



Norwegian University
of Life Sciences

Master's Thesis 2017 60 ECTS
Faculty of Biosciences

Norwegian Short Food Supply Chain Development

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Prefix

Acknowledgements

I never used to understand the sincerity and gravity writers conveyed when reading other acknowledgements sections. Writers seemed so serious, so full of gratitude, and I did not quite get why. After this year, though, I now understand. This has been a humbling year. I have had instructive, understanding, and supportive advisors who have been intrinsic to the development of my thesis project: Geir Lieblein, Anna Marie Nicolaysen, and Siri Solberg. I am thankful that they have faith in student projects, our ideas, and our visions for the future.

I am thankful to the kind, intelligent, and dedicated researchers of SIFO as well. They hosted me as a student this year working on a European project called Strength2Food. Thank you for patiently introducing me to the world of research. It has been a rich year of learning and sharing.

I am also very humbled by the generosity of all my stakeholders, my interviewees. Traveling around this country has been a treat because of the kind, devoted, “fireburners” that I have been able to meet. I honor the energy they are putting towards organizing these grass-roots initiatives. These are folks with knowledge, who see a need for societal change, and who are using their time to create the change they wish to see in the world. I hope all these ambitious people can be successful in their pursuits to create a robust, forward-thinking Norwegian farming and food system, as well as enable communities to have access to a variety of healthy, organic vegetables.

My fellow NMBU classmates, dear family and friends, thank you for your support. And, would I be an agroecologist if I didn't thank the farmers who have sustained my life over the past two years? Takk for maten, Norsk bonder.

Abstract

Agro-food systems around the globe are consolidating and homogenizing. In response, they are also segmenting and diversifying. The emerging agro-food networks fit into what scholars describe as economic and rural development paradigm shifts, partly in response to many clarion calls within academia and civil society for change in agro-food system priorities. There is an ever-widening body of interdisciplinary research on these reactionary agro-food systems, which take various names, including alternative food networks, civic food networks, and short food supply chains. Research focuses on the reasons these emerging food systems are developing, the motivations of the actors involved, and the diversity of activity happening around the world in this field. However, research has not focused on what causes these emerging food systems to succeed in achieving their motivations, or what restricts their growth; literature does not cover which best practices enable success for these emergent food systems, and what causes them hardship. This study aims to fill this gap in the research, through a case study in Norway that focuses on short food supply chains (SFSCs) in Norway as a case study. Kurt Lewin's Force Field Analysis technique helps identify the forces that support or hinder the development of these SFSCs. Conducting this study in Norway allows contemplation of SFSC development in the relatively rich Global North, in a country with what some consider "harsh" (Flaten & Hisano 2007; Vinge 2015) agroecological conditions. Scholars have not extensively studied the unique Norwegian context, where conversations around whether to protect and promote localized farming systems or further modernize and liberalize the nation's agriculture are current and contentious.

Abbreviations

SFSC = Short food supply chain

AFN = Alternative food network

CSA = Community Supported Agriculture

SIFO = Statens institutt for forbruksforskning / Consumption Research Norway

Introduction and Literature Review

Clarion Calls

Various clarion calls within literature and civil society suggest paradigm shifts and urge new approaches to societal development. The calls for change within agricultural and economic development are interwoven and urgent (Westengen & Banik 2016; Wight 2013); they detail that societies need to move past the hegemonic productivist paradigm and embody a post-productivist paradigm to address what Marsden et al. (2000) call the “crisis of conventional intensive and productivist agriculture” (p. 393). The potential rural development paradigm on the rise focuses on food system re-localization and short food supply chains (Sonnino & Marsden 2006; Van der Ploeg et al. 2000) in a seeming attempt to answer these clarion calls.

Many authors describe the importance of educating society about agro-food systems, and some detail strategies to do so. Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996) urge that people need to be brought into their ‘foodsheds’ because the global-scale food system makes it difficult for consumers to know which production or shipping practices their purchases support. Wilkins (2005) calls for a citizen-led food revolution and coins the term ‘food citizen’: someone who can change the future of food. Wilkins concentrates on consumers, politicians, and farmers as primary players that will change the food system. Food citizenship connects with Seyfang’s (2006a) description of cultivating ecological citizenship – both are citizenship with a moral underpinning. The combination of a food system and an ecological system could be called an agroecological citizen. In order to cultivate agroecological citizens and bring people into their ‘foodsheds’, Wight (2013) stresses the need for every community to have an agroecological educator to transform agro-food systems and communities. Some groups working as agroecological educators include rooftop farming initiatives in Barcelona (Sanyé-Mengual et al. 2016), the Farm to School Network in the USA (Joshi et al. 2008), the expanding Food Hub network in the USA (Blay-Palmer et al. 2013) the international Slow Food movement (Petrini 2003), and many initiatives in between.

What are all these scholars and organizations calling out against? What is the hegemonic paradigm that spurs this new paradigm?

Economic Paradigms and Agro-food Actors: Debates and Descriptions

Actors promote productivist agro-food systems for various reasons, including increasing yield, following the market ideology, and ‘feeding the world’. However, scholars have documented

many negative side effects of productivist farming practices. One negative ramification is that countries overproduce specific high-calorie crops in order to reach calorie or quantity goals, rather than optimal health goals. Fan (2016) describes this paradox: “India today has a 20-million ton buffer stock of grain and more than 200 million undernourished citizens” and this fact “continues to underscore the fallacy of addressing hunger exclusively as a supply-side problem” (p. 266). In Norway, the productivist paradigm also exists. Norwegian grain and dairy farmers are not paid not by how nutrient-dense their products are, but rather, by yield. Lang (2003) warns ‘developing’ countries to beware of this paradox that comes with industrializing food systems because of the negative health trends that are have been a consequence of industrializing food systems in the Western World. Wight (2013) describes that productivist agricultural practices have numerous documented negative environmental impacts. These include polluted waterways, deforestation, loss of terrestrial and aquatic biodiversity, as well as excess greenhouse gas emissions. Dibden et al. (2009) noted that in Australia, agricultural intensification has diminished rural populations and degraded ecosystems, in some cases irreversibly. They state these consequences were due to European-style agriculture and market liberalization.

Liberalizing agricultural markets is subject to debate within Norwegian politics and civil society due to the possible effects of a more free-trade agro-food system. The current right-wing Norwegian government is advocating to liberalize agriculture (Vinge 2015), despite the fact many actors critique liberalization for threatening the survival of regional production systems (Boyce 2012; Marsden et al. 2000; Wight 2013). Watts et al. (2005) argue that the neoliberal globalization trend in agro-food system development will only “further increase the influence of multinational companies over food and reduce that of national and supranational governments” (p. 25), making it more difficult to achieve any level of food sovereignty goals. If that claim is valid, liberalization could make it unlikely for Norway to reach its goal of producing 50% of the calories the nation consumes (Vinge 2015). It would also make it more difficult to meet expressed government visions to preserve soil resources, support local businesses, and promote more sustainable production, which Hvitsand (2016b) describes fits the ideology of many Norwegian CSAs. The push for market liberalization comes from current mainstream economic theory, as Vinge (2015) writes: “[Norway’s cold, wet, and] harsh climate has led to the popular belief in economic circles that Norway should leave agricultural production to others, based on the principle of comparative advantage” (p. 100).

The aforementioned Norwegian economists are not alone in being persuaded by free trade arguments based on the theory of comparative advantage. The theory of comparative advantage fits into the hegemonic economic paradigm, to which most economists, but not all academics subscribe. R. Schumacher (2013) claims, “Economists favor unrestricted international trade nearly unanimously” based mainly on the theory of comparative advantage, which they “widely praise” as

“beneficial for all nations as well as the world as a whole” (p. 83). R. Schumacher cites various economists who describe this theory as the “deepest and most beautiful result in all of economics” and “the only proposition in social science that is both true and non-trivial” (p. 83). However, the aforementioned scholars critiquing liberalization (Boyce 2012; Marsden et al. 2000; Watts et al. 2005; Wight 2013) do not affirm these claims about the “true and non-trivial” advantages of free trade.

Another theorist with a large influence on the contemporary hegemonic paradigm was J. M. Keynes, who was an economic theorist in the early to mid-1900s, and who had unique perspectives and prophecies about economic development. Keynes stated that mainstream economics “represents the way in which we should like our economy to behave. But to assume that it actually does so is to assume our difficulties away” (Keynes 1936, p. 34). R. Schumacher (2013) states this assumption applies to the theory of comparative advantage. Keynes was more accepting of these “difficulties” than some other more contemporary economists and academics. He wrote that when it comes to economic development, “foul is fair and fair is foul... For foul is useful and fair is not” (p. 6), suggesting acceptance of negative externalities of economic activity, for the sake of growth. Keynes (1933) predicted that society must follow “avarice and usury and precaution” as “gods... for at least another 100 years”, “for only these qualities [could] lead us out of the tunnel of economic necessity into daylight” (p. 6). Daylight for Keynes was a time when humans could “devote our further energies to non-economic purposes” (p. 3).

As Keynes’ prophesized century has progressed, some economists and other academics have begun to disagree with Keynesian perspectives, and have challenged the capitalistic economic growth paradigm. In India in the mid-1900s, J.C. Kumarappa applied Gandhian economic ideals to a specific economic model called the ‘Economy of Permanence’. The Economy of Permanence was based in sustainable small-scale community development, rather than capital growth by means of export industries (Corazza & Victus 2014). In contemporary South America, the Buen Vivir movement is challenging the notion that the hegemonic style of capitalistic growth will benefit their societies. Buen Vivir movements focus on the importance of the *means* of economic production rather than just the *ends*, viewing economic activity as a way to live ‘the good life’. The Buen Vivir movement calls for a post-capitalistic style of economic growth and has roots in indigenous knowledge and environmentalism (Gudynas 2011). The growing New Economics movement disagrees with Keynes’ notion that society should ignore “foul” externalities of economic production, and promote a different style of economic development. These economists align with Schumacher (1973) and also promote ‘good life’-style economic development (Seyfang 2006b). This style of economics is an alternative to Keynesian philosophy (Chick 2013) and the contemporary mainstream economic theory that heralds comparative advantage as king. New Economics theory has inspired the creation of new

investment groups such as the Slow Money investors. Ashta (2014) notes that Slow Money-style investing promotes localized agro-food system development and improvement of soil fertility. It seeks to improve the health and livelihoods of local rural communities through prioritizing rather than externalizing these economic development effects. All of these movements align with the 'degrowth' economic mentality (D'Alisa et al. 2014).

The 'degrowth'-motivated investors, farmers, consumers, and academics with priorities other than profits are growing in number, and this eerily reflects Keynes' predictions and timeline.

Approaching Keynes' (1933) forecasted 100-year mark, it seems as though some of his predictions have come true:

- ...All this means in the long run that mankind is solving its economic problem. I would predict that the standard of life in progressive countries one hundred years hence will be between four and eight times as high as it is...
- ...The course of affairs will simply be that there will be ever larger and larger classes and groups of people from whom problems of economic necessity have been practically removed...
- ...the economic problem may be solved, or at least be within sight of solution, within a hundred years. This means that the economic problem is not – if we look into the future – the permanent problem of the human race. (p. 358-373).

In some parts of the industrialized Global North such as Norway, Zilibotti (2007) and many 'degrowth'-theorists claim economic development is indeed not society's main problem anymore, and rather, ecological problems are paramount. Within agro-food systems, Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) as well as Dibden et al. (2009) describe the international public outcry for food system regulation and alternatives to the hegemonic system as an example of 'capitalism's double-movement', a term coined by development theorist K. Polanyi (1957). Drawing on Polanyi, these authors summarize that unregulated markets are neither socially nor environmentally sustainable. Many people involved in emerging agro-food networks seem to have escaped Keynes' so-called 'economic problem' and in creating alternatives to the hegemonic system, are conceiving of economic development in a different way than the aforementioned mainstream economists (who regard comparative advantage as king) and Keynes.

Emergent agro-food networks can reconceive economic and community development. Sonnino and Marsden (2006) write that AFNs recreate economic spaces. Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996) describe that agro-food system development can help create a 'moral economy'. Regarding the economics of SFSC communities, Galt (2013) deliberates, "how is wealth created, how is it distributed, and by which mechanisms of power? How much should different members of society be paid for what kinds of work?" The author notes these are "social justice question[s]" and dig into deeper themes of "democracy and exchange" (p. 361). The Transition Town movement is promoting

agro-food system and community development aligned with the philosophy of R. Tagore, a Bengali Indian poet from the early 20th century (Ashta 2014; Marsh 2015). Marsh (2015) describes that R. Tagore was committed to “rebuilding communities and cooperative local economies, to counter the dehumanizing effects of modern competitive individualism, centralized government and ‘the greed of profit’” (p. 195). Marsh (2015) suggests Transition Towns are working towards a Tagorean Utopia, prioritizing localism and resisting capitalistic globalism as a means to strengthen small-scale community economies.

Localizing Food Systems

The Transition community is not alone in promoting food localism and small-scale community development as a ‘solution’ to problems posed by the hegemonic agro-food system. Other actors around the world are creating SFSCs to promote localized production in protest against the power of corporations over food production and distribution techniques (Marsden et al. 2000; Martinez-Torres & Rosset 2010; Seyfang 2006a). DuPuis and Goodman (2005) write that localism “becomes the context in which cultural values work against anomic capitalism” and continue,

Localism becomes a counter-hegemony to this globalization thesis, a call to action under the claim that the counter to global power is local power. In other words, if global is domination then in the local we must find freedom.

Local, self-reliant food economies can enhance the sustainability and health of communities (Feenstra 1997; Lyson & Green 1999). Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996) promote that if citizens understand their local agroecology, it will help remedy the disconnections between humans and their local agroecosystems. Wight (2013) claims that remedying this disconnection between people and their local agroecosystems will help connect people to the planet, by cultivating agroecological citizens. Wight claims this can help mitigate some environmental problems.

Categories and definitions of SFSCs and AFNs

Various scholars have categorized and standardized definitions of AFNs and SFSCs as they multiply and diversify. Holt Giménez and Shattuck’s (2011) framework, which describes food regimes and food movements, splits various food system actors into categories. Neoliberal and reformist policies, along with productivist farming techniques (including some organic), comprise the “corporate food regime”, amongst other institutions and models. Progressive and radical policies along with the food sovereignty movement, regenerative agroecological practices, regionally based food systems, and the democratization of food systems characterize “food movements”. When describing emerging alternative food networks that counter the corporate food regime, Si et al. (2015) conclude that it is important to unpack the term ‘alternativeness’ into separate sub-

categories: ecological, social, political, and economic. Murdoch et al. (2000) further use the term 'alternative' to describe food networks (including their foods, consumers, and producers) that counter industrial foods and supply chains. Renting et al. (2003) add that 'embeddedness' differentiates conventional from alternative networks: rather than leaving the consumer ignorant of the supply chain, food reaches the consumer embedded in information. From a literature review of European AFN development, Venn et al. (2006) split AFNs into four categories: producers as consumers, producer–consumer partnerships, direct sell initiatives, and specialist retailers. The first two categories fit within Holt Giménez and Shattuck's (2011) description of food movements, whereas activities within the second two categories can fit into either the corporate food regime or food movements. The categories SFSC or AFN do not imply that an initiative prioritizes local or regional producers; Sonnino and Marsden (2006) describe fair trade as one type of SFSC, typically connecting rural producers in the Global South with consumers in the Global North. These authors also dissect the binary between alternative and conventional food systems in Europe, recognizing that these two systems, in practice, overlap. Galli and Brunori (2013) concur that farmers who supply to European SFSCs often distribute through both conventional and alternative channels. Scholars rely on these definitions to document the effects of these emerging food networks systematically.

Actors Involved and Motivations

SFSCs emerge in different contexts for various reasons. In rural areas in the Global South, SFSCs have arisen from the fight for food sovereignty, rural farmers' land rights, and a desire to democratize food systems, as largely seen with the growing La Vía Campesina movement (Martinez-Torres & Rosset 2010). In the Global North, SFSCs can have origin in the food justice discourse (Clendenning et al. 2016) based on lack of access to healthy food in urban centers. Some researchers have argued that trying to fit Western-style AFNs into the Chinese context has not led to desired effects because they claim Western AFNs are "rooted in fertile civil society context that has a rich discourse focused on issues of empowerment and community building" (Schumlias et al. 2012; Schumlias 2014), whereas in China, AFNs have largely been motivated by national food safety scares. Marsden et al. (2000) claim that SFSCs within Europe have developed in areas of the continent based on different senses of urgency, and following different trends. The authors write that social justice, cultural justice, and ethics can motivate European SFSC development. They also say actors involved with SFSCs have environmental and human health motives. Paying attention to local context should support SFSCs and their missions, based on the theory of Cultural Adaptation Work (Hegnes 2012). Cultural Adaptation work emphasizes the importance of molding a model to a local context when implementing a foreign model into a local area.

In addition to some of the ways SFSCs can benefit farmers involved, farmers have other motivations for being involved in these networks. Reflecting Keynes' (1933) prediction that around the year 2030 humans would be able to "devote our further energies to non-economic purposes" (p. 3) free of "problems of economic necessity" (p. 6), Galt (2013) found that CSA farmers in California had low-instrumentalist and low-markedness leanings, meaning money was not the main driver for their business decisions. For farmers supplying to a consumer co-op in Austria, the main motivations were to eliminate the amount of money anonymous intermediaries received, to have more autonomy in general, to connect more closely with consumers, increase well-being, and oppose the industrial organic agro-food systems (Jaklin et al. 2015). Hvitsand (2016b) found Norwegian CSA farmers to also oppose industrialized agriculture systems, including globalized systems and industrial organic agro-food systems; these producers were eager to create locally-based sustainable agro-food systems.

Farmers involved in SFSCs can also share motivations with SFSCs' consumers. Involved farmers and consumers can share concerns for the environment, and can be critical of corporate control of the hegemonic food system (Jaklin et al. 2015; Seyfang 2006a). Jaklin et al. (2015) continue that all involved actors in their studied consumer cooperative desired to create a closer connection between consumers and producers.

Various other persuasions influence consumers to be involved with SFSCs and AFNs. Contrasting to the "insatiable" consumer who wants "ever-improving or ever-more affordable quality" products (Chick 2013, p. 37), consumers can justify purchasing from SFSCs for non-monetary reasons. Ponte (2016) describes that different principles guide humans to justify their actions: creativity, tradition, fame, civic responsibility, competition, and efficiency. This can be applied to consumers' purchasing decisions. This reflects Keynes' premonition of the economic problem dissolving around this time in history, as non-monetary impetuses are motivating citizens. Kirwan (2006) found consumers at farmers' markets in the UK to have eco-friendly motives. Seyfang (2006a) claims AFN consumers are eager for organic or healthy foods. In Norway in particular, Hvitsand (2016b) found that CSA consumers in her study and in several other cited international studies want access to local food and to support local agriculture. Hvitsand continues to explain that many Norwegians get involved in CSAs because they desire access to organic foods, and can get more organic options when they involve in CSA compared to shopping at the conventional grocery stores. An international growth in the organic sector (Pearson, Henryks, & Jones, 2011) which also exists in Norway (Vegstein 2016) suggests that this motivation is growing amongst consumers. Pearson et al. (2011) describe consumers want organics "in order of priority, are: personal health, product 'quality', and concern about degradation of the natural environment. These were identified some time ago and have consistently been supported by subsequent research" (p. 5) from various locations around

the world. A growing desire for foods supplied from SFSCs amongst consumers can support SFSC growth.

Though persuaded by principles often rooted in environmentalism rather than finance, SFSC consumers do have the ability to help transform food systems through their purchasing power. In fact, Goodman and DuPuis (2002) noted how middle class consumers have controlled US food reform agendas. Consumers basing purchases on sustainability can be called 'prosumers' (Toffler 1980). Prosumers can make political consumption choices with their purchasing choices, as Storstad (2016) noted in a study on Norwegian CSAs. The Norwegian Ministry of the Environment defines sustainable consumption as

the use of goods and related products which respond to basic needs and bring a better quality of life, while minimising the use of natural resources and toxic materials as well as the emissions of waste and pollutants over the life cycle, so as not to jeopardise the needs of future generations. (Oslo Symposium, 1994, as cited in OECD 2002, p. 9)

Even if sustainable consumers are a minority in society, Pearson et al. (2011) describes that due to the 80/20 Pareto Principle in economics, a small percentage of consumers can still support a market: matching the Pareto Principle, they found 84% of organic sales at a studied supermarket came from 23% of the store's customers. Although some question the power of sustainable consumption based on some of the New Economics ideals (Seyfang 2006a), in a movement Clendenning et al. (2016) claim is trying to democratize food systems, it is evident that even a minority of consumers can invoke changes.

Effects of SFSCs

The effects of emerging food networks can answer some of the aforementioned clarion calls through prioritizing small-scale sustainable farmers in their local region. SFSCs are accessible to farmers because entry costs are usually low (Galli & Brunori 2013). In addition, SFSCs can reduce the percentage of the sale intermediaries receive, so farmers receive a higher portion of sales (Milestad & Kummer 2012). However, the presence of intermediaries does not inherently suggest negative outcomes for producers and consumers; when there is one intermediary working directly with the supplying farmers and advocating for them, Galt (2013) found farmers often earn more money. This person or business could be considered a known intermediary, rather than an anonymous supply chain intermediary. Jaklin et al. (2015) also found that farmers participate in SFSCs so they can be more flexible without contracts to large retail companies, and they do not have to compete within the market system to the same extent. This supports farmers who are marginalized by the

hegemonic agro-food system by giving them an avenue for selling their products (Kummer et al. 2016).

