) I buy grain, organic seeds, and I have a kitchen mill. (...) Grains give more substance and even more fibre. Have to cook it for a bit longer, but it is really good – and I have not photo-shopped it; it really is that green. (...) may use any grain, but this it with oats-grain." (P0.1)

Focus Group 1

Food items that were listed among the focus groups participants as 'must have's' included both some ingredients which are essential, but not important for their volume, such as salt, coffee, tea, and major constituents (volume-wise) in their diet, such as milk and dairy products and bread and grain products. Among the foods presented in focus group 1, basic ingredients such as oatmeal for porridge were shown, and organic origin was emphasised.

- *"To me, it is bread. (...) It should be stone baked, and it should not be too fluffy; it should be a little more compact, so that there is something to bite into." (P1.7)*

- *“Oat flakes are important on my part. Oat flakes and milk. When one has children.”* (P1.8)



One of the participants described that she liked having a selection of flour from a variety of different grains available at home so that she would be able to make, for instance, just the particular kind of pancakes she wanted (as shown in one of her ‘good food’ photos). (P1.1)

Vegetables were also important among the types of food they liked to have available.

- *“I always need to have carrots in the fridge, always carrots, and then cabbage, really – I am very fond of white cabbage. Raw, yes, a lot of it [eaten] raw.”* (P1.6)

There were also some more luxury-type products represented, such as ice-cream, which one of the participants described to have ‘always available’ in their household.


Table 23 Everyday food pictures, Focus Group 1 Norway




	<p>Selection of products which are ‘always available’. Fresh organic products from the CSA and eggs from own hens. Oats, seeds, pulses, chocolate and honey bought on-line from an organic grocer. (P1.4)</p>
	<p>“Lots of local food. The eggs are local and organic from the REKO-ring.” (P1.1)</p>



	<p>-“Once one bag is emptied, I fill up with a new one – so I always have a lot of stored foods available. I am very satisfied with the increased variation in types of flour that is possible to buy now, and that are local. Or Norwegian and organic. It is not necessarily heritage varieties, but some of those less bred varieties than ordinary wheat.”</p> <p>-What is important with filling it up at once?</p> <p>-I don't really follow recipes much when I use flour, it is more like –“what type of flour would I like now?” And then I can get a bit stuck if I don't find exactly the variety I would like and end up with making something else if I can't have it the way I want. So then, I prefer having ten different types of flour in my drawer, so than when I want pancakes, I can get just the ones I want.” (P1.1)</p>
	<p>“I was overjoyed when I discovered a local producer of ice cream that I think is absolutely fantastic. We always have ice cream at home. So if anyone comes to me, it is always possible to get ice cream.” (P1.1)</p>
	<p>“(…) I wanted to illustrate that foraging, that is a quality in itself. But since I placed it with the ‘always available’ – it was because I make mushroom soya and make things with the mushroom that I use a lot in my cooking. (...) So since I didn't have any photo of the bottle with the mushroom soya, it got to be mushroom instead. In the forest – mushroom is not always available, but that mushroom soya in the fridge is.” (P1.5)</p>

Focus Group 2

Table 24 Everyday food pictures, FG2 Norway

	<p>-“I really like to make an evening meal with vanilla yoghurt and cottage cheese and raspberry jam. I didn’t take that here, but applesauce instead – I use that a lot on cinnamon crackerbread. Because then it is also like a little dessert. And those oat flakes, they are always there. (...) Our youngest, he gets oat flakes in his yoghurt. I eat it with Biola for lunch at work. And my oldest, she eats oats with sugar and milk. So that is how we use it. We don’t often make oatmeal porridge, but it happens. (...) And of course, that yoghurt. We love that, well except my husband, but I and the kids, we eat a lot of yoghurt. So I try to have them use that new fat-reduced milk instead of ‘Litago’. I am thinking that they could get used to that new one with added taste. And they love it.” (P2.2)</p> <p>-What is that? (P2.4)</p> <p>-TINE fat-reduced milk with taste of chocolate and TINE fat-reduced milk with taste of coffee and chocolate.</p> <p>- Oh, well. There are a few things that passes you by when you don’t have kids in the house (P2.4)</p> <p>- I think it is a lot better because there is not as much added sugar as in the ‘Litago’. (P2.2)</p> <p>- (...) to me, it’s more like either you drink milk or you don’t drink milk. (P2.4)</p> <p>Our youngest, he gets oat flakes in his yoghurt. I eat it with Biola for lunch at work. And my oldest, she eats oats with sugar and milk. So that is how we use it. We don’t often make oatmeal porridge, but it happens.</p>
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	<p>-“That is mostly about using left-overs. Because we like to do that a lot in our home; to use what we have. And in that case, it was a French baguette that had started to get a little dry. So we just fried it in a milk and egg mixture with a little cardamom, and got to make use of it like that instead of throwing it away.” (P2.2)</p> <p>-“It’s called ‘Arme Riddere’ [poor knights] ” (P2.4)</p> <p>-“It is very tasty, but I don’t use any sugar in it. In most recipes I find, there is sugar, but I made them with only milk and eggs. My oldest daughter is very picky about food – and I thought it would be the youngest who would like it, but she devoured it. Real enjoyment.” (P2.2)</p>
	<p>“These are fat-reduces sour-cream and cheese. That is always available in our home. That is because I use fat-reduced sour cream with almost anything – if I am allowed. Much rather a dollop of that instead of gravy. And cheese is something we either eat on a slice of bread or cracker bread, or over lasagna or other types of food dishes. I have a husband who is a real lover of cheese, so in his opinion, we should have it in absolutely everything.” (P2.1)</p>
	<p>Cold cuts of meat, always available to be used on slices of bread for the children’s school lunch. (P2.5)</p>

	<p>"Always a bowl of salad. One plate for M., my wife, and one for me (...) M. brought up the issue in our home, a few years ago, that if we were to reach the goal of 500g of fruit and vegetables per day, we had to step it up. We could not wait until dinner. So we try to eat between 150 and 200 grams of raw cut [fruit and vegetables] for breakfast."</p>
	<p>-That, with a slice of wholegrain bread, for example such as this. This is a spelt bread made with a recipe from Morten Schakenda [well-known baker]. I have modified the recipe somewhat. We buy the flour from 'Sigdal Mølle [local mill for heritage and organic grains]. Then we are quite certain that there is not a lot of strange things in the flour. (P2.3)</p>
	<p>"I brought these photos because there has been a lot of criticism of hospital food. I spent a lot of time at the hospital in 2020. This was Drammen Hospital, a patient dinner – children's size. That was what I managed to eat. And that is the 17th of May dinner [the national day in Norway]. You see the Norwegian flag on top of a muffin. Really good, well-tasting food. That was very uplifting to see that they had, despite having a remote large kitchen in Tønsberg." (P2.3)</p>
	<p>"We tested out these – just to find out what it was. It is a braided wheat loaf with poppy seeds, and then there are Swedish cinnamon buns. Both of which are not appearing very often at our place." (P2.3)</p>

Similarities and differences between the groups

There were similarities across the focus groups in the types of products they would typically like to have available, for instance with regard to typical basic ingredients for breakfast, such as oat meal. Typical breakfast dishes included descriptions of oatmeal porridge as well as bread with spreads.

There was an example of a divide from ordinary breakfast habits in focus group 2, motivated by health reasons. One participant described how a health-related goal had changed their habitual breakfast to include raw cut fruit and vegetables, which is not a traditional part of Norwegian breakfasts:

«Always a bowl of salad. One plate for M., my wife, and one for me (...) M. brought up the issue in our home, a few years ago, that if we were to reach the goal of 500g of fruit and vegetables per day, we had to step it up. We could not wait until dinner. So we try to eat between 150 and 200 grams of raw cut [fruit and vegetables] for breakfast.” (P2.3)

Foods produced organically was a high priority in focus group 1, while less emphasized in focus group 2. Eating according to what was seasonally available locally was present in both groups, while pictures of ‘standardized’ products, such as cheese and meat spread available in stores regardless of season was more present in focus group 2.

UK

Frequent Organic



Figure 10 Everyday food pictures, frequent Organic group

Infrequent Organic

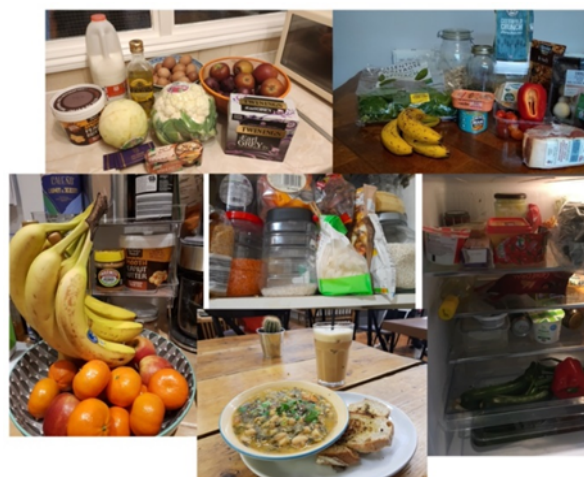


Figure 11 Everyday food pictures, infrequent Organic group

Table 25 key points raised in 'everyday foods' picture exercise, frequent and infrequent Organic groups

<u>Frequent Organic</u>	<u>Infrequent Organic</u>
<p>Bread – either home made or bought from a local bakery: “we’ve just got hold of some sourdough starter... my son... will eat half a loaf in a day so we have to make it pretty frequently!... we used to buy bread... [before knew] how easy it was to make it”</p> <p>“I do have a breadmaker, I tried making my own bread but failed miserably, so I buy from a local artisan baker... try to help them along”</p>	<p>Home made bread mentioned in terms of “seeds that I put in the bread”</p>
<p>Limitation of meat and animal products (or attempts at): “I’m vegan”, “I’m pretty much vegan,” “my partner and I are pretty much vegan”, “I’m ‘that close’ to being a vegan – I’m trying to kill the cheese god at the moment”</p> <p>“we only eat vegetarian at home and meat when we go out to try to limit our consumption of meat” “I’m the first person to have animal protein, but... I only eat it once or twice a week”</p>	<p>Limitation of meat and animal products (or attempts at): “I’m vegan”</p> <p>“I’m trying as much as I can for us to eat less meat... but we’re not always getting there... vegetarianism we might manage, but veganism’s not going to wash” “I don’t eat meat – I was vegetarian, but I’ve just introduced fish back in to my diet... once or twice a month”</p>
<p>Pulses “chickpeas, quinoa, mung beans, lentils” “I’m pretty much vegan and so [these a staple of our diet]’</p>	<p>Pulses Baked beans Lentils for bolognaise or shepherds pie</p>
<p>Health Eating ‘loads of vegetables’ mentioned frequently.</p>	<p>Health Hearty soups, hearty food “basically what I’m eating most days”</p>

“I have vegetables and a protein every day for lunch”	Cabbage, cauliflower – following a keto diet so “I don’t have any carbs or sugar” and rely on them “I do quite like peanut butter but I’m trying to stay off it for the moment” “trying to be a bit healthier and have fruit when I want to have chocolate”
Foods that feature because of enjoyment : Coconut cream “because my favourite food is dahl”	Foods that feature because of enjoyment : Carbs “I really am fond of carbs.. eat at every meal”: rice for risotto Peanut butter “which is essential to my wellbeing”
Cost-effectiveness Cereal “I eat it twice a day and I have done for about a decade, because it’s cheap and I like it and I have to eat a lot of carbohydrate” Reduced items mentioned frequently; as well as food which would otherwise go to waste “We try to buy as much Organic as we can but that’s getting more difficult as prices go up... and we have two kids”	Cost effectiveness Eggs: [look like organic] “they are – but they wouldn’t normally be. That was more because I shopped somewhere where they’re cheaper” Buying reduced foods near their expiry date and waste avoidance: “I try to buy healthy food, but I also like to buy reduced as you can see”

Participants all submitted photographs of ‘typical/everyday’ foods for them in advance of the first session, which they talked through individually as part of introducing themselves to the group (shown in figures 10 and 11). Table 25 gives an overview of the themes raised in the two groups, grouped in terms of similarities.

In terms of foods they made part of their regular consumption, health was more emphasised by the infrequent Organic group, whereas provenance was a large focus of the Organic group’s discussions but not the infrequent Organic group. The Organic group talked about home grown vegetables: “not most by any means... [but] lots of loose veg”, “we have 3 allotments so grow a lot of our own veg” and buying “from the greengrocer” and Organic/local veg boxes: “I just find it lasts us.. it costs a bit but... I base all my meals around it... I used to work full time in a school and I didn’t have time to cook... it’s been wonderful [since I stopped] to have time to cook and eat the foods I want to eat” “we try to support local businesses”. On the other end, one Organic participant mentioned how his typical food basket “is heavily influenced by living 2 minutes from an Aldi and 2 minutes from a Lidl, and... I feel very restricted financially, so that plays a big role in my diet.”

Summary of typical food basket – key findings

Food provisioning patterns

There seemed to be differences across countries regarding food acquisition patterns, and the frequency of providing (fresh) food vs. buying larger quantities for storage.

In the Italian focus groups, several photos and discussions indicated habitual 'empty fridges' and small-sized fridges, and correspondingly, a high frequency of providing fresh food (vegetables, in particular) to the everyday meals. This was combined with storage of dry or storable foods such as beans, lentils etc.

Another reference to a fridge with just a few foods in it, was from Poland, Focus group 2, in which case it was explained with lack of time and being on a diet: (*"This is what my fridge looks like every day. Tomatoes, peppers, cottage cheese. That's all I have. I don't cook because I don't have time to cook, I'm on a diet."*)

In other countries, such as Norway, there seemed to be larger dependencies of foods stored in fridges and freezers. These differences were not surprising, given the longer availability of locally produced, fresh food in Italy compared to Norway, but cultural aspects may also play a role.

In Germany it was a focus on availability of local and organic food in ordinary food channels such as supermarkets and canteens.

In Italy seasonal variation, identity of provenance and personal connection to farmer were emphasised. Cooking with fresh foods according to season was particularly emphasised in the Italian focus groups. 'Empty fridge' – corresponds to provisioning habits of frequently buying fresh produce; that which is locally available in various seasons. Different from 'stocking up' in freezer and fridge.

Reliance on supermarkets, labels and certification schemes were downplayed in the Italian groups in comparison with more "participatory" quality investigations. In the Polish cooperative focus group we also found this participatory aspect of quality assurance (sending a group of members to Italy to visit potential citrus farmer to decide on who to buy from).

Norway is special in that relatively many of the 'supermarkets' are really discount stores. Fewer inhabitants have access to large supermarkets/hypermarkets with high priority of diversity.

Time - organisation

Time constraints and organisational challenges in everyday life were commonly brought up in all focus groups.

Conserving food

Across all countries, preserving food, such as jams, was part of food provisioning. For some participants, home-made and home-preserved foods played a major role and provided a considerable share of the basic diet (examples from Germany, Italy, Norway). Examples included tomato sauce (Italy), fruit and berries (Norway and other).

Harvesting from nature

Using foods from nature were part of the food provisioning in several focus groups. In Norway, harvesting from nature came across as both an ideal and a practice. Making use of available foods were talked about as both obligation and joy. The role of humans as 'stewards of nature' came up,

and among CSA members there seemed to be an overlap between providing food from nature, own garden and the CSA, as representing 'closeness to nature'.

Good Food

In the session about 'good food', participants were asked to take pictures of something that represents 'good food' for them prior to the focus group, and these photos were shown and discussed at the meeting. The key question in this session was "what does good food mean to you?" The aim of the session was to prompt a dialog about food qualities and how those qualities were perceived by participants. We were interested in noting possible differences between everyday food and food for special occasions, and participants' strategies in terms of food acquisition, preparation and eating. We were keen to observe whether issues relating to various types of diversity were brought up spontaneously during the discussions.



Germany

During the focus groups, several aspects were emphasised as important when thinking of 'good food' and include amongst others:

- Social aspects (eating with people, cooking for/with people, cooking with spouse, decoration, having time, talking)
- (time consuming) preparation of special meals
- Colourful food
- Desserts
- Cooking with leftovers

Photographs taken by participants and quotes from the discussions in the German focus groups 1 and 2 are presented in the tables below.

Table 26 'Good food', Focus Group 1, Germany

	<p><i>"Every day, we are deeply grateful that we can set our table like this or similar every day. That is, that we have enough to eat and that is not a matter of course in the world."</i></p> <p><i>Good food is "cooking for others, inviting [others]. Eating and drinking, talking to each other is harmony for us, it always belongs together. Just sitting with a glass of wine and talking is simply dry. The best conversations take place at the dinner table - where we also spend a lot of time".</i></p> <p>(P1.4)</p>
	<p>Eating and preparing for/with friends and family</p> <p>Time consuming preparation (e.g. 2 days prior birthday party) (P1.1)</p>

	<p>(P1.2) <i>"Empty, set table means that I am awaiting guests. That are my children, who live further away. When they are there, or I have other guests, that is pure joy for me, there I can enjoy life to the fullest while preparing – that gives me a lot of pleasure."</i></p> <p>Participant aims to prepare special menus for those occasions, e.g., with a starter/soup and a regional and seasonal dessert. Children (especially the men) still eat meat, therefore it is served to such occasions.</p>
	<p>(P1.5) <i>"What I also understand by good food is that you cook from leftovers" (left picture)</i> <i>It is important that "I can prepare a lot myself, and know what is inside."</i></p> <p>Right picture: Boxes from foodsharing, which is also good food to the participant and worth being used (P1.1).</p>
	<p><i>"Every now and then this is also good food - I usually cook a lot and like to do it. Sometimes it's just nice to lounge on the sofa on a Saturday night, watching TV and eating biscuits, crisps and sweets. For me, that's also part of a good meal - just once in a while". (P1.1)</i></p>
	<p>P1.3: enough time to prepare food (e.g. 2 hours preparation time or for a party), colourful food is important, does not necessarily need to contain meat. Dessert always belongs to a good meal.</p> <p><i>"A nice decoration is also very important to me, that also belongs to a good meal"</i></p>

Regarding good food participants of focus group 1 mostly did not focus on the content or ingredients of a meal, but rather on the social context (*"Eating together - also with club fellows/friends - makes a big difference"* P1.2). In addition to eating together, they also mentioned the importance of preparing meals together (*"Eating together, and preparing together, that's a good meal for me. Or alternatively, if I can prepare something for many or few people"* P1.1). Having enough time or an appealing decoration was also part of good food (*"for me a good meal is when I have time to prepare food for two hours, or to prepare something for a party"* P1.3). *"What I also understand by good food is that you cook from leftovers"* (P1.5), this aspect was agreed by all participants. There was a consensus that even food with flaws is good food. Furthermore, they stressed that this aspect should be given much more attention. In terms of content, the participants agreed that dessert should always be a part of a good meal. Only one participant stated that she also associated eating (sometimes) chips on the sofa while watching TV with good food, when she and her husband do not feel like cooking than they go to the supermarket around the corner and buy cookies, etc. The origin of food was not a central aspect of the discussion, seasonality and colourful food was mentioned. Nevertheless, the participants agreed that good food also implies an appreciation of food.

Focus Group 2:


Aspects which were emphasised as important when thinking of 'good food' included:

- Organic, regional food
- Colourful, different flavours
- Time
- Leftovers

P2.5: *"Good food is for me organic, simple. Organic and if possible regional"* and P2.3 adds *"and well cooked/prepared"*.

P2.1 just buys organic food, because of the taste (real taste of the food). Conventional potatoes do not have the same flavour, only the consistency is the same. Furthermore, she likes the combination with nuts and to use colourful food and to arrange it nicely, *"especially in winter when it is grey and dreary"*. (If there is enough time P2.4 also likes to cook with different combinations of aromas/flavours and that it is enough for one or two days.) P2.3 agrees *"that is the best. Warm up leftovers."* As well as freshly harvested vegetables from the kitchen garden.

Table 27 'Good food', Focus Group 2, Germany

	<p>P 2.1 likes the combination with nuts and to use colourful food and to arrange it nicely, <i>"especially in winter when it is grey and dreary"</i>. Everyday food</p>
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	<p>P2.3: Good food: freshly harvested vegetables from the kitchen garden</p> <p>Well cooked meals mean also good food: Meatballs from boar with an orange sauce, (which tastes especially good) and sweet potato puree (out of baked and mashed sweet potatoes and baked brussels sprouts. Everyday food</p>
	<p>P2.4: Ayurvedic cuisine (vegetarian dish)</p> <p>Christmas family dinner. <i>"And I also just love to cook. So, I can spend a couple of hours doing that. I find that totally relaxing. And then [cooking in that way that] it's enough for another two days, or one day."</i></p>
	<p>P2.6: Salad - Everyday food</p>



Italy





From the Italian focus groups, several aspects were emphasised as important when thinking of ‘good food’, including amongst others the following:



- Food origin
- Healthy food
- Cultural and affective context
- Conviviality
- Products from a producer you know/trust
- Local market
- Memories of good food (especially for people originally from the south of Italy)
- Food eaten in good restaurants/slow food
- Fair food, where labour is rightly compensated
- Vegan food
- Home made
- Simple food
- Natural food/organic
- Experimentation

Photographs taken by participants and quotes from the discussions in the Italian focus groups 1 and 2 are presented in the tables below.

Table 28 ‘Good food’, Focus Group 1, Italy

	<p>ER, F-FG1: “Good products are products where you know the producers, as for the meat by Anege Taneghe (CSA producer). And then I like to experiment. In this case I have made meat tartare”</p>
 	<p>GA, F-FG1: “I would start here with arrostitini, I don't eat a lot of meat, however arrostitini for an Abruzzese is inevitable. So, when I go down (south) there is always an arrostitini moment... My family, although unconsciously, is very selective about food. My grandparents are also very careful about what they buy, even if they are not so conscious in the “modern” sense. They don't just go to the supermarket, but they go exactly to the producer of a certain type who does breeding in a certain way. Here's the other picture. I took it as we like very much to go to good restaurant. Both my partner and I are into food and wine. We both believe that money well spent is money on food and so we often indulge in going out and we prefer going out less often but going to good places. The other picture is a fish soup. I put it because it represents me. There are some mussels, scampi there are rockfish, there is a mullet somewhere squid and this is the thing that I miss in Trentino, because unfortunately I</p>

	<p><i>can't find quality fish. I'm talking about seafood obviously. Sometimes I buy fish and then I go to cook it and it absolutely never has a taste even approaching that of home. And then this is homemade pasta because my partner and I dabble, we started in the lockdown when we had so much time. Now on Sundays we experiment, we make pasta and we freeze it, we dry it, putting it in bags."</i></p>
  	<p>AT, M-FG1: <i>"I'm a fan of this product that's dry bread called panzanella, dry bread to be stuffed with anything you like. The barbecue unfortunately is something that is done every now and then. We know it is ethically questionable, however it is always a moment of aggregation. The typical winter dish, a sort of hot version of panzanella, is orzotto with vegetables legumes and whatnot. These are everyday dishes. And then I agree with Gaia about occasionally jumping into particular restaurants where you find things that are a little different. We like Slow Food restaurants. In the pics below there are homemade pasta with spinach and buckwheat with this topping of a crunchy cheese fondue on top. Now I don't really remember what it was but I remember it was very good."</i></p>

	<p>SF, F-FG1: <i>"Good food for me is food that is eaten together... before the pandemic for me good food was being together, at the end it is sharing. So, I brought basically a table as it reminds me of a very particular situation. Here we were doing a workshop and the whole community in this small village at one point said 'let's eat together' so we made a pasta with local products. To me good food is paying more attention to care, to local products ... so for me good food has an aspect of community and sharing that is inescapable and that also goes beyond eating good things."</i></p>
	<p>MA, F-FG1 (no pics): <i>"Good food definitely in my house has a connotation of community, so it can be something that we prepare together such as gnocchi, pizza or things like that. Right now, for me good food is vegan food: I have to say that because there's always a lot of new flavors to discover and because it makes me feel good from so many points of view, both ethically and in terms of flavors..."</i></p>
	<p>ST, M-FG1: <i>"These are taralli and cheese. It is a food that we always have in the house that we like, and we can't do without. Taralli, even if they are not local, however it is a food that I eat every day and that it is always in the house. Taralli go with everything. Taralli is a type of bread.... like breadsticks dry bread let's say and then you eat it...it's kind of a yummy thing."</i></p>
	<p>RF, M-FG1: <i>"For me this is representative of good food, it's dough. It's essential without salt. I make on average three kilos of bread per week. I also make pizza. I want to make my own dough. I trust everybody but I want to verify when it suits me. I mean I have worked in restaurants, and even at the highest level within castles I've seen things to make your skin crawl. For me simple food is the best. Today that is Saturday I make the dough with two leavening and tomorrow that is Sunday I do the baking. Also, regarding the kilometre zero, you need always to verify. For example, I had tried to get some flours from some local mills, but they had given me chicken grain. That's obviously regards trust. However, you can give trust, but you have to absolutely do a verification. In short, 'good food' for me it's simple food. When food is simple, it is guaranteed. When things are too complicated..."</i></p>

Focus group n. 2

Table 29 'Good food', Focus Group 2, Italy



EU, F-FG2: *"The first one was taken during my birthday and so good food in the sense of company with all my friends. It was very nice, we prepared things together. There was couscous, the vegetables which I like very much. It was simple food. The other picture is good food because we were in Palermo and we had taken everything from the market. Therefore, for me it was good because the bread was freshly made... it was very simple: the bread with the sun-dried tomatoes... everything from the market and for me the market means more sustainable, better, more controlled... Then who knows actually if it is really as we think... however that was my idea."*



FF, F-FG2: *"This is my newly planted vegetable garden. For me the good food is this one, because I've been fortunate for a few years now to live in a house where we've been able to do the garden. I like for the children to see it...for example it's always quite magical now that there are tomatoes when you move the plant and you say they are there! And it's so beautiful in the summer to come home for lunch and to harvest the salad you are going to eat: cherry tomato, cucumbers ... and so I make a salad and this thing gives me extreme satisfaction. Just I like to do it, I like to eat it. I understood the good as in terms of health. And these things look like super healthy to me... although we do not really know exactly about the soil...but anyway: it's my garden and I know how things are cultivated. By listening the others of the group talking during this focus group I have also realized that actually 'good food' can be understood from many points of view, very nice what you said, Serena, about the fact that for you 'good food' is the food you receive from your sister, as it reaches you with affection."*



NC, M-FG2: *"First of all for me good food is synonymous with natural, in the sense that is food that doesn't have any kind of treatment: it comes as nature creates it! These for example are my apples: they are small because I do not use any kind of external input. When I put them in the refrigerator, they shrink because they lose the texture. Because the sugar comes out. As a family, we are used to eat dairy ricotta and mozzarella, possibly fresh. Here in Trentino (NC is originally from Puglia, South of Italy) I have to adapt to buy the ones I think are closer to ours. I try to avoid to buy ricotta here because I find it totally different from how it is produced in Puglia. I am from Ruvo di Puglia. Province of Bari. In my region, there are still dairies where one can go inside and see while they are making ricotta or dairy products. I also miss bread. I would have the possibility to bake it at home because we have a kind of electric oven, but it becomes problematic... so we buy it, because we are bread eaters, bread and pasta lovers as all 'terroni' ... and like all Italians in general. We are used to at least one two three times a week to eat also legumes, either as a replacement or even as a supplement... lentils, beans, chickpeas."*

SE, F-FG2 (no pics): *"If I had to send a picture of good food I would have definitely sent what I usually cook after I go to the mountains, because I like to pick herbs when I find them so, especially in this season, I always go to the alpine pasture to pick herbs and I cook them. I usually make omelettes with the 'famous happy eggs' or I make gnocchi. Perhaps because I have harvested them, because I know where they come from, because it's a satisfaction also... the time taken ... I should say that I never throw them away... In fact, when I harvest even if I get invited to eat a pizza, I stay home because I have to eat my herbs. So, definitely there's a little bit of your own work and satisfaction behind it, it's not really a job however. In short, you know where it comes from. I love also homemade preserves. I'm half Sicilian. I always get the package from the South full of sun-dried tomatoes, artichokes in oil. Although they are sort of 'calorie bombs' they are so good ... also because there are people behind, in this case it's my sister who sends them to me."*

TO, M-FG2 (no pics): *"This topic of good food is interesting because I think that what we consider 'good' is the result of our education, of the culture of*

	<p><i>a given place. For example, what is good food in Germany? What is in southern Italy? I believe that it depends on how we are educated to distinguish flavors. Maybe, good food is the real food, the one that is more natural... for example the taste of tomato in Trentino is not so good. Yet, sometimes I wonder...is good food also fair food? Maybe there is a very good tomato made by workers who were not fairly compensated. At the end, even if it is not good, in my opinion, food has to nourish, because there are also people who are not hungry and they don't want to eat." (as a doctor, he refers to eating disorders)</i></p>
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Poland





During the focus groups in Poland, several aspects came up as important when thinking of 'good food'. It may be surprising that few respondents associated "good food" with "healthy food". For many focus group participants, "good food" means food prepared by their own hands from ingredients of known origin. A minority of respondents indicated meals eaten out as an example of good food. Eating in restaurants is a unique event for many people in Poland. On a daily basis, most meals are prepared at home. For some respondents, going to a restaurant was associated with special moments that influenced the assessment of the meals consumed.

Some interview participants drew attention to the social aspect of eating. Good food is eaten together with family and close people. Such events may be associated with special memories, e.g. joint trips or holidays.

Photographs taken by participants and quotes from the discussions in the Polish focus groups 1 and 2 are presented in the tables below.