SFSCs can also answer the clarion calls by benefitting and educating consumers involved. Consumers benefit from SFSCs reducing the percentage that intermediaries take from sales, which decreases the 'shelf cost' of food (Milestad & Kummer 2012). Food reaches consumers embedded in information (Renting et al. 2003), suggesting alternative food networks can bring people into their 'foodsheds' and function as community agroecological educators through impactful experiential education techniques (Dewey 2007). Efforts to educate are not in vain; after starting to subscribe to a Norway-based organic box scheme (albeit that sourced foods from abroad due to lack of available organic vegetables in Norway), Torjusen, Lieblein, and Vittersø (2008) found 80% of consumers increased their fruit and vegetable consumption, 70% had learned more about specific foods, and 80% had learned more about organic farming. These same box scheme consumers ate 50% more vegetables than the Norwegian average; considering high-fiber diets support human health and reduce the risk of eating related diseases (Tilman & Clark 2014), vegetable box scheme consumers' health likely benefitted too.

Many authors have criticized SFSCs like CSAs, box schemes, and the food movement in general for catering to the middle and upper class despite having radical motivations based in improving quality of life for marginalized members of society, such as rural farmers or lower-class citizens (Clendenning et al. 2016; Holt Giménez & Shattuck 2011). Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) warn, "no amount of fresh produce will fix America's food and health gap unless it is accompanied by... a reversal of the diminished political and economic power of the poor and lower working-class" (p. 133). Watts et al. (2005) claim these class critiques weaken the emerging alternative food supply chains that focus on the food rather than remedying socioeconomic problems. Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) conclude that motivated agro-food activists and entrepreneurs will only create lasting food system change when progressive food system activities align with radical food movement ideals to change whom the food system empowers. In order to create desired change, it is crucial SFSC actors continue to concentrate on radical motives, because the ideological basis for some CSAs is actually waning (Storstad 2016).

There is no guarantee that SFSCs will benefit farmers, consumers, agroecosystem health, or the development of society at large. Though they are able, SFSCs do not inherently bring consumers into their 'foodsheds' or function as local agroecological educators. Hinrichs (2003) declares that although "in its broad contours food system localization may remake our troubled world in modest and valuable ways", she claims, "Recognizing the power – and perilous trap – of the local is a crucial start" (p. 44). Hinrichs adds that the discourse around globalizing and localizing food systems has become an "overdrawn and problematic dichotomy" (p. 34), and warns that localism can become

“elitist and reactionary” due to “defensive localism” (p. 37). Born and Purcell (2006) attest to the problematic ‘local trap’ and caution, “Localizing food systems, therefore, does not lead inherently to greater sustainability or to any other goal. It leads wherever those it empowers want it to lead” (p. 2). Jaklin et al. (2015) document that even when cooperatives aimed to empower local farmers, farmers can face difficulties and frustrations supplying to these networks. This exemplifies a disconnection between motivations and reality.

Carving my Niche

There has been research on SFSCs and AFNs describing what is happening around the world, farmers and consumers involved, and what their range of motivations is. Research has connected emergent agro-food systems to paradigm shifts in economics and development. Researchers have defined and redefined the various types of SFSCs, and critiqued the movement for not reaching its idealistic aspirations for change. Plenty of scholars as well as citizens have documented the need for SFSC development and increased food sovereignty in various areas of the world. However, there has not been much research internationally, let alone in Norway, on what makes SFSCs successful and what causes them hardship, save for Milestad and Kummer (2012) and Galli and Brunori (2013). Higgins (2015) concurs, referring to the food sovereignty discourse:

The food sovereignty narrative has named its criticisms against the current global agro-food systems and the way in which its advocates believe things should be, but without naming explicit measures in how to ensure enduring change.

Higgins continues,

the lack of work on overall best [food sovereignty movement] practices creates a gap between the conversations being had and what is really being played out, which highlights the division between theory and actuality. Due to this food sovereignty narratives are underdeveloped, evidenced in the difficulties its activists currently experience in the Global North (p. 57).

In order to develop the food sovereignty narrative further and narrow this divide “between theory and actuality” and potentially provide insight into these “difficulties” in the Global North, this study aims to identify the best practices of the SFSCs.

Norwegian Context

I conducted this study in Norway to enable some unique insights into SFSC development research. Zilibotti (2007) would argue Norwegian society has passed the the Keynesian ‘economic problem’, considering Norway’s comparatively high standard of living and low poverty rate. Norway’s

agro-food system is unique, as well: although a very rural country, only 3% of land is arable, most of which located around urban centers. Due to high urban population increase, that arable land is under high pressure to be developed, which would decrease the amount of farmland near urban centers, and therefore decrease the ability to localize food systems.

Many consider Norway a “food importing country” (Flaten & Hisano 2007); Vinge (2015) writes that Norway imports 60% of its calories. Politicians in Norway debate whether or not to even prioritize Norwegian farming, due to the impactful theory of comparative advantage. The literature disagrees (Hvitsand 2016b; Vinge 2015) about whether or not the government supports small-scale agroecological development, and it seems as though the government itself is making diverse claims regarding the importance of greater food sovereignty and localized food systems in the nation. Vinge (2015) claims that within the national agro-politics discourse, “The arguments for food sovereignty and food security in the Norwegian context are much the same as the arguments for maintaining national self-sufficiency in agricultural products” (p. 98); this will not necessarily support the subsistence of local or regional agro-food systems and economies.

There has been some SFSC research in Norway so far, mostly focusing on the CSA movement. Norwegian CSAs have formerly been studied (Devik 2013; Hvitsand 2014; Hvitsand 2016a; Hvitsand 2016b; Storstad 2016), but SFSC-style food cooperatives in Norway had only been the topic of master’s thesis research projects, at this point (Austvoll 2014). The CSA movement, the food cooperative movement, and organics in general are all trending upwards in Norway. However, the national grassroots movement of box-scheme style food cooperative was an interesting case because it is growing, but not as steadily as CSA development in Norway. For the Oslo cooperative in particular, membership levels are wavering. In addition, members are not as active as before, there have been issues with finding enough volunteers to make the SFSC run, and people are not ordering as often as before (Vegstein 2016).

Societal trends suggest that SFSCs should have increasing local support. Vegstein (2016) described that in the main Norwegian supermarket chains, sales of organics increased 20% this past year. Many SFSCs have an online platform through which they manage sales, and a Norwegian national report on consumer trends found that purchasing food online is a growing habit. However, many Norwegian consumers are not accustomed to think this way, as 89% percent of surveyed Norwegian consumers reported they did not purchase any groceries online in 2016 and less than 1% of national food sales were online (Forbrukertrender 2016: Markedsstudier 2016). The remaining 99% of food sales go through four main food distributors who control the market (Jervell & Borgen 2004). According to Hughes (2002), Norway has the most concentrated agro-food retailer structure in Europe.

Some literature claims that Norwegian SFSCs fit well into the national culture and that they are sustainability leaders. Hvitsand (2016b) claims “the ideology of CSA fits with what we can consider Norwegian values such as engagement and participation in one’s own community” (p. 347), suggesting there should be energy behind the localized food cooperative movement as well. Friis Pedersen (2016) attests, “The Norwegian CSAs are carrying out top goals for sustainability in a humble practical approach from the people” (p. 5). However, what about the non-CSA SFSCs such as cooperatives? Cooperative-style distribution has the ability to ‘scale up’ and reach urban consumers. This serves a different purpose than many rural/peri-urban CSAs, whose organizers intend to engage citizens in the actual production, with their hands in the soil. The ability to reach urban consumers is vital for SFSC development in Norway because 80% of Norwegians live in urban areas (Vinge 2015).

The purpose of this research is to determine the forces impacting the development of Norwegian SFSCs working to support localized food systems in order to analyze how the organizations can best achieve their future desired states – how can these Norwegian SFSCs match motivations with reality? Following Cullather’s warning that we must tailor agricultural solutions to already existing problems, rather than tailoring problems to fit already existing solutions (Boyce 2012), I intended to explore what is happening in regards to SFSC development in Norway before suggesting any solutions. As previously stated, SFSCs emerge in different nations and regions for context-specific reasons. Therefore, I tried to place this research as best as possible within the Norwegian context. Kurt Lewin’s field theory and force field analysis guide me to answer the main research question: **What are the forces affecting the development of the studied Norwegian SFSCs?** Through interviews and multiple angles of analysis, I identified the supporting, hindering, and swinging forces that affect the development of the SFSCs I chose to study.

The broader objective of this study relates to questions posed by Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996):

Where are we, then? We are embedded in a global food system structured around a market economy that is geared to the proliferation of commodities and the destruction of the local. We are faced with transnational agribusinesses whose desire to extend and consolidate their global reach implies the homogenization of our food, our communities, and our landscapes. We live in a world in which we are ever more distant from each other and from the land, and so we are increasingly less responsible to each other and to the land. Where do we go from here? How can we come home again?” (p. 36)

Following Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996), I am guided by the questions: Where do Norwegians go from here? Will they come home again?

Research question

What forces are affecting the development of the studied Norwegian short food supply chains (SFSCs)?

Sub-question 1: What forces are supporting the development of the studied SFSCs?

Sub-question 2: What forces are hindering the development of the studied SFSCs?

Sub-question 3: What forces have a swinging affect to the development of the studied SFSCs?

Research Strategy, Theory, and Methods

Research Strategy

I followed Yin's (2009) rationale for choosing the multiple case study research strategy because Norwegian SFSCs are an example of a complex "contemporary phenomena within a real life context" (Yin 2009, p. 4). Yin advises that a case study is relevant when the investigator has little control over what they are studying, which applied to this project because I did not manipulate the situation in order to gather information, but rather, I explored and observed it. The SFSCs studied in this project were embedded in relevant local, national, and international contexts, and acknowledging these contexts was essential to understanding the development of the SFSCs. Therefore, the case study research strategy fit for this study.

Additionally, using the case study style of data collection prepared me for triangulating collected data. Following the suggestion of Yin (2009), I sought the six common sources of evidence relevant for case studies: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts. This was in an effort to develop a deep and holistic understanding of the studied SFSCs and their relevant contexts. Over the course of this research project, the different methods built upon each other. Direct observations, participant observations, document and archival analyses were essential in designing interview guides.

Field Theory & Force Field Analysis

Field theory formed the basis of my study. Kurt Lewin, the founder of Field theory, was a psychologist most active in the first half of the 20th century. His work developing Field theory and force field analysis laid a foundation for organization development theory as well as a process for implementing and managing organization change. Field theory "allows individuals and groups to explore, understand and learn about themselves and how they perceive the world" as well as "how those around them perceive it" (Burnes and Cooke, 2013, p.420). Gestalt psychology influenced Lewin's Field theory and his idea of creating a "life space", in that a gestalt "is a coherent whole that has specific properties that can neither be derived from the individual elements nor be considered merely as the sum of them" (Kadar & Shaw, 2000, as cited in Burnes and Cooke, 2013, p. 410). Gestalt philosophy sees humans as whole, complete organisms, rather than isolated parts. The Gestalt influence on Field Theory encouraged me to recognize the context in which actions and behaviors of these SFSCs existed. Lewin expressed behavior (B) as a function (f) of how an individual

person or group (p) meets their specific environment (e) with the formula: $B = f(p, e)$. In this study, I did not look at individual behavior, but rather organization behavior, or development. This equation explains that environment has an effect on a group's behavior. In this study, I call environment the "context".

Field theory's related method, force field analysis, allowed my interviewees and me to identify "individual and group realities", which Burnes and Cooke claim is necessary in order to create a new organization reality (2013). Field theory guided me to investigate the widest variety of factors possible that affect the studied SFSCs, maintain its status quo, and constrict development. To help interviewees understand their own SFSC's development, I guided them to reflect on all the forces affecting their SFSC during interviews. I used Lewin's force field analysis technique to identify, analyze, and understand the various forces affecting the studied organizations. This helped me develop a rich understanding of what Lewin calls a 'quasi-stationary equilibrium', specifically in the context of the studied SFSCs. Through semi-structured interviews, I identified different forces with stakeholders and then asked follow-up questions to determine the valence strength of the forces, noting (DePanfilis 1996)'s clarification that forces can have high, low, or uncertain valence. Throughout the research design and analysis, I described forces as supporting, hindering, or swinging.

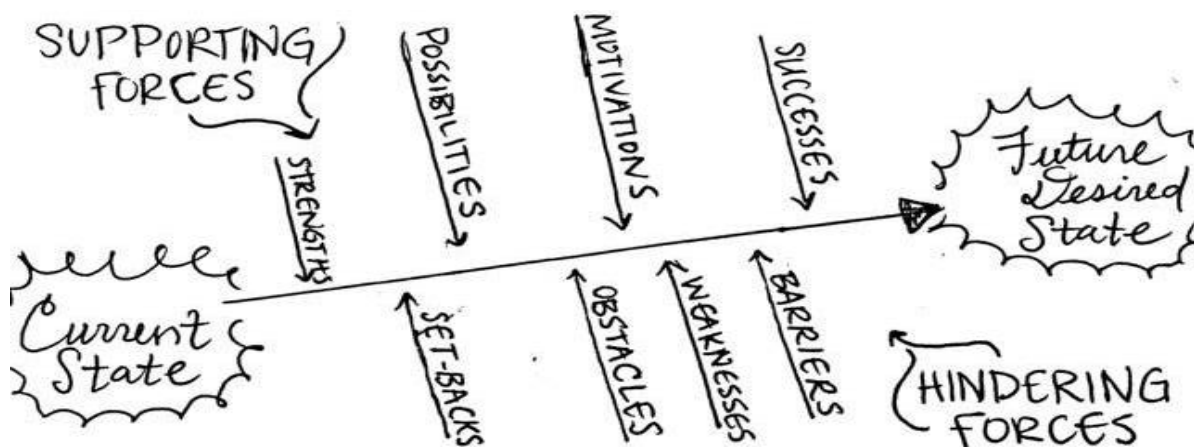


Figure 1: A basic force field analysis diagram

One main concept of force field analysis is that some forces oppose each other (see figure 1), and change effect depending on context and circumstance. Forces are dynamic, coexisting and interdependent – when one force is supported, another can subsequently be bolstered or diminished. The force field is a simplified model of a Lewinian life space, used to clarify themes, create a dialogue, and enhance stakeholders' and researchers' understanding of the studied phenomena. The life space is a more accurate representation of how supporting, hindering, and swinging forces interact with each other in a dynamic way (see figure 2).



Figure 2: A Lewinian Life Space

The goal of using force field analysis for this study was to be able to identify which forces SFSCs could strengthen, weaken, remedy, or re-interpret in order to modify their behavior and development (see figure 3). One purpose of using force field analysis is to prepare researchers and subjects for planned change processes, as described by Kippenberger (1998). However, the scope of this project remained within investigating and analyzing all the forces influencing the studied SFSCs' development.

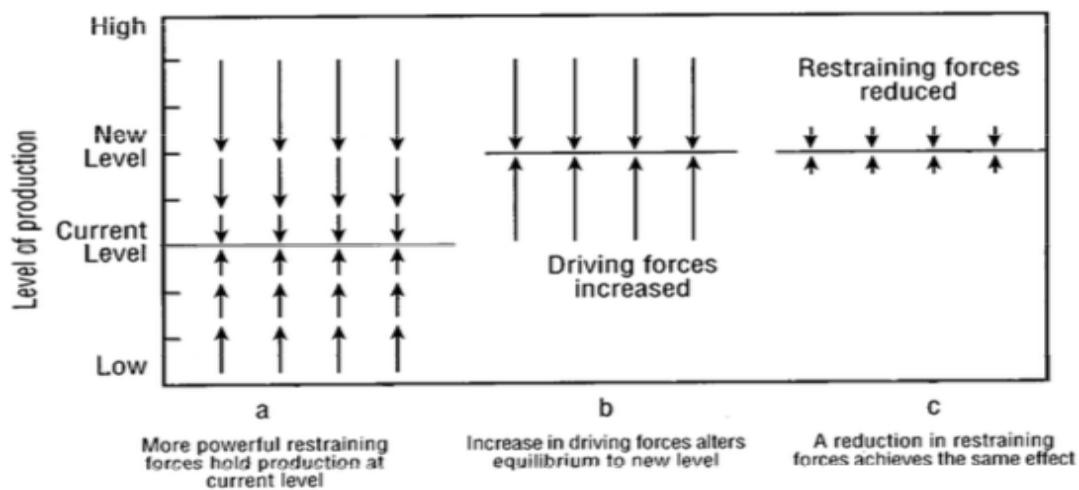


Figure 3: How to change organization production level after force field analysis, from Kippenberger (1998)

Choice of relevant groups & gathering informants

To conduct a force field analysis it is important to find informants who are key stakeholders in their organizations. As Schwering (2003) advises, "every effort should be taken to solicit representatives on the task force who have insight into the issues being addressed and the power to speak authoritatively for the interest group(s) they represent" (p.365). For this study, the key stakeholders are the organizers of these SFSCs. The organizers are the managers, theorists, and drivers for the operations of these organizations. Involving farmers and consumers was also

important in this study, but instead of doing so with the force field analysis, I chose to perform with shorter semi-structured interviews and consumer survey. I also gained information about supplying farmers and consumers through talking with SFSC organizers, who link consumers and farmers in these SFSCs.

I sought to have multiple SFSC stakeholders at interviews in order to create a dialogue situation for multiple reasons. Schwering (2003) emphasized the importance of including multiple key stakeholders in a meaningful force field analysis to “externalize key assumptions and perceptions influencing the group’s ability to reach consensus” (p.362). Schwering also writes about the usefulness of dialogue in developing and achieving a shared organization vision. I also tried to include more than one person in interview sessions to increase the validity of the information gathered in the interview, to enable respondents to cross-check each other’s information and opinions, to increase the validity of the study and test rival theories, as suggested by Yin (2009). However, it was not always possible to meet with more than one stakeholder.

All informants were involved in the Norwegian alternative food network, either as supplying farmers or as SFSC organizers (see figure 4). I initially intended to interview only Norwegian food cooperative organizers. However, the choice of relevant groups quickly changed as I gathered informants because it became evident that many forces were affecting the development of cooperative-style SFSCs as well as other Norwegian SFSCs, such as CSAs. Additionally, some cooperative organizers could not meet for interviews. Therefore, I chose to interview some additional stakeholders who were involved in SFSC development in Norway (see Appendix).

To gather informants, I sent a detailed recruiting email to potential interviewees with some of the themes I planned to address throughout the interview and a description of the force field analysis technique (see Appendix). I wanted to be clear with respondents to prepare them for the force field analysis, considering the method involved a more structured style of interview that informants might not have experienced before. Sending a short summary of my project design and objectives enabled my stakeholders to determine whether or not they were interested in having this type of conversation, and if they had time. The first group I contacted was Ås Kooperativet for my pilot interview, where I tested my methods, interview guide, and timing. In ensuing recruitment emails, I included photos of the force field analysis I conducted with the Ås Kooperativet coordinator to make it easier for potential stakeholders to visualize what our interview would entail. The different SFSCs I researched were the distinct units of analysis for my research project, referring to Yin’s (2009) definitions.



Figure 4: The studied SFSCs and supplying farms

Research approach

I took various measures to develop a holistic understanding of the studied SFSCs and their contexts. Burnes and Cooke (2013) advise that force field analyses must recognize context in order to avoid “ignorance”. The authors assert, “In effect, ignoring the complexity of human behavior by reducing it to a simple stimuli-response formula renders unintended consequences inevitable. This may be why it is estimated that some 60-80% of change initiatives fail (p.417). I compared the different SFSCs to one another, to develop a better understanding for my cases and context in general, which is an advantage of multiple case studies according to Yin (2009). Bland and Bell’s (2007) description of the complexity and interconnectedness of agricultural systems, their stakeholders, and contexts inspired me to focus on the local, regional, national, and global contexts that embed these SFSCs. The concept of ‘flickering’, also described by Bland and Bell, guided me to focus on forces affecting the development of each unique initiative, as well as the larger societal forces affecting all of these SFSCs.

Direct and participant observation, as well as physical artifact data, allowed me to make observations of the SFSCs and their operations. These observations helped me create a thick description of my cases (Geertz 1994). I participated in regular Ås Kooperativet meetings and observed the yearly meetings of both Ås Kooperativet, Oslo Kooperativet, and the BUA student cooperative at NMBU in Ås. I participated in delivery days through packing and bag/box dispersal with Matkollektivet, as well as the Oslo and Ås Cooperatives. To collect physical artifact data, I looked at the contents of the various SFSCs' bags and boxes to see the products included. I observed the products' types, origins, brandings, and other qualities.



Figure 5 and 6: Participant and physical artifact observation with Matkollektivet in Bergen

I was able to include document and archival analysis in various ways. I joined any possible email lists to receive newsletters from the SFSCs I studied, as well as other Norwegian SFSCs. I perused SFSCs' websites as well as news articles written about them. I also followed all of the studied SFSCs on Facebook and Instagram, which helped me stay up-to-date with the current events and discussions in each group (see figure 7). Additionally, this helped me understand how the SFSC coordinators used marketing, technology, and online platforms to communicate with consumers. Additionally, I had access to Ås Kooperativet's online organization archive, which helped educate me about the history of Kooperativet in Norway in general.

I was only able to conduct one survey during the course of this project, but during interviews many SFSC organizers also referred to surveys they had distributed. The coordinator of Ås Kooperativet and I collaborated to conduct a member survey before the yearly member meeting in April 2017 in order to hear members' opinions about some changes we had been brainstorming for the cooperative. I worked with the coordinator of Ås Kooperativet to add substance to this survey in order to gain more information about the consumer-members of Ås Kooperativet. To add to this survey I relied upon work I had done with SIFO, creating consumer surveys and questionnaires for WP7.1 of the Strength2Food project.



Figure 7: Website observation

While all of these case study research techniques helped me gain an understanding of my complex research situation, I collected the largest bulk of my data through semi-structured interviews. Interviewing is essential in performing the force field analysis. Lewin would create life spaces based on respondents' perceptions of their own situations, and used interviewing as the base of his research approach (Deutsch 1968, p.416, as cited in Burnes and Cooke, 2013). My study mimicked this technique in order to tie it closer to Lewin's original Field theory and methods, which Burnes and Cooke (2013) assert as essential. I chose to work with stakeholders through the participatory force field analysis process instead of observing their organizations from afar per the advice of Burnes and Cooke: "constructing and interpreting a life space [through force field analysis] is a slow and participatory process that needs to be facilitated by an experienced change agent" (2013, p.418). Despite my novice status, I functioned as the "change agent" facilitator during this project.

Although I intended to perform force field analyses with each studied SFSC (see figure 8), this practically could not happen as this research project progressed. Some interviewees did not have enough time to participate in a full force field analysis. Meeting for interviews in cafés and restaurants was also not conducive to facilitating a force field analysis. Some stakeholders could only

talk over the phone. I seized these interview opportunities anyways. The main differences between these interviews and the full force field analysis interviews were twofold: they were shorter, and at the end of interviews, I did not go back through all of the forces with interviewees to rank their valence. I allowed respondents in these interviews to carry the conversation in the direction of their own passions and interests slightly more liberally in these semi-structured interviews. Although this technique was not as rigid as the intended and preferred full force field analysis interview, I was still able to gain information about forces, crosscheck data and validate former findings.



Figure 8: The first force field analysis I completed with the Ås Kooperativ coordinator

Interviewing farmers throughout the course of this study also helped me check the validity of various forces and identify new ones. Two of the SFSC organizers I interviewed were also farmers, enabling me to gain insight into producers' perspectives on SFSC operations. Gaining the farmers' perspectives on SFSCs enabled me to hear farmers' motivations for being involved, understand their opinions and perspectives about the potentials for SFSCs, and document any constructive feedback or frustrations they had.

To account for interconnectedness and develop a holistic understanding of the studied SFSCs, I adapted the 7S framework described by Schwering (2003) to create what I refer to as the 8S Framework. This framework formed the base of my interview guides as well as my method for coding results. Schwering writes that the McKinsey consulting firm initially developed the 7S technique to improve the force field analysis technique, and various organizations have since used it to facilitate change-making processes. The seven 'S' categories are: *skills, style of communication and leadership, systems, staff, shared values and motivations, structure, and strategy*. I chose to include an additional eighth 'S' in this project's framework, *society*. This was upon the guidance of an academic advisor and an article by Beverland (2014), where the author uses force field analysis to

identify and analyze societal forces affecting people's transitions from meat to plant-based diets. While the 7S framework focuses on internal organizational forces, adding the eighth 'S' positioned this study to access information on relevant societal forces coming from outside the studied organizations' operations.



To develop an interview guide, I used the 8S framework in order to find themes to frame most of the questions, and I referred to Burnes and Cooke (2013), as well as Schwering (2003) to construct the timeframe. Many of the theories that guided my follow-up questions and criteria came from my literature search, and some came from working with the Strength2Food project in which I am involved at SIFO. Schwering (2003) details six steps in the force field analysis (p.365) that I expanded to acknowledge Burnes and Cooke's (2013) critique that force field analysis must not ignore the importance of defining the "life space", or context, of the organization and change-making process. I also shortened Schwering's suggested force field analysis process to fit my particular context: 2-hour interviews with the relevant SFSCs. Schwering's six steps I followed to create my interview guide were:

- Step one: Convene the planning task force and define the problem and general goal
- Step two: Characterize the ideal situation.
- Step three: Characterize the present situation
- Step four: Concisely summarize the gap between the ideal and actual
- Step five: List and discuss the helping and hindering forces accounting for the status quo
- Step six: Action planning

The interview guide can be seen in the Appendix.

Methods of Analysis

I determined most forces during the course of the force field analysis interviews, with informants. I identified other forces after connecting my findings to literature I had read. During interviews, I wrote the forces I heard throughout our semi-structured dialog on small arrow-shaped pieces of paper, color-coded with by the 8S categories.

As a way to confirm findings 'on-the-spot' during full force field analysis interviews, I concluded interviews with an activity (see figures 9 and 10) where I asked the informants to look at



Figures 9 and 10: Ranking the forces during interviews

all the forces we had identified and rank the valence of these forces on a scale of one to four (see figure 12).

This was to enlighten me to stakeholders' perceived importance of the various forces through clarifying conversations. For semi-structured interviews that were not full force field analysis experiences, I aimed to confirm findings through interviewee self-analysis by asking informants, "Now that we have discussed this wide array of forces, which are the forces most strongly supporting or hindering your SFSC's development?" I did this in attempting to achieve a self-correcting interview, as described by Kvale and Brinkmann (2015). I prioritized documenting stakeholders' perceptions about which forces they identified as most during this ranking process. This was to help clarify the motivations, greatest obstacles, and priorities for each

Coding transcriptions enabled me to identify more forces and clarify results (see figure 11). The only interviews I did not record and transcribe were phone conversations with supplying farmers. Instead of transcribing these interviews, I wrote a summary of these conversations directly after the phone calls. In order to code transcribed interviews, I referred back to my main research questions. This led me to color-code and highlight any comments interviewees made about visions for the future, forces that were affecting the organization, the relative strength of forces, their perceptions of "most important forces", and emergent opportunities for the SFSC. I also coded based on the same 8S categories that I used to create the interview guide, based on Kvale and Brinkmann's (2015) strong suggestion that researchers should contemplate how they will analyze interviews while preparing interview guides, before conducting interviews.

The information I arranged in tables included stakeholder quotations and their associated helping, hindering and supporting forces as well as any emergent themes. Although stakeholders

spoke about some topics and forces differently, it was possible to identify main recurring ideas from our conversations during coding and analysis.

Quotations	Emergent Themes	8S category	Emergent Forces
<p>"We put out the [consumer] survey and people said, 'I don't wanna do dugnads myself, I'm too busy, I'd rather pay for it.'" <i>Open Food Network</i> →</p> <p>"The main farmer has noticed it's fewer people coming for dugnad. Development is decreasing. There are so many of those 111 [survey respondents] who answer that say, 'we have so little time'." <i>Øverland CSA</i> →</p>	<p>Members don't have much spare time; Dugnad</p> <p>Organization development is slowing; Dugnad</p>	<p>Staff; Shared Motivations; Society</p>	<p>Consumers are willing to pay</p>
<p>[Summary from phone conversation]: Pierre said many people were interested and came to the information meeting about setting up an Innlandet consumer-based cooperative. But in the end, there was no one who took the initiative to get it off the ground. Pierre said, "I don't blame them" and followed commenting about how people are so busy with work and then bringing kids to sports practice, questioning whether or not these people would get anything from cooperative membership. <i>Innlandet Kooperativ</i> →</p> <p>"You know, there are many things going on, and [volunteer coordinators] have to prioritize [their] time... Kooperativet loses in that [ranking of priorities] sometimes." <i>Oslo Kooperativ</i> →</p>	<p>Nobody wants to volunteer; Local people are busy; Dugnad</p> <p>People have non-SFSC priorities, Time</p>		
<p>Bianca: I think Dysterjordet is quite professional, if I can say it like that, not trying to talk down anyone, but just saying. Molly: How do you think you got to this level? Bianca: We have different money streams. We're not based voluntarily 100%. Kirsti: Exactly. Bianca: That's the difference. Kirsti: We are employees! <i>Dysterjordet CSA</i> →</p> <p>[Regarding the cooperative having a paid coordinator] I've always felt a little bit stupid about that, but I think it's important. I saw that in Oslo, it was really important. <i>Vestfold Kooperativ</i> →</p>	<p>Actors involved have time to dedicate to SFSC; Paid coordinator; Professionalism</p> <p>Actors involved have time to dedicate to SFSC; Dugnad; Paid coordinator</p>	<p>Skills; Staff</p>	

Figure 11: The Process of coding

Determining the forces with strongest impact enabled me to analyze the biggest opportunities and fiercest barriers affecting the studied SFSCs. The first way I attempted to gather this information was through asking interviewees their perceptions of the strongest forces impacting their organization's development at the end of our interviews, after considering a wide diversity of forces. This was a clarifying step because although there are many forces within the life space of these groups, some are small tricky things versus others are major roadblocks or obstacles. I determined

some forces to have a stronger impact when various groups mentioned them multiple times (e.g. *lack of marketing*). Some forces became clearer through discussions with farmers.

However, I identified other strong forces while analyzing transcripts and comparing my collected data to literature. For instance, many interviewees did not mention some impactful forces such as *lack of available organics*, but I concluded that this force was indeed a strong hindering force at this point. I concluded this after comparing the experiences of the separate SFSCs to one another, and connecting my data with the literature I had read.

Ensuring Validity

I used various methods to ensure the validity of this study before, during, and after interviews. Using the 8S Framework to push respondents to consider forces they might not have mentioned otherwise enabled a more diverse dialogue of topics. This allowed me to collect a wider breadth of forces, and made interviewees consider the impact of forces they might not have considered before. I did this in an effort to test rival theories, which Yin (2009) advises as a way to make findings more robust, through confirming or disconfirming collected data.

Interviewing SFSC organizers alone could have given a bias to my data, so I included other stakeholders in my research process as well. Including a consumer survey and farmer interviews helped me cross-reference my data to see how strong or weak some identified themes from SFSC organizer interviews actually were. Having colleagues with knowledge about Norwegian SFSCs review drafts of my findings also helped to ensure validity. I shared results and analyses with various colleagues throughout the research process in order to hear impressions of my data and get feedback. These helpers included another master's student from SUM in Oslo who was also writing her master's thesis on Oslo Kooperativet, a former coordinator of Ås Kooperativet, members of the Oslo and Ås Cooperatives, my academic advisors at NMBU, and collaborators at SIFO.

Results and Discussion

A set of diagrams precedes this section, beginning to describe the interconnectedness between forces. A longer explanation and discussion of the identified forces follows in the main text, separated into four sections:

1. Capacity \leftrightarrow Lack of Capacity
2. Demand \leftrightarrow Lack of Supply
3. Strategies and Structures \leftrightarrow Low Order Numbers
4. Community Connections \leftrightarrow Societal Forces

Discussion of methods

Main research question: What are the forces affecting the development of the studied SFSCs in Norway?

In order to assess the forces affecting the development of the studied SFSCs, I began in the field with interviews, where I identified large lists of forces with participants (see figure 12). I found main themes and deduced more forces and while analyzing independently, post-interviews. Comparing my results to literature may have influenced how I interpreted different forces, and could give a bias to this study. On the other hand, interviewee self-analysis of forces identified in interviews should add validity to the findings. During interviews, some respondents were confused about how to rank the forces, when I asked them to judge the relative valence of the forces we identified on a scale of one to four. I tried to clarify the process but it remained awkward for most interviews. Regardless, it allowed me to hear what interviewees perceived as the most important forces. In interviews in which we did not do a full force field analysis, I achieved this ranking effect through asking, "Now that we have talked about all these various things that are affecting your organization, which are having the strongest impact?"

Some interviewees gave a high ranking of 'four' (see in figure 12) for many of the identified forces, which did not clarify which forces were most important for me. Therefore, I had to determine the strongest forces through comparing transcriptions, or from hearing direct perceptions from informants. One respondent told me that it would be easier to rank the forces if I noted them more clearly as statements instead of themes on the pieces of paper. If I had more time to spend with interviewees, or if I perform this analysis in the future, I will take care to write complete statements as forces on the papers, which will hopefully make it easier for respondents to rank. Regardless of the confusion, this ranking activity allowed interviewees to clarify



Figure 12: Examples of forces I identified in interviews with participants

what they meant in their responses to interview questions. I found that different groups ranked the same force (e.g. the effect of *dugnad* or *lack of marketing* on their organization) differently.

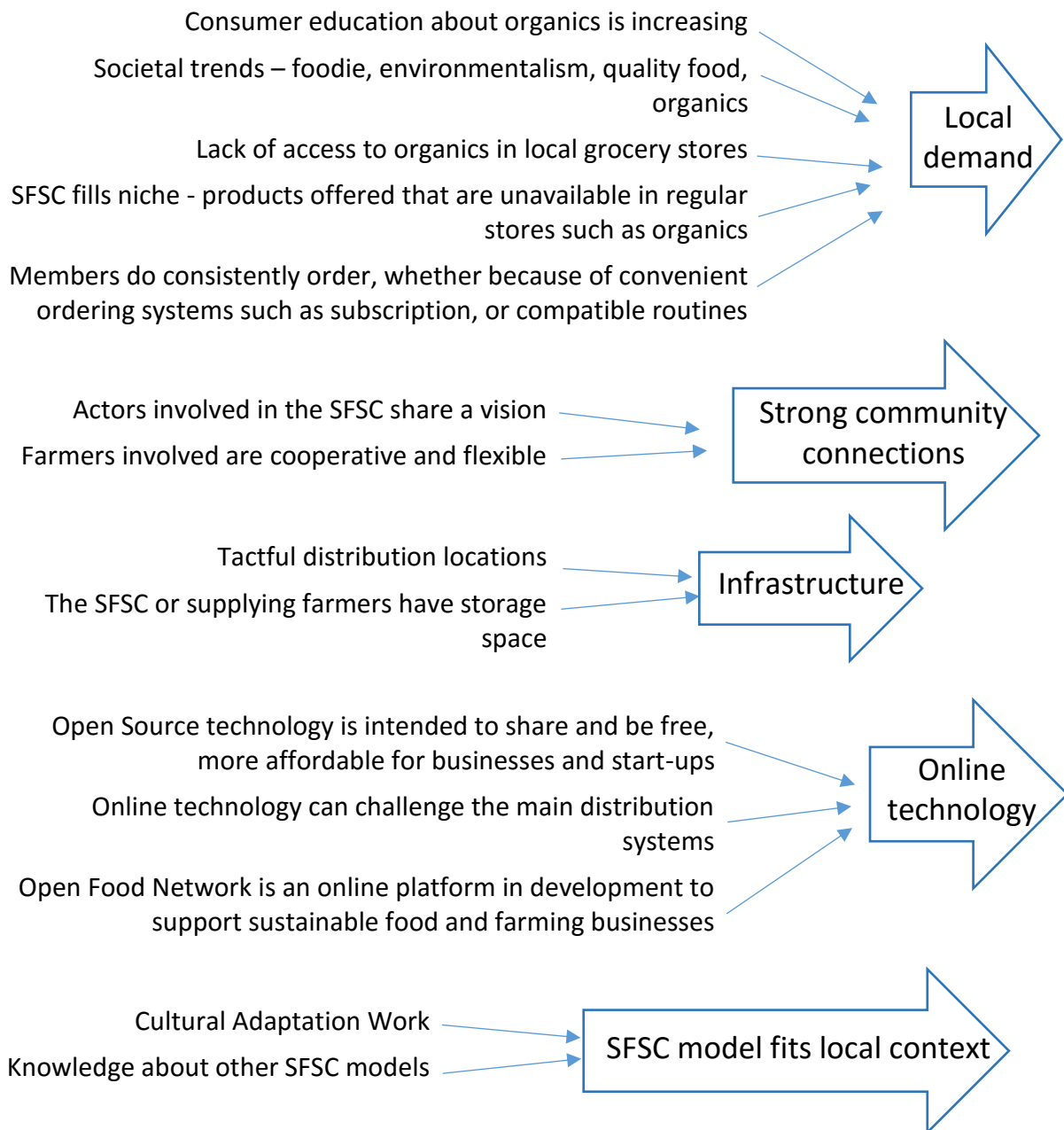
It was challenging in this analysis to distill and describe forces affecting multiple SFSCs without generalizing that these forces affect all of the studied SFSCs. Considering the concept of the 'life space', though, even if a force is not affecting a SFSC strongly right now, due to a change in context, it could. Consolidating comments through coding allowed me to find shorter terms that reflect larger comments and conversations (see Results). Lewin describes that the forces within a 'life space' are reflexive and interdependent (see figure 13); although the simple structure of the force field analysis diagram does not reflect this, it still became a useful tool which helped me analyze my collected data.

I did not record farmers' phone calls, and some of them had quite profound and relevant things to say. I could have recorded these phone interviews by putting my phone on speakerphone mode and using an external recorder, but I did not learn this nifty trick until after I conducted all the phone interviews. It would have benefitted my writing to do so, because the farmers spoke eloquently about forces affecting Norwegian SFSC development. Next time I conduct research like this, I will make sure to have an external recorder on hand to not miss these opportunities.

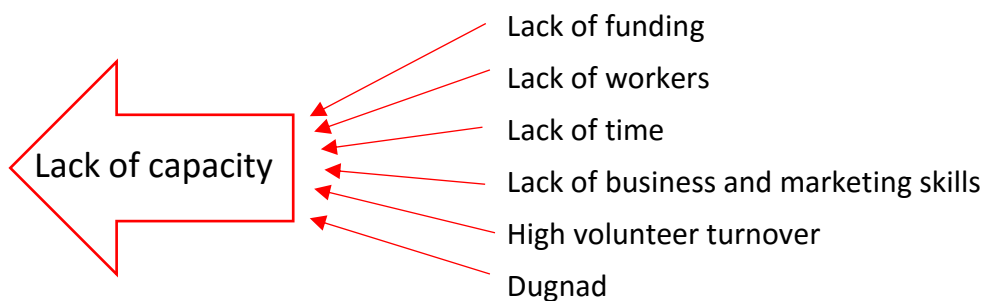
Results

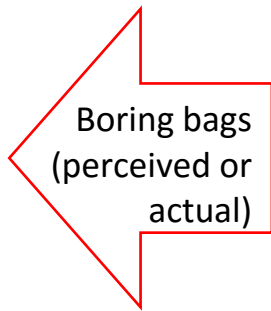
Helping Forces



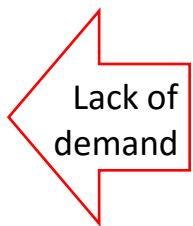


Hindering Forces





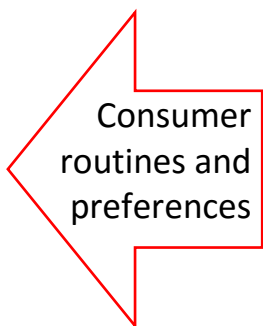
- Lack of a wide variety of available local or regional organic food to fill the bags
- Bags do not reflect the full potential of products that can be grown/produced in Norway
- SFSCs can limit the products they provide to what is available locally – could be a case of the ‘local trap’
- Neoliberal globalization trend – Government push for agriculture to industrialize rather than diversify.
- Mainstream agro-food system in Norway influences consumer habits and preferences



- Low or inconsistent order numbers
- Members forget to order
- Insufficient communication of SFSC to members or local community
- It isn't typical consumer routine to use online systems to order food (though it is a growing trend)
- SFSC is small



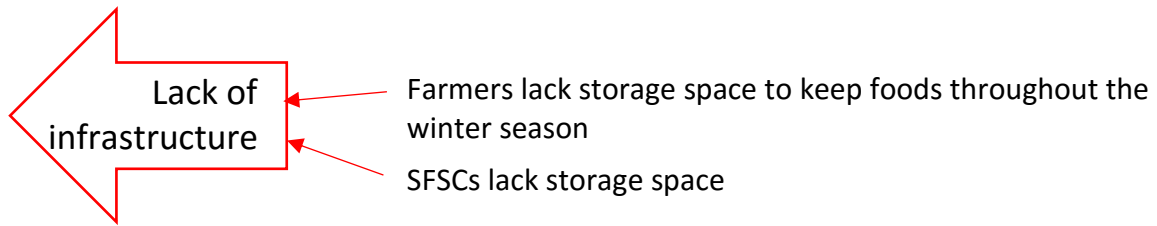
- Dugnad
- Lack of professionalism
- Following other SFSC models without fitting them to a local context



- Restricting outside groups such as low-income citizens, vegetarians, not-so-idealists
- People want inexpensive food
- Mainstream agro-food system in Norway is very powerful
- Paying for ‘quality’ can be considered a ‘luxury’
- The Law of Jante (debatable)



- “Norwegians are slower to try new things”
- Law of Jante
- Lack of time
- Contentedness / lack of a burning desire to change



Uncertain Forces

Dugnad and *Lack of access to organics* are both swinging forces included in previous diagrams.