Table 30 'Good food', Focus Group 1, Poland






	<p>P5: <i>"I moved to the countryside and we have a farm there. This is our polytunnel. This is good food for me because I can see it from the very beginning. I collect it myself. And it's seasonal. (...) I am 100% sure how it is produced."</i></p>
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	<p>P5: "These are my different meals." "I really like to eat flowers and I eat with my eyes. I like to decorate my meals." "The middle photo is a photo of the breakfast that I prepared for the girls from Argo-Perma-Lab who came to visit us. It is a symbolic photo, because it was a breakfast that I prepared on the occasion of Food Sovereignty Day."</p>
	<p>P1: "This is the essence of the Cooperative. This is sauerkraut from the Gorzkowski family, onions, carrots also from them, spices from 'Dary Natury'. This is the essence of what is available in the Cooperative. I can eat it all winter because there are no fresh vegetables then. Silages save lives during the winter." "I know the people and I know the origins of these products." "For me, good food is what is available in the Cooperative. Mainly because of its local nature. For me, the ecological aspect is less important, more important is that it is local food."</p>
	<p>P3 "This is an >>easy set<<. Easy and quick to prepare. I prepared this for the rare occasion when people come to visit us during the pandemic." "These aren't random things. Each of them is bought in a specific place. I go to places where I know I can buy things that will work."</p>
	<p>P2: "This is nettle soup. (...) I made this soup at the beginning of the pandemic, when the mood was apocalyptic. We all stayed at home because it was impossible to go out. I went to the bank of the Vistula River, where a lot of these nettles grew. (...) I collected a lot of this nettle. I ate some of it fresh, and some of it I also dried. I had the feeling that when there was nothing left, I would survive thanks to this nettle that I collected myself."</p>

	<p>P2: "These are the dumplings I brought from my parents after Christmas. (...) They have an unique flavor. When I eat such dumplings during the year, they do not taste like home-made and Christmas ones."</p>
	<p>P2: "I prepared this when my parents came to visit me. I like when someone comes to visit me. It is an opportunity for me to reach for cookbooks and cook something good. (...) This is good food because it tastes good. also good food, because it is associated with the opportunity to host someone and meet someone. (...) I do not do such things every day. You have to invite someone..."</p>
	<p>P2: "I baked them for Easter. (...) For me, good food is combined with a special occasion, with an event, with a meeting. For me, it is also important that I make this food at my place in Krakow and deliver it as my contribution to the family gathering."</p>
	<p>P4: "This photo was taken in Amsterdam while having breakfast with my family. I eat good food every day at home, but when I'm in a different place, the food tastes better. If I recreated this dish at home, it wouldn't taste so good. For me, good food means meals eaten while traveling, food eaten in another country and food shared with my family."</p>

Table 31 'Good food', Focus Group 2, Poland

	<p>P1: "This is good food because it is made with our own hands. The only thing I bought is tortilla, but the filling was homemade."</p>
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	<p>P1: <i>"This is food that was made for Halloween. The children were satisfied. (...) This is good food because it has a lot of vegetables. I like vegetables, especially uncooked, raw vegetables."</i></p>
	<p>P2: <i>"I am forced to eat such food because I am on a diet. (...) But I like such salads. This is good food because it tastes good to me. Besides, it is healthy and low in calories."</i></p>
	<p>P4: <i>"It's a place nearby where you can buy good food."</i></p>
	<p>P6: <i>"This is good food because it is unprocessed and healthy."</i></p>
	<p>P5: <i>"I divide good food into two categories: food that I am able to make myself and food that I am not able to prepare myself and I have to go out somewhere to try it on the special occasions."</i> <i>"Sometimes I like to try new flavors, especially those that are not available in Poland. These are, for example, shark steaks."</i> <i>"I like trying new flavors and I think that the best food is when you go out to try something new for the first time in your life. Even if it doesn't taste you, it's good to try something new."</i></p>

	<p>P5: <i>"I knew everyone would bring photos of healthy things, so I brought photos of the sweets. When I was in Prague, I discovered that there are still available sweets that were sold here when I was a child."</i></p>
	<p>P5: <i>"It's good food that I make for myself. I know what Flavors I like. (...) When I do something myself, I know what's inside and I can season it myself."</i></p>

Norway

Knowledge of where food comes from, preferably self-grown or supplied from nature, and foods that were close to their natural origin was especially important among participants in focus group 1.

- *"Good basic ingredients that I know the origin of, and preferably something we have made ourselves. But, as long as I know what it is, really." (P1.1)*
- *"That which has been..., well; shortest possible distance from being something else than food; that is from being an animal or a plant." (P1.2)*

One of the participants described that the picture-task sent her down 'Memory Lane' in her large selection of photos at Instagram, and it was difficult to choose. She summarized that 'there were lots of photos of 'food by the seashore' and 'CSA-food', and that a key element for her was to actually provide the food personally:

- *"When it comes to good food, there is a lot in my head – that is: I sort of do not manage to identify as a consumer of food products, because I grew up with having to go to the shore and get the food ourselves, so to speak. It is part of my identity, in a way, to supply food – not just go to the store and buy it. And that, I believe, is a large part of those photos. As I said already, it is important for me this idea that it was not food a week or two ago; then it was a living plant or an animal." (P1.2)*

It was followed up by another participant, pointing to the value that harvesting from nature had for her, and how she made a seasonal food available year-around by preparing and conserving it as a homemade soy sauce:

- *"That was something that I also had in mind when I brought [a photo of] that mushroom – it's about some of the same issues that you were talking about. I wanted to illustrate that foraging, that is a quality in itself. But since I placed it with the 'always available' – it was because I make mushroom soya and make things with the mushroom that I use a lot in my cooking. (...) So since I didn't have any photo of the bottle with the mushroom soya, it got to*

be mushroom instead. In the forest – mushroom is not always available, but that mushroom soya in the fridge is.” (P1.5)

Knowledge about good animal welfare was also upheld as an important aspect of good food:


- *“About good food, it is also important – with dairy products and meat, that one knows how the animals have been treated; animal welfare is important for me when we talk about ‘good food’.” (P1.7)*

One of the participants brought a picture of a breakfast table in the family cottage to illustrate that what she called the “framing” and atmosphere of the meal, were important aspects of what constitutes ‘good food’ for her. She described that it could include the place where the meal was eaten, the social occasion of a shared meal, and also the visual quality of a nicely made table. This care for the atmosphere and presentation of a meal was also shared by others, and was in some cases presented in the context of creativity and having fun.

- *“Well, good food, to me it also matters how it looks, when I prepare or serve a plate it is important how it looks, that it is nice in a way – that matters too.” (P1.8)*

Photographs taken by participants and quotes from the discussions in the Norwegian focus groups 1 and 2 are presented in the tables below.

Table 32 ‘Good food’, Focus Group 1, Norway

	<p><i>“I don’t disagree with anything of what you have said, but I took as point of departure the frame around [the meal], so, that picture up to the left, which is taken by me, was a way to illustrate that point; that being at the cottage – then food tastes good, right? The frames around. I completely agree with what you are saying, but [my point is that] there are several aspects.” (P1.5)</i></p>
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	<p><i>"Those on the side are from when I was on a pasta course this fall, and I became 'three meters high' [proud] when I managed to roll my own pasta. The one in the middle is YouTube-inspired. They are little turtles, that is hamburger meat with sausages as feet and head – you seem we are two adults living along, and then one can do things like this whenever one wants. We had a ball. The one to the left are wontons – for a dinner I made when we had friends over."</i> (P1.1)</p>
	<p><i>"That is lettuce and beans. (...) It is a kind of 'growth plate' with light for growth, and it is supposed to fertilize and water and take care of everything by itself, so I don't need to do anything but harvest. (...) It is at home, I was hoping that it would be possible to grow beans in it, so that I could have beans at home all year around, but I think I have to just forget about that."</i> (P1.1)</p>
 	<p>Dessert and sweets are part of 'good food'. For the pancakes, the participant described that she liked having lots of different types of organic flour (varieties of grain) available at home so that she would be able to make just the particular kind of pancakes she wanted.</p> <p><i>- "This is [ice cream] from 'Godis Hadeland' – he is placed at Jaren, the one who makes it."</i> <i>- "And that are pancakes - with chocolate."</i> (P1.1)</p>

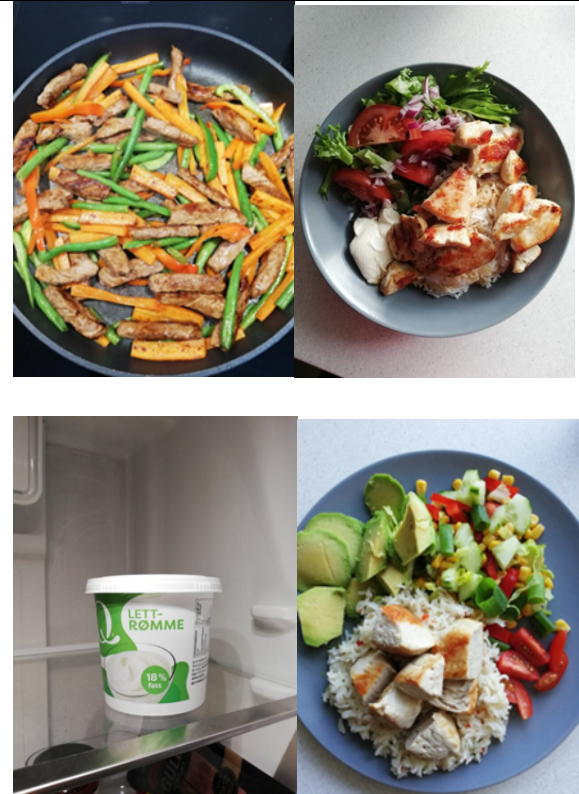
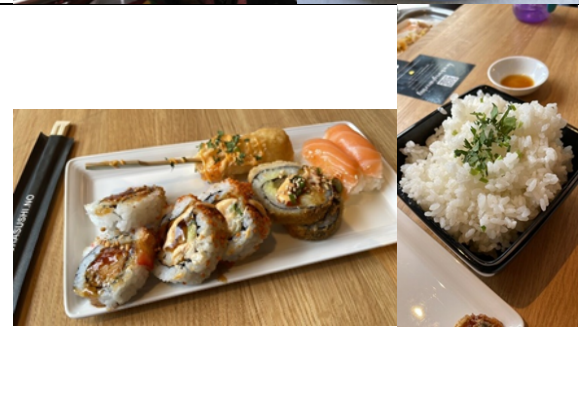
	<p>The 'ordinary' and 'good food' was one and the same for this participant: <i>"Oatmeal-porridge. I eat that every morgen. That is what it looks like. With honey in the middle. That is my start of the day."</i> (P1.4)</p>
	<p><i>"This is a jar of fermented vegetables – some of us, a small handful of us shareholders in Hadeland CSA met and made it now during the wintertime."</i> (P1.3)</p>
	<p><i>"This is what I would think is a quite common barn for beef cattle nowadays. (...) It is from our home farm."</i> (P1.3)</p>
	<p><i>-Is this from Aurland?</i> <i>-Yes, it is. And there you have this field, right, that is only waiting to be cultivated, that some people would come along and use it. And then you have this enormously powerful nature framing it in – with both the rangeland pasture and game meat. Here comes deer so to speak tumbling down the hillsides making mischief in the fruit meadows – so in the hunting season, they are shot. But most importantly, this land, that lies there inviting to be cared for."</i> (P1.3)</p>

	<p>This was food served for the focus group, prepared by a participant who also hosted the event at her farm.</p> <p><i>“Well, good food, to me it also matters how it looks, when I prepare or serve a plate it is important how it looks, that it is nice in a way – that matters too.” (P1.8)</i></p>
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Focus Group 2

Table 33 ‘Good food’, Focus Group 2, Norway

	<p><i>“There is a photo of a cup of coffee and blackberries. The question was ‘what is good food for you’, and then I thought that it is not only about the food products, but the atmosphere. I do like blackberries, but the atmosphere... Because I have picked them myself in the garden, and walked around picking and eating them just the way that they are with a cup of coffee with and enjoyed myself. So then ‘good food’ is also about the atmosphere.” (P2.1)</i></p> <p><i>“So ‘good food’ to me is both the food, but also the atmosphere. And when it comes from one’s own garden, to me it is absolutely fantastic. Then it tastes even better.” (P.2.1)</i></p> <p><i>“It’s a cultivated bush. I have brought it with me. I grew up in Høvik in Bærum. So I dug it up and brought it with me to Jevnaker when my parents sold my childhood home.” (P.2.1)</i></p>
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	<p><i>"This is also not necessarily about the food itself – it is taken at New Years Eve a year ago – but rather the atmosphere. The fact that one gets together. Here we are having tapas. We get together, are having a good atmosphere, and then with good food as well, of course." (P2.1)</i></p>
	<p><i>"Here, I have simply cooked pork meat – Norwegian pork meat, asparagus beans, carrots and bell pepper in a wok. Again, it is about the pure food – we have a little soy sauce on top, and then eat it rice. And the other photos – also with rice, Norwegian chicken, avocado, a salad, and a small dollop of sour cream. To me, this is something of the best I can eat. Pure ingredients, meat from Norway, some vegetables which are also produced in Norway if possible." (P.2.1)</i></p>
	<p><i>"That one down to the right is just rice. We were at 'Sabrura' and had sushi. And then our oldest asked to get some rice, because she wanted rice and soy sauce. And then she got that. (...) Well, it has become regular now that my cohabitant and I go out and eat at 'Sabrura' every third Monday. And then our oldest one wanted so much to come along, so she got to come with us, even though it was the youngest one who got most out of it." (P2.2)</i></p>

	<p><i>"This is a little reminder that one should be taking care of what one has in one's own garden. So making jam and juice, it takes two weeks in the fall or late summer. Here, there are raspberries, a red current-raspberry mix, blueberries – if we have been out in the forest and picked lots of it. Last year, there were wonderful amounts of blueberries. Black currents, gooseberries, lingonberries – there are some of those every year as well. There are some preserved plums in the background, and some bottles of juice; made from red currents, plum and cherries. We use them as Christmas presents. For adults, we rather like to give something from a second-hand store or a jar of jam." (P2.3)</i></p>
	<p><i>"We have started baking our own flat bread. Because we are very fond of flat bread. We eat quite a bit of oatmeal porridge and some cured meat as well. And we would like to have well-tasting flat bread. There used to be a bakery that made good flat bread, that was the Røros bakery. But then they changed the process, and it is no longer the 'real stuff'. So, then the solution was to learn how to make our own flat bread on a takke [traditional baking plate]. It was not very difficult; it was actually great fun. (...) We are making flat bread as Christmas presents as well. That works very well. I found a great recipe that makes a good dough which is easy to roll out. That was the fear of making flat bread, that one wouldn't manage to roll it out thinly enough. But it is great fun – it beats Netflix or whatever a hundred times. Much more fun. So, my wife and I do it together approximately every third month, and then we make a double portion. It takes two hours to bake." (P2.3)</i></p>

Summary of 'Good food' – Norway

Important elements of 'good food' from the Norwegian focus groups included harvesting from nature and eating in nature. Plant foods, such as wild herbs, berries and mushrooms were important in these stories, but also meat from wild animals were preferred, even among vegetarians/pescatarians if they were to make an exception. *"I do not eat meat, but on rare occasions I make an exception for deer meat, which I buy from a very small-scale producer. It is more expensive than the one that you can find at the supermarket, but it's ok"* (pilot group, vegetarian).

Tradition was another key element of 'good food', which could motivate an exception: *"Even though I do not eat meat, I still like to follow the tradition of cooking 'juleskinke' [Christmas ham] for Christmas"* (P0.4, pescatarian)

Cooking according to seasonal availability of local food was a key element in many of the stories about good food. Home-grown and local foods, organic production methods, and care for the environment, animal welfare and fairness were important. 'Taking care of' available foods in season, such as berries and fruit from the garden, making sure it was used as food appeared as an element of good food across all focus groups.

Known provenance, familiarity with the producer, and trust through direct relations were also key elements. Social embeddedness in the form of sharing meals was also important. The significance of special places where 'good food' comes from came up in stories about childhood memories and of provisioning food from special places.

The effect of food on the health of the eater was also brought up and included descriptions such as 'pure ingredients'. At the same time, the pleasures of eating in terms of good taste, pleasant appearance, and food being appealing to the senses was also described as important.

The 'pleasures of eating' was discussed, especially in the pilot group, as a natural part of everyday life, in the sense that 'good food' was also 'ordinary food'. This became apparent through statements such as: "we make no compromises", and "there is no difference between weekdays and weekend – we eat well everyday". The notion of 'good food' being the same as 'everyday food' also became apparent in focus group 1, with the example of the oatmeal porridge made from organically grown oats and enjoyed every day for breakfast.

High quality basic ingredients are at the core of these expressions of 'good food', while the meals could be simple in terms of few ingredients, and little processing and simple cooking procedures. Simplicity in cooking was also brought up as a quality of good food in the accounts of an 'empty nester' – describing how she enjoyed *not* having to spend a lot of time for 'proper cooking', but rather celebrated the liberty to eat a simple dish (such as a tin of mackerel in tomato sauce) for dinner.

UK

Frequent Organic



Figure 12 good food pictures, frequent Organic group

Infrequent Organic



Figure 13 good food pictures, infrequent Organic group

The pictures of 'good food' submitted by participants in the frequent and infrequent Organic groups were broadly similar (see figures 12 and 13). Vegetables feature heavily - including fresh vegetables and herbs growing/grown (especially Organic), sold at greengrocers, bought from shops, cooked and cooking. There are some ingredients and some cooked meals. Eating out and cakes feature in both, as well as limited occurrences of animal products/meat.

Considerations raised by each group in the picture-prompted discussion about what makes a food good are included in table 2 and below it. Only one participant mentioned variety (in the context of the problems of the Cavendish banana being the main variety commercially grown) – when subsequently asked explicitly about variety, the discussion turned to types of plant milks (variety in terms of consumer choice rather than biological variety).

Table 34 key points raised in 'good foods' picture exercise, frequent and infrequent Organic groups

Frequent Organic	Infrequent Organic
Colourful; looks good	lots of different coloured foods
Fresh: tomatoes picked really fresh <i>"completely different feel to tomatoes you buy in a supermarket."</i>	'Fresh' "something that looks fresh and has got life, vs. something in plastic which looks a bit sad"
Health: e.g. Onions and garlic as good for blood profile	Health was mentioned more in this group, but also contested more (see row below) Salad; Jacket potato with grains and salad; a diversity of foods; variety <i>"in my mind good food has always been like 'it has to be healthy', and you have to have salad on the plate"</i> <i>"[I] would label cake as bad food 'even though I do eat it and would really like it'</i>
Enjoyment and company Tastes good; makes you happy: e.g. sriracha sauce <i>"This new one with ginger.. that makes me super happy – as does Essential yeast extract... and my favourite food is lentils... I dread to think where they come from"</i> Sharing and making stuff together; interactions around food; sharing love; giving: e.g. handmade pasta; allotment veg	Enjoyment and company Crumpets – <i>'I've got a crumpet obsession' I'm 'not eating fruit and veg under sufferance, I really do enjoy it and enjoy cooking, but pizza or cake is also good food and something I really would enjoy too'</i> Coffee and cake in a café with friends: <i>"in the past I would have thought of cake as bad food. But for me it's actually good food because it represents sharing like something nice with a friend and having a good relaxing time...[it's the whole] experience... it wasn't just about the cake, and it was about supporting a little local café, somewhere that hadn't been before, and catching up with friend."</i> <i>"I could definitely buy into the cake... I was thinking about the health side of things, not the treat side of things – but they're all good"</i>
Using what would otherwise be wasted; trying not to waste; innovative ways to use food that would otherwise go to waste e.g. sourdough crumpets made with old sourdough starter that you'd usually throw away	Using what would otherwise be wasted. <i>"Shops like Aldi are now doing veg boxes because at the end of the day, they're going to bin it if nobody buys it. I would rather go there and admittedly it's covered in plastic, but if that stops it going in the bin, then I feel like I</i>

e.g. from the Olio app: <i>"there's some Olio chickpeas - they were free - somebody down the road didn't want them - I think that's good."</i>	<i>can justify that to myself - and obviously saving quite a lot of money."</i>
Not wrapped in plastic: <i>"if ever I go to a large supermarket if which isn't very often for likes fruit and veggies and stuff... and it's in plastic I tend to rip the plastic off leave it on the on the till, and i'll say you need to get rid of that, and then I take the stuff home in bags or in containers or whatever... just leave all your plastic packaging and stuff you don't want behind."</i>	Less plastic mentioned as important <i>But... "whilst it [the shop] was zero [plastic] waste...I kind of felt like 'is the zero waste a bit more of a gimmick?' I know it is zero waste, but there's other things to consider in the complex thing"</i>
Local/sustainable: e.g. bananas <i>"come from all over the shop, only the Cavendish [variety] is grown mostly and it causes all sorts of problems in terms of fertilizers and all that - so I'm beginning to get a bit disturbed about my banana a day."</i> Seasonal: <i>"blood oranges you only get at a certain time of year... [and] when apples run out at about May time I stop eating apples, which makes me very sad"</i>	Fresh veg: bought from independent greengrocers; Yeo valley veg garden <i>'as natural as possible'</i> <i>"grass fed [meat]... not just pumped full of chemicals like the kind you get in the supermarket to make it bigger and taste better – cos to me it doesn't taste better and it's not better all-round"</i> <i>But... often surprised that "actually none of the food [local greengrocers] is Organic – I'd thought it was"</i>
Grown in my garden/allotment: porridge with my frozen currents <i>'got us through the winter'</i> ; nasturtium leaves; good food to me is <i>"being able to grow your own food... saving money... saving food miles.. we tend to grow way too much on purpose"</i> to barter with other allotmenters, give to friends/family and local food charities (a homeless charity and Foodcycle)	A relationship with your food: <i>"there's a restaurant that I like to go to where you can... watch the chefs make the meal and there's something about that experience that makes it feel good and fresh and like you have more of a relationship with your food somehow, so I think that adds to good food for me"</i>

Beyond these, the Organic group highlighted tensions between physiological and environmental goods *"the more I look at that picture, the more I see that there's goodness in terms of health, after all food keeps me healthy, but in terms of what it's doing ecologically - boo hiss"* and questioned the adequacy of their own 'goodness':

"The more I listen to you all, all the more I think that my view of what good food is very narrow and blinkered.... it's still wrapped in plastic... money has this grip on me... wholewheat is more expensive... and I feel a bit trapped."

The infrequent group additionally raised consternations around the very idea of 'good food', were more sceptical about whether you could trust what you thought was good food and the prices that could be justified on the basis of 'goodness.'

"I have quite a strong feeling about using the term good food - I don't like the idea of labelling food as good and bad"

They were more sceptical about if they could believe what they were being sold as ethical really was, and raised more concerns about trust and how much they could believe in their own judgements *"Increasingly it all feels completely illogical - it doesn't necessarily feel particularly based in fact."*

"I'd prefer to go somewhere that I trust... I think that makes quite a big difference - just because I trust somewhere doesn't mean it's trustworthy, that's the other problem though!"

"There's certain things in supermarkets, you can buy the to the cheap version that's actually probably the same version as the next level up."

"I think brands make me trust, but I don't think that's necessarily trustworthy."

Affordable was mentioned by most participants in the infrequent Organic group as part of what good food is for them, and most of them mentioned a 'limit' to what they thought was reasonable even if they technically could afford to pay higher prices.

"Even if I did have the money [to buy good meat in a local butcher], I would probably struggle to feel like I wanted to pay the money for it, which is ridiculous - it's not logical... I'm surrounded by low cost supermarkets... some food is shockingly cheap and then the real cost of other food, because we're used to cheaper food, seems really expensive."

"We don't have kids, we both work [but]... I definitely think that there's a limit for me, which feels a bit hypocritical really. I'd love to be able to shop more locally or buy less plastic, but there does come a point where I'm just not prepared to pay that."

"I live right by two great vegan little local supermarkets, which I'd love to shop in and support them, but I could go in there and spend £10 on two things, or I could go further down the road to Aldi and spend £10 on a whole week's worth of food - so that's my choice right now."

"I would love to eat all organic vegetables, but I just can't afford to eat like that, so I do have my plastic wrapped carrots in the picture..."

Summary – "good food"

Main issues that emerged in the discussions included the following themes:

'Good for health' vs 'Good to eat' – the same or different?

Health as well as sensory pleasure of food were both central elements emerging in the descriptions of 'good food'. In some cases, there were discussions about contradictions between these, and in some cases, they were talked about as enhancing each other, also elaborating on the various aspects of health and what might bring food health (including enjoyment of food).

In UK, there was lots of discussion in both groups around the importance of different values in food (e.g. sustainability, health, 'naturalness') compared with sensory enjoyment of food. Choosing a food for sensory enjoyment if it contrasted with perceptions of 'healthy' food was associated with feelings of guilt (a 'guilt-food meal') and this sometimes stopped them choosing foods they might otherwise enjoy.

Examples of foods (presumably) eaten primarily for enjoyment rather than nutrition, where shame or guilt was not an issue included ice-cream (always available and good food) in Norway and desserts (good food) in Germany.

Aesthetics – enjoyment of beauty, appealing appearance of meals

Pleasures of 'good food' included joy of the aesthetic qualities of food, such as enjoyment of beauty, of appealing visual appearance of ingredients as well as serve dishes. Variation in colours, and

textures, beautiful combinations in dishes, beautifully set tables for festive occasions, or of simple meals in pleasing locations.

‘Good food’ – dietary composition and types of ingredients

There were many references to types and quality of basic ingredients, as well as the combination of ingredients and dietary composition at large. In the UK Focus groups, vegetables featured heavily in understandings of ‘good’ food, accompanied by ideas around ‘freshness’, home cooking, looking good/being colourful, tasting good, being eaten in company, promoting health, ethical/sustainable (especially not packaged in plastic, not transported from far away, with low chemical inputs), being bought locally from actors in the supply chain who you have a relationship with. There were limited mentions of animal products/meat, often accompanied by ethical specifications such as being ‘reduced’ price and therefore associated with reducing food waste or bought from a local butcher. In other focus groups such as the Italian, ‘vegan food’ came up as good food.

Meals prepared from basic ingredients, e.g. home-cooking with fresh produce, was a central element of ‘good food’ (as contrasted by the use of processed, industrial, ready-made foods).

Types of dishes appearing in ‘good food’ stories

Stories varied across festive and everyday dishes and comfort foods, from home-made, improvised dishes without any particular recipes to more elaborate and specific dishes for special occasions. They further included meals eaten at restaurants, and out in nature. This reflects a large variation in type of dishes and settings appearing in participants’ stories of ‘good food’.

Simplicity

Simplicity emerged as a value of good food in certain contexts. For example in a German Focus group (FG1), not making an elaborate dinner when they didn’t feel like it, and rather going around the corner to buy a snack to be eaten on the couch was described as ‘good food’ on such occasions. Similarly in the Norwegian non-member focus group (FG2), a participant explained valuing (the liberty of) not making a ‘proper dinner’, now that she had become an ‘empty nester’; on occasion she could now enjoy a very simple meal of e.g. cold mackerel in tomato sauce (tinned) if it suited her. In such contexts, the liberty of choice, the flexibility and possibility of ‘going outside of the norm’ was expressed as a value in itself and also evoked the notion of ‘good food’ to include types of foods that in other contexts may be valued differently. We see an interplay between the actual food and the specific context (and a specific value, such as taking care of oneself when tired, granting oneself the liberty of not cooking a ‘proper dinner’, the freedom to enjoy foods normally considered out of context for a certain type of meal, and so on.)

‘Simple food’ was also a characteristic of ‘good food’ brought up in the Italian focus groups, and among the Norwegian CSA-members. In these contexts, it seemed to be connected to enjoyment of high-quality basic ingredients, and the notion that these ingredients could make up a perfectly ‘good meal’, without the need for elaborate cooking/processing or introducing additional ingredients into the dish.

One example from Norway described baking freshly harvested potatoes on the side of the fields (un-travelled food). In this case, the value of simplicity seemed to be combined with the value of having high quality raw ingredients, very local and fresh, and it seemed to be more pronounced or more commonly expressed among those who were particularly dedicated to organic and local food.

Cooking based on locally available ingredients (vs. cooking based on recipes/specific dishes)

A significant difference between two types of orientations or cooking styles emerged in the Norwegian focus groups discussion in the context of the CSA: cooking based on the available raw ingredients rather than cooking based on specific dishes or recipes. The former calls for a flexibility, and also certain skills.

Participants described using basic ‘formats’ of dishes, where the specific ingredients could be varied according to what was available from the CSA at any time.

Seasonal food, cooking with fresh foods according to season

Cooking with fresh seasonal food was an important part of many stories of ‘good food’, and mostly, but not always, related to locally available food. In some cases, seasonal food were also related to other places, and then talked about more in terms of ripe and delicious foods (plant-foods) at their best, and not necessarily locally grown.

Local and organic in relation to ‘good food’

Overall, local or regional, organic and ‘natural’ food emerged in the focus group discussions about ‘good food’, and they often appeared as interlinked concepts.

Local and regional

The territory, local and regional food played a significant role in the accounts of good food, particularly in Italy, but also in Germany and the UK. In Poland, local food emerged as important in focus group 1, while national, but not necessarily local origin was more important in focus group 2. In Norway, the national origin was important, as well as the very local (as in own CSA, own garden or harvested from nature).

In the UK focus groups, local often emerged as a catch-all for ‘goodness’, presumed to ensure, or at least give the best indication, of a large bundle of values (e.g. animal welfare, quality of life for growers, environmental sustainability, local jobs). Some of these values were not measured by labelling schemes or they didn’t trust a label to be able to ensure them as well as someone they could have a relationship with. However, there was also discussion about whether or not this was justified – for instance when one of the Infrequent Organic consumers expressed surprise that in her local greengrocers “actually none of the food is Organic – I’d thought it was” just by the way it was sold.

Among the focus group participants who were members in local food initiatives (Germany, Italian CSA, Polish consumer cooperative and Norwegian CSA), naturally, the local origin was a particular interest that was shared among them. But also other aspects of closeness apart from the physical/geographical emerged as important, such as relational, and temporal (seasonal food, fresh food). Qualities related to the food production were also prominent in what made food good: care for nature and animal welfare as well as between people (gifts, personal relations, social fairness).

Organic

In UK, organic was mentioned surprisingly little in the discussions about good food. Even in the frequent Organic group, many participants said that in principle they would be more likely to choose the product not wrapped in unnecessary plastic packaging than an Organic product.

Also in Italy, organic was seldom mentioned as a desired quality of fruits and vegetables, while there were several references to natural and local food, which are apparent also in the debate about what good food is. However, the majority of participants were indeed sensitive about food quality and origin, including ingredients of processed products.

In both the German focus groups, as well as the Norwegian, and Polish focus groups among CSA and consumer cooperative members, organic production of food was a desired quality of ‘good food’.

Social occasion – eating together

The social aspects of eating were emphasised across focus groups, and included cooking together as well as eating together. The value of conviviality in gathering for a meal was sometimes discussed as more important than the food in the meal.

Relations to other people were also mentioned with regard to where the food came from, e.g. significance of gifts and foods prepared by loved ones.

Time

Having the time needed to provide for, cook and eat a meal together was an element of good food. Some of the descriptions about favourite places to eat good food involve having enough free time for organising it, e.g. eating in nature, at the cottage in the mountain, or by the sea etc.