Additionally, I identified two more uncertain forces:

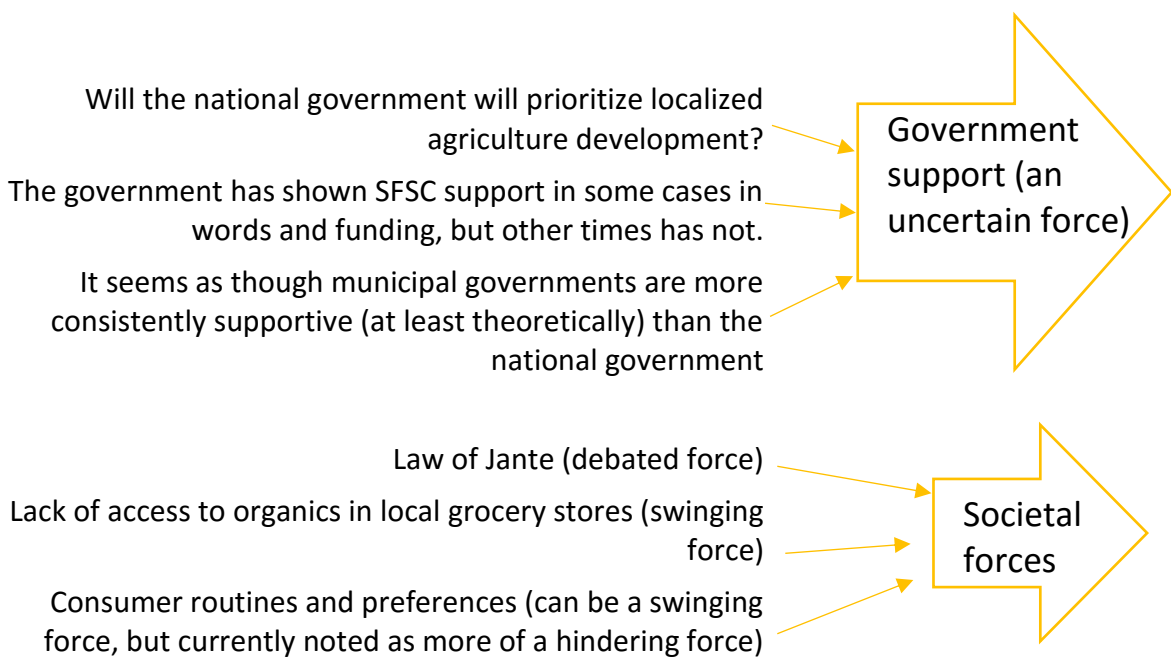


Figure 13: Forces in a Lewinian Life Space

Supporting and hindering forces work against each other to maintain the 'life space' of these organizations. However, the force field diagram does not reflect how forces are dynamic and reflexive, and can change depending on context or circumstance. It does help identify which forces SFSCs should amplify or reduce in order to reach their future desired states, though. Seeing forces in a Lewinian Life Space shows how forces interact with one another reflexively, and how when one force is strengthened, it will affect many other forces in the life space.

Explanation of forces and discussion

1. Capacity ↔ Lack of Capacity

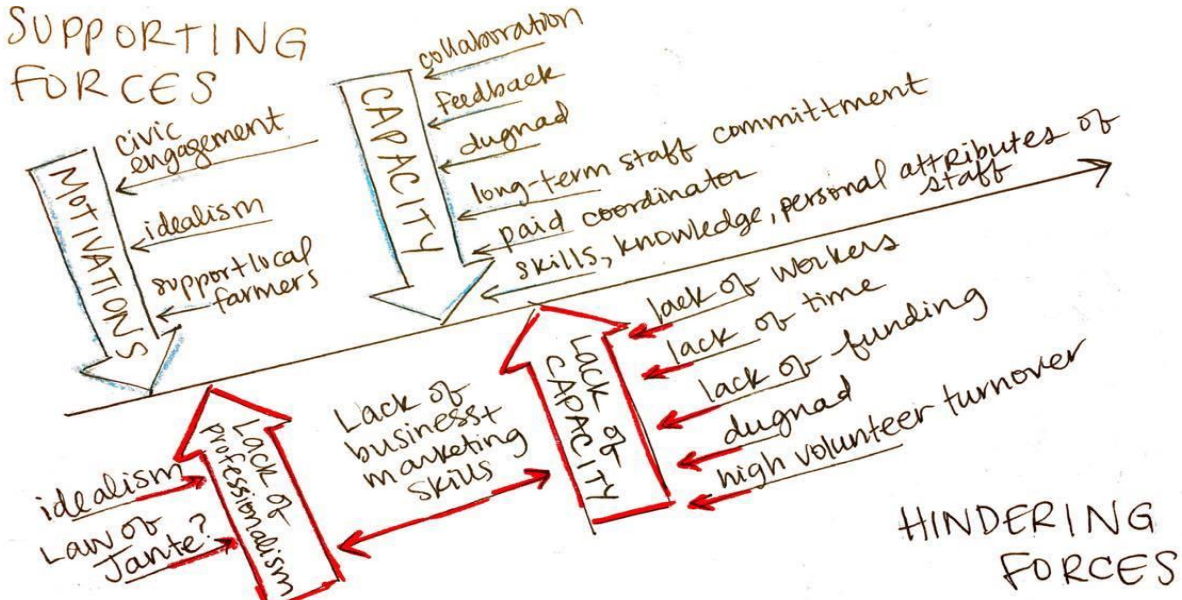


Figure 14: The forces discussed in this section

One cumulative force which many other identified forces affect is *capacity*. Capacity is essential for SFSCs to maintain their operations and develop. Capacity is essentially the total energy of the SFSC: the total potential for the organization to operate, depending on available resources. These resources could be time, money, skills, or physical infrastructure. Kippenberger (1998) claims that when organizations work to remedy hindering forces, space is created for the SFSC to bolster their supporting forces without bringing themselves to 'burnout'. For example, if a SFSC remedied the *lack of funding* hindering force through accessing government funds, then they would immediately have more capacity to boost their SFSC through focusing on their strengths and tackle other challenges (see figure 3).

Interviewees identified most of the following forces when addressing areas in which their respective SFSC had a *lack of capacity* rather than an *ideal capacity*. Lack of capacity was a present

theme for all organizations, whether run by volunteers or paid employees. When I asked Open Food Network Scandinavia, “What’s the most critical thing holding you back?” Cynthia responded, “Manpower and funding are limited, because there are only so many hours in the day. [Also,] marketing”. *Lack of workers, lack of funding, and lack of time* were common themes addressed in all my interviews.

Many of the interviewed SFSCs spoke about how it supports their initiative’s development to have more people collaborating, rather than having just one or two people organizing the SFSC. Open Food Network Scandinavia, Øverland CSA, Matkollektivet, Oslo and Vestfold Kooperativet groups lamented about not having enough people with whom to collaborate. Getting more people involved benefits the SFSCs because more people means more ideas, more skillsets, and more labor. As Øverland commented, “We tried to get more people involved but it’s always the same, it’s just a few people who are doing the work.” All of the SFSCs’ organizers are currently working on collaborative teams; none are independent entrepreneurs.

Another way all the SFSCs encouraged *collaboration* was through asking member-consumers to participate in decision-making and give the SFSC *feedback*. Two respondents were certain that *Norway’s social democratic society* has an egalitarian effect on their SFSC and increases members’ eagerness for collaboration and feedback: when I asked about the effect of Norway’s *dugnad*¹ tradition on national SFSC development, Øverland respondents contributed:

Respondent 1: Don’t you think that’s related to the social democracy, and that there aren’t so many differences between the rich and the poor?

Respondent 2: When I first moved to Norway [from Finland] I was surprised about how much things were discussed. We discussed, then made a decision. When you go to the parent-teacher meetings all the parents are talking, whereas in Finland, it’s much more quiet and people listen to what the teachers are saying.

Respondent 1: [interjects] We don’t respect authorities.

Respondent 2: Exactly, we don’t respect authorities.

Respondent 1: Because people have to earn their respect. So we’re a bit different. So something about this makes CSAs easy to work in Norway. It’s kind of easy to grasp...

Other respondents also noted the effect of the social democratic system on the way that their organizations run, including Bergen, Open Food Network Scandinavia, and Ås Kooperativet. The previous quotation along with Hvitsand (2016b) study of Norwegian CSAs suggests that the Norwegian SFSC network is very dedicated to civic society. This offers an opportunity to organizers to tap into this natural energy in order to support SFSC development. The studied SFSC organizers and

¹ Dugnad does not translate directly to volunteering. The words hold different expectations. One respondent said she had heard an English translation for ‘dugnad’ as «Barn-raising» in particular,

consumers value processes of collaboration and dialogue, which poses them for robust organization development and food-based community development, following Wight (2013).

Although strong civic convictions may sway Norwegians who participate in these SFSCs, respondents said these communal ideals do not always actualize for the SFSCs, partially due to the strappings of mainstream societal structures. The cooperatives noted that including *dugnad* (Norwegian volunteering) in their business models and forcing members to help through *dugnad* has often been an obstacle for the organizations. One interviewee who is both a cooperative organizer and a CSA farmer noted,

And you know in the end all of this *dugnad*... I see it obviously when I'm running the CSA.

People are like, "Yeah! Yeah, I wanna work for free!"

And I'm like, "There are six hours [of work required] with the [CSA] share."

And they're like, "Oh, I'm gonna work twelve hours, no worries."

And they don't show up, and I don't blame them. They have kids, other jobs. That's the way it works. You have to gain something from it; you can't work as an idealistic person all the time.

Although the two other CSAs I interviewed were more positive to the effect of the *dugnad* tradition on their operations, all the CSA organizers I interviewed cited the fact that people do not show up for weeding or their mandatory six hours a year of *dugnad* as a problem.

Dugnad indisputably benefits the short-term capacity of the SFSCs through labor and money saving, though, and SFSCs can engage their consumer-members through *dugnad* in creative ways to benefit their organizations. However, structuring an entire organization on *dugnad* labor was a clear challenge to SFSC development that arose in interviews, so the long-term benefits of *dugnad* are debatable within the Norwegian SFSC network. Some of the interviewed SFSCs talked about how they have moved away from *dugnad*, including Matkollektivet:

Since we wanted to change the [regional] agriculture [development]... we had to be driven not by volunteers. Because no [farmer or producer] builds a new farmhouse or processing place...

Nobody makes big investments based on a volunteer network that might disappear in the next months.

Some of the studied SFSCs have changed their structure to rely less on *dugnad* in order to operate more professionally, be a more stable distribution channel for farmers, and be a more economically sustainable organization.

The main positive aspect of *dugnad* that arose in my interviews was that volunteers like the community feeling that the *dugnad* tradition creates. Consumers reported this in the Ås member survey, and I also heard this during participant observation with the Ås and Oslo Cooperatives. Most of the non-CSA SFSCs organize distribution days with *dugnad*, and the coordinating groups are comprised of volunteers. Many active volunteers of Ås Kooperativ's coordinating group had a negative reaction to the idea of getting paid or even receiving a discount on the vegetables they

ordered through the cooperative in return for their dedicated hours to the SFSC. One simply replied, “No. Because this is dugnad”. One volunteer coordinator reported, “I love meetings! They’re so cozy”, suggesting many SFSC actors are truly willing to work ‘for free’ for the benefit of the SFSC and its members. The public perceived rooftop farming initiatives in Barcelona as socially-oriented rather than food production-oriented initiatives, and Sanyé-Mengual et al. (2016) found this harmed the progression of these projects. However, Watts et al. (2005) argue that food supply chains that focus just on the food are weak because the arguments supporting organic foods are ripe with disagreements and class critiques. Should Norwegian SFSCs position themselves as dugnad community-building initiatives or focus on food procurement as a main driver for development? Further research is needed focusing on the values and motivations of Norwegian consumers to determine how to best frame SFSC initiatives to the public in order to gain more support.

Many SFSC organizers lamented that members or volunteers did not stick with the development of the SFSC for a very long time. One respondent related this to dugnad:

The concept of dugnad is of course, like, super good. I think it’s very easy for people to be like, “Oahh yeah! I’ll join, or I’ll help out obviously”. Because it doesn’t require a huge effort, because it’s just a small thing really. You know, the point is that many people come together and do something quick.

He continued to note, “volunteering one level up from that, from just like, showing up some place for a few hours and then leaving (and maybe having some coffee and cake you know) but not actually organizing”, is an aspect of “Norwegian culture”, in his words. He said that people were reluctant about “long-term engagement” rather than short-but-sweet dugnad sessions: “No one wants to be the organizer of the dugnad, that does a little bit more. ...I think that’s typical”. Organizers reported that *high volunteer turnover* disables the core steering group of the SFSC from maintaining vision, skills, and relationships with supplying farmers. Vestfold and Bergen stakeholders both prioritized *long-term staff commitment*, and the Ås Kooperativet coordinator said her SFSC needs this. Organizers and consumers noted that dugnad can bring a good community feeling; whether or not the SFSCs currently achieve this feeling, they are certainly aspiring towards this. However, there were clear documented failures to harness long-term commitment from SFSCs’ consumer-members through framing volunteer work as dugnad. Therefore, dugnad is a swinging force to the development of these SFSCs.

The Øverland respondents noted that they usually do not have full attendance at their core group meetings because they “have some problems being a voluntary group; it’s easy to be down-prioritized. People are so busy”. This perception that there is a *lack of time* thus relates to the dugnad force, but respondents highlighted it so often that it requires a separate discussion. To

understand the effect of *lack of time* (whether it be a perception or a reality²) on SFSC consumer-members, take the case of Øverland, for example:

When we read the evaluations for this year, 110 or 120 [members] responded, and it's clear that they're not interested in something else other than vegetables. They're not interested in community... they say, "I do not have time for anything else other than going to the farm and getting my vegetables and going home."

This connects to Lokalliv/Open Food Network Scandinavia's finding that their community members also "did not have the time for dugnad". Some communities may have ample time for dugnad though, or may prioritize dugnad over other commitments. Members from Ås Kooperativ hold the opinion that the student community in Ås, for example, has more time for dugnad than local families with small children. However, in that same community, the student volunteers in the cooperative's coordinating group reported that they do not have time to dedicate to developing the webpage, blog, or recipe list for Ås Kooperativ members' benefit. If all of these things were better quality, that could help the visibility, communication, and reputation of the SFSC. However, nobody in the coordinating group has time to do this, so it does not get done. One Open Food Network Scandinavia respondent also said she would like spend more time developing projects that would support Norway's alternative food network but she cannot dedicate the time. Matkollektivet spoke about how they have to prioritize because they lack time, and this delays organization development. Additionally, three Norwegian SFSCs and one farmer I contacted to ask for an interview for this thesis project said that although they wished me the best for my research, they did not have the time to participate. These examples illustrate the connection of *lack of time* to both *dugnad* and *capacity* of the SFSCs.

One way that some SFSCs have 'created' time for organizers to prioritize the SFSC is through either finding funding or using membership fees to pay a coordinator. Having someone professionally dedicated to the SFSC enables organizers to prioritize the SFSC's operations and development; this remedies the hindering force of SFSC organizers not having time to prioritize the SFSC when operations are based on only dugnad. Five of the ten interviewed SFSCs have a paid coordinator, all of whom are paid part-time. Eight of the ten studied SFSCs spoke about how important it is for there to be a *paid coordinator* on the staff, including the Vestfold Kooperativet coordinator, when she commented about getting paid part-time for her work: "I've always felt a little bit stupid about that, but I think it's important. I saw that in Oslo, it was really important [to have a paid coordinator]." The fact that Ann Helen felt "stupid" for getting paid suggests that the Norwegian

² This was a great philosophical query for me throughout the course of this thesis project. Do we lack time, or do we create that notion ourselves? Does society create that notion?

dugnad tradition and a strong sense of civic responsibility affected her outlook on SFSC work. Three groups who do not have a paid coordinator right now said that ideally the current managers of their SFSC will be paid rather than volunteer.

Whether or not the staff was paid or worked as dugnad, respondents consistently ranked the *skills, knowledge, competencies* and *personal attributes* of their organizing team as strong supporting forces. Some personal attributes included staff being able to multitask, being supportive interpersonally, and being dedicated to the SFSC. Cecilie from Øverland contributed, “patience is always a part of it. There’s so much impatience in the real world. So us being patient is really important. I think that’s why we survived in the first years”. Despite though the importance that SFSC managers placed on their personal attributes, they often initially downplayed the impact of their professional background and skillsets. Instead, they asserted what really mattered for the benefit of their SFSC was their dedication, vision, and ambition. However, gradually throughout the interviews, respondents opened about their knowledge base and relevant skills. Some of the supportive skills, knowledge and competencies I found on SFSC management teams included leadership skills, business and administration backgrounds, legal skills, webpage design skills and online literacy. Other identified backgrounds included agroecological literacy, teaching, design, project management, and farming. Many SFSC managers had extensive knowledge about other types of alternative food network models around the world, including CSAs, ‘brick and mortar’ or storefront cooperatives, food hubs, and box schemes. However, some did not.

All of these skills are relevant and positively affect the SFSCs development, despite respondents being humble and downplaying them at times. A Scandinavian sense of humility arose as a theme when I asked the Lokalliv/Open Food Network Scandinavia entrepreneurs if there were any Norwegian cultural forces affecting the development of their organization. One commented,

Another underlying theme is Janteloven [the Law of Jante]: Don’t think you’re any better than anybody else, don’t believe you are somebody... it doesn’t make the startup industry very easy, ‘cuz I mean in order to end up being a start-up kind of person you need to have self-confidence. You need to leap, and you need to take some unpleasant decisions probably as well.

This humility theme does relate to some of the rules included in *the Law of Jante*:

Don't think you're anything special.

Don't think you're smarter than *we*.

Don't convince yourself that you're better than *we*.

Don't think anyone cares about *you*.

Don't think *you* can teach *us* anything. (Sandemose 1936, p. 77)

Other interviewees noted that in Norway, paying for quality items can be considered a luxury that would distinguish consumers from the societal norm. The aforementioned Law of Jante clauses also

reflect the Øverland respondents' comments about Norway's social democratic system causing a disrespect for authorities and civic engagement. It is a case for further research to make firm conclusions about the effects of the Law of Jante on Norwegian SFSCs, though.

Being an entrepreneur requires *marketing and business skills*, skills which almost all interviewed groups mentioned they lacked. When I asked the earliest established SFSC I interviewed specifically about marketing, they noted marketing through local media supported their development in their fledgling years:

Molly: What about marketing skills?

Cecilie: We don't need them anymore.

Rita: We have a waiting list of hundreds and hundreds of people.

Cecilie: But in the beginning... We've been here for ten years. So in the beginning we had contact with a journalist in the local newspaper, and we invited her to all of our events...

Rita: And we have other journalists coming and writing articles, and we always say yes.

However, most other interviewees ranked lack of marketing and business skills as a current strong hindering force. When I asked the Oslo Kooperativ respondent, "Are there any skills you are missing on your team?" Mads responded,

Accounting, I guess. More business-oriented [people]. Being a bit more, not so idealistic in a way. We need to think of this [cooperative bag] as a product, and members as customers.

They aren't like that totally, but we need to think of them in that way sometimes. We [do] need to think about the community-building piece, but also we need to sell something.

Here, Mads connects lack of marketing and business skills to the *idealism* or *professionalism* of an organization, two additional forces.

Many groups discussed the interplay between *idealism* and *professionalism*. Throughout my interviews, I noted an idealistic mindset - a dream of a different agro-food system - that drives all of these SFSCs' organizers, along with the great majority of their consumers and supplying farmers. This idealism gives the SFSCs moral standing and can be attractive to some consumers swayed by the civic responsibility. As one interviewee said, "It's not a typical consumer who is involved with Kooperativet, that's saying, oh! Here's a great and simple way to get vegetables! It's not like that". However, despite the apparently unconventional folks who likely form the consumer base of these SFSCs, idealism alone will not lead these SFSCs to market victory, winning consumers over the hegemonic agro-food system. Cooperative consumers surveyed in this study also noted that price and convenience influence their willingness (or lack thereof) to purchase bags, alongside idealistic motivations.

Another SFSC organizer commented on the importance of combining idealism with professionalism, commending another Norwegian SFSC that distributes mostly animal products:

[The business managers] have very strong values in the back of them. They don't do it for money. It's an interesting connection of humanity and business... They were organized as a cooperative first, but then they took the business route because they found that in order to really make it something they really needed to make it a business.

Matkollektivet in Bergen and the farm shop in Aurland are two more examples of businesses that originated in volunteer-based initiatives to supply local foods to local consumers, but have decided to professionalize the SFSC in an attempt to stabilize the organization. The Aurland farm shop benefited from this transition, and whether or not Matkollektivet will benefit is to be determined. Many SFSC organizers recognized that volunteers often organize Norwegian SFSCs and were discontent with the results they observed from this purely idealistic civic action. When referring to two other interviewees, Bianca from Dysterjordet was pleased when she noted,

I really like when people like Cynthia and Dag [the Open Food Network Scandinavia entrepreneurs] get things to a professional level. You need to get the money flow... you need maybe to have the motivation on an idealistic ground but you need to get it on a bit higher level, and that's been hard in Ås. But Dysterjordet has managed to get it on that level. ...With BUA and Ås Kooperativet, it's just volunteer work. It's hard. And with [Ås] Kooperativet [organized by purely students], you are stuck doing something, and then you have exams, and it's really hard. With Dysterjordet we have grown-up people who are working with it, and they're committed. That's the difference. Big difference.

Bianca and her co-interviewee, Kjersti, attributed the "grown-up" professionalism of their organization to having a paid coordinator:

Bianca: I think Dysterjordet is quite professional, if I can say it like that, not trying to talk down anyone, but just saying.

Molly: How do you think you got to this level?

Bianca: We have different money streams. We're not based voluntarily 100%.

Kirsti: Exactly.

Bianca: That's the difference.

Kirsti: We are employees!

Combining idealism with professionalism relates to Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011)'s claim that radical and progressive-style SFSCs need to adapt practices and morph into one another in order to transform agro-food systems. Conforming to the progressive paradigm can enable SFSCs to better compete with the hegemonic agro-food system. It can also make cooperating with farm businesses more reliable and professional. However, Holt Giménez and Shattuck also advise that progressive-style SFSCs should not lose sight of radical ideals in their search for competitiveness and professionalism, in order to enable true agro-food system transformation.

2. Demand ↔ Lack of Supply

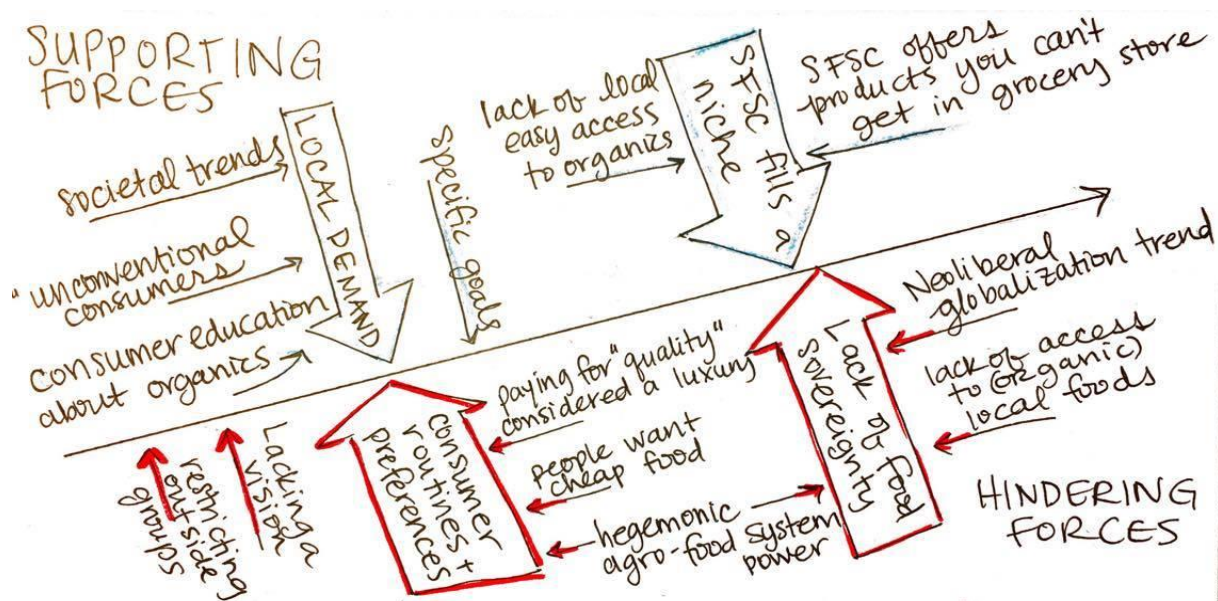


Figure 15: The forces discussed in this section

Crafting proposals for grants or government funding is one thing that requires professionalism. Some of the studied SFSCs have employed this trait to successfully receive *funding from their local municipality* which has helped support their SFSCs in critical growth periods. Those groups include Matkollektivet, Vestfold Kooperativet, Øverland CSA, Dysterjordet CSA, and the Aurland farm store. These SFSCs allocated the funds to different areas including marketing, building a website, paying a coordinator, and renting storage space, all in an effort to build *capacity*. However, many groups noted that relying on outside funds for organization development is not a sustainable business model. Regardless, most of these same groups are still seeking funding to support their SFSC in its initial development stages. The fact some groups have received funds from their local municipality suggests government support for SFSCs. This upholds Hvitsand's (2016b) findings, that the national government aligns with Norwegian CSA actors' motivations to grow more domestic produce, support national food sovereignty, and strengthen the relationship between producers and consumers.

However, other groups reported that their municipality had denied them funding, despite being supportive in theory. Despite government desires to be 50% self-sufficient in calories and grow 15% organic food, on whether municipality funds are currently available to support local organic SFSC development, Bianca from Dysterjordet commented, "Yeah, the [local municipality] is supportive in words, but not in funds. We don't have any money." Whether or not municipalities have money to support SFSCs depends on national policies regarding agriculture and local economic development. In Norway, the current right-wing government's proposition to liberalize versus

localize the agro-food system will perpetuate conditions like Bianca explained if the Norwegian government neglects multifunctional rural development, as described by Dibden et al. (2009).

In contrast to Hvitsand's (2016b) findings that the national government and Norwegian SFSCs share goals, Agnes from Matkollektivet informed,

With the policies directed at agriculture right now, the Eastern and Southern [larger-scale] farmers have more support... Bigger, more efficient, not necessarily focusing on variety of produce, quality, or innovation [as] being [a] very important part of keeping an area alive... not just with food but with tourism. Just being a thriving region... That's not taken into account [in national agriculture policies] at all.

This encouraged Agnes to say,

What we're trying to do [with]... Matkollektivet is instead of joining in that chorus [advocating for policy change], we are trying to create the solutions we dream of. The policy-making: that is just such a long way to change the system. And sometimes I think the way to change policies is just showing. Show don't tell.

Agnes' comment that it is "such a long way to change the system" and Vinge's (2015) findings that the current government promotes liberalizing Norway's agro-food system suggests that Boyce's (2012) claim holds true in Norway. Boyce claims that creating solutions to sociopolitical problems is more difficult than relying on already existing solutions, such as investing in high-tech farm technologies or integrating into the international agro-food market, to 'solve' problems. The difficult task of crafting sociopolitical solutions at the national level may have the Norwegian government in a stalemate, failing to figuring out which style of agricultural development to promote and support. However, many of my interviewees are already in crafting their own solutions, motivated by a vision for small-scale agricultural and economic development.

All interviewed Norwegian SFSC organizers have *a strong desire to create change* within the Norwegian agro-food system. One Matkollektivet organizer, Magnhild, emphasized: "We need more good food, locally produced, from small-scale farms, without pesticides, yeah, all that story. ...[Our SFSC] is driven by the big picture - the society challenges we have". One Lokalliv/Open Food Network Scandinavia entrepreneur elaborated on the "big picture" visions that drive her:

Our goal is to get the critical mass of people needed to really create change, create a real impact. Our goal is to create a system that will support local economies and local communities, in a social, economic, and environmental way.

These goals reflect the community food system that Feenstra (2002, p. 100) describes: "a collaborative effort to build more locally based, self-reliant economies – one in which sustainable food production, processing, distribution, and consumption is integrated to enhance the economic, environmental, and social health of a particular place". All interviewees hope that their SFSCs will help remedy some societal problems: environmental, social, and economic.

One of the main *motivations* for all interviewed SFSC actors was changing the sources and flows of money from their current course in the hegemonic agro-food system towards more localized economic development. SFSC managers consistently reported that they are creating these alternative food networks in an effort to support local farmers. One SFSC entrepreneur lamented where most money goes in the current hegemonic agro-food system:

A friend of mine is a fisherman up there [in Lofoten] and [one] year the fishermen were paid 18 kroner a kilo for their arctic cod. And at the store we bought it that year, and we bought it for 199 kroner a kilo. And all of that went into Norgesgruppen [one of the main food distributors in Norway]. That's not right. ...Where does your money go? How much goes to the farmer? The three richest people in Norway are the families that are supplying us with the cheapest food.

All responses reflected this exasperation and dissatisfaction in some way. Respondents are *resisting the hegemonic agro-food system*. All respondents desire to re-direct money towards disenfranchised farmers and producers, rather than a multitude of food supply chain intermediaries. When I asked Mads of Oslo Kooperativet, "What motivates you to be involved with Oslo Kooperativet?" He replied,

I mean it's for political motivation... [this consumer cooperative] is quite radical. It's changing things a lot. It's a complete alternative to the capitalistic stupid system we have. I think that is what motivates me the most, at the moment. ...I just want to add fairness to the farmer...

This interviewee continued to clarify that paying farmers "a fair price for their goods" and "sharing the risk" encouraged him to be involved with the cooperative. While Mads was motivated to resist the effect of Norway's hegemonic food system on farmers, the Ås Kooperativet coordinator was motivated to resist the effects on consumers:

Ulrikke: I'm so... what's the word... worried about the three giants in the food industry, REMA, Coop and Norgesgruppen. So I try to support all the smaller, other alternatives if I can. Sometimes it's too difficult.

Molly: When you say you're worried, what's in that?

Ulrikke: About the power they have over what we consume. In Norway, more than in other places, there is only one choice in the store of what we consume.

Additionally, The Ås Kooperativet survey revealed that the most important reasons consumers purchased from Ås Kooperativet were *supporting local farmers* (92% of respondents) and supporting an alternative to the biggest food distributors (87% of respondents). To compare, these surveyed consumers more consistently noted these two reasons than getting access to fresh and seasonal vegetables (78% of respondents), supporting a packaging-free initiative (71% of respondents) or supporting an environmentally-friendly cause (67% of respondents). This supports Jaklin et. al's (2015), as well as Seyfang's (2006a) findings that many consumers and farmers who participate in SFSCs in Austria and the USA (respectively) are politically motivated and criticize the hegemonic agro-

food system. These comments reflect the international public outcry for food system regulation and alternatives that Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) and Dibden et al. (2009) describe as an example of ‘capitalism’s double-movement’.

This double movement is evident in Norway; the interviewed actors are searching for solutions to support local production in response to a *political push to liberalize agricultural production* in Norway. The Matkollektivet interviewee, Agnes, described this political situation, and Vinge (2015) confirmed the push to liberalize in her Norwegian agriculture politics discourse analysis. Norwegian SFSC actors’ motivations for localized agro-food system development breaks from the contemporary national political discourse promoting liberalization. A preliminary hypothesis from this research is that local municipalities are more supportive than the national government, which is currently debating whether or not to liberalize trade. However, local municipalities do not always have money to match their supportive words, depending on funding allocated through national policies. The documented discourse turn in national politics towards liberalization (Vinge 2015) does not suggest localized agricultural development is a national priority, however multiple interviewees reported that their SFSC initiatives have indeed received supportive funding from the government. Therefore, *government support* is an uncertain force, and more research is needed to determine which actors in national and local government serve as key SFSC supportive and hindering players.

Aligning with Zilibotti (2007), the studied Norwegian SFSCs operate as if their nation has indeed solved the Keynesian ‘economic problem’, considering they focus on remedying the environmental as well as socio-cultural negative externalities of the hegemonic agro-food system. The SFSCs I studied aim to support localized agricultural and economic development that aligns with the ‘degrowth’, Buen Vivir movements. These SFSCs value the style of development that E. F. Schumacher (1973) and R. Tagore promoted (Ashta 2014; Seyfang 2006b). They are working to recreate economic spaces, relating to the findings of Marsden et al. (2000). They hope to create a more ‘moral economy’, which Kloppenborg Jr et al. (1996) urges.

The philosophies of both Matkollektivet and Open Food Network Scandinavia align with the Transition Town and Buen Vivir movements (Gudynas 2011; Marsh 2015). SFSCs in Norway would benefit from *Slow Money-style investment* (Ashta 2014) to boost their capacity while maintaining their ideals. The studied Norwegian SFSC actors prioritize ecosystem and community health over profiteering. This suggests these groups have theoretically progressed out of the economic paradigm worshipping comparative advantage as king, out of the economic paradigm worshipping “avarice and usury” as “gods” (Keynes 1933, p. 6), and into a *new paradigm* reflecting ‘degrowth’ philosophy that insists society has issues more vital to resolve than the Keynesian ‘economic problem’.

Norway's regions do need agricultural development in order to support these SFSC initiatives. A Matkollektivet respondent said that they would fail their consumers if they tried to make a vegetable bag filled with only Vestlandet products:

We couldn't do a whole year, maybe not even a half year, of [fruit and vegetable] stuff because the volume is too small. So we thought, okay, let's make a weekly box of Western produce and then we'll just see what's out there. And then we found dairy, cheese, meat, fish, sausages, all sorts of varieties...

Not all cooperatives even had that luck, though. Both Ås and Vestfold cooperatives have to take a distribution break in May, and even when Halden Kooperativ (not interviewed but observed online) tried to arrange a May bag, they decided that paying for expensive shipping from the closest possible supplier in Hedmark, 230 kilometers away was not financially prudent. *Lack of regional or local food sovereignty* hinders the studied non-CSA SFSCs. It is also something these SFSCs are trying to change. Currently, there is a lack of varied, healthy, local food to fill the bags with a satisfying diversity of products throughout the year, because local communities lack food sovereignty.

If local supplying farmers do not have a diverse selection of vegetables in the fall, winter, and spring, then the cooperative bags reflect this lack of diversity. Some farmers are focusing on diversifying their products in Norway, however, they might not be close enough or available for the SFSCs' purchasing. *The SFSC bags do not reflect the full species diversity they could.* This can lead to a miseducative experience, as described by experiential educator theorist J. Dewey (2007), which could discourage consumers from continuing to participate in the SFSC. However, a consumer can be knowledgeable about local foods and still find a Kooperativet bag boring if it does not accurately reflect the variety of winter storage crops that Norwegian farmers can grow. Eating seasonally does not suggest submitting to a boring diet, but some of the winter cooperative bags right now might make it seem this way. Farmers with a wider diversity of products might be able to do a special delivery to the Kooperativet but this is not financially responsible to do every delivery cycle. In the future, the cooperatives could make this work if they had proper storage space for products. For instance, a smaller cooperative like Ås Kooperativ could get a special order from a farmer in Hedmark for onions and butternut squash, then store the squash in their own storage place. The cooperative could pull from this storage to make vegetable bags more diverse and exciting throughout the winter.

As Agnes informed, farmers in the Vestlandet region currently produce "all sorts of varieties" of higher-cost products such as "dairy, cheese, meat, fish, [and] sausages". This variety determines what Matkollektivet can put in their weekly bag of regional products. The SFSC can currently only offer this more expensive bag for two reasons. The first is that regionally, they do not have enough more affordable products such as fruits and vegetables to fill their bags. The second is that

Matkollektivet does not have enough orders each cycle to support a multi-option business strategy, where consumers could choose the contents of their food box. The expensive box is *restricting outside groups*, which affects SFSC's order numbers, as well as image, and therefore is a hindering force. Groups that Matkollektivet and some of the other SFSCs are excluding are low-income people including students, young busy parents, and vegetarians. The Matkollektivet respondents were conscious of restricting their consumer base through their image or offerings, as Agnes suggested when she talked about marketing:

Don't be too extreme because people don't really want to associate with you. You have to balance perspectives. ...If the aim is to actually change structural one-way streets, then we have to get enough people involved, or they have to associate us with something positive and want to be a part of the movement. Matkollektivet isn't just a shop. It's not a grocery or a shop. We're really trying to be a movement because we want people to come on board and see what they haven't seen.

Then, Magnhild added, "We need everyone". It is wise for SFSCs to consider to which groups their SFSC caters, and which groups it excludes, considering the critique of Clendenning et al. (2016) and Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) that despite ideological backings, many food movements cater only to upper-class "foodie" people and therefore do not achieve their idealistic principles. Despite the fact that Øverland CSA and Ås Kooperativet are dialoguing about how to ensure access for more poor members of their communities, restricting access financially was not a main theme or hindering force that came out of my interviews. Restricting access is the only place in which *community connections* can be a hindering force. That being said, following the Pareto 80/20 principle (Pearson et al. 2011) suggests that the studied SFSCs don't "need everyone" as Magnhild suggested, but they do need a motivated 20%. Further research could determine which groups in Norwegian society could constitute the 20% that SFSCs need to flourish.

Lacking regional food sovereignty also relates to consumers *lacking access to organic foods*, which has been one of the main reasons for creating these SFSCs in Vestfold, Trondheim, and Aurland. In the words of Ann Helen, "We discovered really early, actually, that it was hard to get organic vegetables from Vestfold. They're supposed to be a big county in organic foods, but it's mainly animals". The Aurland respondent commented about how there was not much local demand when they started the cooperative there, citing lack of local consumer knowledge as the reason. Lack of local access to organics is a swinging force overall, because interviewees noted that if supply of local organic food is low, then consumers might not be knowledgeable about organics, and therefore might not see any reason to purchase from a SFSC. On the other hand, Ann Helen made a connection between lack of organics in the conventional grocery stores and the organic food SFSC movement in Norway, remarking,

Ann Helen: We always talk up to Sweden and Denmark about this... [then, mimicking herself and other Norwegians complaining about unsuccessfully seeking organic food in Norway,] 'Oh, Sweden has lots of organic in the shops. Denmark is so much better'... But with CSAs... They have just five in Sweden but they have sixty, seventy in Norway.

Molly: You have any ideas about why that is?

Ann Helen: Yeah, I think that the reason is that...people [in Norway] are wanting it, but the shops are not offering it, so the result is that people start CSAs to get it. Whereas in Sweden or Denmark, you don't need to start these [SFSC] things because the groceries are so big in organic... they have such a big [selection] of organic foods in the stores.

Ann Helen appeared baffled when she continued to speak about her observations of the access to organics she had seen in the USA, compared to Norway: "I remember, in the States, there were whole grocery stores with organic food! That's incredible!" CSAs are indeed gaining momentum in Norway quicker than in Sweden or Denmark, which contradicts the '*Norwegians are slower to try new things*' emergent force.

Whether it be something organic, a particular vegetable, or a specific cut of meat, all the SFSCs I studied offer *products not typical in the normal grocery stores or not locally available* any other way. This gives the SFSC a market advantage over the Norwegian hegemonic agro-food system, which can attract consumers. However, there is no guarantee that consumers will be interested in the SFSC or its products, because they might not have knowledge, preference, or education about the foods the SFSC offers yet. As Hvitsand (2016b) explained, Norwegians get more organic options when they involve in a CSA in Norway than if you just go to the regular grocery store, so SFSCs have a job to educate consumers about the different products they attain through being involved with SFSCs. If local shops offer the same products that the SFSC is offering, it can take away business from the SFSC. However, it can also support the SFSC because consumers recognize and value the products or supplying farms more, know how to use the local seasonal vegetables better, and learn more in general about different agro-food systems. These foods and products can become a part of their routines, which would be a supporting force.

The next two themes affect each other in a pendulum manner: consumer preferences and what farmers produce. When I asked farmers if they could grow some different vegetable varieties for the Ås and Oslo cooperatives as a way to potentially give a creative boost to the bags and make the business more attractive to consumers, two farmers said it is risky to diversify production without being certain that they can sell all these niche products. Although the cooperatives have the potential to provide these farmers with a certain selling outlet for this produce, the fact the *cooperatives are still small with low and inconsistent order numbers* does not make it more likely for

farmers to be eager to diversify on the cooperatives' behalf. This hinders the development of these SFSCs.

Local demand for SFSC products, whether niche or not, varied by case. In general, if local demand is high, then the SFSC has a niche to fill. When demand is low, just like any business, the SFSC will not have the same interest level but can still market itself to create interest. In particular, the Vestfold respondent noted the effect the local culture on the demand for SFSC and organics in their area:

Ann Helen: [Tønsberg is] a blue³ city, you know, party, politics wise. Very into trading...

Molly: So, more accepting of "corporate"?

Ann Helen: Yeah, yeah. Not so much into this hippie [initiative]... (*giggling*). But at the same time, rich people are into organic here. So, it's a [swinging force] type of thing. That might be the reason members aren't into the social [attending events, dugnad] thing. Just, get the groceries. And that's that.

This shows the swinging effect of *local culture* on local SFSC demand.

Moving from local culture to national culture, respondents informed that *Norwegian consumer preferences and routines* are currently more of a hindering force to these initiatives. Much collected data suggests that consumer preferences and routines disconnect with what the studied SFSCs currently provide or promote. One Matkollektivet interviewee, Magnhild, commented on this:

Many Norwegians don't want too many new or too many exciting products. But at the same time it's kind of opposites [referring to the fact that many Norwegians now prefer and consume some non-Norwegian heritage "exciting" products in their everyday diets]... when we choose products or vegetables only from Vestlandet, we get lots of roots... potatoes and things like that. And then we have the challenge that we have to get people to use more of these kinds of products again, which everyone here [consumed] more of, like, one, two or three generations back. But now everyone wants more, uses more other things. More rice and pasta and more vegetables that aren't roots. So... they're not very experimental, but at the same time they've stopped using or stopped knowing how to use a lot of these roots or traditional vegetables.

Routines hinder SFSC development if consumers have the mindset that the SFSC does not readily fit into their routine, and therefore they do not benefit from being involved. However, if the SFSC can infiltrate into people's habits and become routine, then the SFSCs will have the impactful force of routine in their favor.

Many respondents noted that they lose member-consumers because people lament about not being able to choose what is in the bag, and the bag content does not fit their routines and

³ In Norway, this means right-wing politically.

preferences. This theme was most evident in my Bergen and Ås interviews, but mentioned in the Oslo and Vestfold interviews as well. One interviewed farmer noted that a box scheme he previously managed lost momentum because his consumers' interest decreased in what they perceived to be a monotonous routine of vegetables they received each delivery cycle. Many of the SFSC organizers I interviewed mentioned that some of their member-consumers get bored by the repetitive winter season bag of root vegetables, and therefore prefer to buy more groceries at the regular grocery store during that time period. Sometimes the products in the SFSC bags are no different than what you can buy at the regular grocery store. In the mindset of the consumer, this does not make the bag exciting or novel, one reason why consumers can justify their purchases (Ponte 2016). The Ås Kooperativet survey revealed insights into consumer routines and habits. Over half of respondents (57%) are often not able finish the seven or eight kilo bag of vegetables within a normal two-week cycle; this was a reason for not ordering a bag every delivery cycle. Additionally, 15% of respondents thought it was difficult to cook food with the bag contents. However, in the survey of Ås Kooperativet members, only 15% thought the bag wasn't exciting enough, and therefore chose not to purchase a bag each cycle. Therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the *boring bags* force, and more research is needed to determine consumer interpretation of SFSC products.