‘Good food’ and ‘good use of resources’

A sensitivity towards a skilful and efficient/sustainable use of resources emerged as a theme that was in some cases related to ‘good food’. In the German focus groups, ‘cooking with leftovers’ was related to ‘good food’. Similar views were raised in the Norwegian focus groups. Norway and Germany were the two countries among those participating in the FOODIVERSE project that had the highest score on the use of leftovers for later meals in the comparative survey (84% and 74%, respectively, were ‘doing this already’) (Vittersø, Torjusen & Kuraj, 2022, p. 43).

What is important when buying food?

Following up on the discussion already initiated on food quality- and food systems characteristics in the previous sessions, this session offered a more concrete discussion about what was important for them when they were buying or otherwise provisioning specific foods. Two specific foods were chosen for this session, in most countries apples and chicken (beef in Italy), while in the UK, apples and bread were chosen.

Forms for voting among various characteristics of these food items were handed out for participants to fill in individually. After the voting session has ended, the summary results were presented to the group, and the discussion was continued. Participants could explain more in detail about their way of ranking food quality preferences, and point at challenges etc.

The voting session proved to be the most challenging for most of the focus groups, but it spurred very interesting debates around various food characteristics and the challenges consumers face when buying food. (issues such as weighing various aspects against each other, dealing with incomplete information, interpreting labels and other product information, lacking insight into what is most relevant to them while sorting out loads of other information etc.)

Table 35 Overview of food products discussed in this session

Germany	Italy	Poland	Norway	UK
Apples	Apples	Apples	Apples	Bread
Chicken	beef	Chicken	Chicken	Chicken

Germany

Table 36 Factors emphasized by participants when buying apples, Germany

When buying apples which of the following factors are important? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Country of origin	1	3
Visual appearance	0	2
Specific brand	1	0
Specific variety	2	3
Freshness	0	2
Price	0	0
Organic production methods	2	6
Taste	3	4
In season	3	3
My knowledge of the producer	3	2
Produced in Germany	3	2
Produced in my local area	3	2

Table 37 Factors emphasized by participants when buying chicken, Germany

When buying chicken (in any form), which of the following factors are important to you? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important.	Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Specific brand	0	0
Specific breeds of chicken	0	1
Price	0	0
Animal welfare / free range production	1	1
Organic production	0	3
Taste	1	2
My knowledge of the producer	1	3
Produced in Germany	1	1
Produced in my local area	1	2

Best before date	0	0
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Focus Group 1

Since the participants in the first focus group expressed that they eat little or no chicken, the voting and discussion focused on apples. In case they buy chicken, regionality and the knowledge of the producer are important. (*"I buy chicken at the market and not in the supermarket. We know this farmer [...] there you know it's not something completely evil"*). Also, three participants do not buy apples often or at all. Concerning apples, the most frequently mentioned answers were taste, in season, my knowledge of the producer, produced in Germany and produced in my local area. The following discussion referred to the aspects of in season and produced in Germany. To avoid long transport routes was important to all participants of the focus group. One participant mentioned that she always weighs up between local and organic, whereby to avoid long transport routes is slightly more important to her (*"I always try to buy organic, but if there are just organic apples from New Zealand, I prefer to take conventional apples from Germany"*). Furthermore, storage energy should also be considered critically, although this cannot be avoided either in Germany. It was also noted that produced in my local area includes other response options like origin or produced in Germany. In terms of in season there was no agreement among participants. While many participants considered that it is important when buying apples (*"When I buy food, I pay particular attention to seasonality"*), one participant emphasized that she did not pay attention to it. Other response options were not discussed. A discussion arose about allergies and that mainly old cultivars would be suitable, but this topic was not considered in the questionnaire.

Focus Group 2

Three participants do not buy chicken, therefore they did not fill in the questionnaire for chicken. A discussion arose about the price of organic and non-organic held chicken and different forms of husbandry. It is difficult for consumers to recognize the quality of the husbandry. P2.2 gave an example about an inappropriate mobile chicken keeping, which seems from the outside to be a perfect form of keeping, but with different flaws. Also, she thinks the farmer might be a Nazi and therefore does not buy eggs from this farm anymore. P2.3 thinks that it is very important to know the farmers and have a long relationship to them. Also, that there are good conventional farmers and bad organic or demeter farmers. He favours the idea of a Planet Score label. The amount of controls in supermarkets were discussed and the quality of food in general. Brands of apples were not clear, pink lady was given as an example.

To summarize, price and brand were not important to the participants but organic production and taste. The other options were important for 2 or 3 participants. Similarly, when buying chicken, organic production and the knowledge of the producer were important to all who answered the questionnaire.

Discussion

To fill in the questionnaire caused many questions and it seemed to not be easy to fill in the answers. For both groups it was more difficult to answer which aspects are important when buying chicken. Therefore, not all participants answered the questionnaire. As well as in focus group 1 there were also problems to fill in the questionnaire for apples. Price for apples were not chosen, as well as specific brand, price and best before date when buying chicken.

- Difference seasonality of apples vs. other fruit and vegetables

- Only one filled in the questionnaire of chicken (but at least one more buys chicken, but did not fill it in)
- Apples: To focus group 1 regionality played a bigger role compared to focus group 2 contestation of chicken

Italy

Table 38 Factors emphasized by participants when buying apples, Italy

When buying apples which of the following factors are important? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Focus Group 1+2
Country of origin	2	2	4
Visual appearance	0	1	1
Specific brand	0	1	1
Specific variety	5	1	6
Freshness	1	2	3
Price	2	1	3
Organic production methods	6	3	9
Taste	3	4	7
In season	3	3	6
My knowledge of the producer	6	2	8
Produced in [... Italy]	0	1	1
Produced in my local area	6	4	10

Table 39 Factors emphasized by participants when buying meat (cattle), Italy

When buying beef (in any form), which of the following factors are important to you? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Focus group 1+2
Specific brand	0	0	0
Specific breeds of cattle	2	0	2
Price	1	1	2
Animal welfare / free range production	5	3	8
Organic production	4	2	6
Taste	3	1	4

My knowledge of the producer	5	2	7
Produced in [...Italy]	2	3	5
Produced in my local area	4	4	8
Best before date	3	4	7

Discussion

General comments:

Apples. The most selected factors (more than half out of our 14 participants) were: **organic** (9/14), **taste** (7/14), **knowledge of the producer** (8/14), **produce in my local area** (10/14). Since the second focus group was smaller, we cannot really see real differences between the two focus groups.

Meat (beef). The most selected factors (more than half out of our 14 participants) were: **animal welfare** (8/14), **knowledge of the producer** (7/14), **produce in my local area** (8/14) and **best before date** (7/14). In this case also, since the second focus group was smaller, we cannot really see real differences between the two focus groups perhaps with the exception of the “best before date” option.

Citations from participants:

Focus group n. 1

Table 40 Citations from participants, what is important when buying apples and meat, Focus Group 1, Italy

	Apple	Meat
SF, F	<i>What I am looking for is local production and then, consequently, the provenance. I am interested in knowing where a product is from because I am interested in reducing the distance between production and consumption: proximity. I am also interested in buying seasonal products, therefore produce that ensure quality but also respect the territory of the area. On the top of this, I am also interested in taste. That is in the sense that if all these conditions are met, what I buy needs to taste good.</i>	<i>I eat meat rarely. In addition to provenience, in the case of meat I also look for animal welfare.</i> <i>For this reason, either I buy directly from the producer or I rely on the CSA.</i> <i>Once I used to buy mostly in markets and supermarkets as before I was less aware about certain issues, now I ask more often where the produce I buy come from and I search for more information.</i>
MA, F	<i>I marked for apples as most important things variety, because between a golden and a fuji the taste is different. Then the price, as we are students. Then the knowledge of the producer.</i> <i>I absolutely excluded the outward appearance, the brand, but also because</i>	<i>They do not eat meat.</i>

	<p><i>having worked in the countryside I have seen how they harvest apples and what the marketing criteria are, so it doesn't really make sense.</i></p> <p><i>When we do not buy through the CSA, we rely on personal networks. We avoid big producers such as the Melinda giant, as having worked for them we are aware about how much waste they produce, and especially we avoid the beautiful apples because they are clearly full of products that make them turn out in a certain way.</i></p>	
ST, M	<p><i>For the apples I put the country of origin, because not only in Trentino there are apples. It's not binding for me that they are produced close to home, they can also be produced in other places. Obviously, if it's in Italy it is better because I know there are different regulations than in other countries. I put the specific variety for the question of taste, because I like certain varieties more than others. I also marked organic production methods, because I know that anyway they are abundant in harmful products. So, if they are organic I know they have a little less. So, I look for the lesser evil.</i></p> <p><i>I try to buy from producers I know or anyway if I buy them at the supermarket I try to read the label or the tag.</i></p>	<p><i>For the meat...I look the specific breed of cattle. So, I think about what kind of dish I want to have and then I get a specific breed. The knowledge of the producer is related to the question of how it is produced and how the animal is raised. I know that in Italy there are stricter regulations than in other nations, so I prefer to buy Italian meat. I also look for the expiration date which is important.</i></p> <p><i>For the meat I didn't put organic production because I know it's complicated with animals. But I try to know the producer or I try to inquire about how they feed their animal, therefore whether they feed them with local products they self-produce, as in the case of Aneghe Taneghe (CSA producer).</i></p>
RF, M	<p><i>When buying apples I clearly look at their variety as first thing. Then, clearly, knowing the producer in my area. The organic method for me is a statement to verify but it's fundamental i.e. if you say you do it using pesticides you understand I'm going somewhere else.</i></p>	<p><i>As far as meat, to avoid mistakes, I eat legumes. However, because I still eat meat and I have eaten tons of it, I can say that first of all I much prefer beef, because to become edible it needs to be processed in a certain way. Then the animal welfare, for sure. Organic production, well, it is important but very complicated. There are some big commercial brands of distribution that say that their animals are not given antibiotics but how can you be sure? I buy ham, San Daniele, but who is going to tell me where the meat came from... So, I started to drop meat consumption a lot.</i></p>

ER, F	<p><i>For apples I marked the specific variety as for the taste, and also for the durability. For many years now, I have been buying organic apples from a producer who also helps me in the choice. He tells me these last longer, these you have to eat them earlier and so maybe I take a little bit and a little bit to have them for longer. And then the organic production methods and the seasonality. I only buy apple in the time they are harvested and, usually, from a producer I know...this just to have a little bit more certainty about the organic production methods because sometimes even the organic from the supermarket is not certain.</i></p>	<p><i>For meat, on the other hand, I marked animal welfare, free-range and free-range animals. And that's really a requirement let's say, whereas organic production yes, I'm careful about that, but I don't necessarily take organic meat. I still try to make sure that it's always from the area and definitely in Italy, I never get it from the supermarket, if it happens for an emergency at least I look that it's Italian. Anyway, if I can get meat knowing the producer I'm happier.</i></p>
GA, F	<p><i>I marked for apples taste and variety, because the two go in combination. I also marked knowledge of the producer, produced in my area and organic production methods. I'm not a big fan of organic, I have to tell the truth, however on apples they give me that extra semblance of assurance, that's it. And producer knowledge here both the positive and negative side because who doesn't know an apple producer? But I also know many friends of mine, who however make a production that I would never buy in my life.</i></p>	<p><i>For the meat, I put animal welfare, free-range animals, the flavor, again knowledge of the producer and produced in my area, and in addition to maybe the others the expiration date. This is because I eat very little meat I don't like frozen meat, let's say if I have to eat it I eat it that time and I eat it fresh.</i></p>
AT, M	<p><i>For apples I have indicated organic production methods, knowledge of the producer, product of the area. In short putting in order of importance...price, because either way I buy them, so price always interests me, and freshness. freshness though is important because even apples, although they are all year round in supermarkets, are seasonal products...I mean it's not like every month apples ripen, it's preserved stuff and preserving them costs money, so I just get it when it's fresh and that's it.</i></p>	<p><i>Meat. For me, flavor is key because if it doesn't taste good I don't take it because it's not essential. Knowledge of the producer, animal welfare, organic production if possible, and here the price which for me is a parameter that tells me a lot. I don't have to take out a mortgage to buy a steak, but I also can't pay 5 euros a kilo because such low price means that someone else is paying the cost for the discount they're giving me...</i></p>

Focus group n. 2

Table 41 Citations from participants, what is important when buying apples and meat, Focus Group 2, Italy

	Apple	Meat
FF, F	<i>Regarding apples: the variety, because there are some varieties of apples that I do not like. I buy those apples that are organic, as I prefer not to peel the apple. Then I try to buy to producers I know. We try to go to Piazza Dante where there is a guy who sells apples, otherwise in supermarket I usually check the labels. Anyway, we prefer to look for apples produced in my area.</i>	<i>I try to eat little beef and when I buy it, I try to buy a good quality meat. Sometimes I go to Natura Si (specialized organic supermarket). There I usually check the price as there you can come out with a 30 euro burger. I try to safeguard myself. But I am very careful about beef because I have vegan friends who have given me books. They did a sort of psychological terrorism to me about beef that however I like and I do not want to give up. So, I look for organic production. I try to know the producer. I look for production in my area. Sometimes I go to via Maccani to the Trentino meats consortium, although the fact that they come from Trentino, you don't know anything else. I look at the expiration date.</i>
TO, M	<i>I look for apples that are produced in Trentino. I buy them in season. I choose them for their taste. I try to buy apples that are organic, fresh, however I also eat bruised apples of course. In short, it depends on what I feel like. If I feel like a juicy apple I also take it according to the freshness, it depends, clearly if they are apples that we take from friends so you take what is there, if not if you go to buy it is clear that it is different.</i>	<i>I have to say that I buy very little meat, once or twice a week. I look at the expiration date, that it is produced in the region. I usually check the label especially when I take the meat already prepared. I prefer organic meat, and, if not, I ask at the counter and I try to be sure that it is produced in Italy, better if closer. I also concern animal welfare. There are some labels that maybe are more explicit than others, but if not let's say one goes on trust.</i>
SE, F	<i>As I said, I do not like apples very much. If I think about those three apples a year that I buy, I prefer to buy them from the farmer's market, as there you are sure they are fresh, as in farmers' markets, the seasonality of produces is more clear. I also check that they are organic because I too like to eat them with their peel. Also, I believe it is important to know the producer. I never really buy them at the supermarket; I always buy them at the market or in South Tyrol from the people who sell them directly as I like the idea to give money to the people who produce them. There if they say that they are</i>	<i>For meat, the few times I bought it, I looked for animal welfare, that is something I would want to know. Likewise, the knowledge of the producer, if it is produced in Italy because it would seem to me a non-sense to import meat from abroad since also in Trentino there are farms... I would therefore check if they are at least produced in my area and certainly the expiration date of the products.</i>

	<i>organic, I guess they are organic because I don't think they can lie through their teeth... I also look that they are produced at least in Italy, and since they are here, in my area... so I ticked all the last points.</i>	
NC, M	<i>I would look for country of origin, freshness, taste, seasonality and produced in my area.</i>	<i>Regarding meat, I would also look for animal welfare for sure. Then I look where the animal comes from. I sometimes check the label for both red and white meat to know where it is coming from. In supermarkets there is a table put in the counter where one can read and see where they come from. Then what is important is also the taste. So, maybe, if I know I am going to grill in the countryside, I would take capocollo, which even if there's more fat it is definitely better than a steak meat that would dry out if it's done on the fire; then I look that is produced in Italy, produced in my area and especially the expiration date.</i>
EU, F	<i>For apples, the first thing I look is the price. I prefer if they are produced in Italy, generally; then I choose them concerning their taste, sometimes I look for specific brand, as I know that the pinkies are a little bit sweeter. I also choose them by looking at the outward appearance but more for a psychological thing. I generally buy red apples as I like them most.</i>	<i>Regarding meat, I would also think about animal welfare; however, I would not know where to look for this information... I would also choose looking at the price and if the product is from my area, as I am concerned about the costs of transportation. And, of course, I would look for the expiration date.</i>

Poland

There were several challenges with the voting session:

- Among the participants in focus group 1, there was only one person who eats and buys meat.
- Some participants were not able to see the differences between similar responses ("produced in Poland", "produced in my local area", "country of origin")
- The answer "My knowledge of the producer" was not very accurately translated into Polish. Some participants understood this as "my personal acquaintance with the producer". The moderator tried to guide them to the correct sense of this answer.

Table 42 Factors emphasized by participants when buying apples, Poland

When buying apples which of the following factors are important? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Country of origin	0	0
Visual appearance	0	5
Specific brand	0	0
Specific variety	2	5
Freshness	3	6
Price	0	5
Organic production methods	3	0
Taste	4	5
In season	4	1
My knowledge of the producer	3	1
Produced in Poland	2	1
Produced in my local area	5 ¹¹	1

Table 43. Factors emphasized by participants when buying chicken, Poland

When buying chicken (in any form), which of the following factors are important? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Specific brand	0	2
Specific breeds of chicken	0	1
Price	1	6
Animal welfare / free range production	1	6

¹¹ One of the participants marked too many answers, so they don't sum up to 25

Organic production	1	4
Taste	0	3
My knowledge of the producer	0	0
Produced in Poland	1	2
Produced in my local area	0	1
Best before date	1	4

Discussion on apples

Table 44 Citations from participants, what is important when buying apples, Poland

FG1	FG2
Difference – appearance of the apple is more important to focus group 2 participants.	
Similarity - good appearance is related to the desired properties of the apple.	
Good appearance is not so important for apples: <i>"Probably some people wouldn't buy a wilted apple. For me, a product is edible until it is moldy."</i> <i>"I pay attention to freshness and not to appearance. And the appearance is a sign of freshness."</i>	There was general agreement that good appearance is very important for apples: <i>"I won't buy an apple when it's brown or with worm marks."</i> <i>"Appearance is about taste."</i>
Similarity – perfect fruits or vegetables are suspicious.	
<i>"I am guided by the appearance, but it discourages me when the product is too nice. Perfect vegetables seem suspicious to me."</i>	<i>"But on the other hand, I won't buy it as it looks too artificial."</i>
Similarity - fruits and vegetables are products that are not associated with having a specific brand.	
<i>"P4 I never would have thought that you could check the brand of an avocado. This is not something that I associate with vegetables and fruit."</i> <i>P1 "I associate the brand with products that have a barcode. Vegetables don't have it. Well, unless they are packed. I once had an application that checked whether a given brand is Polish or not. And I didn't check vegetables in it."</i> <i>P3 "For us, in Cooperative, the producer is a brand."</i>	-
Similarity – in both groups participants agreed that apple of different varieties have different properties and, importantly, differ in taste. However, participants admitted that they are not always able to identify varieties themselves.	

<p>"P1 <i>"For me, variety is important. When we bought random apples, my family did not eat them. For me, variety is important when choosing an apple because I know what kind of taste to expect."</i></p> <p>P3 <i>I did not select the variety, because I divide apples into sweet and sour."</i></p>	<p>The problem is when apples in the store are not labelled:</p> <p><i>"I know which apple varieties I like. If the apples in the store are not signed, I ask the sellers if they are soft and sweet. Because some greengrocers sell unlabelled apples."</i></p>
<p>Difference – participants of the focus group 1 have a more nuanced view of the freshness of vegetables and fruits.</p>	
<p>P4 <i>"The peculiarity of apples is that they can be stored for a long time. If there were a question about lettuce, for example, we would consider freshness more important."</i></p> <p>P3 <i>The question is about buying. I wouldn't buy apples in a store that look stale.</i></p> <p>P2 <i>We, in the Cooperative, have situations where we take home food that is no longer fresh, but we do not want it to go to waste.</i></p> <p>P5 <i>I can buy something stale if I have a plan of what I can do about it right away. If I want to buy apples that will stay at home for a week, I have to buy fresh apples."</i></p>	<p>Participants of the focus group 2 agreed that the apples must be fresh:</p> <p><i>"If an apple is too soft or rubbery, it might be a bad thing on the inside."</i></p>
<p>Difference - A completely different view on the issue of price between participants of both focus groups.</p>	
<p>The difference may be caused by the fact that focus group 1 participants buy apples mainly in the Cooperative or at farmers' markets.</p> <p><i>"The price is not that important because the prices of different apples are similar. There is no price differentiation among them."</i></p>	<p>Participants agreed that it is important that the apples are affordable. However, too low price is also suspicious:</p> <p>P1 <i>"Farmers are exploited. I never take the cheapest apples because this is exploitation. I always buy apples at an average price."</i></p> <p>P4 <i>"And how do you know that the more expensive ones were not bought from the farmer at the same price, but a higher margin was imposed by the seller?"</i></p> <p>P1 <i>"If someone deceives me, I will not sue them ..."</i></p> <p>P2 <i>"A farmer who has an orchard delivers the same apples to cheaper and more expensive shops."</i></p> <p>P6 <i>"If you want to buy really cheap, you have to go directly to the farmer."</i></p>
<p>Difference - different levels of knowledge about ecological production between focus groups.</p> <p>Similarity - in both groups there is a predominant belief that it is very difficult to buy untreated fruit.</p>	
<p><i>"P4 The orchards are sprayed. Organic apples are hard to find."</i></p> <p>P2 <i>"And apples are eaten with the skin on. I prefer to have organic fruits and vegetables that are eaten with the skin."</i></p>	<p>Discussion about what it means that an apple is bio. One participant stated that an apple is always bio. The other participant pointed out to him that the term bio refers to a method of production. Participants lacked knowledge on food certification and food production quality systems.</p>

Difference - different levels of knowledge about seasonality in apple production.	
<p><i>"P2 When apples are available in the off-season, they have to be somewhere far away."</i></p> <p><i>P1 "There was once a situation where there were no apples in Koop. Husband bought apples in a supermarket. I asked him if he checked where the apples came from. He said that he did not check because it seemed to him that only Polish apples are sold in Poland. I checked and it turned out that the apples were from Spain. The husband was very surprised."</i></p> <p><i>P3 "Summer is not the time when apples are available."</i></p> <p><i>P2 "Why eat apples in summer when there are strawberries?"</i></p>	<p>Discussion of the meaning of the concept of "seasonality" in the case of apples"</p> <p><i>"P5 "When we buy fruit in season, when it really ripens, we know that it comes straight from the orchards, not from stock. We know there won't be a very long period of production and storage. So we know it's fresh. And it has too. Therefore, we buy some products at a given time of the year, and then there is also a greater probability that the product was manufactured somewhere close."</i></p> <p><i>P2 "I eat apples all year round, I don't pay attention to it."</i></p> <p><i>P1 "Exactly because apples are available all year round. In my opinion, apples are not a seasonal product."</i></p> <p><i>P4 "And in winter there are apples in Poland. From where?"</i></p> <p><i>P1 "There are apples that are stored and are not ready until winter."</i></p> <p><i>P3 "There are apples that have to lay down and only then are they good."</i></p>
<p>Similarity - In both groups, no one chose the answer "country of origin". This was due to the fact that rather one of 3 similar answers was chosen:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produced in Poland • Produced in my local area • Country of origin <p>Difference - for focus group 1 participants the question of origin is more important.</p>	
<p><i>P3 "For us, in Cooperative, the producer is a brand."</i></p> <p><i>P4 "And what does "My knowledge of the producer" mean? Does that mean I know him personally? For me, personal acquaintance means that I know the manufacturer, i.e. the brand."</i></p> <p><i>P1 "I did not mark the answer "My knowledge of the producer", but I did mark the answer 'Organic production methods'. When you know the manufacturers, you also know what production methods they use."</i></p>	-

Discussion on buying chickens

Quotes from the only focus group 1 participant who buys chickens:

"I do not shop in supermarkets, only my husband. I do not know what he is guided by. I suspect the price. For me, in turn, animal welfare would be important."

"I cannot buy meat at the farmers' market because of the difficult access and price. There, I would be most sure of the origin of the product. But we have to buy in local supermarkets."

"I have my doubts that the more expensive, free-range products are actually made that way."

Discussion on buying chickens in Focus group 2

As with apples, too low a price seems suspicious:

"It can't be too cheap because healthy food costs money. So does healthy meat."

There was also the opinion that animal welfare affects the price.

It is difficult to separate what participants think should be taken into account when buying a chicken from the factors they actually pay attention to. Doubts were raised by the following issues:

- animal welfare
- taste
- breed of chicken

"There are different breeders and this already means that the chickens have different brands. I always buy from the same store." It sounded unbelievable as it is difficult to assume that a given store always sells chicken from the same breeder. Several participants claimed that when buying chicken, they were guided by taste. This was questioned during the discussion as other participants stated that it is not known what chicken tastes like until cooked. This suggests that the chickens must come from different sources. Nobody indicated that it was important to know the chicken producer.

There was a lot of discussion about the breed of chicken. One of the participants indicated it as an important issue that they take into account when purchasing. The others were very surprised. Some said they did not know that chickens may differ in breed. They asked the participant, who selected this option, how he recognizes the chicken breed in the store. Nobody has ever encountered this information being easily accessible. A pushed back participant stated that he was calling the manufacturer's hotline, but that didn't sound like a convincing answer.¹²

All participants stated that they pay a lot of attention to animal welfare. Initially, they argued that such information about how meat was produced is just as readily available as it is about eggs. This is a bit surprising and we can assume that the interviewer effect was working here. During the discussion, the version about the widespread availability of information on the method of breeding chickens was somewhat questioned.

According to participants of the interview, "Organic production" refers primarily to the food that the chickens are fed.

The use-by date is very important in case of chickens. Meat near the end of its use-by date can be hazardous to your health. Participants mentioned various scandals concerning selling out-of-date meat.

¹² FG1 participants also commented on the chicken breed issue when they saw the score cards. They were surprised that the chickens can be of different breeds.

Norway

The sessions started with handing out the forms with the two questions regarding apples and chicken and while the moderator gave instructions on how to fill in the forms. Some participants voiced some challenges with this exercise:

Moderator: *“Was it difficult?”*

Participant: *“Yes.”*

Moderator: *“Why was it difficult?”*

Participant: *“Because I almost never buy either apples or chicken.”* (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

- Like C. I almost never buy apples, because I eat those that grow in my garden. But if I would buy apples, they should be local and tasty and look good. And with chicken, the only thing I care about is that they have lived a good life. So I too almost never eat chicken. (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

In Focus Group 1, among the CSA members, it turned out to be a challenge that neither apples nor chicken were very relevant food products to buy from the store for several of the participants. Many of them had apple trees in their own gardens, and mainly used those, and some had special favourite apple farmers in the local region which they bought from in larger quantities. As for chicken, several participants found that there were animal welfare issues with chicken production systems, that kept them from eating chicken as long as they could choose for themselves. Having visitors (e.g. grandchildren) or receiving specific wishes from others in the household were given as examples of occasions when exceptions were made.

In Focus Group 2, one of the participants had difficulties filling out the alternatives, because price was the main (and only) concern.

Table 45 Factors emphasized by participants when buying apples, Norway

When buying apples which of the following factors are important? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Country of origin	3	2
Visual appearance	1	2
Specific brand	1	1
Specific variety	1	2
Freshness	5	2
Price	0	0
Organic production methods	8	1
Taste	5	3
In season	3	2
My knowledge of the producer	0	0

Produced in [... Norway]	6	2
Produced in my local area	6	0

Table 46 Factors emphasized by participants when buying chicken, Norway

When buying chicken (in any form), which of the following factors are important to you? Mark (x) only five of the factors listed you think are most important	Focus group 1	Focus group 2
Specific brand	2	0
Specific breeds of chicken	0	0
Price	0	1
Animal welfare / free range production	6	2
Organic production	7	2
Taste	0	2
My knowledge of the producer	3	0
Produced in [...Norway]	6	3
Produced in my local area	2	1
Best before date	2	3

Discussion

“With chicken, the only thing I care about is that they have had a good life.” (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

Logistic, food system challenges regarding availability of domestic apples. Politics regarding taxes on imported apples (protection of domestic apples) and the time frame of availability of Norwegian apples in the stores.

A participant explains why she doesn't get to buy Norwegian apples even though that would be her preferred choice:

“I do not get to buy Norwegian apples, because they are not there [in the food stores] when I need to buy apples.” (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

Ideal vs. present situation: need more direct knowledge

Buying chicken was for several of the participants not an option given the present situation and the present available information and knowledge. But some aspects were discussed that would have made it more likely that they would feel comfortable buying chicken:

‘Personal knowledge to the producer’

“I am thinking that if I had that, I probably would have bought chicken. Because I do like it. But it is that animal welfare [I am concerned with], and I do not trust our ... even if it reads that they have had a good life, I don’t quite know if it is good enough.” (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

Direct knowledge about slaughtering with high regard for animal welfare

“I am thinking the same with regard to chicken. The regulations change, and I don’t keep myself constantly up-dated, for example concerning transport distance or way of slaughtering of the chicken. And I feel that you would preferably be there when the chicken is slaughtered – I don’t need to physically do it, but I would like to be present. So – we too buy very, very little chicken, and if we do it is only from Hovelsrud.” (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

Organic production method

Organic production method was prioritised among many of the participants in Focus Group 1.

“When it comes to apples, we buy organic apples – outside of season, and mostly use our own apart from that. It is organic production that is important. Then country of origin is not that important for our part. But packaging – whether it is wrapped in paper or plastic – it is better if it is paper – I like that, that is more important.

And with chicken – I bought more chicken before, but it is organic that matters, for our part. We rarely buy anything else, because then I know that the animals have been better treated, and it is better for the environment.” (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

Some of the participants were quite uncompromising when it came to the criteria that were important to them when buying apples and chicken.

«About apples, I buy locally in Lier, where I come from. So, then I regularly drive by a producer and buy large quantities [crates] when they are in season, and then – like today, when I was in the shop and actually wanted apples, but then I didn’t find any organic apples that looked good, so then it was ‘no apples’. Then I have to wait. To me, there is nothing that beats Norwegian apples. They have a unique taste. They are fantastic, really. There is ‘none above and none at the side’.” (Focus Group 1, CSA-members)

UK

Bread

As figures 14 and 15 show, in both groups, aesthetic factors were the most voted for as important when buying bread: taste, variety/type and freshness (as well as appearance for the infrequent Organic group). Price was also regarded as one of the most important factors in both groups. In addition, many in the Organic group were focused on whether the bread was produced locally (particularly in terms of where it was baked rather than the origins of the flour).

When buying bread, which 5 of these factors are the most important?



Figure 14 Factors emphasized by participants when buying bread, frequent Organic consumers, UK

When buying bread, which 5 of these factors are the most important?



Figure 15 Factors emphasized by participants when buying bread, infrequent Organic consumers, UK

The frequent Organic group discussed why so few of them voted for 'Organic' as important, although they were frequent consumers of other Organic foods. Some presumed as implicit in other kind of bread ethics which they sought out: *"When you're going to local bakeries, often it's kind of synonymous with it being Organic a lot of the time... because you know that it's artisan local and probably organic - that's probably why for bread it comes further down the list than, say, vegetables."* Whereas for others it was superseded by other priorities like the most favoured type of bread, being from a *"Local bakery or I won't eat the bread"* or being 'unprocessed': *"I try to look for the one that hasn't got preservatives and things and it's just got the minimum amount of ingredients - I would say that's the most important to us."*

The infrequent Organic group focused more on the importance of taste and freshness in their discussions: *“although I am quite price conscious, when I buy bread, I generally always buy something which I think is good and taste would always be top of the list”; “I was surprised that freshness wasn’t up higher, because who wants to buy stale bread?” “[I’ve] not voted for freshness because I keep my bread in the freezer and I almost never have fresh bread. I just buy the same one from Aldi, put it straight in the freezer and have it as toast from there. Maybe that’s awful for some people, but that’s bread in my world.”*

Although only one participant in this group voted for locally produced as one of their most important buying considerations *“I buy it from Hearts bakery where I know it’s made on the spot, because the experience is nice as much as everything else”,* others thought that it being at least made in the UK was implicit: *“I thought, if I was saying that it was fresh, then it would have been made locally, instead of them bought from overseas”, “if it’s not from the UK I’d be quite scared with bread products.”*

Price received a lot of votes in both groups, however this was not a big focus of discussion – perhaps as bread is relatively cheap: *“relatively speaking, bread isn’t as expensive to buy as meat, so you can afford to be to be spending more money on a on a nice loaf of bread, you know something which you think’s got high sort of production values.”*

Variety also received a lot of votes, but what participants meant by their votes for ‘variety’ was mainly *“getting the bread that I like”* (frequent Organic), *“a decent variety - a nice boule, or maybe some ciabata”* (infrequent Organic) rather than a genetic interpretation. The only mentions of genetic variety in bread was one frequent Organic participant including *“more interesting grain like whole grain dark rye”* as one of their favourite types, and one infrequent Organic participant mentioning *“I’ll quite often buy maybe rye bread”* when prompted if they ever buy any bread from other grains.

Chicken

As the discussions about ‘good’ and frequently consumed foods highlighted, the majority of participants in both groups were vegans, vegetarians or meat reducers. Given the high proportion of participants who did not consume or buy meat, the voting exercise about important factors when buying chicken was missed out in favour of a discussion of what they thought important in this area.

Unsurprisingly for a group with these eating practices, animal welfare was the major topic of discussion and came up a lot as the top of participants priorities. *“I would only buy it if I knew that it was free range and it’d come from a good source and if I couldn’t afford that, then that would mean I wouldn’t buy it rather than buying the cheap option”* (vegan, infrequent Organic).

However, while everyone thought it was critically important and decried the cruelties of intensive animal production, purchasing practices were often not consistent with their views: *“obviously on principle I would want it to be free range etc. if it was chicken, but if you’re at a restaurant you don’t really know, do you? So [eating chicken at a restaurant is] ... just weakness so we can carry on eating it”* (frequent Organic).

While some participants thought welfare was absolutely important (mainly those who didn’t buy meat), many admitted that it often slipped down their priorities:

“I would probably always want to buy things which were better animal welfare than I would actually buy - the price would limit me on that.” (infrequent Organic).

These participants cared strongly about welfare *and* price – a tension they struggled with: limiting their meat consumption but still buying cheap meat when their body craves it *“something I will take*

to my grave and eternal shame” (frequent Organic), or alternating between high welfare and affordability:

“I generally buy meat from proper farm shops, straight from the person that's reared the animal, or I buy the really, really cheap stuff in Aldi – the two opposite ends of the scale... animal welfare - that makes a big difference to me, I think... but not when I do the Aldi shopping.” (infrequent Organic).

Participants in the frequent Organic group expressed *“a great deal of scepticism about those [welfare] labels” “because, for example, the free range standard for chickens is actually not very good,”* and tended to view locally produced as the most effective proxy for animal welfare: *“I will go to the local butcher... who knows where his produce comes from,” “at least the chicken has had possibly a reasonable life... if it was produced locally, as opposed to just produced in the UK... from factory farms and they have horrible lives if you could even call it a life.”*

Beyond welfare, and local production as a proxy for this, the only other factor raised as important was avoiding waste: *“if I saw some chicken that needed eating that day and I knew my son was at home and he would eat it... I'd rather it was eaten then chucked in the bin and going to waste.”* (frequent Organic).

In contrast with the bread exercise, when it came to buying chicken taste and aesthetic factors were barely mentioned in either group - apart from one comment that her preferences for best before date, animal welfare, UK and local production *“would make up taste, all of those things”* (infrequent Organic). This may have been due to the strong tone set by the visible ethical choices made by most of the participants.

Summary – what is important when buying food

Apples

For many of the participants taste and appearance was important aspects they looked for when buying apples. Appearance of an apple indicates the quality and “edibility” of the apple, if it is fresh etc. However, “perfect” apples, as they often appear in the supermarkets, can also be suspicious. This was also linked to price and suspicion about the healthiness of too cheap apples (focus group 2, Poland). Buying apples in season and direct from the producer were strategies to get fresh, good quality products. In Germany local produce was also seen a strategy to minimize transportation. Many of the participants were concerned about spraying of apples and thus preferred organic apples. Awareness of different production methods or certification schemes varied between participants and focus groups, for instance in Poland.

Awareness of different varieties of apples differed between participants and focus groups. Especially in the Italian focus groups participants referred to preference of different varieties (*“I marked for apples as most important things variety, because between a Golden and a Fuji the taste is different.”*). While also some of the Polish participants agreed that even different varieties have different properties and, importantly, differ in taste, they are not always able to identify varieties themselves. Apples are in many cases not labelled with information about variety and origin in the supermarket, thus limiting the choice down to “red”, “yellow” or “green” apples. Also, because apples are available all year round in the supermarkets attention to seasonality and origin may be less prominent, as one participant in the Polish focus group 2 expressed: *“I eat apples all year round, I don't pay attention to it.”* As we saw from the discussions among participants in the first food product story session, growing own apples (Germany, Norway) or access to nearby apple producers (Italy) also seem to raise awareness of and experiences with different apple varieties.

Chicken

Buying chicken was for several of the participants not an option especially out of animal welfare reasons. Many of the participants also stated that they were vegetarians or vegans. For these reasons, the voting exercise was in some focus groups not carried out (or focused on beef (Italy)), or in other groups those who did not eat chicken did not participate in the voting. For those who bought chicken, animal welfare was a concern but information about how the chickens is raised is hard to obtain. Due to this limited transparency alternative strategies were discussed, such as only buying organic chicken or buying from a butcher or directly from the producer. Both strategies seemed difficult because of little availability of organic chicken and few specialty stores and small-scale producers. *“I am thinking that if I had that [knowledge of a producer], I probably would have bought chicken. Because I do like it. But it is that animal welfare [I am concerned with], and I do not trust our ... even if it reads that they have had a good life, I don’t quite know if it is good enough.”* (Focus Group 1, Norway). These alternatives were also considered expensive and not affordable for many of the participants, although they agreed that animal welfare should cost. Freshness and safety of chicken meat was also a concern; thus, expiration date was an aspect that was checked by several of the participants.

Different breeds of chicken were not a prominent issue, although discussed in some of the focus groups. Chicken breeding happens for the most on factory farms and with a limited selection of different breeds. Rearing has been focused on fast growing breeds while diversity of breeds is mainly kept among small-scale producers.

The functional foodscape

The aim of this session was to map the functional foodscape where participants provide their food. The concept of foodscape was chosen to help us to study the social context and uncover the food behaviour determinants that are transforming our food system. Foodscape is a concept based on social positioning and relationality, and we define it as a way individuals or groups perceive, experience, relate and live within their food environment. Foodscapes are related to social actors: individuals, groups, and societies which take positions in a particular food environment. In addition, we have argued that the diversification of foodscapes in contemporary societies reflects the complexity of global as well as local food systems. Therefore, tracing different settings from where participants provide their food is relevant for understanding their strategies for diversifying food consumption as well as understanding diversity in and across food systems in all five countries involved in this project.

For this session, a map was prepared in advance, showing a relevant part of the area surrounding the case area. Each participant received a map (A3 or larger size) where they are asked to mark places they go/use for food provision. The following colour codes were used and placed on the physical map:

- Your own residence / self-sufficiency (kitchen garden, balcony, allotment, cabin, gifts): White
- Grocery stores - supermarkets: Red
- Grocery stores - specialty stores: Blue
- Other food networks (Cooperative agriculture, Farmer markets, box scheme and similar): Yellow
- Harvest in nature: Green
- Foods eaten outside the home (work, leisure): Brown

The maps were then collected and placed on a board, wall or table. The individual maps were presented and commented by each participant followed by a group discussion and exchange of views and experiences.

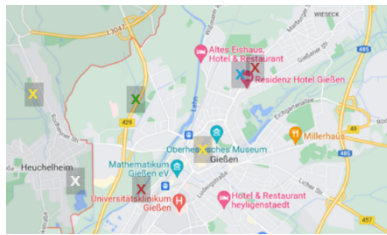
Germany

Table 47 Overview of types of food provisioning used by participants, Germany

Colour codes	Types of provisioning	Descriptions
White	Place of residence	Home grown fruit, berries, vegetables
Red	Food stores/supermarket	Rewe, Aldi, Tegut, Edeka, denn's (organic supermarket)
Blue	Specialty store	Small organic supermarkets
Yellow	Directly from producer, CSA etc.	Farm shops, foodsharing
Green	Harvesting from nature	Apples, berries, herbs
Brown	Catering /canteen/ restaurant	University canteen, Italian restaurant

Focus Group 1

The facilitator had prepared online maps from the respective region the participants live in. Colour coded sticker were virtually placed next to each map. However, it was difficult to work with those maps for most of the participants. Subsequently, while talking about each participants foodscape the second facilitator documented the foodscapes of the participants on the maps.



Foodscape P1.4



Foodscape P1.1



Foodscape P1.2



Foodscape P1.3



Foodscape P1.5

Figure 16 Foodscares from focus group 1, Germany

P1.3 acquires most of her food from the supermarket and her own growing (*"For me (the main source where I get food from) is the supermarket. I am self-sufficient with meat, eggs and honey, vegetables 50 % - fruit too - but I only get toiletries and similar things in the supermarket. Therefore, the supermarket is the most important address for me once a week"*). In this regard, she mentioned the supermarket "EDEKA" (for the local distribution see map 1) and the "Kommune Kaufungen" (there local, organic certified food is offered, whereby a lot of fruit and vegetables being home-grown). Besides growing her own, she also picks a lot of fruits from nature (*"a lot still grows here"*). Once a month she eats out at an Italian restaurant out of her hometown.

In contrast, P1.1 food acquisition is very diversified. Since she gets most of her food from Foodsharing (*"We get 80% of our food from Foodsharing and only buy basic stuff from supermarkets, mostly EDEKA or Aldi. We order very special things online"*), the local distribution is spread all over Gießen (for the local distribution see map 2). Besides supermarkets, she also acquires food from specialised shops (Asian shops). She regularly eats out (in the company canteen) and often orders from various delivery services. The second participant does not have her own growing.

For P1.5, the weekly market in the next larger town (Wiesbaden) is the main source of supply (*"For me (the main source where I get food from), it's the weekly market. I grind my own flour, but I get the grain I need for from a mill – they sent it to me. Otherwise, I buy everything at the weekly market or from the farmers I have named"*). She rarely buys food at the supermarket (*"The only thing I take there is milk or curd cheese, but that is also local"*). Besides the weekly market, she acquires a lot of food locally from local producers, e.g., *"meat from a friend in Erbenheim"* or *"apples and potatoes from the farmer in Erbenheim"* (for the local distribution see map 3). As well as the second participant, she does not grow her own food.

P1.2s food acquisition is based on her place of residence (*"We live in a village ambience, sometimes we go to the weekly market in Baunatal to buy food, otherwise our food purchase refers to the local (super) markets we have, e.g. Ratio-Markt Hertingshausen, EDEKA Baunatal."*) and very locally focused (for the local distribution see map 4). In supermarkets she primarily buys staple food. The fourth participant tries to grow as many vegetables as possible herself (potatoes, spices, herbs, lettuce, kohlrabi, onions, different kinds of cabbage, beans), *"which is not quite enough"*. The remaining food she procures from the weekly market or from neighbours and acquaintances (e.g., potatoes, oils, and eggs).

P1.4 procures *"Whatever I can at the weekly market or from local producers, but they don't have toilet paper or sugar, so it's split half fresh and half supermarket"*. Many foods are also home-grown, especially vegetables (*"To the extent that we can manage in terms of time, the highlights are tomatoes and peppers in the foil house. In the open field, lettuce, beetroot, courgettes, carrots, chard, rabe."*) and orchards. In addition to supermarkets and self-supply, she often gets her food from organic shops (Klatschmohn, Denny's) or farm shops. Her area of supply is spread all over Gießen (for the local distribution see map 5).

The participants of the first focus group unanimously emphasised that it is important to them to buy locally. (*"I want to support the farmers. Those who live locally should also have their part" // "the farm shops are very important. Also in our region and if I can support them, I do it"*). Procurement channels or brands that were considered critically were the internet, Nestle, Amazon and large (discount) supermarkets to support e.g. the butcher, bakery, farmer in the village.

Focus Group 2:

Maps of Gießen plus surrounding area were handed out to every participant. There were discussions, if a specialized organic supermarket is classified as "food store/supermarket" or "speciality store". Due to the size of the stores, that they are retail chains and their appearance as a typical supermarket they were categorized as "food store/supermarket". Smaller, more individual organic stores were classified as "speciality store". Also, the difference of online shopping (of conventional supermarkets) and delivery systems of farmers/farm shops were discussed.



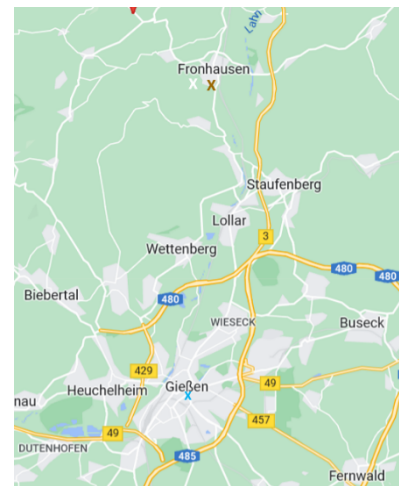
Figure 17 Places of residence Focus Group 2, Germany



Foodscape P2.1



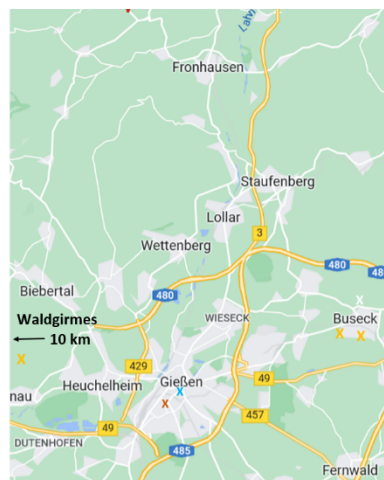
Foodscape P2.2



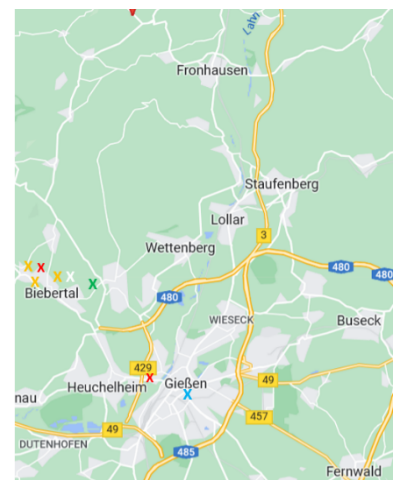
Foodscape P2.3



Foodscape P2.4



Foodscape P2.5



Foodscape P2.6

Figure 18 Foodscape from focus group 2, Germany

P2.1 buys a lot in a farm shop who has next to own grown also food from a wholesaler. However, the labelling is clear, so it is visible which products are self-produced and which not. The store has quite a large assortment with own potatoes, grains and meat. In case she buys meat, she buys it there. Purchases in the city are done by bike: vegetables for the day and other things for the next two days. But if more and bigger things are bought, e.g. a big bag of potatoes, big bag of grains (which also has a sustainable component to the participant, because not that many small packages are needed). Also, there she uses a basket to transport loose products. This is really important to the participant to go shopping like this. Sometimes the participant goes to the organic supermarket while driving on the freeway Saturdays in the evening, realizing that there is nothing to eat at home. What can also be convenient is to walk to the local supermarket, if something is missing. It also has a small assortment of organic food has, but this mode of provisioning is used little. The higher share is to buy the things loose. At home: apples, fruits, some berries, sprouts, tomatoes, courgettes. What can be grown in the garden during summer. They eat out sometimes at an Italian restaurant.

P2.2

Purchases in many different stores. Has no car, therefore only shopping by bike and stops in several stores and buys less (as much as can be transported on the bike). From her home is a REWE in walking distance (convenient). The stores on the map lie on the way home-work. She purchases quite frequently and bigger amounts in Tegut (localized on the way). In the surrounding of work is an

organic supermarket with the advantage that vegetables are not always packed in plastic (unlike in Tegut, where all salads are packed in plastic). If at work, she has lunch at the university canteen. She is seldom in the city centre, but if she goes there she goes to the small organic store and the shop which sells products without packaging/ in bulk. The university has a farm with a store where she sometimes goes and staff of the university can also take e.g. eggs, potatoes and grains from the farm.

P2.3

Produce a lot in the garden and the premise/property. They have a greenhouse with e.g., tomatoes and bell pepper. And on the premise they grow all kinds of fruits. Now the participant is planting new fruit varieties, because especially the old apple varieties are dying because of fungal infection or fire blight. If not in the mood to cook they go to an Italian restaurant not serving organic food. "No, that doesn't matter than. Besides chicken. I'd never eat chicken there."

P2.4

Tries to provide everything in the city centre, mainly by bike. Buying behaviour changed since the COVID-19 pandemic. Since then she has (much) more from her garden than she needs. Last year she bought tomatoes, because they did not grow in the garden and a few other things she fancied. Due to the job the participant travelled a lot and could not take care about the sprouts, but now she is always at home. She purchases a lot of cheese, vegetables, fruits and flowers on the weekly farmers market. The organic supermarket is just around the corner, therefore she goes there also as well as in the small organic store. Grains and dairy products are complete than. Furthermore, depending on the logistics, the participant also goes to the conventional supermarkets, even Aldi sometimes.

P2.5

Until December the participant lived in Lahnu (approximately 8 km from Gießen) with a farm shop in Waldgirmes (produced much themselves), where the participant purchased daily necessities. If the participant is in Lahnu, she drives there, too. Otherwise, she goes to the small organic store and a demeter bakery with a cafeteria also for lunch. Since she lives in Rödgen, she receives everything in Buseck. There is an organic store and another organic farm shop from an association for disabled people and a dairy. "*Sprouts and herbs I make myself*".

P2.6

Her living area is Biebertal: Edeka, but still goes in Gießen to the organic supermarket and mainly (if in Gießen) to the small organic store. Due to the pandemic, she ordered food from an online store, which has organic and if possible regional products. This enabled her to stay at home. She still uses this store, during lockdown and time of social distancing she ordered food every week, now every 2 or 3 weeks. The store also has products of "Hofgut Friedelhausen" an association with a demeter farm for disabled people. Furthermore, she buys potatoes and pumpkins in autumn at a farm. Apples, berries, salad and vegetables, etc. are selfproduced. Herbs (mainly yarrow, sorrel, wild peppermint) and berries (blackthorn to make wine) she picks in nature.

The dynamics during the presentations of the participants went in focus group 1 rather towards shopping regional and supporting regional producers and processors (if there are some). Farmers markets and food provisioning through neighbours and friends were mentioned and a high share of self-production appeared.

However, in focus group 2 shopping by bike and without plastic were mentioned. Buying mainly organic products seemed to be almost presupposed. Also, in this focus group some self-growing and picking were mentioned.

Italy

Introduction

For this session, we used physical maps we collected from the tourist office in Trento. Once distributed, we asked participants to mark different localities (stores, markets etc.) from where they usually provide food. Colored post-it were distributed. Afterwards, we input the data collected in two google-maps, one for each focus group [[FG1 HERE¹³](#) and [FG2 HERE¹⁴](#)], where we used different colors to indicate the different types of provisioning.



Table 48 Overview of types of food provisioning used by participants, Focus Group 1, Italy

Colour codes	Types of provisioning	Descriptions
Black	Place of residence	Home
Red	Food stores/supermarket	Poli, Coop, Eurospar, Conad, Eurospin, Lidl,
Blue	Specialty store	Panificio Moderno, Panificio Pulin, Latteria del Sole, Carni Trentine
Yellow	Directly from producer	CSA, Piazza Dante Market, Piazza Vittoria Market, Piazza Duomo Market, Mercato contadino

¹³ <https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=11MtemEVTJRIFRFeoCkZzkW-IQiXklQU&ll=46.07398825697821%2C11.12693560000002&z=16>

¹⁴ <https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?ll=46.06248146217922%2C11.119370000833113&z=17&mid=1xKcwgkKIP4U363I400FbEqvLCyGGGw>

Focus Group 1 maps

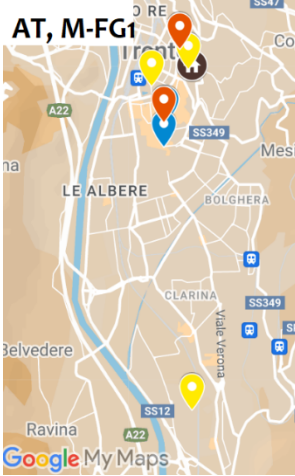
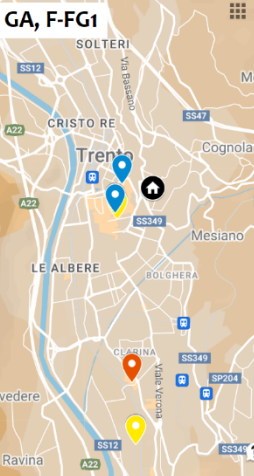

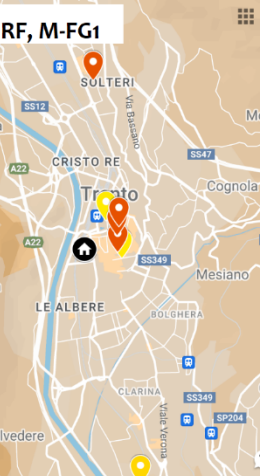




 <p>AT, M-FG1</p>	 <p>GA, F-FG1</p>	 <p>ER, F-FG1</p>	 <p>RF, M-FG1</p>
7 shopping places	5 shopping places	6 shopping places	7 shopping places
 <p>ST, M-FG1</p>	 <p>MA, F-FG1</p>	 <p>SF, F-FG1</p>	 <p>TOT, FG1</p>
5 shopping places	4 shopping places	8 shopping places	23 different shopping places in total

Figure 19 Foodscapes from focus group 1, Italy

Describe the pattern of food provisioning based on the individual mapping (where, what and share)*Table 49 Citations from participants, favourite places and places you avoid when buying food, Focus Group 1, Italy*

	Favorite place to get good food	Place that you avoid and never would go
AT, M	<p><i>Since I have joined the CSA, this is where I buy most of our food. Besides the CSA, I buy bread at the Modern Bakery and other stuff at the Coop in Lodron square which is the supermarket downtown. I also go to St. Martino's market on Thursday night and to the Saturday market at Piazza Dante. These places are supplement as I buy there what I cannot find things at the CSA. I also buy stuff from Mandacarù (fair trade store), which in part is also replaced by product coming directly from Altromercato in Verona: rice, cereals, dried legumes. My wife works there and it is convenient for us. Then, for emergencies, I go to a Despar supermarket that is right under my house, but I do not like to go there because they have products that I do not like. Once I found a cabbage coming from Belgium. Kale is the only stuff that originates in Trentino I think, which is the symbol, that was a total nonsense....</i></p>	<p><i>I avoid big supermarkets, so I very rarely, almost never, go there... Going to the supermarket takes a lot of time and usually I don't find what I'm looking for. Usually in the city I don't even drive the car, so I'm walking or biking. Basically what I need I can find in the places I mentioned.</i></p>
GA, F	<p><i>I should make a premise, we only dine in, on weekends we are never at home, and so with the CSA I have drastically reduced buying in other places. So I put the CSA at first. I live downtown and work in Trento South, which make it convenient for me to stop at the CSA. I still stop for convenience at the Poli Supermarket because anyway I'm near to work, and sometime at my lunch break I go there and purchase what I need. As well as sometime I stop at the Poli of Via Maccani. I also go to the city center at Square Lodron to buy bread from the Modern Bakery, and at Piazza Vittoria where I go to buy cheese. Every now and then, maybe Saturday or Sunday, I can also shop at the supermarket and in Via del Suffragio at the Latteria del Sole I buy mozzarella and other products. I do this regularly, let's say once a week.</i></p>	<p><i>I am not a 'Taliban' with food a part for bread. In town there are some bakeries I would never enter, because they are obviously industrial. The product just tastes bad as it is of poor quality and it even costs a lot.</i></p>

ER, F	<p><i>I live behind Santa Chiara hospital. The reference supermarket is the one in via Fermi. Then of course I buy at the CSA. For the dairy products I go to the Latteria del Sole in Viale Verona. Let's say every couple of weeks and maybe sometimes it happens that I go to buy cheese at the supermarket. I buy meat, the few times I eat it, from the Trentino meat consortium , as I work at Trento nord, so I can just stop and buy meat there. And then for vegetables when I don't take them from the CSA I go to Piazza Dante. Now I go there very rarely, for instance if I know that for some reasons on Monday I can't pick up my vegetable box from the CSA then I try to go on Saturday there, or sometimes I see what they propose as I know a couple of producers there and I sometimes see if they offer something different. This is more to try to come up with some things that are a little different</i></p>	<p><i>But I honestly don't have a place where I say I wouldn't buy, I mean at least right now I can't think of it. In general, I don't go to convenience stores, because it is not clear to me where the products come from. The fact that you pay so little makes me think that someone else is paying the low-cost.</i></p>
RF, M	<p><i>I live on Tommaso Gar Street so let's say I go to the market in Piazza Dante and Piazza Vittoria. The few times I eat meat I buy it from the Herb Square, from those little kiosks where I also get fish. I think that's the only one that can offer something decent. So I buy vegetables, meat and fish in piazza Vittoria, piazza delle Erbe, piazza Dante for vegetables. As for supermarkets Lodron, Eurospar and Conad for me the difference is that I find at the Conad best quality flour than others. I go grocery shopping with one of those FoppaPedretti trolley, so I don't have problem to carry weights. Hyper Poli I find the same products that I find in the center, with differences in prices. So sometimes I go there to buy in stock. Then it is clear that when you go to the supermarket you come out with more product than the ones you wanted to but this is part of the game...</i></p>	<p><i>For example at the LIDL. The question is that when you analyze the product it is impossible that they can sell at that price adhering with labor standards. How could be that a product from, let's say, Bangladesh, that have travelled to arrived here can be so cheap? It means that people work for one euro a day. Ergo I refuse to buy it. I mean, to me these are LIDL . I have to say that even if I pass by it often, I have never had even the desire to go in and see it.</i></p>
ST, M	<p><i>I live in Lavis and so in the area I have five supermarkets to which I occasionally go to make those last minute purchases where I spend those 10-15 euros that I need to</i></p>	<p><i>I never go to COOP because they have very little choice at high prices. Apart from that, I do not have some places I would not go... I've lived so much abroad and even in Third</i></p>

	<p><i>buffer lunch or dinner. And so there is Prix, Eurospin, Conad and Poli. I choose them based on the product I need to get, for instance I go to Prix if I miss something like detergents or I know they have prices on industrial things a little bit lower, to Eurospin on Sundays because it's the only one open in the area, or to Conad or Poli if I want something a little better quality. Then if I want to make a bigger grocery shopping I go to the Iperpoli in Gardolo, where there is a little bit more choice but maintaining the proximity. Then there is the CSA. I also buy stuff every two-three months when I go home towards Venice as there I find a lot of products almost half price. So I often get a lot of grocery shopping when I go to see my parents.</i></p>	<p><i>World countries and so I've eaten everything and I'm still alive... Industrial things seem demoniac, but they're much more controlled than some other things... and here in Italy we have a lot of quality compared to other countries, so I'm happy to be here and to be well.</i></p>
MA, F	<p><i>I have to say that by doing this map I realized that actually we are very little diversified in our purchases. Obviously the main reason is that we are all students that are also working, so we really live with very little money. We made a lot of attempts also with the CSA but the main problems I would say are two: the price, which in the CSA case actually is not that high, and the organization. Because being in 8, precisely, it is very difficult to plan also for the medium term, so planning a week ahead is already very difficult. So, since we live in the centre, we have a pretty evil supermarket, which is Despar, next door. I also don't like to shop there, in the sense that it has high prices and many things come from the Netherlands, Belgium... really for no reason. But being next door and due to disorganization, it happens to get things from there often. Then we go to the farmers' market in Piazza Dante on Saturdays as it's easier to pull someone out of the house to go to the market than to place the order at the CSA and get organized to go to the collection point also because we don't have a car... So the market is much easier for us and secondly, then, unfortunately there are the famous budget supermarket (Lidl), where we go on</i></p>	<p><i>no, the point is this, there is no place I wouldn't go to buy, but there are places where I wouldn't get certain things. For example at the discount store I don't buy dairy, I never buy meat but I buy other things. Let's say I'm more on the safe side when I buy vegetable products because it always seems better to me than what could be buying an animal derivative.</i></p>

	<i>a bicycle expedition now and then with backpacks and we get the supplies for the famous medium term. So we buy legumes that you don't really know where they come from however they cost half than in other places. The point is that it's hard to be able to combine an attempt to eat more sustainably if you have really little money... let's say that's the main issue that we really feel sad actually talking about.</i>	
SF, F	<i>I live in the historic center. I consider the center, the stores, even the supermarkets as proximity stores. I go to various supermarkets because there I take some products such as cereals. Coop is near to the bakery, at piazza delle Erbe, where there is also the butcher Belli in piazza Vittoria. I work in Mesiano, my partner comes from Pergine, so the supermarket we use more is the small Poli you find coming back from Pergine. And then the CSA pickup. Poli and the CSA are the two points where my partner usually goes when he comes back from work. He does this as I don't have a car and so that's the only trip that was discussed, and that was also for me quite an important issue to discuss the pickup, everything else instead is done in the neighborhood. I also go to the Thursday market in Piazza Duomo and in Via Verdi and also on Saturday mornings I go to Piazza Dante Farmers' Market as it is just a nice walk to go there to buy some vegetables. We also go sometimes to EuroSpar and to the bakery Pulin on Cavour Street.</i>	<i>The Brenner Street is somewhere I avoid to go, as I really feel uncomfortable. For me, it is also an ethical and moral issue as I consider that sequence of discount stores a sort of urban devastation.</i>

What does a local product mean for you?