The dominant presence of the hegemonic agro-food system in Norway not only influences consumer preferences, but also how consumers interpret food prices. Many respondents commented that the grocery stores influence consumers into expecting food to be inexpensive; Magnhild commented that the Norwegian opinion about buying food is, "the cheaper the better... paying for quality is almost considered a luxury. Which most people could afford but not everyone does". Magnhild's suggestion that *Norwegian consumers consider "paying for quality" a "luxury"* relates to other respondents' suggestions about the influence of The Law of Jante on Norwegian consumers. Ann Helen agreed that the general Norwegian mindset prefers inexpensive food, contributing:

The mentality of not spending a lot of money on food is very big. [Then, ironically mimicking a consumer, she said,] 'You should not spend any money at all, and you should go to Sweden to buy food, because here it's so expensive'. In the 1970s, just like 40-50 years ago, [Norwegians] spent like 50% of their income on food. But now it's only 10%. People want to spend their money on televisions, clothes etc. but not on food. So food is not a priority for a lot of people.

The Dysterjordet interviewees spoke on this topic and revealed different interpretations of the price of food in the Norwegian context:

Bianca: Well, this family [in Ås] started growing their own because food is expensive...

Kjersti [interjects]: No, food is not expensive! Food is cheap! Wages are high and food is cheap. That's why it's hard to get this [Norwegian SFSC development] going. You go to REMA and buy your things. You could never get it cheaper unless you grow it yourself, really.

Ann Helen solidified this theme again in our interview, when she talked about recruiting people to join Vestfold Kooperativet:

I say, 'Oh you can join the cooperative, develop it together, it's for the farmers.' ...[People] have to accept the price [of the bags], and people are accepting, but it's always there: *People want cheap food*. It's a mindset that's hard to change. And I would feel the same, week after week if I'm buying food just to support about the farmer... you have to also think about yourself.

Considering the small amount of food distributors in Norway (Jervell & Borgen 2004), the hegemonic agro-food system sets the Norwegian 'normal' when it comes to food prices. Anything that deviates from these food prices, which are based on industrialized production and distribution methods, is an anomaly, nationally. The power of the hegemonic agro-food system in Norway therefore influences the development of SFSCs because it sets strong price standards with which SFSCs must compete.

Responses reflected a range of consumer interpretations about the price of the SFSC products. In the case of Ås Kooperativet, the price of the bag did not hinder purchases, as almost 90% of Ås Kooperativet survey respondents reported that they are satisfied with the price of the bag. Most consumers (58%) noted that the price was fitting, and an additional 30% responded they felt as though they received a lot of vegetables for the price of the bag. Only 8% had the opinion that the bags were too expensive. The fact that a majority of *consumers are willing to pay* for the bags is a supporting force for this SFSC. The possible combination of this force and the finding that *people want cheap food* could benefit these SFSCs, if they advertise themselves as a more affordable option.

Many consumers are swayed by convenience, which gives *the hegemonic agro-food system in Norway* power. As over 99% of national food sales go through four main food distributors and their retail grocers (Jervell & Borgen 2004), it is arguable that the hegemonic agro-food system trains consumers to expect the utmost convenience in their food procurement. The hegemonic agro-food system in Norway caters to the hectic everyday lifestyle to which many interviewed actors are victim, and many SFSC respondents noted that consumers supplement their SFSC purchases by going to the grocery store, or prefer the mainstream modes of food distribution because it's more convenient in a time-strapped day. This mainstream food distribution system is so omnipresent in Norway, and it shapes which products are available. It is likely it also shapes consumers' food preferences, knowledge, and habits, considering Sonnino and Marsden's (2006) findings that the conventional food system is often the one setting criteria for quality. Verifying this in the Norwegian context requires further research. However, the fact that the grocery distributors in Norway have so much

power has become one fuel source for a resistance movement, as reported by multiple interviewees. These findings in the Norwegian context connect with other groups' justifications for creating SFSCs in other communities around the world (Ashta 2014; Marsden et al. 2000; Martinez-Torres & Rosset 2010; Seyfang 2006a) and signify that 'capitalism's double-movement' is happening within the Norwegian context. The hegemonic agro-food system in Norway is a strong force with which the studied SFSCs must reckon. Whether or not the strength of the Norwegian agro-food resistance movement will match the strength of the national hegemonic agro-food system is to be determined as the SFSCs develop.

As Magnhild commented, consumer mindsets, preferences and routines have changed. *Consumer preferences and routines* is a swinging force for this reason. Indeed, many interviewees reported they have observed *societal trends* that support their initiatives, including Agnes from Matkollektivet: "We are part of a wave of greater consciousness of healthy food, healthy and sustainable food. So that's a national thing that's important for us as well. Local produce is selling." The two Dysterjordet CSA respondents elaborated on this theme, saying,

Bianca: At [Norwegian] farmers' markets... this has 10 doubled up since 2003, the amount of money for local products.

Kjersti: It used to be easy and cheap, Norwegian values. And easy to make. Norwegian shops had quite a low assortment... We've opened our eyes more to quality, taste... Look at what's offered for locally brewed beer. That's been exploding. It's a part of the same trend. Quality, taste, local... I think that's a very important driver here in Norway.

Bianca: It's a trend, a trending thing now with food. Clean food, sustainable food, food production, local food, to [be involved with] local agriculture... [and considering] how to lift it up? Because it's been a struggle.

Despite the "struggle" Bianca notes, interviewees noted that a 'foodie' trend that focuses on quality and taste, a healthy eating trend, a social entrepreneurship wave, an environmental consciousness wave, and the food localization movement are all supporting forces for Norwegian SFSC development. These trends relate to the growth in the organic sector that Pearson et al. (2011) and Vegstein (2016) describe.

Almost all the SFSC managers I interviewed commented about how *consumer education about organics* is on the upswing when I asked about societal forces affecting the development of their SFSC. However, most mainstream consumers are not used to cooking with many seasonal, local foods these days, as Magnhild of Matkollektivet informed. In order to influence local peoples' interest and education in preparing local foods, Matkollektivet is engaged as a re-skilling project. Magnhild contributed, "We sort of have to educate our customers in that you can't get everything year-round. Our box won't be the same the whole year". Considering the findings of Torjusen,

Lieblein, and Vittersø (2008) that box scheme consumers learned more about different foods and organic farming after subscribing to a vegetable box scheme, these education efforts are not vain and could strengthen the SFSC's consumer base.

All of the SFSC's efforts to educate their member-consumers about seasonal and local foods help bring those people into their local 'foodsheds' as described by Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996) and position the SFSCs as community agroecological educators, as described by Wight (2013). This help to reconnect humans to the earth and cultivate agroecological citizenship, a combination of a 'food citizenship' (Wilkins 2005) and 'ecological citizenship' (Seyfang 2006a). Intentionally educating consumers about seasonal and local foods makes some of the SFSCs I studied different from the typical hegemonic way to access foods, though some corporate food distributors are also working to educate their consumers about the supply chain. Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996) connect citizen education to the power of agribusiness, and the consequences of citizens being disconnected from their food:

Of course, much of the power of agribusiness ultimately depends on farmers and consumers not knowing. If we do not know, we do not act. And even if we do know, the physical and social distancing characteristic of the global food system may constrain our willingness to act when the locus of the needed action is distant or when we have no real sense of connection to the land or those on whose behalf we ought to act. Ultimately, distancing disempowers. Control passes to those who can act and are accustomed to act at a distance: the Philip Mortises, Monsanto, and ConAgra of the world (p. 36).

It is difficult to determine how much of an effect the studied SFSCs will have on involved farmers and consumers, and how much they will decrease the "distancing" to which Kloppenburg Jr et al. allude. However, many of the SFSCs I studied are making efforts to educate their consumers, connecting these initiatives with the efforts of rooftop farming initiatives in Barcelona (Sanyé-Mengual et al. 2016), the Farm to School Network in the USA (Joshi et al. 2008), the expanding Food Hub network in the USA (Blay-Palmer et al. 2013) and the international Slow Food movement (Petrini 2003). As one educational effort, many SFSCs have a webpage for recipes, or put cooking tips in their bags for consumer-members. The Oslo Kooperativ respondent noted that the cooperative is thinking of having a weekend-long seminar called Kooperativet Academy where new members learn about why Kooperativet exists and then join the working groups, as a way to influence consumer-member education. This shows that this SFSC *prioritizes educating* its consumer base; consumer education, or a lack thereof, is therefore a clear force affecting the studied SFSCs that many people involved are trying to affect.

When the consumer survey asked Ås Kooperativet members, "Has your membership in Ås Kooperativ taught you anything new or been educational in any way?" along with, "Have your

routines and habits changed since you began to buy vegetables from Kooperativet?” Many members replied that since starting to purchase from the cooperative, they have started to eat more vegetables, more seasonal produce, and buy less from the normal grocery store. One respondent noted, “I have begun to eat red beets!”⁴, noting a routine change. However, not all consumers are so quick to change their preferences and routines; to the same set of questions, a different member responded, “[I] throw more red beets in the garbage than before (never bought them before)”⁵. Therefore, the educational opportunities of these SFSCs exist and evidently can change consumer behavior, but the second red beet anecdote warns that there is no guarantee. In another study of Scandinavian box scheme consumers, Torjusen et al. (2008) found that more than 80% of the surveyed consumers increased their consumption of fruits and vegetables since starting box scheme subscription, so the potential to influence eating habits exists for these SFSCs. The SFSCs can therefore encourage consumer habit change to benefit the SFSCs’ sales as well as consumers’ health, following Tilman and Clark’s (2014) findings that increased vegetable consumption supports human health. Like Magnhild regarding Norwegian food preferences, some culturally traditional high-fiber vegetables have lost their place in the food culture of Norway in the early twenty-first century. Reincorporating these local foods could benefit consumers’ health and bring consumers closer into their ‘foodsheds’. SFSCs can facilitate this through re-skilling and educating their consumers.

Re-skilling members is one example of a specific organization goal. I asked the SFSC organizers if they had any *specific goals*, in order to see how groups were planning to meet their motivations. Most SFSCs I interviewed responded with specific goals to which they aspired, but some did not. Agnes from Matkollektivet said, “We have a very clear vision of Matkollektivet being not only giving customers local food, but actually changing the food production of Vestlandet”. Matkollektivet and Open Food Network Scandinavia are both goal-oriented and have *clear visions*. Coincidentally or not, these SFSCs are also committed to developing self-sustaining social entrepreneurship ventures, and are both run by women with twenty or more years of professional experience. On the other hand, the Oslo and Ås Cooperatives said that *lacking a clear goal or vision* is one of the hindering forces that contributes to the uncertain development of their SFSCs. I asked the Oslo respondent, “In five years, what does Oslo Kooperativet hope to look like?” He responded, “Well, I think that’s a part of the problem, actually, is we do not know”.

Outside models that also had idealistic origins inspired all of the SFSCs mentioned in the previous paragraph. However, as these businesses have grown and developed, they have worked to fit their SFSC to their local needs, rather than sticking to the original model that might not work as

⁴ Original Norwegian phrasing: Jeg har begynt å spise rødbeter!

⁵ Original phrasing in Norwegian: Kaster mer rødbeter enn før (kjøpte det aldri før).

well in their specific niche. *Following other models* as a guide certainly can help an initiative get started. In some cases a certain model may not be applicable to a local context. The Ås Kooperativet coordinator confirmed this when talking about the challenges of using Oslo Kooperativet's model, which is based in the Norway's capital city. The Vestfold, Ås, and Trondheim consumer cooperatives are currently all following Oslo Kooperativet's model without diverging too much. In the different context of Ås, which is a small university town, the cooperative recently decided to diverge from their original Oslo Kooperativet-inspired model in order to satisfy its local needs. Fitting a SFSC's structure and strategy to a local context should benefit them, based on the theory of *Cultural Adaptation Work* (Hegnes 2012). Si et al. (2015) would likely concur, as they warned of the difficulties implementing Western-style alternative food network models in the Chinese context.

Some of the SFSCs I studied fit their organizations to the needs of their local citizenry in the theme of *Cultural Adaptation Work*, whereas some did not. The Open Food Network Scandinavia/Lokalliv entrepreneurs polled their local community about citizens' preferred food distribution technique for a local SFSC. Respondents said that they did not have time for dugnad but would prefer to just pick up the vegetable box, or get it delivered to their homes. The Open Food Network Scandinavia/Lokalliv entrepreneurs listened to their local community through this poll and therefore were able to create a distribution system catered to their community's needs. A different consumer cooperative never materialized, possibly because the people who arranged or attend the original meeting did not fit the SFSC model to their local needs. This was the case for Innlandet Kooperativet, the cooperative that has yet to be realized. As SFSCs emerge and evolve not just in Norway but also in different areas around the globe, it makes sense that they should not completely mimic each other, considering the specific cultural contexts and needs of different areas.

3. Strategies and Structures ↔ Low Order Numbers

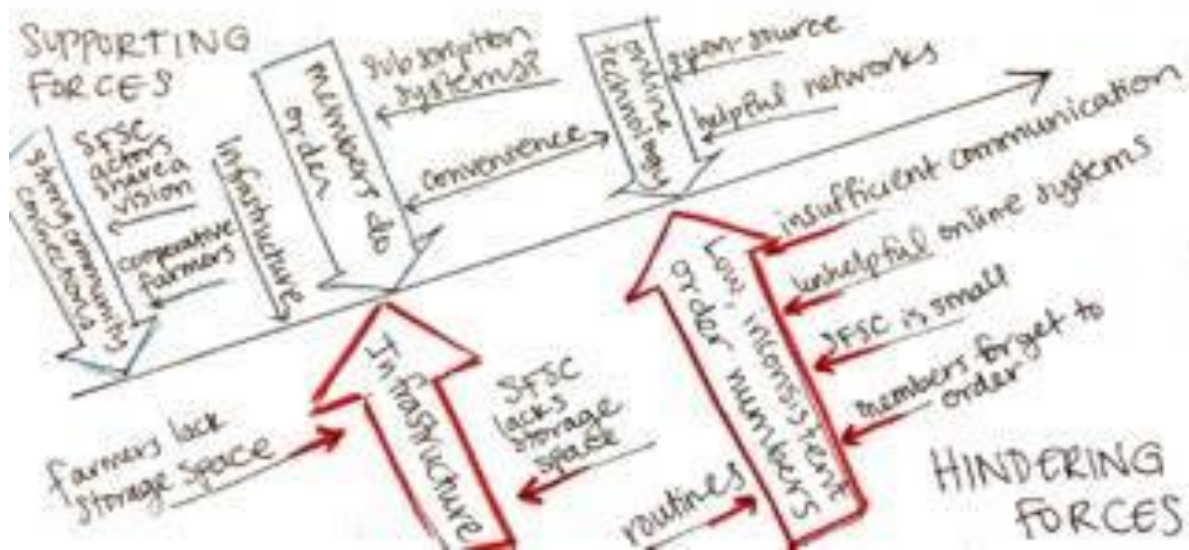


Figure 16: The forces discussed within this section

Moving away from the theoretical forces and towards the tangible forces that affect capacity, interviewees noted that *access to storage space* and *distribution locations* both affect their efforts. If a SFSC has access to vegetable, meat, or dairy storage, that enables it to have more flexibility, as well as opportunities to expand or diversify. Cooperative-style collective purchasing of bulk is a cheaper way to source products, so when the SFSC has storage space, they can do this more. Some initiatives that do not have storage space spoke of the limitations of this. Øverland can store vegetables throughout the winter so they can order large quantities of diverse products from farmers, something that Ås Kooperativet desires to do. Refrigerator or freezer space has enabled some SFSCs to expand their products into meat and dairy, but many of the smaller cooperatives lack this opportunity. In Aurland, the SFSC initially had access to storage space because it was based at the agricultural school. The respondent claimed this helped the SFSC develop naturally.

Farmers lacking storage space also hinders the studied cooperatives. When I asked one farmer, “What are the reasons it is difficult to diversify your crops?” The farmer responded that growing and storing a very wide variety of vegetables is much more difficult than storing only a few varieties. Different vegetable types prefer different storage environments and characteristics – therefore, without storage space to keep a wide variety of produce during the off-season, fitting the needs of each vegetable, the farmer replied that it is less attractive to diversify. Agnes of Matkollektivet clarified, “That’s been an issue: producers don’t have good storage.” She continued to suggest,

If Matkollektivet becomes a strong, reliable business, we can go to farmers and say, I’ll buy all your apples, I’ll buy everything, but you have to store it. Then they have to look at their barn

and calculate their loan into ten years of prices. That would be a part of the long-term possibilities if Matkollektivet was past the state of being so totally fragile.

This notes a future opportunity for rural Vestlandet farmers to invest in farm capital and increase the quality of their storage, if the SFSC is successful in the future. Increased storage quality would be a supporting force for SFSCs.

Whether or not it had storage space, the interviewees were all content with their current *distribution locations*. The different SFSCs' distribution locations have a range of benefits. Some distribution locations are central and visible which offers publicity, advertising, and marketing for the SFSC. All SFSCs chose their distribution locations because they are convenient for either the SFSC organizers or a group of consumers. All the Kooperativet groups' distribution locations do not cost anything to rent, because the cooperating business likes the publicity of having the cooperative initiative there for two hours every other week. Sometimes the location has cooling facilities and extra storage, which provides the opportunity for the SFSC to include dairy and meats in the distribution. The original entrepreneurs for each SFSC have always intentionally chosen the distribution locations, and all respondents talked about the strategic benefit of their distribution location. Distribution locations at the Steiner School in Vestfold, or Vitenparken in Ås are making accessing local organic products very convenient for their current consumer-member groups. However, the Ås Kooperativet worries that having a distribution location on the university campus, although convenient for some, restricts the how visible the SFSC is to the local non-university community. All local shopping takes place in the town center. Because of their potential to harness but also restrict groups, *distribution locations* therefore operate as a swinging force.

A final swinging force affecting the capacity of these SFSCs relates to the size of the organization. Ås Kooperativet's coordinator noted that because their *SFSC is small*, she feels more free to try out different models without sacrificing the business' reputation or many members' routines. Making changes to Ås Kooperativet is easier than Oslo Kooperativet, for instance, because the risk of a large number of consumers negatively perceiving the initiative is not as dire. However, it is a swinging force because if a SFSC is so small it does not have much of a reputation at all, farmers can be reluctant to supply to the cooperative. The total amount of money flow is also lower, disabling the cooperative from making investments that might benefit them, such as storage space. The supplying *farmers* with whom I communicated are *willing to cooperate and prioritize the cooperatives*, even if the cooperatives are small and currently comprise only a minor percentage of their sales. Alm Østre and Ramme Gaard have agreed to grow different vegetable varieties for the studied cooperatives. Mads described that supplying farmers "aren't farmers just because they like digging the soil, but because of many other things." Agnes elaborated on these "many things" that motivate farmers to be involved with Matkollektivet:

A few of them just want to sell their products, but most of them share our vision for creating a new opportunity in our region for sales. ...To be a farmer in Western Norway, you have to be really committed. [Referring to Norway's farm inheritance tradition]... Many of them really see what they give up on if they stop.

Throughout this study it became evident that most of the farmers involved in these SFSCs are not driven by merely profit, but rather share visions with the SFSC of a changed Norwegian rural development paradigm. The fact some *consumers, organizers, and farmers share a vision* to change the relationship between agro-food system actors supports SFSC development. Reflecting these Norwegian cooperatives, the farmers in Jaklin et al.'s (2015) study did not earn a large percentage of their sales from selling to the cooperative, but cooperated for other reasons, including sharing criticism of the hegemonic agro-food system with consumers.

The interviewed Norwegian SFSC actors as well as the SFSC actors Jaklin et al. (2015) studied also shared a *desire to create a closer connection between consumers and producers*. Four out of five interviewed farmers mentioned they liked having a closer relationship with the people for whom they were growing food. The founder of Trondheim Kooperativet explained one reason she appreciated this closer connection:

I think it can be better for the environment in a way as well to be more "bevisst", or conscious or aware of where your food comes from. Maybe you won't throw your food because you have more relationship... [a] better, closer relationship [to your food] in a way.

This respondent's comment identifies her as a 'food citizen' (Wilkins 2005) or 'ecological citizen' (Seyfang 2006a). If SFSCs can be successful in creating a closer connection between consumers and farming, the results could be immense, as Wight (2013) claims that the disconnection of people from farming ties to the disconnection of people from the planet. The author says that this disconnection is a root cause of the crises in "health, the economy, and the ecology of the planet as a whole". Wilkins (2005), Seyfang (2006a), Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996), and Wight (2013) promote localism to some extent, but 'local' does not have an inherent definition. Some of the SFSC actors I studied have different ideas of what 'local' means. One of the supplying farmers to Oslo and Ås Kooperativet noted that he did not consider Ås a local initiative, as it is in a different municipality and 150 kilometers away. He said he preferred to support local initiatives, but he could make some agreements with Ås Kooperativet anyway, because he had shared values with the cooperative. Kloppenburg Jr et al. (1996) would applaud the interviewed SFSC actors' reluctance to bring in produce from further away, because sourcing products as locally as possible is one way the authors suggest to bring people into their foodsheds. However, when farms within a 'local' region do not offer a wide variety of products to fill a diverse bag for consumers, it may defeat the goals of the organization, miseducating them to think that there is not an exciting variety of products available

locally. This would be an example of Born and Purcell's (2006) 'local trap', against which they and Hinrichs (2003) caution. To avoid this miseducative experience that leads consumers to think that the Norwegian produce selection is inherently boring, SFSCs can make sure to communicate which products they distribute, along with which products they do not, and why. This would help bring consumers into their contemporary foodsheds, which in Norway have room for sovereign growth.