AT, M-FG1: It means proximity/neighborhood product, usually within the limits of the province.

MA, F-FG1: Depends on the product: regional or national.

ER, F-FG1: The area of production of a product.

Table 46 Overview of types of food provisioning used by participants, Focus Group 2, Italy

Colour codes	Types of provisioning	Descriptions
Black	Place of residence	Home
Red	Food stores/supermarket	Aldi, Coop, Conad, Despar, iperpoli, Lidl, Prix,
Blue	Specialty store	Biocesta del Gusto, Hassan Mini Market, Natura Sì, Chicco di Grano, Enovalsugana, Sosi, Bread stall piazza Fiera
Yellow	Directly from producer	Piazza Dante Market, GAS, Bookique market,
Green	Self provision	Home gardens, chickens, orchards

Focus Group 2 Maps

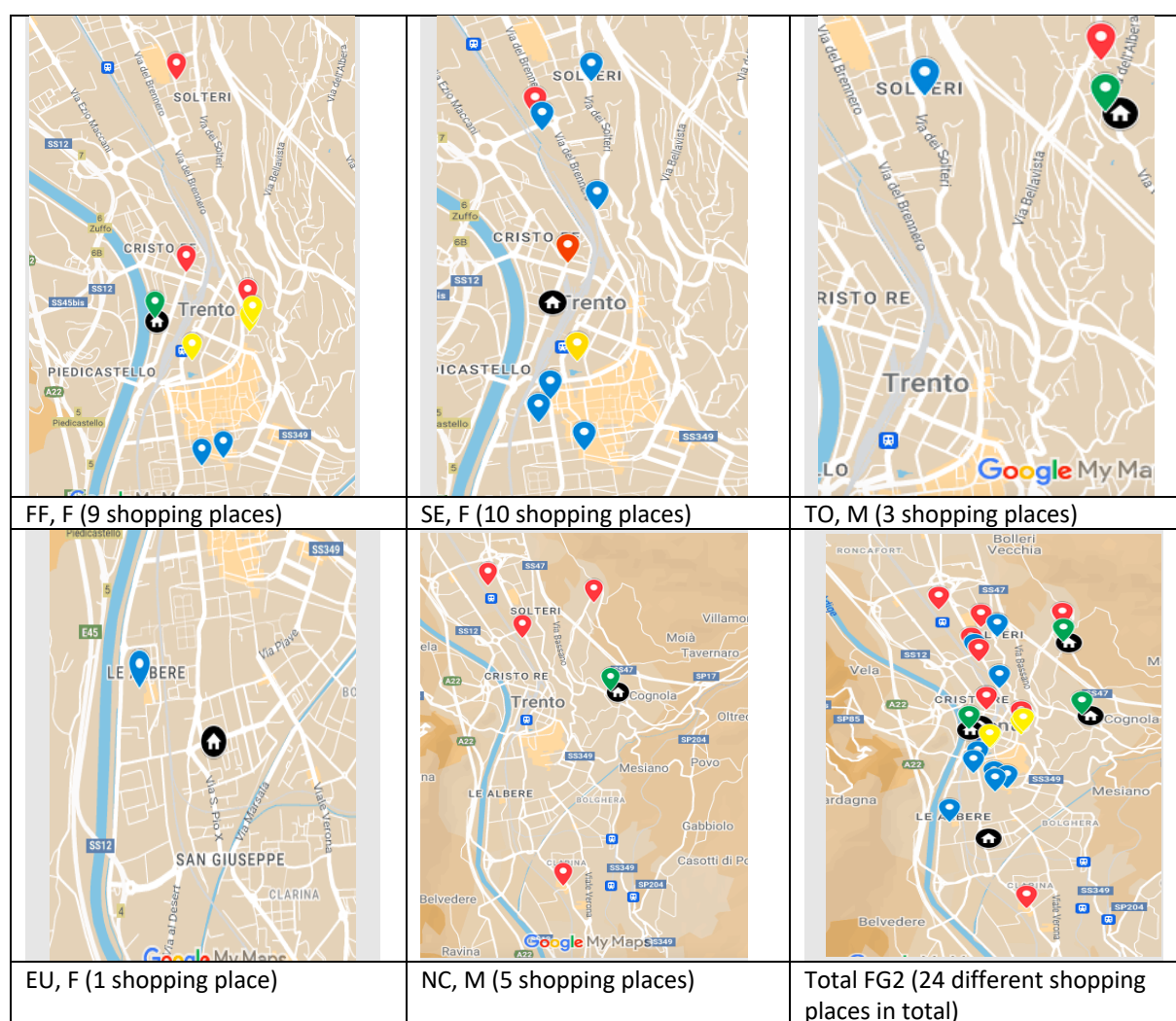


Figure 20 Foodscapes from focus group 2, Italy

Describe the pattern of food provisioning based on the individual mapping (where, what and share)*Table 50 Citations from participants, favourite places and places you avoid when buying food, Focus Group 2, Italy*

	Favorite place to get good food	Place that you avoid and never would go
SE, F	<i>I have many places, because to me providing food is like a job. I used to go to Coop for essential stuff, since I had to spend my lunch tickets. Since I worked in Trento North, I used to go to Natura Sì and Aldi to buy those vegan products that were difficult to find in other places, like tofu or other specific products. At Aldi you can find many vegan products that are very good. I used to go to Biocesta, because everything was really in the same street, and when I didn't manage to go to the Saturday market of Piazza Dante, I went to Biocesta. There is also a store that is called Chicco di Grano that sells fresh pasta, I liked it even if it was not vegan, because I liked the idea that there was no plastic, no packaging. To EnoValsugana to buy wine and beer, because I like it a lot. I also like going to Indian shops in via Prepositura, because I eat a lot of dried fruits and Asian sauces and I find them only there. And I also put Sosi, since I used to buy bread only there.</i>	<i>Apart from butcher's, I would buy in any places, even though it's hard for me to get used to big supermarkets, where there is everything but it makes me anxious, when I see all these shelves full of plastic I feel bad because I avoid plastic completely and it's not that I would never buy there, but if I can I avoid them, I really prefer to go to the Indian shop, which maybe doesn't seem hygienically the best option, but in some cases, not in others, it's just an impression because products are just piled. But there I find all the products that I also buy when I go to Asia, I go there twice a year, so I think I have a different view on this, to me it is much more normal.</i>
TO, M	<i>I live close to monte Calisio, where we have chickens and a garden, then we go to the grocery shop at Conad in Martignano and at Biocesta. At Biocesta we buy especially when we don't have products from the garden during the year, they have all vegetables and fruits. At Conad we buy other products. Then we have cousins who have friends in Emilia-Romagna and sometimes they bring us flour made from ancient grains, it depends, every 2-3 months. We try to make the least possible kms and to keep these points of reference.</i>	<i>Not really, it's clear that there are places that are less ethical... at least according to some rumors, like McDonald's, even though they have changed now, I could go there once or twice a year if I am with friends.</i>
FF, F	<i>I put my garden and the market of piazza Dante. I try to go there when I can and I buy whatever I find according</i>	<i>I had this idea about LIDL, but then somebody told me that it's not true, I've been there once because they told me avocados were really</i>

	<p>to season, in winter is a little sad. Then Coop in Piazza Cantore, I have two supermarkets, Coop where they have quite good meat, and Despar in Largo Nazario Sauro because it is conveniently located. I also put via San Martino because there is the place where I go to take olives and trouts from GAS, I am a member of a GAS, even though it's hard for me since I had the second son, but I still buy olives, trouts and avocados, and they are in these two places, where the two contact person for these products live. Then I put the Bookique market that is similar to that of Piazza Dante. There I bought pizza and vegetables. I buy bread at the stall in Piazza Fiera, close to where I work, or at Sosi. Sometimes we go to Iperpoli, when we need to do a big grocery shopping, we go there by car</p>	<p>cheap, but I didn't like it, especially the meat, I don't know if it's only a psychological thing, because maybe it's the same as in other supermarkets. Or, for instance, I don't buy meat at Iperpoli, because I like the butcher of Coop more. And it seems to me that you can interact with him, he explains you things.</p>
EU, F	<p>I only buy at Conad. I live here, but since I go to study to the library it's convenient for me to go there. Before I used to go to Orvea, and I would like to go to the market on Thursdays, but I never go. The first year I tried to buy a vegetable/fruit box from a fruit seller in via Rosmini, who had this project with good price for students. But in the end it was expensive and there was too little vegetables, so we dropped it.</p>	<p>McDonald's, I would never go there, but there are no supermarkets where I wouldn't go.</p>
NC, M	<p>I go to Conad in Martignano to buy meat, to Poli to buy fish, and I only buy that, both for quality and for people who work there who are very friendly. It's also because I trust them because I know that I am choosing, I always choose specific pieces of meat, or specific fishes, and I know that I find it there in given days. And I can go to LIDL to buy only bread, or to Prix to buy milk without lactose, because that milk it's the best for me.</p>	<p>I've always avoided McDonald's and all these chains, as well as all my family. I've never been there, but I would go if I was starving.</p>

What does a local product mean for you?

NC, M-FG2: *“Local product is that which grows and is marketed in the area where one lives, or which is mainly produced in his/her area. Here in Trentino an example of ‘local produce’ would be apples. The national “local” is grapes, oil, and almonds; the regional local is apples; and the Trento local is polenta.”*

SE, F-FG2: *“Anything that is locally produced. A tomato, which for me is Sicilian or Neapolitan, let’s say typical of the South, however, if it is produced here for me it is a local product. I have started to prefer locally produced produce even if they are less tasty, that are produced in Trento and that I can buy at a local market, where you can see the family that produced it. I prefer to give the money to the lady that produced that very sad tomato rather than going to the supermarket and buying the beautiful tomato from Sicily that comes up by truck in plastic. I also consider myself lucky, because I grew up with a culture of food and quality.”*

TO, M-FG2: *“Local product scale: Trento, Trentino, Triveneto, Italy. Anything that is produced locally.”*

EU, F-FG2: *“What your region can offer. Ideally, there should be as little transportation as possible. Example of a nonlocal is the chain that opened downtown that makes fish sandwiches. “*

Poland

Please notice that the map coding differs from the instruction in the focus group guideline. The reason was the lack of white and brown stickers in stores in Krakow. The coding used is explained in the table below.

The stickers were also quite large, which reduces the readability of the maps. Their advantage was that the participants could write on them. This made it possible to gather more information about the places where food is obtained. The stickers are shaped like an arrow. Their sharp ends indicate the exact locations of the coded places.

Focus group 1 participants noted the lack of a code for food products bought online. This applied to both raw food and dishes delivered from restaurants.

There was also no code for food sourced from the family. It was coded as "eating out" along with restaurants.

Together with the specialty stores (blue), the markets were coded. These are places popular in Poland, where mainly vegetables and fruits are sold. In many cases these products are not sold directly by producers, so these types of places cannot be coded as farmers' markets (yellow).

Table 51 Overview of types of food provisioning used by participants, Poland

Colour codes	Types of provisioning	Descriptions
A cross or a transparent circle drawn with a pen.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Place of residence Own garden. Food items bought online. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Home grown fruit, berries, vegetables. Dishes delivered from restaurants. Food bought in online shops.
Red	Food stores/supermarket	Lidl, Biedronka, Auchan, Lewiatan, Żabka etc.
Blue	Specialty store Marketplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stores with one type of food Stands in market squares (Kleparz, Imbramowski Square)
Yellow	Directly from producer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wawelska Food Cooperative

	Alternative food network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City farm • Community garden
Green	Harvesting from nature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lovage • Nettle • Fruit
Orange (instead of brown)	Catering /canteen/ restaurant Food obtained from family Dishes from restaurants delivered at home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restaurants in the city centres • Chain restaurants • Preserves obtained from family • Dinners served by family members • Home delivery food

Do the general map differ between the focus groups in any ways? Where do the participants acquire their food? **Describe the pattern based on the individual mapping.** What is the share of food provided from different sources (supermarkets, direct purchase, grow own etc) in the two groups?

- In the case of focus group 1, most places creating individuals' food provisioning systems are more dispersed. In other words, shape of these systems depends to a lesser extent on the place of residence. In the case of focus group 2, the distribution of places where everyday purchases are made is strongly dependent on the location of supermarkets in the northern part of Krakow.
- Wawelska Food Cooperative is the focal point of the food provisioning system for all participants of focus group 1. *"Cooperative is for me a place where they get good food. This is a phenomenon, it is not only a way of sourcing food but also a community. When I go there once a week, I meet a lot of people I know, although We don't date at all. It is also a habit for me. In an ordinary shop, I wouldn't know what to choose. And in Cooperative, I have a constant set of proven products that I always order."*
- For focus group participants 2, chain supermarkets are the focal points where most of the food is sourced.
- Supermarkets are also marked on the maps from focus group 1, because the members of the cooperative also shop in them. However, these purchases have a different function. They are performed incidentally because supermarkets are not the main source of food. Cooperative members (FG 1) often buy bio, organic and vegan products there, which are difficult to find elsewhere.
- During focus group 1, the issue of buying food online arose: both basic items from online stores and ready-made meals from restaurants.
- For both groups, the food provisioning system is influenced by the rich gastronomic offer of Krakow.
- Focus group 1 participants visit specialty stores specifically to buy one selected product they care about. They are often products from foreign cuisines. Such practice is rare among focus group 2 participants. The most frequently visited specialty store by them is a local bakery, which belongs to a large chain.
- Focus group 1 participants spend more time on food sourcing.
- Local Activity Program at Azory neighborhood runs the Community Garden. It is not an essential part of the food provisioning system as it produces very little food. However, it is a unique initiative because it engages people living in a highly urbanized area in food production. The very fact of the existence of this garden significantly differentiates their foodscape.

- The topic of fast food restaurants and chain restaurants appeared in focus group 2. Such places were not marked on the maps from focus group 1 at all.
- During both FGIs, the problem of the lack of time for shopping in the case of people with children was raised. Due to the lack of time, they are more likely to buy food in supermarkets.

How does the provisioning differ regarding type of food?

- Seasonality is not important for focus group 2 participants, as they buy food in supermarkets where all products are available all year round.
- FG1 - vegetables and fruits are mainly purchased from Cooperative. During the season another source of these products are farmers' markets.
- FG2 - vegetables and fruits are bought in supermarkets or local markets.
- FG 1 - participants buy organic and vegan products in supermarkets. Among the participants of FG 2, there was only one person who bought such products at all.

Focus Group 1- members of The Wawelska Food Cooperative

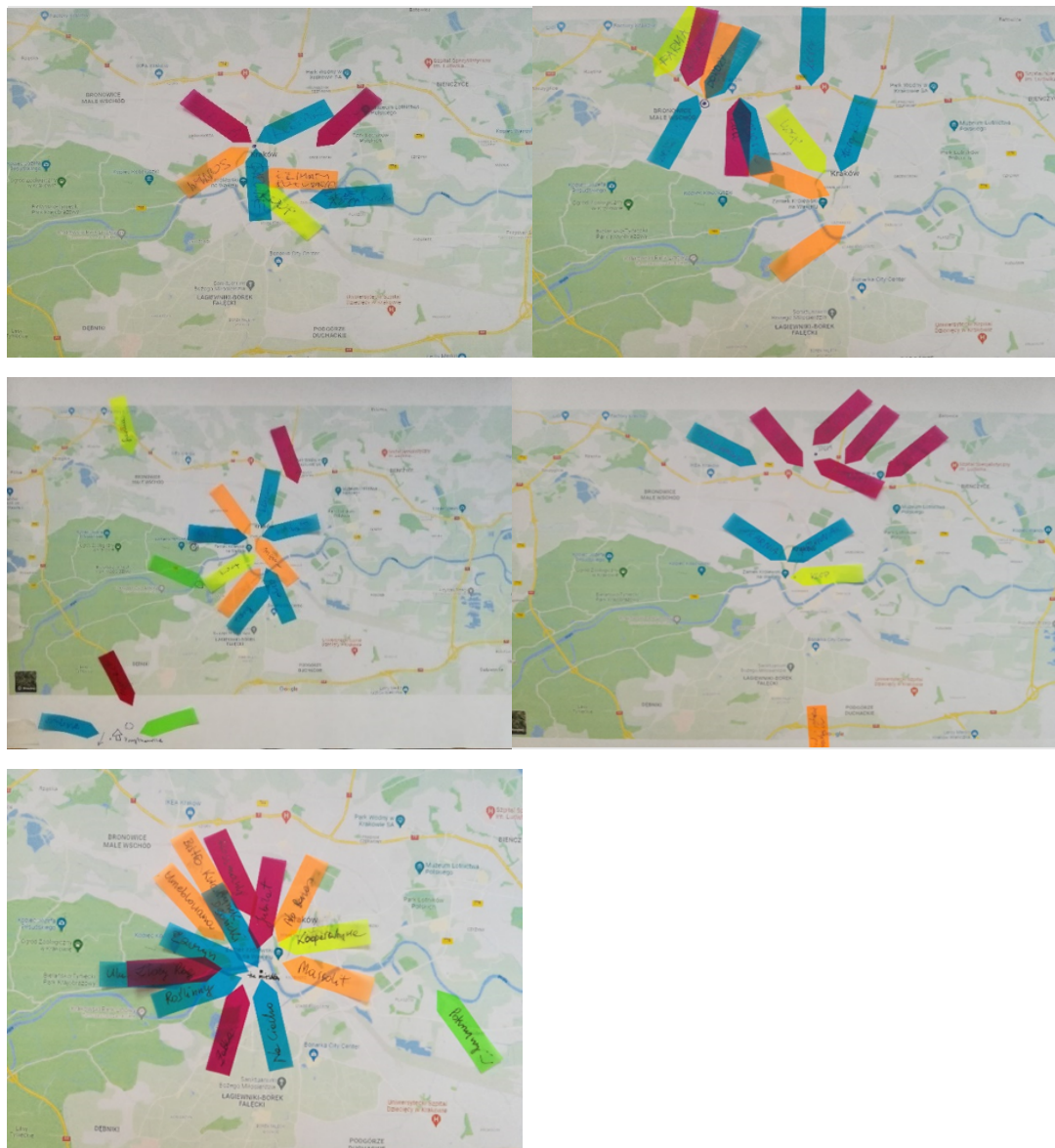


Figure 21 Foodscapes from focus group 1, Poland

am from the Azory neighbourhood



Focus Groups 1 and 2, Norway

Descriptions
own fruit, berries, vegetables
ga, COOP EXTRA, Meny, KIWI, REMA
eat processor); specialty store in Jevnaker
d CSA, REKO-rings
om, fish, meat from free-range grazing sheep
nts in the town centres of Hønefoss and (some also went to Oslo)
food (Drammen sykehus, Ringerike Rikshospitalet and Ullevål sykehus)

Pilot Focus Group – Oslo region*Table 53 Overview of types of food provisioning used by participants, Pilot focus group, Norway*

Colour codes	Types of provisioning	Descriptions
White	Place of residence	Home grown fruit, berries, vegetables
Red	Food stores/supermarket	Prix, COOP EXTRA, Meny, KIWI, REMA
Blue	Specialty store	Reko-ringen Sandvika, fish shop in Sandvika, food specialty store (Maschmanns Matmarked), Internet (Sigdal Mølle).
Yellow	Directly from producer, CSA, REKO etc.	Øverland CSA, REKO-rings,
Green	Harvesting from nature	Mushroom, fish, meat from free-range grazing sheep
Brown	Catering /canteen/ restaurant	Job-related lunch at city restaurants

Local food initiatives and supermarkets

Participants in the pilot focus group and focus group 1, sourced a considerable share of their foods from the CSA that they belonged to. Other types of direct food sourcing, as well as home-growing and harvesting from nature was practiced.

Since the mainstream food market in Norway is dominated by three large supermarket chains, and the local presence of such stores is very common (Alfsnes et al. 2019), most participants also shop food in mainstream food stores.

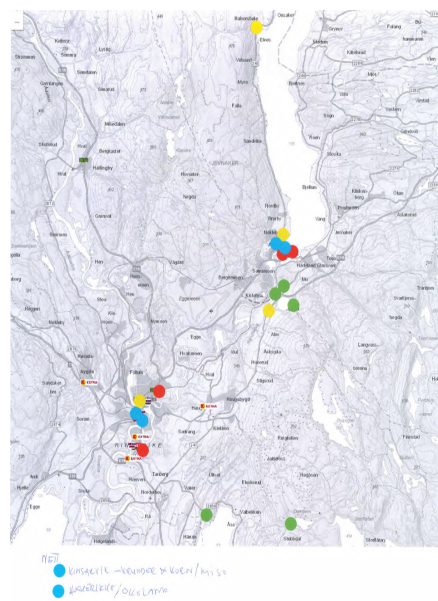
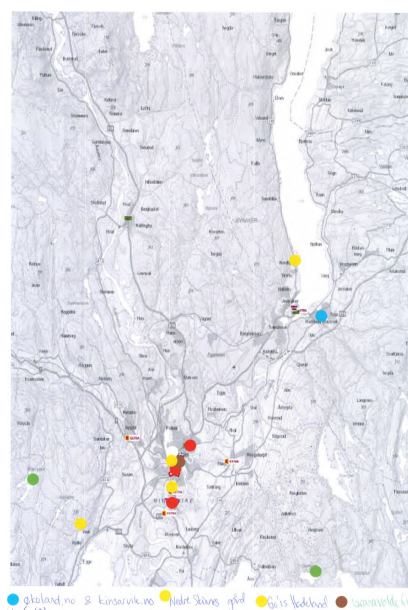
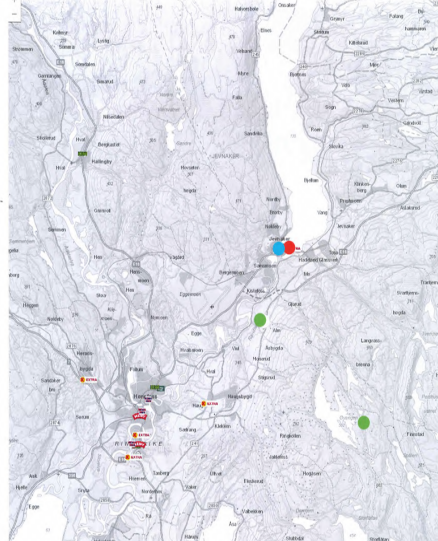
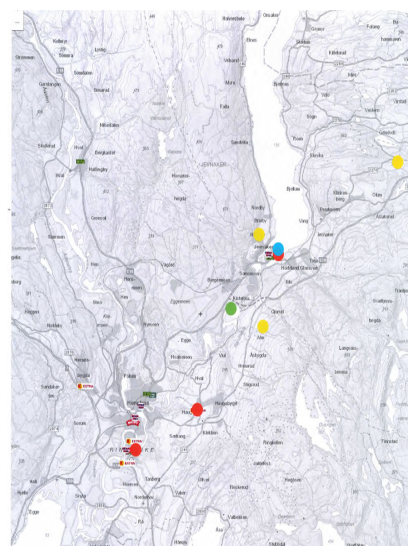
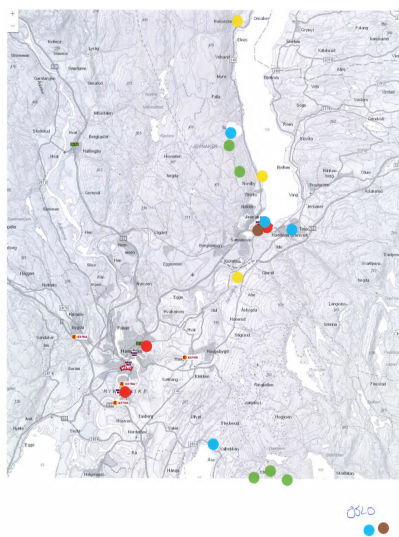
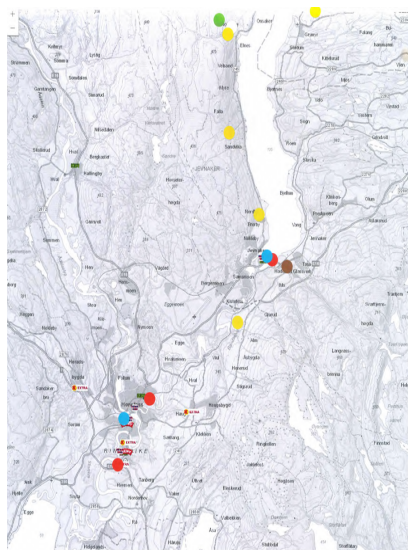
A discussion arose in the Norwegian pilot focus group about the positive effect of large supermarkets increasing their offer of organic foods vs. the value of more local alternatives, such as REKO-rings:

“Yes, I think that REKO-rings can be very nice – preferably organic, but very nice that small-scale producers can present their products, and not only the large ones.” (P0.4)

“I agree, but I think it is just as important that ... I am very concerned that the ‘pure products’ are available in the large chains, that they don’t hold back, because that is where the volumes are so to speak. Because only the specially interested show up at REKO.” (P0.2)

“But this is special for Norway, that we have these big chains that dominate so much of the market. If you travel down through Europe, it is not like that. There there are lots of local shops.” (P0.3)

Maps



FOODIVERSE Diversity in Eating Practices

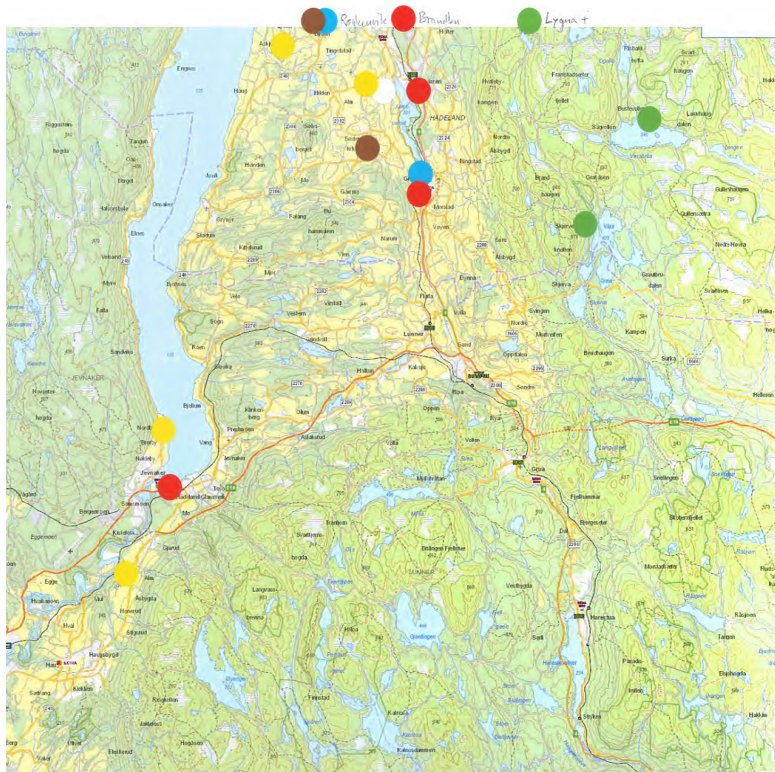


Figure 23 Foodscapes from focus group 1, Norway

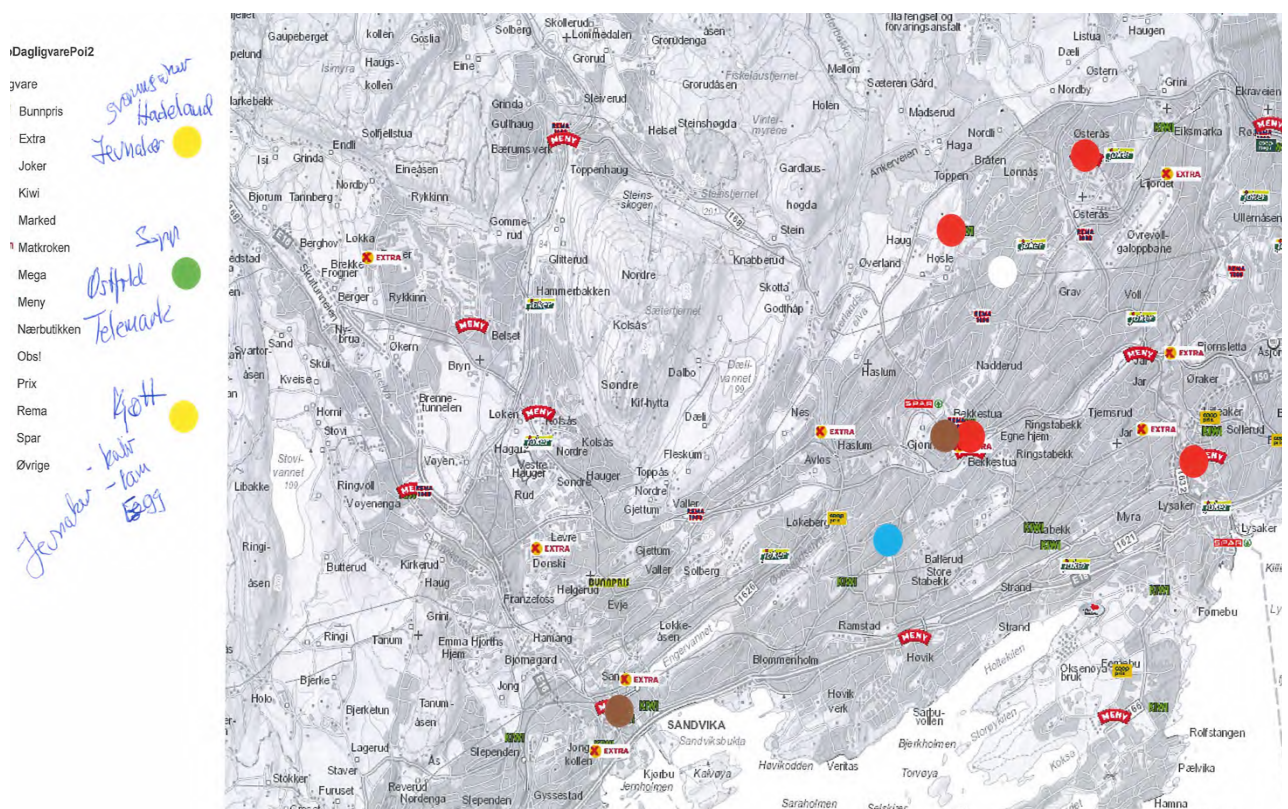


Figure 24 Foodscape from focus group 1, participant living in Bærum outside of the Hadeland region, Norway

FOODIVERSE Diversity in Eating Practices

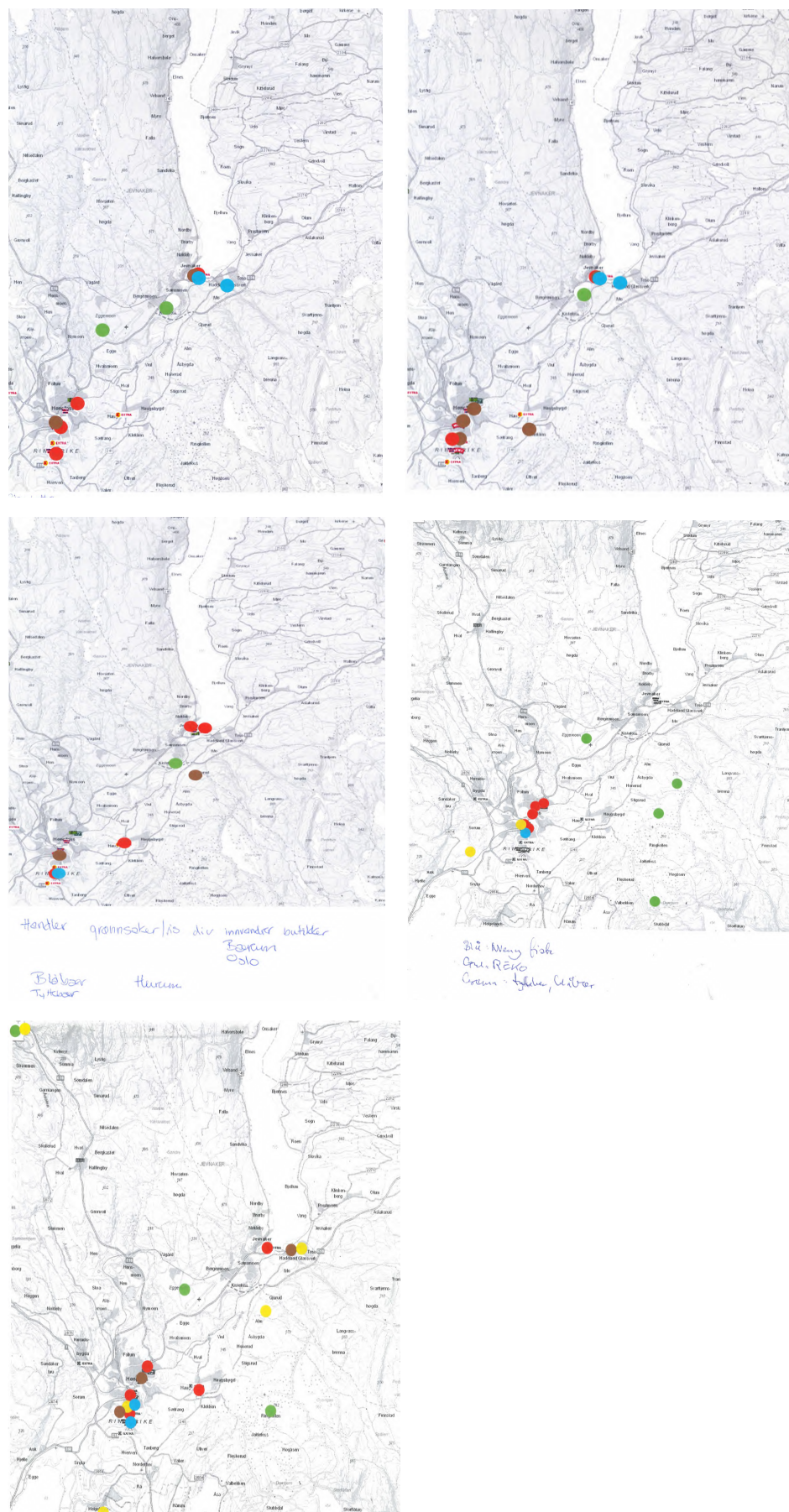


Figure 25 Foodscapes from focus group 2, Norway

Eating out

With regard to eating out, few in the Norwegian focus groups reported to be eating out at restaurants etc. to any large extent. Even with regard to canteens at work-places, several mentioned that they brought their own food (some by choice, some by lack of canteen). One participant even mentioned eating out in connection with work as something negative and dreadful: She worked as a tourist guide and had to follow the tourist groups and eat wherever it suited them. Even when situated in Oslo city, she was not very pleased with having to eat in this way. Her preference was home-made food based on high-quality organic ingredients.

Hospital food, however, was discussed in focus group 2, as two of the participants had personal experience from this context. Four hospitals were discussed; two local/regional and two national/central (Drammen sykehus, Ringerike sykehus, Rikshospitalet og Ullevål sykehus). The organisation with a central kitchen, delivering food to several hospitals was not seen as an optimal solution. But the focus group participant described the hospital food in positive terms: *“Really nice and well-tasting food, it was very uplifting to see that they had good food despite that they have a common central kitchen in Tønsberg.”* (FG2).

Another participant followed up: *‘I too would like to add that at Ullevål, they also have very very good food, and a varied selection.’* (FG2). *“Yes, Ringerike also has ‘acceptable’, while I was not very impressed with Rikshospitalet (the main national hospital). But my appetite wasn’t all that good either, at the time when I was there.”* (FG2)

Interaction between the functional foodscape and food-practices at home

An interesting type of interaction between the local foodscape and food practices at home was that disappointment may lead to new practices. This dynamic was described in two examples (by the same participant, FG2). One of the stories was about how they had started growing their own potatoes *“as a protest, so to speak”* against what they experienced as poor quality in the shops. The same participant also told us that he and his wife has started baking their own flat-bread, something that turned out to be a great joy, because of a change in quality in the until-then best quality flatbread from the Røros-bakery. He felt they had changed the baking method (fluid dough, giving a more homogenous surface, losing the ‘home-made’ feel to it). As they did not like this new version, they started baking their own instead, based on flour from a local grain mill with specialty varieties.

Experimentation, entertainment, joy

The foodscape with a diversity of food stores etc. were discussed also as a source of novelty, experimentation, and entertainment. One participant described how she sometimes made trips to a more distant food store (supermarket) to have a look at what they had, and also to get a bit of ‘free time’ for herself (FG2). Another participant told that she was looking forward to the date when food stores release new products, and was eager to try out the new products (FG1). Another one had included photos of a couple of food items which he explained that he had bought mostly to try them out and ‘experiment.’ (FG2)

Foraging, harvesting from nature

Foraging and harvesting from nature played a significant role in all the Norwegian focus groups, both as an ideal and a practice. Various types of mushrooms, herbs and berries were mentioned, as well as fishing. One participant also (a bit humorously) pointed at the green area of the forest in the map and said that she got her meat from here, referring to meat from free-range grazing sheep and cattle. She was making a point of the forest as source of feed for grazing animals, and therefore an important part of the local foodscape.

Where do you get food from?

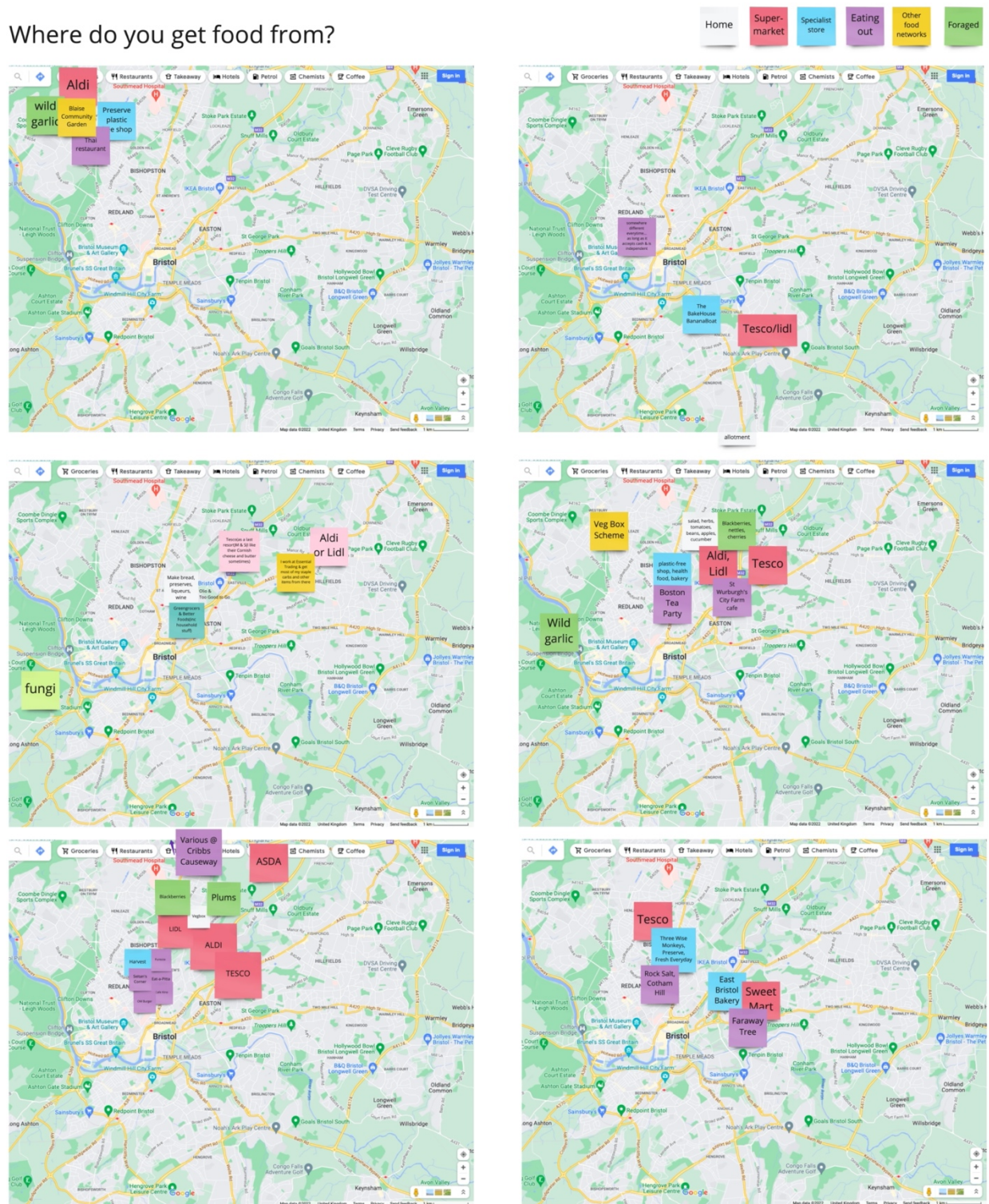


Figure 26 food purchasing maps, frequent Organic consumers, UK

Where do you get food from?

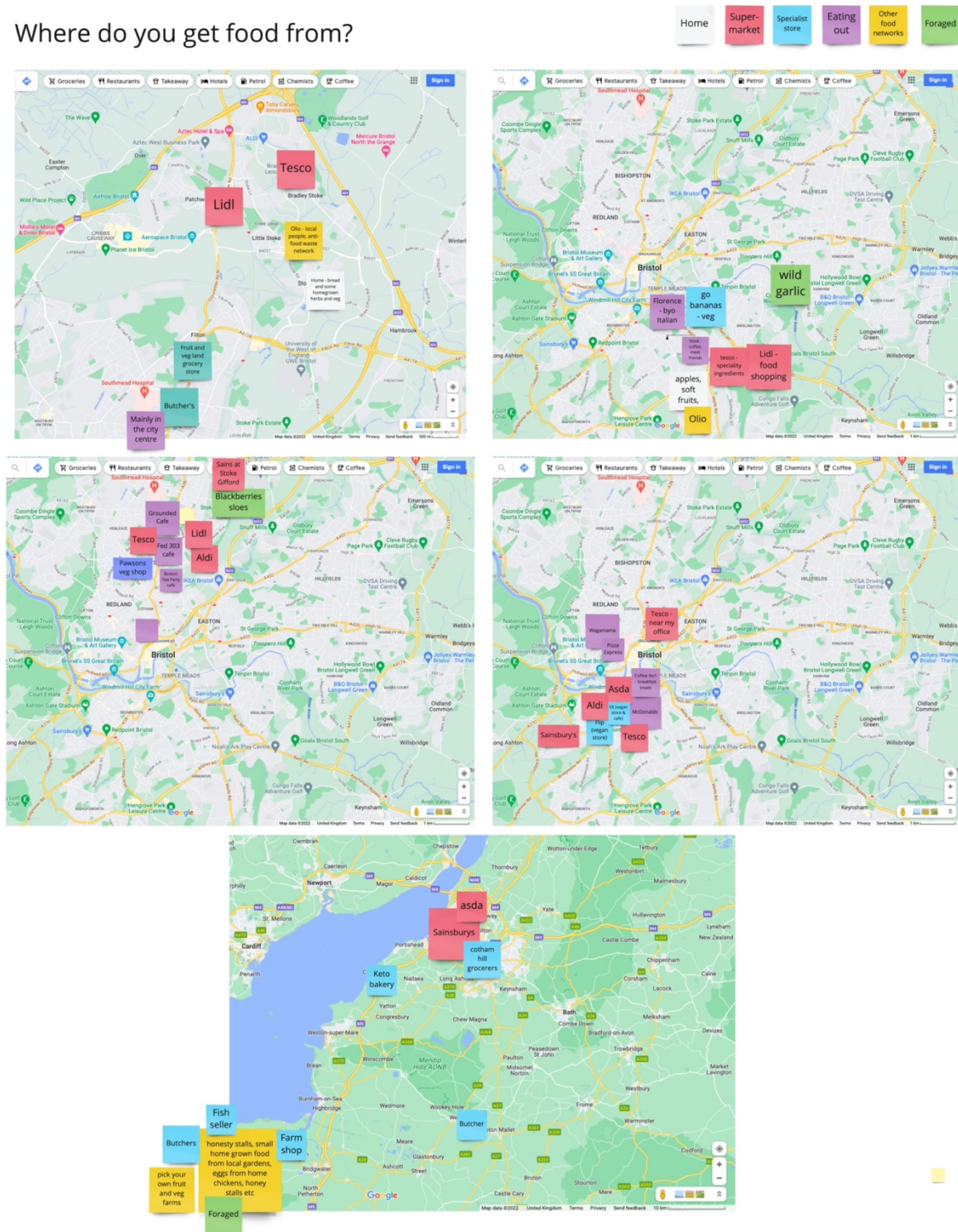


Figure 27 food purchasing maps, infrequent Organic consumers, UK

Role of supermarkets and budget supermarkets

“Shopping local around here [the suburbs] doesn’t really work” (infrequent)

“I have a ridiculous number of supermarkets near me, to the extent where it makes me quite cross... but having said that... I do use them a lot now, which makes me feel really hypocritical.” (infrequent)

"We tend to get our shopping at Tesco's, but I hate shopping at Tesco's - the only reason I do is because they deliver. We both work full time and I've got quite a few health issues... also cost is quite a big one, for us... if I could choose, I would have all of our food locally sourced, Independent shops, organic - but it's just not feasible for us and the moment... so we do as much as we can, but yeah it's not really through choice." (frequent Organic).

"if it's wrapped up in the bag in the supermarket you can't tell if it's good or ripe, and so we all said that taste, is one of most important things for us in terms of food and you can only get that by prodding and sniffing your stuff before you buy it. supermarkets don't allow you to do that do they?" (frequent Organic).

"You don't see supermarkets closing their doors, but you see hundreds and thousands of small businesses Shutting. so I think My dislike of supermarkets is stronger now - all supermarkets - purely because of the way small businesses that are going to the wall left, right and Center... [but] Like I say they are necessary evil, because they can supply things a lot cheaper in certain respects" (frequent).

Supermarkets were widely agreed to be counter to participants' ethics and ideas of who they would ideally support with their purchasing power, but also regarded to varying degrees as a "necessary evil, because they can supply [certain] things a lot cheaper" (frequent Organic) – with cheese, tins and alcohol mentioned as key products which even the most anti-supermarket consumers were still heavily reliant on supermarkets for (in contrast with meat and vegetables). In combination with being cheaper, the convenience of being able to get everything in one go and being close to where they lived/delivered to their homes were key advantages which saw most participants being reluctantly regularly dependent on them.

When they shopped in supermarkets they were increasingly turning to budget supermarkets "in terms of the main supermarket shop I'm very price driven to be honest" (infrequent) with a lot expressing that this move to prioritising prices over product range had been a recent change for them: "for the main shops tend to be Aldi – it used to always be Sainsbury's but less so these days because it's so much cheaper to go to Aldi" (infrequent Organic).

Specialist shops

"We try not to use the supermarket too much so grocers... on Gloucester road, and Preserve [zero plastic packaging shop] for all of the dry stuff... it actually works out cheaper a lot of the time, because you don't have to buy in bulk, you can just buy what you need, especially if it's spices or something." (frequent Organic)

In the frequent Organic group participants stated strong preferences for shopping in specialist shops - even if this wasn't their practice always, or even most of the time. Specialist shops were mostly used for fresh foods or niche ingredients – like bread, vegetables or tempeh, although one also used a locally owned health food wholesaler for their staples. Reasons they cited for this preference included getting to know the people working there "Going to smaller shops, if you can, means you can get to know people that work in them and that's quite important to me." "They're so lovely in there, we really got to know the girl in Preserve over the last couple years"; more pleasant shopping experiences: "I enjoy the food shop more if I'm going to Preserve and getting it all out of the little tubs"; and learning about new things as a result: "Talking to the people in the shop, who are really knowledgeable about different things that you might not have tried - you don't get that interaction in the supermarket... you can learn more shopping where you get to know people." Frequent Organic participants also emphasised the importance of shopping at independent and locally owned small businesses: "They've also got to be independent... and we try to go to a different one every time, so we're sharing the love", "Preserve... [are] owned by Bristol people and... we find they actually can end

up being cheaper than the supermarket and it's Organic stuff there." The importance of proximity came up often *"We're really very lucky that we've got a greengrocers, Specialists butchers here"* but those who had further to travel would only do so for specialist ingredients they couldn't get at the supermarkets nearby. One participant summed up his purchasing from specialist shops by saying *"I am aware that Harvest exists - tofu is hard to get from Aldi or Lidl."*

The infrequent Organic group emphasised the importance of price more (although their incomes were similar to the frequent group) which put visits to specialist vegan shops, health food stores, 'keto' or artisan bakeries into the category of occasional "pay-day treats":

"There's a couple of vegan stores, which I'll go to occasionally - I'd love to go to them all the time, but it's way more expensive so it tends to be a kind of pay day treat or just for the odd thing that I need, like a good vegan cheese, or something that I can't get elsewhere."

Shopping at local greengrocers, on the other hand, was seen as way of potentially saving money:

"If I'm on my way out to somewhere else, then I'll go into Go Bananas and they quite often have... I think what is being gotten rid of by some of the wholesalers there - so quite often you can get big bags of tomatoes, or bowls of stuff, which go really, really cheap."

In general this group perceived a lack of affordable, quality local food in the city which wasn't priced and marketed for high-earners in trendy ethical stores. One participant mentioned that, in contrast, where she grew up in the countryside nearby families *"...sell their own jams their vegetables, chutneys, honey, all sorts of different things that they're growing" from honesty boxes outside their houses and it ends up like cheaper than supermarkets even sometimes to just go around and get their food because they just sell surplus that they grow to feed themselves, and then just sell their surplus but it's often really good quality food and they aren't using pesticides and stuff."*

Veg boxes and increasing variety from constrained choice

Over half of the frequent Organic group got a weekly vegetable box which was the source of a lot of their Organic food and contained high quality price-competitive vegetables: *"People complain about veg boxes and things being very expensive, and even little local greengrocers being very expensive, but what I find is that the fruit and veg from the supermarket just does not last... [it] seems cheaper, but you end up throwing it away."* There was also an interesting discussion about the role that this seasonally varying and very restricted food choice played in increasing the diversity of meals they made:

"Another reason that we get a veg box is that it's seasonal... I think we end up eating stuff that we'd just never eat in the supermarket - either because they don't sell it or just because when you're planning your meals you just never think 'ooh, I'm going to buy some kohlrabi today' or those kind of different vegetables. Because we get it in the veg box you think, 'so what can I do with this?' and then our diet becomes more interesting and more varied because we've been given an ingredient and then... we'll have to come up with a new recipe and make something with it... I know when we've gone through periods of not getting a veg box and just getting veg from either from the supermarket or picking it ourselves... we just forget and always go for the standard stuff that everyone eats I guess."

Foraging/growing at home

Participants in both groups mentioned doing some home growing, but it was more of a focus in the Organic group. Although life sometimes got in the way, most of them wanted to grow vegetables and did so whenever and wherever they could – the *"tiny veggie patch at home," "our tiny little garden"* or *"my parents allotment"* as well as a couple having their own allotments. One participant had 3 allotments *"We grow pretty much all the soft fruit you can think of and numerous vegetables*

throughout the year.” Those that didn’t currently grow food were aiming to in the near future “I’ve not got anywhere to grow stuff but very soon..., I will be sharing an allotment - something I’m really, really pleased about as I really miss growing my own veg.” Frequent Organic consumers also mentioned going to community gardens and getting some of their vegetables from them (though not a lot in the context of what their household consumes).

Both groups foraged occasionally, with most participants picking some wild garlic in the spring and fruit in the autumn and some also including mushrooms and other plants *“whenever we go on walks”* (infrequent Organic).

“We go out into the fields just behind where I live, next to the old airfield and... we’ve picked pounds and pounds of blackberries this year, and my partner made Blackberry and apple jam - apples that we forged and frozen lots of as well.” (frequent Organic)

“There’s loads of food available everywhere when you when you walk around - it just doesn’t make sense to go to a supermarket and buy blackberries when they are literally everywhere.” (infrequent Organic)

“Those plum trees sometimes produce a lot of plums that otherwise just go on the ground.” (frequent Organic)

“I used to go down the cycle tracks and do a bit of foraging for slows and blackberries.” (infrequent Organic)

Shopping in course of routines

“It revolves around where I physically am – I’d rather not drive to go and get food, so if I can I try and be organized and get food when I’m in Cotham [for work] and then bring it back - so it’s kind of little and often rather than a big supermarket shop.” (infrequent Organic)

Fitting shopping in as part of the course of everyday routines was a common feature of the discussions in both groups:

“I don’t drive so all my shopping is based around my routes - where I’m walking to and from and what I can fit into my day: The little Tesco’s at the bottom is because it’s basically next to my house... and I do go in there multiple times a week to stock up on bits and pieces, or if it’s too late and I haven’t cooked dinner, and I just want to grab something.... and then there’s also a Tesco’s up near my office, so if I’m at work, and I want to get a few things to top up my shop, then I might get those when I’m at work and take them home when I go home.” (infrequent Organic).

Participants in both groups talked about their food provisioning in terms of the patterns of the rest of their lives: *“I’ll go shopping in a whole range of places depending on where I am. If I go and see friends, the other side of the city, then I’ll go into Asda maybe.”* (infrequent Organic). They bought food from the shops directly next to where they worked or lived *“my pictures a bit more split up because we’re just moving from Ashley down over to Eastville”* (frequent Organic), where they socialised *“It tends to be white ladies because that’s where near where we do our dancing.”* (frequent Organic) or out-of-town commitments:

“I grew up in Somerset and there’s lots of farm shops attached to farms, so you get the meat directly from the people that are growing the meat... I like to support them with meat and dairy... I don’t drive all the way down to Somerset just to get my shopping – my partner lives in Somerset and all my family

lives in Somerset so... I do my visit and then I do my shopping on the way home stocking up from people's houses." (infrequent Organic)

Transportation was a big feature of this, with many not having a car and being reliant on cycling or walking: *"I don't have a car and I eat a ton of food so... I do about two thirds of my shopping either at Lidl which is better for kind of fresh bread or Aldi which is better for frozen things."* (frequent Organic). Others wanted to avoid getting into a car specifically for food shopping *"I try to avoid getting in the car as much as I possibly can... if I've got then get in a car to drive to get food it sort of defeats the purpose of it."* (frequent Organic).

Waste

For both groups, food waste was a very important focus. They complained about how short a time veg from supermarkets lasted (frequent Organic), as well as the other way around, mentioning vegetables from supermarkets outlasted vegetables from greengrocers (infrequent Organic). They also complained about packaged vegetables from supermarkets meaning that they were forced to buy too much *"You don't have the option to buy a one or two or three of something you have to buy 10 that's in the bag or the box."* (frequent Organic).

Most of their food waste reutilisation came from using food waste apps like 'Olio' or 'Too Good to Go': *"They're really important to me: 'ooh, it's free food and ooh, i'm saving food from being thrown away!'"* (frequent Organic). Some used apps to get food neighbours might not want *"If you open a tin or a jar of jam that you don't like, rather than sticking it in the bin you put on the app and someone can come and get it, and they can have it for free... interestingly [it varies at] times of the year as well - when all the students move out all of a sudden there's a ton of baking ingredients which is great."* (infrequent Organic). Others found the apps more useful for food supermarkets or cafes had left over at the end of the day:

"It tends to be more the supermarkets that have got a surplus of fresh produce at the end of the day, which tends to be pastries or salad or fresh vegetables and or sometimes it's cafés - Pret sometimes, or some works canteens. So I tend not to get the chance to pick up what individuals have donated, more what supermarkets have got to donate." (infrequent Organic).

Eating out

Eating out wasn't a frequent occurrence for participants in either group since the Covid pandemic and was only a small topic of conversation despite the number of eateries marked on the maps: *"I used to eat out almost every week but since the pandemic I basically don't eat out very often"* (infrequent Organic), *"I hardly ever eat out, so I didn't get around to putting anything on because it's the least of my priorities really."* (frequent Organic); *"I think the amount of purple that I've put on the map belies how little I eat out."* (frequent Organic).

Summary – functional foodscape

Variation in the number and kinds of different places and forms of food provisioning were expressed through the exercise of mapping participants' foodscapes.

Another aspect that became apparent was the difference between the 'actual' or 'objective' food environment (what was actually there), and what was perceived as viable options by participants, what they actually practices; which could be called their 'functional foodscapes'.

The role of supermarkets for food provisioning was essential for most of the focus groups, however, more prominent among those of the participants who were not part of a local food network. Shopping for food were often considered as a necessary routine where constraints related to time and money were among explanations of why provisioning practices were continued despite dislikes and a wish for something else. Supermarkets were often perceived as more convenient, "get all you need in one go", and more affordable than speciality stores and like. In Poland it was noted that the participants in focus group 2 the distribution of places where everyday purchases were made was strongly dependent on the location of supermarkets in the northern part of Krakow. The same situation was reported from the UK focus groups mentioning how the food basket typically is influenced by living close to both Lidl and Aldi, while other specialty shops were more dispersed. Not having access to a car make diverse food provisioning more difficult.

Those participating in local food networks acquired a substantial part of their food through their engagements in these networks. In the Polish focus group 1 Wawelska Food Cooperative was the focal point of the food provisioning system for all participants. In the Italian and Norwegian CSAs a substantial amount of fresh produce were also provided by the CSA, especially in season.

Informal food provisioning through e.g. family and friends (gifts etc.) were present across focus groups and countries. Home-made preserves of fruit and vegetables were among examples of foods provided as gifts.

Foraging or harvesting from nature was a way of providing food – but also played a social and/or recreational role, across focus groups including the urban groups. Relevant knowledge (e.g. botanical about edibility, but also local, about suitable places to look, was mentioned as necessary for these kinds of food provisioning.

Local food systems – present gaps and future wanted situation

In this session we wanted to make the best use of the information gathered so far: By mapping the functional foodscapes, we have traced the *material* and *physical* dimension illustrated by the spatial distribution of food outlets on the map and the diversity of food places: indoor, outdoor, small or large, specialised or diversified. In addition, we addressed the *perspectival* dimension of these foodscapes by focusing on participants' modes of travel, social relation networks and food cultures. In the session on the local food system and desired situation, we aimed at providing valuable input to be transferred to the Living Lab activities (Work package 5).

A post-it session was prepared (either on a physical or a digital board), where participants were asked to write down what they miss in their local area, and what they would like to be improved in their future food environment. Each participant was invited to create at least 3 post-it notes, which were then grouped by the facilitator for a group discussion.

A relevant point of discussion was to grasp to what extent lack of diversity is a barrier towards more sustainable diets.

Germany

Present the challenges, suggestions and ideas that came up during the discussion

The participants of the first focus group uniformly expressed that they do not miss anything and are very satisfied regarding their current situation/access (*"I actually get everything and do not miss anything"*). According to this, the question was further elaborated in the focus group. In terms of desired changes, it was mentioned that there should be more reusable packaging and vegan restaurants. Similarly, it would be desirable that "privileges were more common" (*"I wish that more people would be able to buy good (local) food (...) we are privileged to be able to spend money on food"*) and appreciation of food is improved. And that this is shown in how the money is spent. However, it was emphasized that the appreciation of food especially among young people is changing currently. It was also noted that there is no unique definition of "local". Thus, the participants' views of local ranged from a maximum of 10 kilometres to 30-40 kilometres to within the federal state and even a bit beyond. To further improve access regarding local food, the development of bicycle paths and more stores (e.g., zero waste stores) in the immediate area were suggested (to drive one way 15 km was assessed too far). At the end of the discussion, the participants stressed that *"They are in an absolute luxury position to be able to buy such local"*. One participant expressed concerns/worries about the war in Ukraine and hoarding of food which would not be necessary and would like it to be different.