Despite shared motivations and cooperative farmers, *low, inconsistent order numbers* hinder the development of these SFSCs. SFSCs must remedy this force in order to grow and reach their idealistic goals – whether growth means receiving more consistent orders from the already existing consumer base, or expanding to a wider consumer base. There are about 1500 members in the Oslo Kooperativ, but the number of bags ordered each cycle varies significantly. It is usually around only 300, or as the Oslo respondent said, “at least above 100 every time”. In Ås there is theoretical support for the idea of the cooperative with over 1200 likes on Facebook, for example. However, there are only twenty to forty orders per cycle throughout the year.

Farmers can see these networks as unreliable if the order numbers are inconsistent. All the small-scale interviewed farmers noted that it is ideal to know about order numbers as far in advance as possible, so that they can plan production better. At this point, the structure of most of the SFSCs I studied does not guarantee this information. The various SFSCs' volatility disappointed three interviewed supplying farmers, who found the cooperatives did not order as consistently or as much as anticipated. The main the reason that these SFSCs exist is to support local farms, and when the order numbers are low or inconsistent, that greatly hinders this mission. In the words of one informant, “Well, it's really important that the farmers also think this [consumer cooperative] is a good idea otherwise it's kind of like a stupid thing. [Then, mocking a cooperative organizer] ‘...Hey! It's so important that we save the farmers! And [the farmers are] like, ‘no we don't want to be saved...’” The coordinator of Ås Kooperativet continued on this theme, commenting that although the cooperative exists to support local farmers, the coordinating group actually spent more energy catering to the consumer-members' needs than the farmers' needs. According to Higgins (2015), in order to “create systemic change towards autonomy and power within food systems” and take away power from agro-food corporations, SFSC initiatives must focus on the people that the industrial food system marginalizes. If Norwegian SFSCs focus their energy too much on consumers and ignore the farmers these initiatives were initially created to serve, the system that marginalizes these farmers will perpetuate.

In an effort to make these networks more stable, Oslo, Matkollektivet, and Ås all prioritized the importance of getting more members. However, it is not merely the number of members or interested consumers that will define the robustness of the SFSC, but rather the amount of members that are actually ordering from the SFSC. Ann Helen of Vestfold Kooperativet commented,

So many members have paid the membership but don't actually order bags. It's the same with the CSA, people pay the membership but then don't come to the farm. You know, I might even do that if I were a member. It demands a little effort from the members.

For the near future, the studied cooperatives can focus on how to engage these people that already have an interest in the SFSC instead of only focusing their efforts on attracting new members.

Another identified hindering force is that *members forget to order*, simply. Half of surveyed Ås Kooperativet members said that the reason they do not purchase a bag each cycle is that they forget to order. Even cooperative volunteers in the coordinating group admitted that they do not order bags sometimes simply because they forget to order before the deadline. When this large group of members forgets to order online each time, this prevents momentum and growth in the organization, which affects other aspects of the organization's development: recognition in the local community, the amount of money coming into the organization, and the reputation of the initiative.

Online platforms have to be easy for consumers to navigate to encourage rather than dissuade consumers from participating in the SFSC. Online systems, when used tactically, have the opportunity to offer the SFSC a unique and competitive advantage over other forms of food distribution. Looking towards the future, the entrepreneurs of Open Food Network Scandinavia are trying to create this easy to navigate, attractive online platform for producers, organizers, and consumers to use. Whether through Open Food Network Scandinavia or any other model, if SFSCs can find an ordering system that prevents members from simply forgetting to order, and rather encourages members to order, that will support the SFSC.

The current *online registration system* that all the Kooperativet organizations in Norway use has also been affecting the capacity of the staff. The Oslo Kooperativet and especially Ås Kooperativet respondents noted how their online system is a terrible hindrance and frustration. The coordinator of Ås Kooperativet indicated multiple times that she "hates" their online system because it takes so much time to fix the many problems that arise. It does not offer all of the capabilities that the organization needs or desires. It has occasional glitches that require effort to resolve from the organizations' coordinators. The manager of the cooperatives' online system is difficult to contact. Subscribing to these online system costs the SFSCs money, too. It is certain that remedying this strong hindering force will leave capacity for SFSC organizers to dedicate time to other aspects of organization development.

Online technology is already a supporting force for these SFSCS, especially Facebook. Almost all of the SFSCs with whom I spoke heavily use Facebook to communicate with their member-consumers. Interviewees reported that Facebook enables the cooperatives to remind their members to order bags, recruit members to take dugnad shifts, as well as share general updates and recipes.

Among surveyed Ås Kooperativet members, 40% of members had heard of Ås Kooperativet through Facebook or other social media, so it also evidently helps advertise the SFSC.

The Open Food Network Scandinavia interviewees were certain that *innovative online technology* has the potential to be a great supporting force for Norway's SFSCs, heading into the future. In our interview, Cynthia noted her dedication to "use technology in innovative ways to support grassroots movements and really make a difference", and followed this comment by suggesting a need to "find ways where the 'big boys' [those with money and power in the hegemonic agro-food system] aren't blocking farmers from finding alternative solutions. We need to come together as a country and create a network that supports all of us." She was optimistic that the Open Food Network Scandinavia model could work in this way. Open Food Network is an international platform already operating in other places around the globe. Open Food Network uses *open source technology* to help small, sustainable agro-food enterprises. Open source technology is designed to be non-profit and benefit all, not just those who can pay for it. The Open Food Network Scandinavia interviewees noted that this benefits involved SFSCs because they can learn the best practices from other small agro-food businesses elsewhere in the world.

Some respondents hinted that relying on online technology does not guarantee positive results for SFSC communication or stability, though. The Vestfold Kooperativ coordinator said, "If we are lazy on Facebook and with emails, we really see a difference [in the number of bags ordered]. People really need reminding all the time. We feel like we're spamming people [by sending so many emails]". When I asked the Oslo respondent about "How to achieve consistency in enrollment... [such as] consistency in ordering bags? What helps the number be high?" He responded, "Like, small reminders. People have been talking about SMS reminders, they would like that. I think email reminders are the most effective, but also Facebook perhaps, but it's hard to get information through on Facebook these days." Additionally, although interviewees noted that Norwegians are generally technologically savvy, if SFSCs rely solely on online models for organizing and communication, this could exclude some producer and consumer groups. Purchasing food online is a trend in Norway that could support these SFSCs, but a consumer research report (Forbrukertrender 2016: Markedsstudier 2016) found that currently less than 1% of national food sales are online, it is difficult to conclude to what degree Norwegian consumers will routinize purchasing food online.

Taking time to send online reminders to members takes time and capacity, and there are alternative systems that can remedy this hindering force. If SFSCs were to reconstruct their member communication and ordering strategies so that they did not have to send so many reminders, that would open space to spend time developing other aspects of the organization. One interviewee remarked about convenience and other food distribution models when I asked her, "Can you think of

any Norwegian forces at play in the development of this consumer cooperative movement?" She said,

...I think the challenges would be the same [as in other places] but also as we are rich as we are, maybe we're a lil' bit lazy, and we want it convenient. So a big thing here and now is [grocery] boxes on the door, doing less and less of spending time in the shop. So that's a problem, getting out there and picking up the vegetables, that's a challenge.

One way to make SFSCs more convenient and remedy the *members forget to order* hindering force could be through mimicking the success of these box scheme models with *subscription systems*. Ås Kooperativ is considering this strategy in order to increase order numbers and make the SFSC more *convenient* for consumer-members, because respondents noted *consumers want convenience*. This reflects Chick's (2013) reference to the "insatiable" consumer who wants "ever-improving or ever-more affordable quality products", available at their convenience. In the future, we will see how a new subscription system will affect the perceived convenience and success of the cooperatives.

In Bergen and Vestfold, the main SFSC entrepreneurs described that *strong community connections and networks* support their SFSC. All interviewees commented about the benefit from being able to communicate with the other SFSCs in order to problem solve and share experiences - cooperatives with other cooperatives, CSAs with other CSAs. Open Food Network Scandinavia prioritizes the strength of this supporting force; increasing networking between communities and SFSCs is a base to their online platform. My interviewees from the Vestfold, Trondheim and Ås cooperatives strongly valued this. The newer initiatives mentioned this more than the older initiatives, likely because they have needed more support in their start-up years.

Tactful communication is necessary within SFSC networks, but also as a means to reach various groups of consumers, which interviewees addressed in interviews. "It's difficult for us to communicate what we are without sounding too complex", said Agnes, the initial entrepreneur of Matkollektivet. *Insufficient communication* of the essence of the SFSC could make it difficult for the public to understand why the SFSC matters. Potential members might not understand why it benefits them to become a member of a SFSC. If the marketed image of the SFSC is not easily understandable, it can hinder consumers' potential interest.

4. Community Connections ↔ Societal Forces

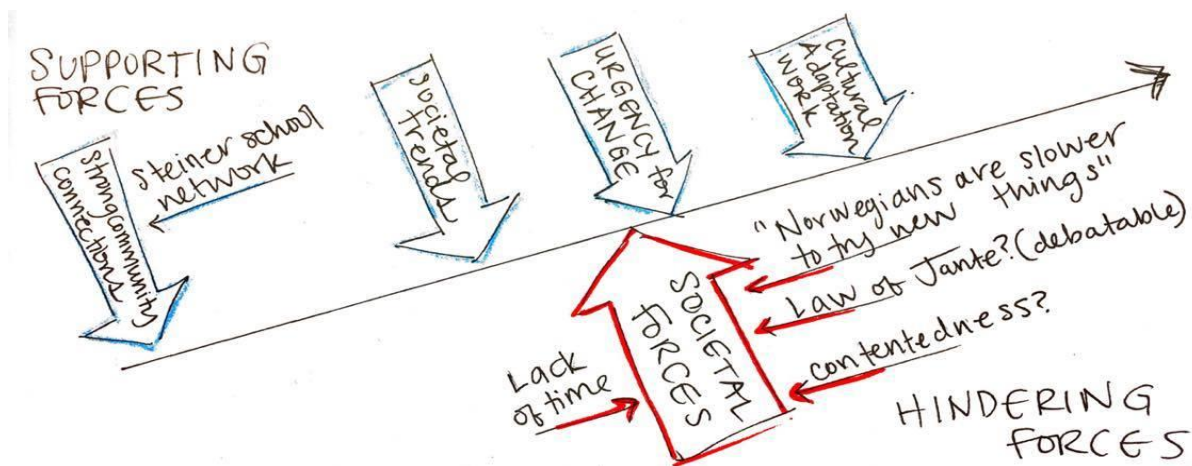


Figure 17: The forces discussed within this section.

When asked about how the momentum for Open Food Network development in Norway compared in different countries, the entrepreneurs' response reflected Magnhild's comment about Norwegians not grasping new or exciting things as quickly as other cultures. A '*Norwegians are slower to try new things*' theme emerged:

Sweden is taking off compared to Norway. It's funny because there is this conception that Norwegians are a little slow, and it's true. We have started the Open Food Network in Sweden as well, and they are so much quicker than us!

Then the respondent offered an explanation:

...I mean, it's not that long since we were bobbing in the fishing boat, fishing herring or growing our potatoes, you know. I think living in a country where you are very isolated, where you have fjords and valleys... I think the combination of geography and culture can kind of shape you.

Despite the emergent '*Norwegians are slower to try new things*' theme that arose in multiple interviews, an even stronger force suggests that life in Norway is actually quite fast-paced: a perceived *lack of time*.

Every SFSC I interviewed perceived that there is a '*the lack of time*' that somehow affects the development of their SFSC. Members in the coordinating group of Ås Kooperativ, for example, want to dedicate time to developing the webpage, blog, and recipes for the Kooperativ members' benefit, but the board members do not have the time to volunteer to do this. The situation at Øverland mirrors this. The respondents noted that they usually do not have full attendance at their core group meetings because they "have some problems being a voluntary group; it's easy to be down-prioritized. People are so busy". Most of the other SFSCs either mentioned or lamented the lack of time theme. Cynthia of Open Food Network Scandinavia described that time limits how much she

can devote to developing projects that would support Norway's alternative food network. Matkollektivet spoke about how they have to prioritize things because they have a lack of time, and this delays organization development.

Different SFSC organizers also cited that their consumers tell them they do not have enough time to help with an initiative through dugnad, or to pick up a bag at their distribution location. An Øverland CSA interviewee reported:

When we read the evaluation for this year, 110 or 120 [members] responded, and it's clear that they're not interested in something else other than vegetables. They're not interested in [the] community [aspect of CSA]... they say, "I do not have time for anything else other than going to the farm and getting my vegetables and going home."

An Ås Kooperativ survey also suggested that members perceive a *lack of time*, as 28% said that they cannot fit the mandatory dugnad volunteering into their hectic daily schedule. A *lack of time* is affecting SFSCs in Norway that are entirely volunteer-run as well as those trying to be social entrepreneurship ventures. This force strongly affects many other forces in the force field.

Lack of time seemed to cause one motivated SFSC organizer to resign to her fatigue. When asked about the main thing that would support the development of her cooperative, the Ann Helen contributed,

Ann Helen: ...It's getting more members. But we're laid back about it... We want 250 members. ...[Or,] we will have to have two [delivery locations] in Tønsberg if we had 500 members.

Molly: In five years? In the next couple of years?

Ann Helen: Next couple of years. But ugh, I'm just so tired now, one car can take all the bags.

It's nice if it stays this level also [with about 40 vegetable bag deliveries per order cycle].

Ann Helen noted being content with the current capacity and reach of the cooperative.

Contentedness is a documented hindering force to the development of the studied SFSCs. Without a fire to create something that functions smoothly and has a notable impact, there might not be enough ambition for innovation, as Kotter (1995) notes that urgency for change is the essential first step in a change-making process. Ann Helen is a young mom juggling many things including being the lead farmer of a CSA, renovating her farm house, and pregnancy; it is not her job specifically to be the passionate soul to expand the reach of the cooperative. However, if *nobody has a burning desire for change*, the status quo will perpetuate. The Ås and Oslo consumer cooperatives felt some urgency to change and have started a corresponding change-making process. Perhaps the urgency for change is not as strong in Norway, widely recognized for its social welfare state, which offers more financial stability to citizens. In other countries where citizens and landowners feel more

marginalized, the sense of urgency could be higher and therefore there could be more energy behind SFSC development⁶. Further research could substantiate these claims.

The cooperative movement in Norway does not have the same origin as many other SFSCs, as the needs and desires of the Norwegian population differ greatly from other contexts around the world. My findings did not strongly reflect a food sovereignty movement, a push for food justice, or fear for food safety, which Martinez-Torres and Rosset (2010), Clendenning et al. (2016), and Si et al. (2015) described as SFSC impetuses, respectively. Following Marsden et al. (2000) who claim that SFSCs in Europe emerge based on different senses of urgency, and following different trends, these Norwegian SFSC actors should have their own culturally-specific justifications. One cooperative coordinator suggested a reason for SFSC development in Norway being based in urban centers:

Well I think it's more hip people in Oslo [thing], you know, students. It's more of a fashion thing... it's more popular there for young students and [young] families than here... You know [here in Vestfold], it's suburbia; it's a little bit slower. If it wasn't for the Steiner school, where the people have a really different mindset, then we would struggle way more I think.

Ann Helen citing cooperative involvement as a “hip” trend supports other respondents’ suggestions that food culture is changing in Norway in favor of SFSCs, and Ann Helen claims the changes are more quickly happening in Oslo. Two of the cooperative coordinators I interviewed had lived in Oslo and been a part of the Oslo Kooperativ before moving to areas that are more rural and starting new consumer cooperatives there. This suggests Oslo is a Norwegian hub for social innovation in the national agro-food system.

If SFSC involvement directly relates to participating in progressive agro-food culture change, then the results of this study show that the Norwegian *Steiner School communities* are consistently amongst the country’s most hip agro-food system renegades. Many of the studied SFSCs affiliate with their local Steiner School community, including the Oslo, Vestfold, and Trondheim Cooperatives; the farm shop in Aurland; and the Øverland CSA. In Vestfold, the cooperative coordinator noted:

The biggest force [supporting our SFSC] I think is how intertwined we are with the Steiner school. ...One [coordinating group member] is a teacher. She's having the kids up at the [supplying] farm, and the farm is having a lot to do with Kooperativet. So this is all connected in a way. This makes people more loyal to Kooperativet. And going up to the farmer Don, who's building a house with the money he's getting from Kooperativet, and hearing him say he couldn't build the house if he didn't have the money from the cooperative... To actually go and see the results is very motivating for organizers.

⁶ However, just 100 years ago Norwegian citizens fought to “allow the landless access to the land”, freedom from landlords, and food sovereignty, in the period of dissolution from Sweden and economic downturn (Norway and Østrem 1929, p.1, as cited by Vinge 2015).

Ann Helen was enthusiastic about how the connection of these disparate parts strongly supports the SFSC. Rudolf Steiner was not only a progressive educational theorist but also a main philosopher behind biodynamic farming principles. This could relate to why the Norwegian Steiner school network seems eager to participate in these SFSCs because they supply biodynamic or organic foods, however, further research is needed to fully determine this relationship. In Vestfold and Oslo, the Steiner school also serves as a distribution location for the SFSC. This is an example of a *strong connection to local networks*, a force previously discussed.

Summary to discussion

The studied SFSC organizers are idealistic, motivated, skilled, and amiable – all qualities that are supporting forces to the development of the studied SFSCs. These people understand the importance of educating consumers about contemporary agro-food systems and are eager to bring consumers into their local ‘foodsheds’. They share a strong ambition to create the change they desire in society. Interviewed actors, including consumers and farmers, also desire to support local farms and create a viable alternative to Norway’s powerful hegemonic agro-food distribution system, and could be called ‘prosumers’ in the words of Toffler (1980). In communities across the country, demand already exists for organic produce from local farms, and it is growing. SFSCs occupy a niche in different ways: some foods are only available through SFSCs currently, and SFSCs utilize distinct distribution techniques. Innovative online technology can support the development of these SFSCs. Entrepreneurs are currently diligently working to make this technology as efficient and helpful as possible, in an effort to support local communities socially, economically, and environmentally.

However, there are many hindering forces restraining these SFSCs from achieving their goals. The SFSCs lack capacity, their organizers lack time. Most of these organizations lack specific, achievable goals or visions. Order numbers are low, late, and inconsistent, influenced by moderately functional business strategies and finicky online platforms. The hegemonic agro-food system in Norway seems to affect consumers’ habits, routines, and preferences; although some interviewed actors are motivated to resist this hegemonic system, they also noted that effects of this corporate power hinder the development of their organizations. Food sovereignty does not exist in Norway on local or regional scales. The studied SFSCs therefore cannot source a healthy and exciting variety of products for their consumers.

It is difficult to conclude the effect of some other identified forces, which therefore became uncertain forces. How will Norway’s national agriculture political discourse affect the development of these SFSCs, considering the varied data unearthed from this research and related readings? Some

other Norwegian culture forces such as an entrenched *dugnad* tradition as well as the Law of *Jante* also affect these organizations in uncertain ways.

In order to answer the clarion calls of agro-food system experts (Westengen & Banik 2016; Wight 2013) to localize food systems and in general change the course of societal, especially rural, development, these SFSCs can use the knowledge generated in this study to benefit their organizations' development. By reducing the impact of documented forces that hinder these SFSCs it will free capacity to bolster the forces that support the SFSCs. This could help turn idealistic motivations into reality. If these SFSCs manage success, they will support a food system paradigm shift described by Van der Ploeg et al. (2000) and Sonnino and Marsden (2006). It will also support a paradigm shift in rural development and economics, which prioritizes community health, sustainable farming, and well-being over profit. This style of development will contribute to a future envisioned by E. F. Schumacher, R. Tagore, and the Transition network. It will strengthen a resistance movement to development based on mainstream economic theories about trade, based in the theory of comparative advantage. This will challenge Keynesian ideas that 'foul' development for the sake of economic gain is acceptable.

Goodman and DuPuis (2002) claim the middle class can control food reform, and Pearson et al. (2011) suggest it only has to be a motivated 20% of consumers. This suggests the studied SFSCs can indeed contribute to Norwegian agro-food system transformation. Planned change-making processes based on the results of the force field analysis will greater enable SFSCs to transform and reach their idealistic goals. Doing so could help democratize agro-food systems by empowering marginalized small-scale producers.

In an attempt to begin to fill the gap in agro-food system research that Higgins (2015) suggested, this study expands the food sovereignty discourse, focusing on organization development. I suggest forces that currently affect the development of Norway's SFSCs who are eager to provide local food to local populations. I focused on what is happening within organizations and their contexts to analyze the forces that currently support or hinder these SFSCs from turning their ideals into reality. The results of this study can benefit the activists I interviewed; hopefully they will gain insights from this information to support robust localized agro-food system development in Norway.