One participant even mentioned that good food products are that important that they lowered their other needs to have enough money for good foods *"Therefore we do not have other things, which can be found in other families..."*

Table 54 Local food systems: Present gaps and future suggestions and ideas, Focus Group 1, Germany

What I miss the most	How I would like it to be
Deposit bottles Eat out in vegan restaurants Nothing, everything is there Appreciation Participation in good food	Closer by (stores, etc.) Returnable packaging/container Extension/improvement of bicycle paths Everyone is able to feed themselves with good food Not only „organic bubble“ Hesse is regional Zero waste stores Regional is undefined (can mean Germany or EU)/federal state as region 30-40km Current situation: hoarding, empty shelves – does it have to be like that Use cargo bike Not more than 10 km (e.g. by bike) Not too cheap Rethink To go shopping by foot or bike Value of food There are food products in Odenwald (region in Hesse) locally available

Focus Group 2: There was a discussion about the difference between the two categories, therefore there are overlaps:

Table 55 Local food systems: Present gaps and future suggestions and ideas, Focus Group 2, Germany

What I miss the most	How I would like it to be
Organic bistro (Gießen, Biebertal) Organic restaurant in Gießen Organic-regional restaurant Organic restaurants in the city and district of Gießen Straußwirtschaft with seasonal and organic vegetables	More organic food in day care/schools Highlight seasonality e.g. with coloured Declaration more accurate More organic and regional fruit and vegetables (no garlic from China!) For meat eater: slaughterhouses One / several organic restaurants, organic, regional and climate just DIY from a store perspective: good and elaborate producers from all food disciplines and products / food producing handcraft Valuation/appreciation towards the producer and food (from the society) Less packaging of organic vegetables Local markets (villages) More organic food in canteens, caterer, etc Improved use of leftovers/ no food waste Catering food: preparation, health improving/keeping health

What I miss

Four participants miss an organic bistro in Gießen and the district, but also an organic restaurant. One participant would like to have a “Straußwirtschaft” (typical for wine growing areas in Germany, it is no restaurant, but often winegrowers and -makers who sell their wine and simple, regional food) with seasonal and organic vegetables. And a restaurant with climate just food.

How I’d like it to be

The ideas of the participants are summarised subsequently:

- More organic food in daycare and schools. Also, more organic products in canteens and large-scale catering, although another participant mentioned that to her it is not necessary that the food is labelled as organic
- Improvement of quality of catering food, e.g. for hospitals, schools, daycare, cafeterias, retirement homes in terms of health, overcooked food (*“...that the food does not make you even more sick.”*).
- Everyone who cannot cook at home should be able to eat healthy and environmentally sound.
- increase the awareness of consumers telling where food comes from with a colour code, e.g. green for seasonal food. (Seasonality is already increasingly used in restaurant businesses, also in regular restaurants).
- Higher appreciation of food and for the producer of the society. (*“...that I just know, when I buy a liter of milk, what that means what is behind that. Yes, that I just have another consciousness.”*)
- Less food waste, that there is no appreciation because so much is thrown away
- P2.5 would like that fruits, vegetables, potatoes, bell pepper, garlic, is grown here and marketed here as well. Especially organically grown. Not import of garlic from China or bell pepper from Spain or Italy, but provide enough arable land that those things can be grown.

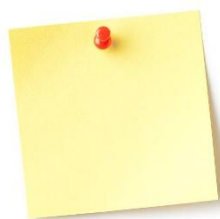
- Also, a butcher/slaughterhouse in Gießen.
- Many more good and thorough producers.
- Less packaging in stores
- Another wish was that more farmers markets/local markets are present in the small villages, although she is aware of the difficulties of implementation, because she would like to have several market stall and not only one who leaves after 10 min to drive to the next village.
- Furthermore, the claim of German consumers to get cheap and good food and to think that it is possible to produce cheap and good food.

In both focus groups there was a desire to increase a (more) ecologically friendly lifestyle (less food waste, plastic packaging, going shopping by bike) and hence to improve the infrastructure to make this more common. Also, members of both groups miss certain options to eat out (vegan, organic and/or regional) so that they can keep up to their values when eating out.

Appreciation of food and producers were also mentioned in both groups, but this was not as intensely discussed (compare to prior discussions in focus group 1).

Only in focus group 2 an improvement of public catering was mentioned, but this topic was already tackled in the Food Policy Council and is one aim for them.

Italy



Present the challenges, suggestions and ideas that came up during the discussion

This was a post-it session. We started by inquiring participants' opinions at the individual level and then we moved to their opinions regarding the community level. All participants were invited to write down 3 suggestions for improving access to diverse local food divided according to:

- What do I miss the most (green post-its)
- How I would like it to be (yellow post-its)

Focus Group 1

Table 56 Local food systems: Present challenges and future suggestions and ideas, Focus Group 1, Italy

	Gaps	Suggestions for improvement
AT, M	Many places/opportunities for sourcing local produce already exist, but there is the need to improve their distribution.	Improve distribution of local products with evening hours and home delivery services. Disseminate information about local producers in neighborhoods as well. Price support to make local and sustainable products affordable. Products should be local, ethical, sustainable and good. There should be biodiversity and product protection as in Slow Food's presidia. Changing life times to have time to come home earlier and cook.
GA, F	Access to local produce should be more compatible with the rhythms of life. Distribution times in CSA and farmers' market is usually inaccessible due to office hours. Also, the location is inaccessible for those without a car. There is no easy access to products from specific localities (e.g., Ledro Valley), lack of proper distribution network.	To make access to local products more compatible with our real lives.
ER, F	There is no place where to find Trentino producers with detailed explanation of their production methods. There are not enough food hubs where to buy local produce.	Increase the number of places to distribute local products and increase the opening days and hours.

RF, M	CSA distribution point is not accessible. There is a lack of stores and small stores selling local products; there are now only large supermarket chains downtown.	Arrangements at the area level to have space within commercial facilities for CSA distributions to be used there. Infrastructure should be made available so that small producers operate properly and can only deal with producing.
ST, M	No access to local organic products for the suburbs: all virtuous initiatives are offered only in the historic center. Those who live outside fall back on supermarkets for convenience of hours and access.	Access to local product can be improved with more publicity because people often do not know where local producers are and/or what they produce. The evening market is an excellent initiative that would be nice to replicate in other Trentino municipalities. There should be more promotion and more occasions to taste local products such as evening markets.
MA, F	Gas or Csa are more suitable models for a family structure. There is no citizen culture of food recovery in grocery stores, no trust.	Create more awareness and more access for retail waste recovery.
SF	Physical, social, cultural and economic accessibility does not work, so there are many social inequalities.	Propose pathways for widespread outreach to support citizens. Expand locations and times of CSA distribution.

Focus Group 2

Table 57 Local food systems: Present challenges and future suggestions and ideas, Focus Group 2, Italy

	Gaps	Suggestions for improvement
SE, F	The high cost of local producers compared to the supermarket can be a barrier to purchase.	More distributive moments for the farmers' market, maybe by organizing the market not only on Saturdays but also on Friday. Organize some markets in the suburbs too. Where I live there is nothing as a Farmers' Market and on Saturdays I am forced to come to Trento. I also would like to get more information from producers: I imagine a local producer has a story to tell. It would be nice to know more about them, what kind of crops he/she has, why they decided to opt for organic production...

		because in my opinion communication is key.
TO, M	There is a lack of product variety, there are only monocultures in Trentino.	I also wrote community gardens. Where one gets maybe just the box of seasonal vegetables, encourage local exchange. These city gardens could also help to mitigate the monoculture, which in my opinion is just becoming a massacre. I also hope that food policies will prevent the opening of so many supermarket and fast food chains.
FF, F	She had to leave before the end of the focus group.	
EU, F		What I would like to have is a community garden... in the city maybe it is difficult, however in a countryside it could be easier. Something like a shared space that is self-managed where everyone can produce themselves and plant what they want.
NC, M	There seems to be no lack of anything: there is a good selection of products and stores where you can find local products, just people need to look for them and don't expect everything to be right on your doorstep.	

Poland

Focus group participants perceptions of what they miss when it comes to supply of food in their local area. Presenting their ideas on how to improve the access to diverse local food (if this comes up during the discussion/post-it session).

- Identified gaps
- Food Cooperative members paid a lot of attention to enumerating things that could be improved in it. This is an obvious indicator of the fact that the Cooperative allows them to actually manage a part of the food system. Therefore, the topic of improving the food system is automatically interpreted by them as improving the Cooperative.
- Participants of focus group 1 enumerated the products that are difficult to obtain in the Cooperative, mainly due to the lack of suitable suppliers in the region:
 - Strawberries and other fruits in the summer season
 - Unsprayed fruit
 - Tomatoes
 - Potatoes
 - Legumes
 - Dairy obtained with care for animal welfare
 - Wild plants (proposal to introduce a "forager" function in the Cooperative - a person responsible for collecting wild food).
- One of the participants pointed out that she has problems with transporting home food ordered in the Cooperative. The orders are too heavy, so she has to limit their size.
- Focus group 1 - one of the participants expressed a desire to have a garden where she could grow her own vegetables.
- Focus group 1 - too few initiatives of Community Supported Agriculture.
- One of the participants of focus group 2 stood out from the group. He was a skilled social worker, which explains his slightly different social and cultural capital, which influenced his views on the food system. He was not a vegetarian, but he experimented with his diet and looked for a variety. He pointed to the low availability of plant-based products. This thread also appeared during the discussions in focus group 1.
- A social worker in focus group 2 also pointed to the shortcomings in the restaurant's offers. There are too few restaurants with both meat and vegan menus. This makes it difficult to meet friends who prefer a different diet.
- Focus group 2 - A thread of a physician-prescribed diet that restricts food choices. This problem was reported by people who had to reduce weight. They were worried about the need to limit junk food, sweets and alcohol.
- Another thread that appeared in focus group 2 that was absent from focus group 1 - "food and flavors that I remember from my childhood". It has been reported that there are products that were available in the past and are now no longer available for purchase (some sweets and sweetened drinks). This category also included memories of dishes previously prepared by parents or other family members.

Ideas on how to improve the access to diverse local food

Creation of new food networks and development of existing ones (FG 1).

- Creating new food networks in smaller towns. Especially the development of CSA initiatives.

- Establish more food cooperatives in Poland and Krakow ("let's create a cooperative in every district of the city"). More examples of them are needed for this solution to spread.
- Increasing the number of members of the Wawel Food Cooperative. New members could help reach new food suppliers.
- Creating new ways of distributing meat substitutes - now only available in large supermarkets.
- Public institutions should keep publicly available databases of food producers - they could help in solving problems with the supply of products in food cooperatives.

New ways of supplying food (Focus Group 2)

- Increasing the number of meat-free dishes in restaurants to make it easier to meet friends on different diets.
- Re-installation of vending machines with fresh milk directly from farmers in Krakow.
- Creation of a restaurant with a wide selection of dishes for people on a special diet.
- Setting up a cafe connected to the library, where you can eat something and read a borrowed book at the same time.
- Creation of 24-hour fast food restaurants in the Azores district.

Education (Focus Group 1):

- Educating farmers and inhabitants of smaller towns. "They are often unaware of the importance of independent food production. They give it up and start stocking up in supermarkets. It would be worth telling them that food production is important and future-proof."
- Education of the general public about the origin of the food.
- Promotion of food cooperatives. "When I tell my friends about the Cooperative, they are shocked that such an initiative exists. Promotion could lead to the creation of more cooperatives, and those that exist could work better."

Development of self-production of food (both Focus Group 1 and Focus Group 2):

- Enabling every inhabitant of Krakow to have their own garden and grow their own food.
- Planting wild fruit trees so that free fruit is available to everyone.
- Establishing apiaries in the Azores, popularizing beekeeping in the city.

Community Building (mainly Focus Group 2):

- "Creating a park where you can bring your own food and exchange recipes."
- "Creating a place with a shared kitchen where you can cook for others, exchange food, teach other people your recipes."
- Establishing a community garden with a composter under each block.

Norway

Focus Group 1 and 2, Hadeland

- Availability of locally produced organic grains, a diversity of varieties
- Map of local foodscape and provisioning opportunities, open farms etc.
- Local food into local institutions
- Network for farmers, processors, diverse outlets, private and institutional consumers
- More people involved in local food networks such as CSAs (why failed/stagnating?)

Future wanted situation

Ideas from the pilot group

- Municipalities in Norway should dedicate more space to projects that support urban agriculture
- In addition, municipalities should stimulate local initiatives and support competition in the food sector
- Incentive CSAs in several places in Norway
- Create a food diversity day in Norway
- Norwegians need to be stimulated to shift their focus from price to quality
- Enable food diversity from food sharing and food exchange with your neighbours
- Organise guided hikes for people to learn how to harvest from nature
- Guided tours on local farms to become familiar with food production in the region

UK



Figure 28 frequent Organic consumers' suggestions for improving access to local food



Figure 29 infrequent Organic consumers' suggestions for improving access to local food

Table 58 Local food systems: Present challenges and future suggestions and ideas, Focus Group 1 and 2, UK

Frequent Organic	Infrequent Organic
More greengrocers; local cheese sellers; waste free shops More farmers markets & pop-up food stalls selling pre-prepared local produce	More / more accessible local and specialist shops in high street – reducing rent for local food sellers, increasing opening hours so people could access around work commitments
More allotments/community gardens and ways locals could buy from them	More allotments/community gardens and ways locals could buy from them
Improving physical access: improving cycle provision, better local transport, delivery services, local shops walking distance from all	Supermarket section for local food, local pick-up points for easier access
Reorganising govt subsidies away from large agribusiness toward local/ organic/ mixed farms/ market gardens.	Local buying coops
Reduce cost differential between shopping locally and low cost supermarkets	

Figures 28 and 29 show post-it notes created by participants individually generating ideas around improving access to local food in the areas where they lived. These are thematically grouped in table 55.

Allotments and community gardens were a big focus of suggestions from both groups. Reasons given for this included perceptions that there were quite a lot of allotments and community gardens around the city but no “opportunity for local people to buy the surplus produce” (frequent Organic) and it could address the problem that *“There’s not always really good quality cheap but reasonably priced veg”* (infrequent Organic). Compared to a greengrocers “it’s a bit more of a Community setting... maybe you might be more minded to go and do some digging some of the time, or... it’s like that sense of being a bit involved in something” (infrequent Organic). However, one participant who had several allotments himself pointed out that he doesn’t want to sell anything, preferring to give any gluts to charities, swap with other allotment gardeners, or *“just leave them in a box at the end of my plot and people come along and help themselves”* (frequent Organic).

The group of frequent Organic consumers spent a lot of time discussing the high availability of cheap out of seasons foods as one of the major barriers to access for local seasonal foods: “we’ve been spoiled for way too many years” and it’s *“so easy not to”* buy in season - *“often isn’t cheaper to even buy seasonally.”*

“I definitely would rather eat seasonally but then also a lot of the time, I do have the opportunity to eat seasonally but I will buy some strawberries in the winter... I think temptation is a big barrier when it’s so accessible.”

They focused on how people can’t access local foods because there are cheap supermarket alternatives which local foods can’t compete with and people can’t afford to ignore:

“I don’t think it’s an issue with the cost of the food per se, because I think they’re fair. When you’re buying local Organic ingredients and people are being paid a decent wage to produce the food, I think that’s fair. I think it’s a systemic issue that people are not paid enough that they can then afford to buy that food... [mainstream supermarkets don’t reflect the true costs] exactly - someone else is paying for it basically.”

The group of infrequent Organic consumers were particularly interested in possibilities around local buying coops and shifting the balance of accessibility from supermarkets to smaller local stores.

Although interest around local buying groups was high, the discussion raised a lot of doubts about feasibility, with participants sharing stories of coops falling apart because of logistical burden on the organisers or still failing to be price competitive with other food buying options:

“My housemates setup a buying coop with our local neighbors... it ended up falling apart because it was so much logistically hard work.. But if there was some kind of infrastructure in place, like an app or something where you could easily set up these kind of buying coops, I would love that.”

“There are a few people at work who’re quite keen on saving money and reducing waste - I tried to get them together to use something called ‘good club’... and nobody wanted to do it... they buy in bulk so that they can pass on the savings... but even so, some of it was quite expensive, and I think it just puts people off.... I’m guilty of it myself - will I put my money where my mouth is, when it’s considerably more expensive? I don’t know what my tipping point is where I just say ‘I won’t pay that actually.’”

Ideas for improving accessibility of smaller local stores included *“reduced rent for local food sellers... [as] in certain places the rents make it impossible for people to sell stuff for a reasonable price and*

from the smaller producers,” and improved opening hours: “Most of them don't open before work and don't stay open after work.. it would be great to go pick up little things on the way to and from where I'm going, but instead end up in Asda because it's open and it's on route.”

Interestingly for this project, both groups mentioned a perceived link between supermarket provision and lack of dietary variety:

“I have two large supermarkets close by and the temptation is to always go there but... you're only ever going to eat what Tesco and Lidl have got for sale and I feel like I've been channelled down that road and... there are a lot of fruits and vegetables that that people don't know exist... [I] know very few fruits and vegetables that aren't widely available in supermarkets... [but], for example, the number of different varieties of kale, just within one thing, is pretty crazy.”

“It would be really healthy actually for the population to be forced to vary their diet, based on what is seasonal because if the same stuff is available all year, then you kind of get into the habit of buying the same five vegetables - i'm certainly guilty of that, because the same thing's available all the time, so you make the same choice, every time so that kind of becomes automatic to go for what you know is your favorite, but... the more different plants you eat, that's one of the biggest keys to health as far as I understand, and really having less choice but a more... diverse range of seasonal foods that changes throughout the year is probably a really good way to achieve that.”

“Some variety would be great. So a more speciality shop, like a deli maybe, closer would be fantastic.... There are a couple in south Bristol now... and so the curiosity about different foods and sort of different ingredients is increasing.”

Summary – present gaps and future desired food system

“Do not miss anything”

Both in the German and Norwegian focus groups, there were expression of satisfaction: *‘I do not miss anything.’* There was an appreciation of the foods available, a sense of gratitude. It was expressed from a personal perspective, but it could perhaps also be a reflection of the general situation in the food market in our part of the world; there is in general no food shortage, but rather abundance, in terms of quantities of food.

Nevertheless, during the discussion some elements of possible improvements were brought up.

Increased access (for all) to locally produced, high quality food

- Common wish: information/map about local foods available, easier access to local food, more diverse local processing and distribution.
- Solve barriers in food market: supermarket-logics, trade agreements (e.g. availability of local/domestic apples)
- Creation of new food networks and development of existing ones. Higher numbers of various types of local food initiatives (CSA, Cooperatives) (P)
- More local/organic/high quality food across systems of provisioning (kindergartens, schools, hospitals, canteens, supermarkets, smaller shops, restaurants)
- Community gardens. (I, P, UK) Access to garden. A shared space that is self-managed where everyone can grow their own foods and plant what they want. Planting wild fruit trees so that fruit is available for free to everyone. (I, P)

- More opportunities to taste local products
- Improved practicalities within the local food initiative: transport, access, storage (I, P, N)
- Increased local production of wanted foods (P, N)
- Increased availability of plant-based products (P)

Environmental sustainability

- Reduce waste, plastic wrapping, food miles ('non-sense' to import certain products, such as potatoes)
- Bicycle paths, improve sustainable access to food, smart organisation (G)
- Improved use of left-overs/reduced food waste
- There should be biodiversity and product protection as in Slow Food's presidia. (I)
- Use city gardens to improve biodiversity (I)
- Create a dedicated food diversity day (N)

Social /economical sustainability

- Fairness for all, transparency, price should reflect real costs and cover ethical food production
- Price support to make local and sustainable products affordable. (I)
- encourage local exchange
- Valuation and appreciation towards the producer and food (from the society) (G, N)
- Changing societal and everyday life organisation to have time to come home earlier and cook. To make access to local products more compatible with our real lives. (I, P)
- More meeting places for farmers and consumers in common (Italy: *It would be nice to know more about them, what kind of crops he/she has, why they decided to opt for organic production... because in my opinion communication is key.*)
- Building community around food: a park where you can bring your own food and exchange recipes; a shared kitchen where you can cook for others, exchange food, teach other people your recipes. (P)

Organisational

- Organisational and structural support for increased use of left-overs and reduced food waste
- Improved distribution in the local food initiatives (I) (more practical for consumers)
- Infrastructure should be made available so that small producers operate properly and can focus only on producing. (I)
- Improved information about where to source local food. Maps, guided tours, etc. (I, N)
- Educating farmers and inhabitants of smaller towns. Education of the general public about the origin of food. (P)
- Retail waste recovery
- Enable food diversity from food sharing and food exchange with your neighbours (N)

Discussion

How do consumption practices relate to diversity throughout the food system? The aims of this report have been to identify barriers and possibilities for developing diverse sustainable diets and food consumption practices among citizens-consumers in specific localities. We have been concerned with the participants' valuations of "good food" and to what extent "good food", especially in terms of local and/or organic food, is accessible to different participants. A special focus has been on the role of alternative food networks in strengthen bio-cultural and dietary diversity for consumers. In the concluding part of this discussion, we will highlight some of the suggestions for such improvements that came up in the different focus groups.

The report builds on data from discussions in ten focus groups in five countries. One aim of this study has been to shed light on how participation in different alternative or local community food initiatives affects the perceived and experienced foodscape of consumers. In all countries at least one of the groups (both groups in Germany) were recruited from a local food network or among frequent organic consumers (UK). The rest of the focus groups consisted of participants who were not directly involved in special food initiatives. This approach gives us a specific insight to the role that alternative food provisioning and consumption may play for the diversity of local food systems.

In the following discussion, we will mainly focus on bio-cultural and dietary diversity and how these aspects are related to the other dimensions of diversity; agrobio-diversity and diversity in modes of organisation and coordination (see figure 1 in the background chapter). By diversity in organisation we also include diversity in ways of providing food that participants in the focus groups make use of. We will see how the dimensions are interlinked and how they are related to the perceived foodscape, including accessibility and availability of good food, of the focus group participants.

From the discussions in the focus groups, it is evident that diversity both affects and is affected by the valuation and use of food products by the individual participants. Through the different sessions of the focus groups the participants discussed their valuations and use of specific food products. In the product story and voting sessions, specific products were discussed - apples, potatoes, chicken, beef and bread, while in the 'good food' sessions more general valuations of food were brought up. Drawing on the results from these sessions, we will describe valuations of food generally as well as related to specific product categories and discuss how they were (or not) related to different dimensions of diversity. We will further look at factors that may enable or constrain bio-cultural diversity and how this relates to agrobiodiversity.

Relationship between bio-cultural and agro-bio diversity

The present-day dominant food system has been characterised as a "placeless foodscape" (Morgan et al, 2006), meaning that production and consumption are detached, and the origins of foods are separated from place and sourced from a number of different intermediate goods, processed and distributed through several stages in the value chain before being sold to the consumer. This commodification process obscures the origin of the food and alienates us as eaters. Our experience with the origin of food and consequently the relationship between agro-biodiversity and consumption is therefore for most people (unless you are directly involved in food production) obscured. Despite this, the focus group discussions revealed many observations and stories related to food production and how it relates to agro-biodiversity. Discussions included observations of changes in agro-biodiversity, in particular the desire for a wider range of different varieties, and the fact that the products in the stores appear very homogeneous due to specific requirements that must be met

in relation to given quality standards. There were different perceptions related to, for example, apples and potatoes and with certain variations between countries.

Agro-biodiversity was usually not mentioned in the focus group discussions, but in the sessions where the participants touched on the use of specific food products and assessments of what constitutes good food for them, we gained insight into how bio-cultural values and food practices can have an impact on agro-biodiversity.

Food traditions related to varieties (apples and potatoes), which in turn are embedded in local traditions, gave us insight into the importance of food traditions for local cultivation of varieties. Many of these local varieties, which were previously in widespread use, are now difficult to access. You must either grow them yourself or seek out local producers and food outlets that sell these in particular. Many of the traditions are also changing, and what used to be everyday food is something that today is only used for special occasions. Special dishes, according to tradition, require the use of the old, local varieties. "We must use and eat to preserve" is a slogan in the seed saver movement that says something about how important local food traditions are for bio-cultural diversity and agro-biodiversity. Participants were particularly concerned with certain products and varieties typical of a local area, region or country and mentioned several examples of 'iconic' or special varieties or products typical of the place and thus indirectly made a link between bio-cultural and agro-biodiversity.

Grocery chains play different functions. On the one hand, they outcompete the use of the local varieties by offering a smaller selection of "generic varieties" that are often cheaper and more readily available than the local varieties. On the other hand, it is convenient to shop in the supermarkets and often you get ready meals based on traditional dishes and products that can help maintain local traditions. Fresh apples can be bought all the time regardless of the season, which can also be perceived as positive and increase the availability of fruit and healthy products, but on the other hand, it contributes to the dilution of the importance of season and knowledge of local varieties and food products and traditions. A lack of information about different varieties in supermarkets contributed to the fact that local varieties were possibly less in demand. Both the discussions about the use of apples and potatoes showed this:

Apples

Apples was part of the product story discussions in Germany, Italy and Poland (and partly in Norway) and was also discussed in the voting session. Apples were important in the local context in all these countries, especially Italy and Poland as important countries for production and export of apples. Apple was also a case product in the market audit in work package 3.

In one of the German focus groups different varieties of apples were mentioned and the relation between seasonality and specific uses came up in the discussion. Local varieties, provided from own or relatives' gardens, may have different uses, either eaten fresh or prepared for special dishes. For instance, one participant (P2.1) mentioned that she produces compote with the first and the last apples of the season.

For apples, distinctions were made regarding place of origin, either national or regional origins. Apples of national origin were typically preferred in all focus groups, and interestingly perceived as being of especially high and unique quality when originated from the participants' own country. In several of the focus groups there was an awareness of regions which are particularly favourable for apple production, and in which apples are a defining quality of the region. This included perception of apples as 'Iconic food' in Poland, and uniquely high quality of Norwegian apples, in particular from the regions of Lier, Hardanger, and Telemark.

The local varieties seemed to play a more important role to the seasonality and different ways of utilization of the apples than the apples purchased in the retail stores that are more available independent of the season. However, artisan products may play a role in local celebration and conviviality such as the example with the Strudel, a typical Trentino cake, that is mostly baked or bought for special occasions also because it is very laborious to make it at home.

Potatoes

Potatoes were discussed in the Norwegian and UK groups, and especially in the Norwegian focus groups, specific varieties of potatoes were typically mentioned in relation to traditional festive dishes. Examples include the 'Ringeriks-potatoes' (PGI), specific to the region in which focus groups were conducted, which were used in traditional dishes eaten right before or during Christmas (Lefse, lompe, rakfisk, pinnekjøtt). Not all of the participants were aware of this variety, at least never bought it, also due to visual appearance, quite small and with humps making them more difficult to peel.

Also the 'Mandel-potato' (Almond potato), which is a specific variety but not restricted to a specific region (more generally a 'mountain potato'), was mentioned as a 'must-have' in certain dishes. The Mandel potato was also mentioned by one participant as her favourite everyday-potato, for the specific eating- and cooking qualities.

In the UK focus groups participants differed to the extent they valued different varieties of potatoes, but many agreed that there was a lack of information making variety difficult as part of the purchase decision. This was especially remarked for organic potatoes. However, the focus was mostly on suitability for preferred use; *"I like jacket potatoes so... I'll always go for just a large potato."* Some stated that it should be really easy to use and several mentioned that to them 'a potato is a potato' and they don't think about it much. In the UK focus groups one discussion concerned the national promotion on the packaging of different types of potato products.

Sensory experiences

Although many of the focus groups participants referred to some experience with food production (gardening etc.) or foraging and harvesting from nature, they generally did not have in-depth knowledge of a professional farmer or biologist in terms of agro-biodiversity in food production, or biodiversity at large. Therefore, it was perhaps not surprising that their reference to agro-biodiversity came in more indirect forms, such as descriptions of their sensory experiences. In fact, several aspects may affect the awareness of apple varieties that is also linked to lack of information. In Poland the participants were mostly concerned with taste and freshness and preferred apples in loose weight rather than packed in plastic. Apples in loose weight were considered more fresh and also more sustainable due to less plastic (waste). Apples were chosen for its taste (sweet for children) regardless of type of variety.

In several of the countries, the smell of old varieties of apples were mentioned, and how it differs from newer varieties found in the supermarkets today (Germany: *'the smell is different/gone'*). The different taste of new Belle de Boskoop apple varieties compared to the old ones were also mentioned (P2.1), Using their own memories related to smell and taste, for example from childhood or their own experiences with cultivation or procurement from alternative food outlets, the participants discussed what they perceived as a lack of supply of local varieties (P2.3).

In the German focus groups, varieties of apples and experienced differences between old and new varieties of apples was mentioned in a discussion about cultivars which were suitable for people with allergies. Bodily experiences were mentioned (*"So, I cannot tolerate the new breedings at all, I liked*

to eat Braeburn, but my stomach does not like them anymore. And now I am again eating King of Pippins and Belle de Boskoop and Cox's Orange Pippin." (P2.5))

Awareness of different types of varieties varied widely between different participants, and many participants placed less emphasis on variation meaning that they did not use varieties as a background for choosing apples or potatoes, for example. Other criteria such as freshness or baking and cooking properties were given more weight.

Knowledge of different varieties of apples seemed to vary between participants. In the German rural focus group, some of the participants both had their own gardens or other ways of having access to home grown fruits. In this group different varieties of apples were mentioned especially related to taste as well as season (local varieties in season). In Poland there was less attention to varieties among the participants. In Polish supermarkets, there is usually information about varieties of apples, whereas this is not usually the case for other fruits and vegetables (see market audit WP3). Nevertheless, there was little knowledge about varieties of apples. Participants in the focus groups claimed that they chose specific varieties of apples, but also said that they usually pay attention to their appearance rather than information about variety.

Inter-relations between bio-cultural and organisational diversity (food provisioning)

The focus group discussions kept a recurring pattern where shopping food in supermarkets were compared to other ways of providing food. Naturally, the focus groups that consisted of participants from local food networks often referred to how engagement in such a network impacted on their own food consumption and food provisioning practices. In the following discussion we will first summarise experiences with food purchases in the "supermarket context" and then focus on other diverse ways of organisation of food provisioning that occurred in the focus group discussion.

The supermarket context

Grocery stores (supermarkets/hypermarkets) are for most participants in all the focus groups essential for provisioning of food and in general they have a good reputation. However, a recurring theme in the focus groups was standardisation and less variation of fruit (apples) and vegetables in the supermarkets. Awareness of changes in agro-biodiversity as experienced through lower numbers of varieties available in stores, as well as large differences between varieties that used to be available and those found in supermarkets today was expressed across the focus groups.

The lack of emphasis on variety or breed may be due in large part to the way fruits and vegetables, meat and food in general are marketed in grocery stores. A market audit in WP3 showed a lack of information about the origin and varieties of many food products, not least fruit and vegetables. Consequently, consumers are often not provided with the opportunity to give much attention to different varieties and relationships between varieties and quality aspects. This is also reinforced to a certain extent by the fact that we as consumers have become accustomed to having access to the same types of fruit and vegetables throughout the year and are so to speak "weaned off" the practice and awareness of relating selection of foods to season. Paradoxically, this has also led to a narrower selection because the supermarkets generally carry the same varieties all year round, regardless of the season.

For example: In the German focus groups one of the participants pointed to the experience that the markets and modern ways of apple production had changed the varieties so immensely that there is a huge difference between present-day apples in stores and apples from meadow orchards and domestic cultivars. Regarding the variety of apples, it was criticized that "*I always see the same apple*

varieties in the supermarket. I don't want to call them industrially produced, but it abuts on that, and I miss the variety of the regional apples" (P1.4). Furthermore, apples in the supermarket are packed in plastic and must *"always meet a uniform quality standard"* (P1.5). Because of that, apples with a flaw were mostly not present. However, there are discounters that sell apples with flaws for a lower price.

In the UK participants' eating habits were embedded in their local foodscape, but the food provided in their local foodscapes was not embedded in their local landscapes. One frequent Organic consumer talked about how his typical food basket *"is heavily influenced by living 2 minutes from an Aldi and 2 minutes from a Lidl"* – in some senses hyper local food provisioning. However, participants in this group also noted how *"detached"* this supermarket provision was from its origins. *"Apart from the ones in the sack, everything's very clean and uniform"* and knowing *Where they come from... [or] that they're as local as possible"* was often eradicated by the uniformity of the packaging.

Interestingly for this project, both groups (frequent and non-frequent organic consumers) mentioned a perceived link between supermarket provision and lack of dietary variety. They felt that the constant availability of the same range of options and ability to always choose their favourite vegetables from a large range surprisingly affected their dietary diversity negatively compared to smaller stores or vegetable box schemes which changed their offer more often (seasonality, changing availability from their suppliers). They talked about how, when they shifted to buying from supermarkets, they had 'forgotten' to buy many of the vegetables which used to just turn up in their vegetable boxes and demand to be eaten, or how they were only aware of a tiny proportion of the existing vegetables through those their supermarkets deemed worthy of selling, and how healthy it would be for the population to be 'forced' to vary their diet based on seasonal availability making them experiment with new things.

Self-growing/harvesting, providing direct from the producer or through local food networks

Relations between the foodscape and contents of food in storage at home, and in types of dishes, were evident. Participants who were involved in local food initiatives described quite a direct relation between the access of food in their local food initiative, and what they ate. There were several descriptions about how their dishes and their stores of food at home were heavily influenced by seasonally available foods in their local food initiative:

Germany

In Germany focus group 1 seemed to have a larger focus on local than on organic products and in focus group 2 it seemed to be vice versa. To get food that was both organic as well as regional in supermarkets was perceived as even more difficult. Therefore, one participant mentioned the difficulty to decide whether to prioritize organic or regional when shopping. Also, the difficulty to define *"regionality"* was mentioned and to *"know"* which products are more sustainable (e.g. less carbon emission in storage or transport?). Especially the few possibilities to eat organic and regional when going out was for focus group 2 a big loss. More options to eat vegan when eating out was mentioned in focus group 1 once.

It seems that both criteria, organic and local, play major roles in the purchase decisions and that participants purchase organic and/or local products regularly. Supposedly the participants have a comparatively higher socio-economic status and/or prioritize food higher than other products and subsequently rather spend their money on food. Quite many participants grow larger shares of their own food or have contact with farmers or people who grow food as well. It could be hypothesised that compared to the average German population and for people living in cities, these findings are not representable. Among focus group 2 participants who lived more urban, self-growing was reported from some participants, but there was more variety within the group. It seemed that the

majority of participants more often used alternative ways to obtain their food than the average in Germany.

Especially in focus group 1 it seemed that the participants felt embedded in the local foodscape, as they were very satisfied with the situation and even though they also go to supermarkets, a large share was purchased through "alternative" ways. The question arises whether people who live more rural are more embedded than more urban living people. However, as the country women are actively engaged in the association it might also be that they themselves are more integrated and in contact with people. Likewise, people from the Food Policy Council were potentially more than average engaged in their communities.

Italy

When comparing the two Italian focus groups, the main difference was that the presence of the CSA implies a reduction in the shopping places in focus group 1. The CSA has become the main grocery shopping point, while complementary shopping is done for specific products in other places. Participants in focus group 2, who are socioeconomically similar to those of focus group 1, are committed to searching for good food, but have more differentiated places since they do not have the possibility of buying products at the CSA.

Participants in focus group 1 show an increased consciousness and capacity for planning food consumption (what to buy and when), directly related to the beginning of their involvement in the CSA. They have also learned how to cook seasonal products offered by the CSA that were new to them and they experiment with new recipes.

Most of the provisioning spaces overlap between the two groups, and there are some points of reference for purchasing local and organic food, mainly proximity shops. Some participants in the two groups also have access to chickens, family gardens and/or orchards where they collect at least part of the eggs, vegetables and fruits they consume. Self-production of some products, such as bread, pizza, pasta, jams, is also practiced by several participants.

Origin and production methods were especially important in the Italian focus groups when purchasing apples because of the awareness of the use of pesticides in conventional apple production. Some therefor looked for organic products when buying apples, while the CSA members were saved from this worry because the CSA provided them with all organic apples. Purchasing directly from the producer or trust in others' experience were preferred strategies to only rely on information and labels on the products.

A common route of informal food supply is through family or friends. In the Italian focus groups, there were found examples of family members from other parts of the country supplying households with local products, from the region they had grown up in. This is also an example of how a local foodscape, as opposed to a placeless foodscape, is not necessarily linked to geographical proximity, but to social and historical (experienced) proximity.

Poland

One example, from the Polish focus group among Food Cooperative members on diverse food provisioning:

"..These are my typical purchases from the Cooperative in the summer season. I always have a lot of leaves. (...) Whenever green things are available in the Cooperative in the summer, I have them in my orders. (...) It is rare for me to buy these types of items outside of the Cooperative, if they are available in the Cooperative. " (P2, Poland)

This was in contrast to participants who were not involved in local food initiatives, and who accessed most of their food in supermarkets.

Organic production methods were important among the Polish members of the Cooperative (focus group 1). Trustful relations with producers, and the availability of knowledge through these direct relations were probably the most significant difference between buying organic apples from the Cooperative vs. a supermarket. In the cooperative, participants tend to trust in the quality of apples because they know the producers, while in the case of supermarkets, consumers have to trust the procedures implemented by large chains (further described in the Deliverable from WP3).

In both the Polish focus groups, there were variations with regard to resources, as well as in lifestyles and knowledge related to this. Taking action for a sustainable food system is part of the lifestyle of focus group 1 participants. Participants of the other focus group do not have the knowledge that would allow them to identify sustainability problems. They understand them rather intuitively. They believe that food directly from the farmer is better, but they also see no problem with the fact that most of their food is obtained from supermarkets and chain restaurants.

The members of the Cooperative (focus group 1) pointed to problems with the availability of local and organic food. These problems resulted mainly from the lack of suitable suppliers in the Krakow region. The situation of the members of the Cooperative is unique, however, because this initiative was created to facilitate access to high-quality food. Its members are certainly much better equipped with good availability of local and organic food than the average inhabitants of Krakow.

Focus group 2 participants noted difficulties in accessing high-quality food. However, they didn't use the terms local or organic food. They defined this type of food as food bought directly from the farmer.

With regard to regularity of use of local and organic food, one of the participants of focus group 1 mentioned that she buys less local and organic food than she would like because it is expensive. However, all members of the Cooperative buy such food every day. For them, the cooperative is the main, but not the only source of it.

The topic of food prices also appeared in focus group 2. Its participants were convinced that more expensive food is better. On the other hand, they agreed that when buying food, they were not sure if the price was fair. They fear that most of the farmers' profits may be taken over by middlemen. There is a fear that middlemen are imposing a high margin so that cheap food pretends to be a high-quality product. These concerns stem from the fact that they source most of their food from mainstream long supply chains. They only buy local and organic food occasionally and sometimes not intentionally.

UK

In UK the frequent Organic group expressed stronger preferences for shopping in specialist shops rather than supermarkets, but they also said that a range of barriers to access often got in the way of realising these preferences. They seemed to do more home-growing than the infrequent Organic group, but this did not seem that linked to resource differences as none had large enough gardens to grow substantial vegetables in but rather gained access to land through allotments, family or community gardens or grew token amounts in 'tiny' gardens. Conversely, even in a city, participants still found 'wild' foods to forage through which the local foodscape and landscape were united and which affected their diets: "in the fields just behind where I live... we've picked pounds and pounds of blackberries this year, and my partner made Blackberry and apple jam - apples that we forged and frozen lots of as well."

While incomes were similar between the two groups, and both groups expressed very similar food ideals (focused around Organic, plastic-free and local foods), the infrequent Organic group emphasised the importance of price more and discussed having 'reasonable' price thresholds above which they would probably not go for more ethical foods, even if they had the money. They were also more interested in local buying groups which were seen as a way of accessing quality foods while keeping the costs down, but the discussion raised a lot of doubts about feasibility, with participants sharing stories of coops falling apart because of logistical burden on the organisers or still failing to be price competitive with other food buying options.

In the UK focus groups, affordability complaints were less pronounced among frequent Organic consumers, perhaps because they had allocated more budget to food purchasing and perhaps because they sourced a lot of their local/Organic food outside the main supermarkets, through allotments or weekly vegetable box schemes which they felt contained high quality price-competitive vegetables.

The importance of proximity came up often in both the UK groups – proximity not just to where participants lived but to the places they went in their daily lives. Many participants didn't make trips especially for food so procurement was largely determined by where their daily routines took them with limited deviation. For some the most convenient shops were selling (or presumed to sell) local and/or Organic foods, but this mostly wasn't the case. Even though participants knew there were shops selling more local or Organic foods a bit further away and which they could reach if they made a dedicated trip, the complexity and busyness of their lives meant that this generally didn't happen unless they needed a more specialist ingredient. This proximity is of course relative – the greater the abundance and proximity to foods which are not local or Organic, the lower the perceived accessibility of local and Organic foods would be in comparison. One of the largest perceived barriers to increasing the consumption of foods participants thought of as ethical was the over-availability of 'tempting' foods which did not meet these ethical criteria.

Norway

Being a member of a CSA influenced the local availability of a diversity of foods. In the Norwegian case of Hadeland CSA, more than 40 different varieties of vegetables, potatoes and flowers were provided, as well as meat from livestock at three local farms, including heritage breeds. To have access to this vast array of different types of foods also lead to greater awareness of and experience with foods and varieties they were not familiar with from before.

Eating practices- sustainability and embeddedness in the local foodscape

In the focus group discussions, the topic of sustainability emerged to varying degrees and in different forms when participants described their own culinary practices. In some cases, the term sustainability was used explicitly, in other cases issues of importance for food system sustainability were mentioned, and in other cases, such connections between own eating practices and connections to sustainability did not emerge. Embeddedness in the local foodscape were sometimes expressed as a value in itself, and in other cases talked about as related to food system sustainability. In several of the focus groups participants complained about why organic products often are wrapped in plastic packaging. From a sustainability viewpoint it seems illogical. It is often difficult to find information about the origin of the organic products as well as the variety.

Germany

The choice of diet was not a big topic concerning sustainability aspects (many already used organic food) rather the provisioning of food (going by bike, avoiding plastic packages or buying in zero waste stores). Cooking with leftovers was mentioned by several participants (taste was underlined, but of course it is also a means to reduce food waste). Especially focus group 1 underlined to try to support the local foodscape financially, so that producers and processors can survive. One participant mentioned that she stopped eating fish regularly after the Fukushima incident. Since then, she only eats local fish.

The major links participants made between the sustainability of their eating practices and the local foodscape involved: the role of supermarkets in forcing them to buy fresh fruit and vegetables in plastic (creating plastic bag waste and food waste from over-buying); the role of organic/local vegetable boxes in providing long-lasting diverse vegetables which inspire the cooking of new dishes; and the way that the high availability of cheap out of seasons foods 'tempts' people away from local seasonal foods which they would otherwise seek out or be happy with.

A certain reluctance to fill in the questionnaires, especially the chicken questionnaire, was apparent. Potentially, this might be due to social desirability or acceptability of eating meat. As the topics organic and regional food were important and the knowledge that a reduction in meat consumption might be generally favourable (for the environment, animal welfare and for health reasons).

Italy

Organic is seldom mentioned as a desired quality of fruits and vegetables, while there are several references to natural and local food, which are apparent also in the debate about what good food is. The majority of participants are indeed sensitive about food quality and origin, including ingredients of processed products. This is reflected in focus group 1 also in an increased search for local food in relation to eating out experiences, that two participants mention, also stressing the importance of the aesthetic character of good food.

Participants in the two groups discussed aspects of sustainability especially in terms of packaging, i.e. large amount of plastic employed in traditional supermarkets, and some of them also highlighted the need of buying food produced with fair working conditions and no exploitation of workers. Another issue that emerged is that of food recovery, both as a strategy for waste reduction and as a way to improve food accessibility thanks to lower prices. Meat was discussed in the two groups as a source of unsustainability. Two participants are vegan, one belonging to the first and one to the second focus group, several other participants have drastically reduced meat consumption and are concerned about animal welfare, organizing their purchases accordingly.

Poland

In Poland, the topic of sustainability of own culinary practices did not appear at all in focus group 2. However, it appeared very often in the statements of the participants of focus group 1. The only participant who ate meat spoke negatively about this practice. The members of the Cooperative also criticized the fact that many products are not available in the vicinity of Krakow and must be imported from distant places.

Krakow is a large city with a wide selection of products from all over the world. The problem is the lack of products manufactured in the immediate vicinity of the city and the price of organic food. It is paradoxical that the best source of some organic produce is from large supermarket chains.

Regardless of these problems, it should be indicated that people interested in sustainable practices can find ways to obtain appropriate food. The possibilities in this regard are limited mainly by knowledge and financial resources.

UK

In the UK focus groups, participants discussed how sustainability concerns had moved them to shift their eating practices toward involve less meat and reduce food waste. Most of the participants were trying to eat lower on the food chain to reduce their environmental impacts, with several mentioning this as a reason for being vegetarian or vegan. Reducing food waste through waste food redistribution apps and buying food which had been reduced due to being close to use by date was also common. They complained about how short a time vegetables lasted and how this could create avoidable food waste – particularly when bought from supermarkets (frequent Organic) or particularly when bought from local greengrocers (infrequent Organic).

The concern expressed by some participants that they only knew how to cook with certain varieties of potato mentioned in particular recipes and could also have environmental implications as the more famous varieties are often those which require high inputs (e.g. Maris Piper – the most popular variety in the UK) and their culinary habits might stop consumers daring to switch to lower-input varieties. This being said, the focus was mostly on suitability for preferred use so this could be emphasised above variety if a shift was required.

Norway

Included in the socio-economic framing which enables local and sustainable food consumption is the affordability for consumers and households. The issue of fair price to producers, and at the same time affordability to consumers emerged as an important value among many of focus groups participants. Other values as well, such as animal welfare, were discussed as something participants would not compromise. This became clear for instance when discussing chicken in the session about important aspects when buying food. For several, the entire food category was difficult, and something they avoided. The mainstream, intensive chicken production system was for some viewed as so problematic that they mostly avoided it. When given the task of ranging factors they would consider when buying chicken, some would select only one: animal welfare (*'The only thing that matters to me when buying chicken is animal welfare'* (focus group 1, Norway). Results from earlier studies of short food supply chains and reasons to participate indicate that consumers cared about the 'true cost of food' and wanted to make sure that farmers were provided with the economic possibility of producing food with high care for farm animals as well as the environment (Vittersø et al. 2018). In this study, prices of food in a Norwegian consumer cooperative were mainly regarded as affordable and suitable, partly due to direct distribution and few intermediaries (Torjusen & Vittersø, 2023).

Future improvements

When we compare all the ten focus groups we see cultural differences between countries, but also more general differences across countries related to place of residence (urban/rural), economy and demographics. We also think these differences have an impact on the type of initiatives and measures that can be implemented to develop more varied systems for the production and consumption of local and organic food. Regardless of country, we see that being connected to a local food network contributes to a more varied supply of food and a more differentiated foodscape. Many of the participants who do not have the necessary local, economic or social resources experience a less diverse food offering. Here there may be differences between urban and rural areas. Based on the limited sample that our focus groups represent, it may appear that participants residing in more rural areas have more alternative ways of obtaining food. Many of those residing in the city were at the mercy of the selection in low-cost supermarkets with a limited range of goods. In general,

supermarkets greatly outperform other options on convenience (accessibility) and price. Families with busy schedules and tight budgets often neither have the time nor the purchasing power to participate in, or seek out, local food networks. There is still some way to go before local and organic food is available to all socio-economic and demographic groups of the population.

This picture is not entirely black and white, especially when one considers cultural differences between countries. For example, Italian CSA participants expressed that the CSA made grocery shopping easier because the CSA replaced many other food purchases. In Norway on the other hand, participation in CSA was by some seen as an extra burden in terms of time spent because it comes in addition to ordinary purchases in the supermarkets. Unlike Italy, there are few specialty shops or other markets where you can buy food. The CSA was therefore important both to increase the diversity of procurement channels and to strengthen local agro-biodiversity. The challenge for local food networks is often that they rely on a few dedicated people and are threaten by closure if these people quit. There is also a widespread perception that it is expensive to buy local and organic food which prevents many from seeking out local food networks.

As mentioned above participation in an alternative, community food network works as means to increase awareness and use of more varieties and types of fruits and vegetables. Participants in such networks, especially in Germany and Norway, were also to a large extent content with their access to good food which we interpret was due to the substantial amount of fresh vegetables, eggs and meat that they got through alternative food provisioning, and in the Norwegian case, especially through the CSA. The UK focus groups participants, not involved or formally engaged in alternative organisation of food provisioning, to a larger extent expressed discontent and were more concerned with discussing future improvements. In the UK focus groups, ideas for improving the accessibility of smaller local stores included: reducing rent for local food sellers and increasing opening hours so people could access them around work commitments; increasing the number of greengrocers, local cheese sellers, waste free shops and farmers markets; more pop-up food stalls selling pre-prepared local produce for people who needed more convenient food options. Physical access improvements included: improving cycle provision, better local transport, delivery services, local shops in walking distance from all and local pick-up points for easier access. The group of infrequent Organic consumers were particularly interested in possibilities around local buying coops (making them more convenient) and shifting the balance of accessibility from supermarkets to smaller local stores.

In the Italian focus groups local and organic food are generally perceived as accessible, even though several participants stress the need of improving distribution and accessibility, increasing the number of distribution points, especially for what concerns the city outskirts. Both groups are aware about the possibilities offered by the territory in terms of local and organic/natural food provisioning and most of them buy food through highly differentiated provisioning channels, employing time and energy to find the most suitable solutions in terms of products quality, without neglecting value for money considerations. Regarding this last aspect, some participants in both groups, especially those who are students, highlight the need of making local food more accessible in terms of price, stating that generally the price difference is not affordable to them, with the exception of the CSA. The issue of trust and the value of direct relationships with producers is also reported as crucial by many.

As a conclusion, suggestions for improvements follow three lines of development:

- 1) Making alternative food networks more accessible to people in all parts of society (increase the number and range of initiatives).
- 2) Improvements or developments of the local food initiatives themselves. For example regarding practical issues, to fit better with everyday lives of people in all phases of life.

- 3) A more active role of governmental and local authorities in making local, organic food more accessible.

The suggestions for improvements mentioned by participants included structural, economical and organizational issues, such as work-life balance; economical accessibility; places to come together to experience and learn about food; structural living conditions which support provisioning, storage, preparation, and sharing food and meals; time for food - time to enjoy, and to be present.

A desire to know more about people who are present in other parts of the food system than oneself emerged, e.g. consumers knowing more about farmers and vice versa. This element came to expression i.e. in the suggestions of guided trips in the surrounding landscape or into nature to learn about foraging and harvesting wild edibles.

Given the centrality of food, finding ways to support the accessibility for all to 'good food' may also be part of a process leading to more 'good lives' at large. Local organic food should be more available in supermarkets, smaller shops and restaurants at affordable prices. However, according to participants of the present study, public authorities should play a central role in making local and organic high-quality food accessible for instance through community gardens, different shared spaces where everyone can grow their own food or support development of local food/farmers markets. Finally, public systems of provisioning such as in kindergartens, schools, hospitals and canteens should be in the forefront and serve local, seasonal and organic food on a regular basis.

These suggestions point to different strategies for improving availability and accessibility of local and organic food and should take place in close dialogue between the local food initiatives and the society at large. A mutual, value-based dialogue approach could be a valuable tool. Food policy councils or similar modes of organizations are examples of fora where different actors, from private and public sectors may raise and solve central issues for developing a more resilient and sustainable local food system.

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Appendix 1 Interview guide Focus Groups

Time	Theme and questions	Activity and instructions	RQ - Approach
5 min	Short about the Focus group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants present themselves - Practicalities (consents, compensation etc.) 		
20 min	Food product story Conversation on the chosen food product. Several food items (fresh, processed etc). Participants can move around the table where products are allocated and comment their associations with the products. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When you look at these food products – what is the first thing that comes to mind? Please briefly describe the kinds of associations you get. 5 min. free discussion on this. <p>Follow-up questions (15 mins):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What would you like to know about <i>[this product]</i> and how do you get this information? - When did you last eat... <i>[this product]</i> (potatoes etc.)? - How did you prepare it? (type of meal etc.) - Is that a typical setting or context for eating... <i>[this product]</i>? - Why did you have this food on that occasion? - How is a good meal for you with... <i>[this product]</i>? Please describe what makes it good. (It could be related to the product, the place it comes from, the context of the meal, or other things) 	Round the table To warm up the participants and start the conversation The facilitator can start with a general question on the main food purchasing settings and other types of food provisions used by the participants and delve more into the topic through follow up questions. Direct the first question to one participant in particular – others may add to the first participant's thoughts with how they use/prepare the same or other products. Get a rich picture of how they perceive and use the product.	How and why do certain types of food enter the household (the food basket), and others not? To uncover differences in food culture/diets across countries and groups of consumers How food is prepared also relates to the biocultural diversity regarding practicing and knowledge of local food traditions etc... The same as for what types of occasions food are used. (ref. Glossary: “Petrillo and others define biocultural diversity as a term that “encompasses biologic diversity at all its levels and cultural diversity in all its manifestations” (2011, p.225).”
10 min	What is typical food basket/everyday food in your household?	Participants will send photos of	What does a typical food basket

	<p>Pictures will be displayed and discussed with the participants</p> <p>Follow up:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What food products/ingredients are always available in your household? Why? 	<p>typical food in the household, maybe from places where they store food (fridge, freeze, other food storage).</p>	<p>(food purchase) contain? Visualized by photographs in a photo gallery: Food practices and quality labels in European households (Gallery) - STRENGTH2FOOD</p> <p>Ethnographic field gallery Strength2Food – YouTube</p>
15 min	<p>Good Food</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What does good food mean to you? <p>Follow up:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Can you please describe what is it that makes it good? (social context, special ingredients, origin of food etc....) 	<p>Use participants' photos as prompts to generate a dialogue between the participants.</p>	
5 min	Brake		
5 min (voting) + 10 min (discussion)	<p>Importance of food Delving into more specific food qualities on specific products emphasized by participants (Voting on most important factors).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When buying [... add a plant based product (the same product discussed initially (apple, potato or similar))], which of the following factors are important? Mark with (x) only five of the most important factors listed in the table. <p>After the voting session the facilitator monitors participants' reactions to the voting results and can deepen the discussion with follow-up questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why are these various aspects more (or less) important according to you? 	<p>Voting session: The question(s) is handed out to the participants in form of a table template where they will vote for the 5 most important factors.</p> <p>The voting sheet of each participant is collected and summarized in a table. The results will be shared and discussed afterwards.</p> <p>When the votes are summarized, the participants may continue the</p>	<p>What is the most important consideration for you when shopping for food?</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you get the information about these aspects? - Do you ask retailers/producers where and how the food is produced? Why/why not? 	discussion, have a snack or similar.	
25 min	<p>Mapping the functional food scape.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where does your household get food from? <p>Dedicate 10 minutes to the participants' individual mapping of all relevant food provisioning modes and then systematically go through all different provisioning modes.</p> <p>The participants shall give a rough estimate of the amounts / frequency they get from different provisioning modes?</p> <p>Follow-up (stay with one theme that spurs a good discussion):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To what degree is this type of food provisioning a supplement to ordinary food provisioning? - Why do you engage/or not engage in these food provisioning activities? - What is your favorite place to get good food? Why? - Is there a place that you avoid and never would go? Why? <p>Reflection:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What does a local product mean for you? - Do you have an opinion about the geographical boundary of a local product? - Do you perceive such geographical boundary in a similar way for all food products or does it differ between food product types? 	<p>Use Maps Use physical maps to mark different localities (stores, markets etc.) from where participants provide food. Maps and colored dot stickers are handed out to the participants.</p> <p>Could also be based on drawings or sticky notes in addition if they need to make more detailed descriptions of where they provide food</p> <p>Good to have a larger map in the plenum discussion as a tool for visualization</p>	<p>Where does the household get food from: food purchases and other types of food provisioning?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Favorite place(s) to get food / eat food? Places to avoid / never go? Who do they relate to in the provisioning process? <p>Do the participants have the same opinion about the local food system borders? Is this an individual or a common opinion?</p>
5 min	Break		

20 min	<p>Local food systems – present gaps and desired future situation</p> <p>Start by inquiring participants’ opinions at the individual level and move to their opinions regarding the community level.</p> <p>Task:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Write down 3 suggestions for improving access to diverse local food. Divide according to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do I miss the most (green post-its) ○ How I would like it to be (yellow post-its) <p>Instructions to the participants: Feel free to suggest personal issues as well as issues concerning the community level.</p>	<p>Post-it session among others to create ideas that may be followed up in the LivingLabs WP5.</p> <p>Post-its are grouped for a summary discussion of the ideas</p> <p>The focus group leaders give their interpretation of the discussion and ask for feedback/validation from the participants</p>	<p>To what extent do they consider diversity in their diet and diversity in the local food supply (biodiversity). To what extent is lack of local diversity (food retail or production) a barrier towards more sustainable diets?</p>
	End of Focus Group	Remember to collect consent forms!	

Appendix 2 Additional information about participants

Table 56 Descriptions of participants in Focus Group 1, Germany

Participant	Age	Job	Voluntary work	Household size	Place of residence (inhabitants 31.12.2020 ¹)
P1.1	Mid/end 30s (estimated)	Supplier Quality Engineer (Lieferantenmanagement)	Food sharing	2 (incl. spouse)	Gießen (90,131)
P1.2	„Retirement age“	retired	Country woman	2 (incl. spouse)	Baunatal (27,915) district of Kassel (201,048)
P1.3	59	farmer (farm with 130ha and horses)	Country woman	2 (incl. spouse) live on the farm, she cooks for one permanent employee and „otherwise between 2-10 people“	Niestetal (11,241) district of Kassel (201,048)
P1.4	62	Self employed horticulturist (high work load)	Not known	2 (incl. spouse, adult daughter lives in the same house)	Heuchelheim (7,891) district of Gießen
P1.5	Mid/end 40s (estimated)	Field service (area of kitchen)	Country woman	2 (incl. spouse)	Wiesbaden-Erbenheim (278,609)

Table 57 Descriptions of participants in Focus Group 2, Germany

Participant	Age	Job	Voluntary work	Household size	Place of residence
P2.1	Mid 50s estimated	50% job for the green party, self employed nutrition scientist	Food policy council	2-4 (incl. spouse, if children are at home in semester vacations, mainly 3 in the moment)	Wettenberg (12,619), district of Gießen
P2.2	End 30s estimated	At the university (Post doc)		1	Gießen-Allendorf (90,131)
P2.3	60s estimated	Owns a (small) organic supermarket	Food policy council	2 (incl. spouse)	Sichertshausen (Fronhausen, 4,102)
P2.4	End 50s estimated	Development aid worker	Food policy council	1	Gießen (90,131)
P2.5	End 60s estimated	Retired, works in the Fair Trade Shop (Gießen)	Food policy council	1	Rödgen (belongs to city Gießen, 90,131)
P2.6	End 60s estimated	Retired		1	Biebertal (10,055) district of Gießen

Table 58 Description of participants, Italy

	Focus Group 1	Focus Group 2
	AT, M: he is an oenologist	SE, F: Training Business Partner
	GA, F: she is a program manager	TO, M: he is a doctor
	ER, F: she is an employee in a communications firm	FF, F: she is an architect
	RF, M: he is a pensioner, previously he works as an architect	EU, F: she is a student
	ST, M: he is a blue collar worker	NC, M: he is a pensioner, previously worked at the financial police
	MA, F: she is a university student	
	SF, F: she is an architect and university professor	

Table 59 Description of participants, United Kingdom

	Age	gender	education	income	Important when buying bread			important when buying potatoes			Organic frequency
Frequent Organic	42	f	PhD	30,000 - 50,000	Preservative-free	Locally made	Cost	Organic	Local	Cost	Daily
	25	m	Master's degree	15,000 - 20,000	Competitive pricing	Fresh-ness	Texture	Competitive pricing	Healthy-looking	Loose, not packaged	2-3 times / week
	53	f	Undergrad degree	Under £15,000	Quality of flour	Taste	Type	Cost	Organic	Condition	Daily
	27	f	Undergrad degree	£30,001 - £50,000	Fresh	Local	Artisan	Packaging free	Local grocer	Good quality	4-6 times / week
	62	m	GCSE or less	Under £15,000	Freshness	taste	cost	taste	choice	cost	2-3 times / week
	55	m	Undergrad degree	£21,001 - £30,000	Taste	Value	Ethical issues	Taste	Value	Air miles	2-3 times / week
Infrequent Organic	31	f	Undergrad degree	£21,001 - £30,000	Taste	Nutritional quality	Freshness	Condition	Price	Size	Don't know
	40	f	Undergraduate degree	£30,001 - £50,000	Quality	Seeded	Price	Price	Quality	Size	1-3 times / month
	41	f	Master's degree	£30,001 - £50,000	Freshness	Fewest additives	Price	No plastic	British	Type	1-3 times / month
	56	f	PhD	Under £15,000	Good quality	Fresh	Price	Price	All rounder variety	Quality	1-3 times / month
	61	f	Undergraduate degree	Under £15,000	Wholesomeness	Good ingredients	Good crust	Will make good roast potatoes	Makes good mash	Keeps well	1-3 times / month