Limitations of this research

For this research project, I was not able to conduct a survey of members involved in these SFSCs myself. However, through interviewing managers, I was able to gain some of this knowledge anyways when the SFSC managers would refer to these consumer-member surveys. It would benefit this research to know more about how content Norwegian consumers are with the hegemonic agro-

food system, and what influences contentment. The more discontent the public is, the more potential for change there is.

Additionally, as a foreigner to Norway I do not think I had as good of an understanding of the context as I could have. It was difficult for me to fully understand the context because I am not so clever in Norwegian yet. Browsing periodicals (about the fiery agro-politics debates, for example) was not as simple for me as it would have been for a more independent Norwegian speaker. Co-authoring with a Norwegian who is knowledgeable about their national agro-food systems would have helped to better contextualize this study.

Future implications

There is no guarantee that localizing food systems will benefit the actors involved or their local regions. All SFSC actors are responsible to shape their respective organizations in their desired vision. Their motivations and organizations could fizzle and they could fail to create long-lasting change. Observing and remedying the forces that hinder these organizations will prevent this from happening. Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011, p. 113) claim, "Today's food movements, responding to the social, economic and environmental crises unleashed by the corporate food regime, are important forces for social change". The authors argue,

The depth, scope and political character of food regime change, we will argue, depends upon both capitalism's 'double-movement' and the political nature and dynamism of social movements... it is the balance of forces within the food movements that will likely determine the nature and the extent of reform or transformation possible within the double movement of the corporate food regime.

The dynamism and ability of the SFSCs I studied to reduce the impact of the forces hindering their SFSC will contribute to agro-food system transformation.

The article written by John P. Kotter called "Why Transformation Efforts Fail" (1995) advises organizations on how to start the change-making processes. During the course of this study, the Ås and Oslo Cooperatives both began a deliberate change making process. Open Food Network Scandinavia connected with both the organizations and the groups dialogued about how to best meet all their respective needs. Both Kippenberger (1998) and Kotter (1995) guide that change-making should not be hasty, but rather slow and deliberate processes. Coupling this guidance with my rigid thesis timeline, I was not able to complete all of the eight steps in order to transform these two organizations and research the process along the way. However, the process is underway; we are now in Step 2: Forming a Powerful Guiding Coalition and Step 3: Creating a Vision (see Kotter's 8-Step change model in the Appendix).

Further research

Born and Purcell (2006) advise avoiding the local trap in research and alternative food network planning, arguing that the local scale is not inherently better than a national or global scale. This idea can be applied to necessary further research for this study, because many of the SFSC coordinators and consumers do not actually know about whether or not the farmer's production techniques are more or less environmentally friendly than other food systems, which Marsden et al. (2000) claim are a "crisis of conventional intensive and productivist agriculture" (p.393). As Aurora said regarding their supplying farms, "Other than the fact they're organic we don't know so much about how their farming is. We haven't been doing any studies on their practices... so maybe we're falling in that local trap." I have a well-founded suspicion that many of these farms are multifunctional, in the definition of Dibden et al. (2009). However, whether or not SFSCs should support the supplying farms because they have social, ecological, and cultural worth is a case for further research.

The organizers and consumers I studied are ambitious to support local farmers, but what models are actually supporting farmers the best? It seems as though these SFSCs are on the right track, as Agnes reported,

...One farmer said, 'I'm so touched with what you're trying to do with Matkollektivet because what you're doing is what we should have been doing, but we just weren't able to organize. But what you're trying to do is really what we need.

Further research can help determine which models will best support supplying farmers.

There are also opportunities for further action research based on the results of this study.

Mads from Oslo Kooperativ suggested,

Mads: I hope that there could be even more types of cooperatives around, and if they could all meet and share their experience and stuff, it would be awesome.

Molly: ...Other [interviewees] are thinking about this too.

Mads: Yeah, good, haha. So then, you will facilitate the meeting. I think that is an action-based solution that you could do.

Molly: I know it would be cool but I just, uh, but I don't know if I have the *time*...

Mads: You are the connection now. You have the responsibility.

Molly: Yeah, maybe.

Mads: But I think that would be a solution to many of the issues that we are facing, that is a great way of providing a solution for us. ...It would probably be hard [to organize] but I think it'd be worth it... I think that'd be really cool. People who were interested in starting up cooperatives could also come to the meeting.

If the studied SFSC actors and I have the *time*, then meetings like this have the potential to bolster the studied SFSC network, and contribute to agro-food system action research.

Conclusion

As Agnes from Matkollektivet noted, “It’s time for the people who know something, to do something.” Academia has broad knowledge about the crisis of the hegemonic agro-food system; taking that knowledge and engaging with civil society’s agro-food activists could help enable the agro-food system transformation they urge in their writings. Action research is one method to engage academia in civil society.

Marsden et al. (2000) argue it is “urgent” that academics standardize in a way how they study AFNs. I argue that this AFN research should continue to be action oriented, and concentrate on best practices. This will be to support activists, which Higgins (2015) claims the food sovereignty discourse needs. Academics can use their time and privilege to provide brain power and capacity to the agro-food revolution, rather than just writing about it. Marsden et al. (2000) argue that to achieve institutional support, SFSCs’ effects and support must be verified in a rigorous way, including getting quantitative data about the effects of the prevalence of SFSCs. SIFO is attempting to do this with the Strength2Food project. This is a case for further research.

SFSCs have a unique opportunity to educate their local communities about food and farming, and in the act, cultivate an agroecological ethic in society. They have the ability to contribute to significant paradigm shifts in economics and rural development. Whether or not they develop into robust initiatives will determine how much positive change their idealistic motivations will be able to generate.

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Appendix

SIFO Strength2Food Project details



The Strength2Food project in a nutshell

Strength2Food is a five-year, €6.9 million project to improve the effectiveness of EU food quality schemes (FQS), public sector food procurement (PSFP) and to stimulate Short Food Supply Chains (SFSC) through research, innovation and demonstration activities. The 30-partner consortium representing 11 EU and four non-EU countries combines academic, communication, SMEs and stakeholder organisations to ensure a multi-actor approach. It will undertake case study-based quantitative research to measure economic, environmental and social impacts of FQS, PSFP and SFSC. The impact of PSFP policies on nutrition in school meals will also be assessed. Primary research will be complemented by econometric analysis of existing datasets to determine impacts of FQS and SFSC participation on farm performance, as well as understand price transmission and trade patterns. Consumer knowledge, confidence in, valuation and use of FQS labels and products will be assessed via survey, ethnographic and virtual supermarket-based research. Lessons from the research will be applied and verified in 6 pilot initiatives which bring together academic and non-academic partners. Impact will be maximised through a knowledge exchange platform, hybrid forums, educational resources and a Massive Open Online Course.

The project is coordinated by Dr. Matthew GORTON from University of Newcastle and has academic partners from UK, Italy, Netherlands, Greece, France, Norway, Germany, Serbia, Croatia, Spain, Poland, Thailand and Vietnam

www.strength2food.eu

The SIFO team

The SIFO team consist of five researchers: Gun Roos, Gunnar Vittersø, Hanne Torjusen; Torvald Tangeland and Virginie Amilien. SIFO's main roles are related to 1) consumers' knowledge, perception, confidence and practices related to the valuation of EU/national/regional quality labels, 2) a better understanding of the impact of Short Food Supply Chains on producers and wider rural territories, 3) the development of a theoretical framework combining Conventions Theory (Boltanski and Thévenot, 1991) and Cultural Adaptation Work (CAW) model (Hegnes 2012), as well as 4) to stimulate effective dialogue amongst all actors in the value chain through hybrid forums.

Work Package 7

1. Evaluation of the Impact of Short Food Supply Chains (SFSC)

Countries: 12 studied cases in France, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, UK

Norwegian cases: In Norway we have selected one case with distribution of fish locally in Sandefjord and the consumer cooperative, Vestfold Kooperativet.

Task and Objectives:

Task	Objective
7.1	To provide an assessment of motivations, practices and organisational development of SFSC by collecting, analysing and comparing qualitative data from 12 SFSC case studies divided amongst six selected countries.
7.2	To provide an assessment of economic, environmental and social impacts of SFSC by collecting, analysing and comparing quantitative data from the same 12 SFSC case studies.

WP 7.1 Qualitative Fieldwork

Aim: Permit a detailed exploration of the drivers, motivations, possibilities and barriers for development of the studied SFSC. These initiatives should also be made a qualitative analysis of the main motivations among stakeholders (farmers, retailers and consumers) as well as drivers and barriers for further development of these businesses

Approach: This task will be based on qualitative fieldwork and analysis of relevant document such as policy reports, statistics, research reports and other “grey literature”

Task 7.2: Quantitative Assessment of Economic, Environmental and Social Impacts of SFSC (

This task include a quantitative calculations along three sustainability dimensions. Specifically the impact assessment will cover:

- a) economic impacts e.g. gross value added, price premia, gross margin distribution, reputational value, employment and local multiplier effects using local multiplier (LM3) methodology,
- b) environmental impacts captured by lifecycle analysis and carbon footprint calculations,
- c) social impacts: measures of gender equality, social capital, territorial cohesion.

Data collection for Task 7.2 will occur via documentary analysis (secondary data) and face to face meetings with relevant actors such as producers and SFSC intermediaries (primary data: interview and survey).

Gathering informants example email

Hallo from Ås!

My name is Molly and I am an international master's student at NMBU in Ås studying Agroecology. For my thesis, I am focusing on the development of alternative food networks in Norway. I am trying to get in touch with the various Kooperativet-style groups and I was given your contact email from Oslo Kooperativet.

For my project, I am having facilitated conversations with coordinators to figure out the forces that are affecting development of Norway's alternative food distributors, such as Vestfold Kooperativet. So far, I have met with a member of Ås Kooperativet to try my methods. She reported back that it was a useful meeting and she hoped to take some ideas back to Ås Kooperativet for discussion.

It would be very good if I could include Vestfold Kooperativet in my study, and I hope that the conversation would be instructive for you as well. With the information I gather, I will be able to document and compare what is happening with the different Kooperativet-style distributors, and some other alternative food distributors, in Norway. I will be able to come back to your group with an analysis that will hopefully be useful to you.

Please let me know if you are willing to be a part of my research! Or, if you need more information, also just let me know. I can send more details once you get back in touch, including example interview questions if you are curious. I would be able to come to Vestfold to meet with you in person.

My cell phone number is 934 64 862 if that is an easier way to get in touch. I hope to hear from you, either way! Thanks so much for your time.

Vennlig hilsen,

Molly Bulger

M. Sc. Agroecology student, NMBU

p.s. Here are some photos from my first interview, so you can visualize what our meeting would look like. You can see the forces we identified as different colored arrows.

Table of informants

Initiative/ SFSC	Date, duration, location	Names and number of interviewees	Descriptions and notes
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Main SFSC Interviews

<i>Full Force Field Analysis Interviews</i>			
Ås Kooperativet	09 Dec 16, 2,5 hrs. Oslo, at SIFO	Coordinator Ulrikke Lien Erdal-Aase	Ulrikke, coordinator of Ås Kooperativet, was the only person available to meet for this force field analysis because everyone else was busy with exams.
Matkollektivet	18 Jan 2017. 2,5 hrs. Landås, Bergen, at a private home	Coordinators Agnes Vevle Tvinnereim and Magnhild Oppedal	The first of a two-day visit to Bergen. Both coordinators were present for the force field analysis.
Øverland CSA (and Cooperative)	25 Jan 2017. 2,5 hrs. Bærum, at Øverland Gård	Core group members Rita Amundsen and Cecilie Rom.	We discussed the CSA and cooperative development. Rita coordinates the consumer cooperative based at Øverland. Hanne Torjusen from SIFO was also there observing.
Oslo Kooperativet	03 Feb 2017. 2 hrs. Oslo, at interviewee's work	Mads Hårstad Pålsrud	Mads is a former member of one of the ordering groups for Oslo Kooperativet. He has a background in design and food systems.
<i>Semi-structured interviews based on force field analysis interview questions</i>			

Monadnock Co-op	28 Dec 2016. 1 hour. NH, USA, at the Monadnock Co-op	The outreach & events coordinator	I learned of the background and the people engaged in this co-op and the growing co-op network across the USA. I did not do the force field analysis.
Aurland Farm Shop and Cooperative	21 Jan 2017. 30 mins. Aurland, Sogn og Fjordane, at a private home	Nat Mead, teacher at SJH agriculture school	Nat was one of the founders of the consumer cooperative in Aurland in the 1990s that has transformed into the present-day farm shop at the <i>Sogn Jord- og Hagebruksskule</i> (organic agriculture highschool).
Vestfold Kooperativet	26 Jan 2017. 2,5 hrs. Nykirke, Vestfold, at a private home	Ann Helen Hagen	Ann Helen is a CSA founder/farmer, the coordinator of Vestfold Kooperativet, as well as a supplying farmer to Vestfold Kooperativet. She therefore provided many different perspectives in the interview.
Oslo Kooperativet	17 Mar 2017. 30 minutes. <i>On the phone</i>	Coordinator Frances Gerono	This was a phone call with Frances about changing the model of the Oslo and Ås Kooperativet groups. She talked about challenges Oslo Kooperativet is facing and I shared some of my research findings.
Trondheim Kooperativet	26 Jun 2016. 2 hrs. Oslo, at a café	Aurora Flataker	Aurora had the initial inspiration to create Trondheim Kooperativet, and was one of the founders.
Innlandet Kooperativet	27 Jan 2017. 30 mins. <i>On the phone</i>	Pierre Sachot from Alm Østre Gård	Pierre provided information about why Innlandet Kooperativet never started, and was enthusiastic to hear the results of this project.
Open Food Network	06 Feb 2017. 1.5 hrs. Oslo, at a café	Cynthia and Dag Reynolds	Cynthia and Dag are the entrepreneurs of Open Food Network Scandinavia, Lokalliv, and Nesoddliv, all groups promoting small-scale localized community development.
Dysterjordet Andelslandbruk (CSA)	09 Feb 2017. 2 hrs. Ås, at a restaurant	Bianca Gelink and Kirsti Helgeland	Bianca is the volunteer leader of the board, and Kjersti is the director of the CSA, paid part-time.

Observation Days

Matkollektivet	19 Jan 2017. Full day. Bergen	Magnhild Oppedal, one SFSC coordinator	The second day in Bergen, I went with Magnhild to observe and participate in distribution day responsibilities (see figures 9 and 10). I continued to ask her questions about Matkollektivet's development.
Oslo Kooperativet	30 Jun 2016. 4 hrs. Oslo, at Sentralen	Volunteers for Oslo Kooperativet	I volunteered to help with the packing of the vegetable bags and distribution time, when cooperative members came to pick up their bags.
Ås Kooperativet	Jan 2017. 2 hrs. Ås, at Vitenparken	Volunteers for Ås Kooperativet	I volunteered to help with the packing of the vegetable bags with other member volunteers.

Supplying farmer interviews

Alm Østre Gård	21 Mar 2017. 30 minutes. <i>On the phone</i>	Supplying farmer	This was a second phone call where I checked some forces that relate to farmers' cooperation with a farmer who supplies to both Oslo and Ås Kooperativets.
Ramme Gaard	5 Apr 2017. 1 hour. Hvitsten, at Ramme Gaard	Supplying farmer	I went with Ulrikke, the coordinator of Ås Kooperativet to visit Ramme Gård and meet a supplying farmer. The interview was in Norwegian so I was not as dynamic in the conversation as Ulrikke.
Holt Gård	12 Apr 2017. 2,5 hrs. Undrumsdal, At Holt Gård	Supplying farmers	I went with Gunnar Vittersø to Holt Gård for a combination thesis/SIFO Strength2Food project interview. The conversation was in Norwegian so I was not as dynamic in the discussion as Gunnar.
Vidaråsen Camphill	4 Apr 2017. 8 minutes. <i>On the phone</i>	Supplying farmers	This was a phone call with a supplying farmer to Vestfold Kooperativet.
Fokhol Gård	27 Apr 2017. 16 minutes. <i>On the phone</i>	Supplying farmers	The farmer and I discussed Fokhol supplying vegetables to the Oslo and Ås cooperatives.

Linnestad Gård ⁷	26 May 2017. 20 minutes. <i>On the phone</i>	Supplying farmer	This farmer is also a professor at NMBU. We discussed miscommunications between Linnestad and Ås Kooperativet, as well as how to work together better.
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Non-interview meetings

Visioning workshop with Ås Kooperativet	15 Feb 2017. 2 hrs. Ås, on NMBU campus	Ås Kooperativet members	Another agroecology student and I arranged this visioning workshop for Ås Kooperativet. I presented some of my findings to the workshop participants. About eight students and one local Ås resident attended.
Ås Kooperativet coordinating group	11 Feb, 21 Mar, 29 Mar 2017. 1-2 hrs. per meeting. Ås, at Vitenparken	Ås Kooperativet coordinating group	In these 4 meetings from January-April 2017 we discussed myriad problems Ås Kooperativet was facing and dialogued about potential solutions.
Meeting with OFN, Ås Kooperativet, and Oslo Kooperativet	20 Mar 2017. 4.5 total: 2 hrs. with Cynthia, then 2,5 hrs. with just the Kooperativet groups. Oslo, at Sentralen	Cynthia (OFN entrepreneur), Frances & Ulrikke (Oslo & Ås Kooperativet coordinators)	Cynthia presented Open Food Network, her entrepreneurial venture, to Frances and Ulrikke. We spoke about our distinct and shared challenges. Then, Cynthia presented how OFN could potentially help the organizations.
Ås Kooperativet Årsmøte	26 Apr 2017. 2 hrs. Ås, at Vitenparken	Ås Kooperativet steering group and members	I presented the findings from my research at this meeting to explain to members why we were proposing to make some changes in the cooperative.
Oslo Kooperativet Årsmøte	28 Feb 2017. 2 hrs. Oslo, at Hendrix Ibsen café/bar	Steering group and members	This was a direct observation experience for me.
Meetings with student peer	3 meetings in Spring 2017. 1-2 hrs. Oslo, various locations	Erin Dumbauld, master's student at SUM in Oslo	Erin was also studying Oslo Kooperativet this year for her master's thesis. We met and compared our findings.
"Meet the Nordic Forerunners" Event	27 Feb 2017. 3 hrs. Oslo, at Oslo House of Innovation	Various actors involved in food innovation.	I attended this sustainable food entrepreneurs meeting to learn about some of the most progressive agro-food businesses in Scandinavia. I went to observe which initiatives develop robustly and which do not, and why.
Oslo Innovation Week organizers meeting	2 Mar 2017. 3 hrs. Oslo, at Sentralen	Actors interested in Oslo Innovation Week	I attended this event with the entrepreneurs from Open Food Network Scandinavia in order to see if we could co-host an event at Oslo Innovation Week in September for sustainable farming and food stakeholders in Norway (those I interviewed and others).
BUA Årsmøte	07 Apr 2017. 2 hrs. Ås, private home	Anna, of BUA's communication group	BUA is another consumer food cooperative in Ås. I attended the BUA Årsmøte to hear about their challenges and successes.

Contacts who could not meet: Kolonihagen, Duggurd, Halden Kooperativet, Norsk Quinoa

Interview timeframe

This is a proposed timeline of the Force field analysis structured interview – Schwering (2003) outlines some steps I can follow in my interview. Here are my slightly altered steps, fit into a timeline. This timeline changed depending on which stakeholders I was meeting.

Version 2.0 – For Wednesday, 18 Jan 2017

Step 1a: Gather the materials I need to document the focus group. Personally create rich picture beforehand so that I can try to ask targeted questions throughout interview. I will also need to draw or print an example force field analysis structure so that stakeholder understands what we will eventually create together. **Step 1b:** Gather the necessary people for the interview and convene the meeting. I will present the timeline of events to participants.

⁷ Should I write Farm instead of Gård, I guess?

0:00-0:10

Step 1c: Introduce my study: I will use force field analysis to measure the supporting (helping), hindering (hurting), neutral (could be interpreted as forces with unknown effects, too), and swinging. **Lewin encourages us to remember, though, that forces can change in force and direction. So, potentially all forces could be supporting, hindering, neutral, or swinging.*

Define the goal for the meeting with the group.

My goal for the day is to work through the interview guide and not lose track of time. My next goal is to organize information in a unique way. Even if the process seems quick, I want to keep up the pace. If the meeting stretches on forever, there is the chance that I will lose rapport with respondents.

This includes me, as the facilitator, setting some standards for which language we can use to discuss relevant issues. Also, I will clarify the interview culture with respondent group. *We aren't making actual plans to change things today. We are just trying to understand the current state better, and the forces at play that are affecting the organization now, and can affect the organization as it changes and develops.*

0:10-0:30

Step 3: "Characterize the ideal situation" - This will be a short visioning-type of session, in a way. I liked the suggested easy interview question of, "How will you know success when you see it?" *In this section, I will need to bring up potential topics and themes to include in the vision, though, including leadership style/communication, structure, staff, skills, **society**, etc. I can use the same cards from characterizing the life space as a start to identifying aspects of the ideal situation. Participants will fill in different potential forces I suggest, but also not restrict forces that don't fit parameters I have subtly included.*

0:30-1:20

Step 5a: "List and discuss the SPECIFIC helping and hindering forces accounting for the status quo." The forces we identify must RELATE to the problem at hand. This will include identifying the helping forces, hindering forces, and some neutral forces that can swing on either side of help/hinder. I can use difference colored sticky notes initially with interviewees for this. The forces should be as specific as possible. To identify forces, I need to have a guide that includes some possibilities, but I can't ask leading questions.

1:20-1:30

Step 5b: Looking at the sticky note menagerie, we discuss the relative impact of the different forces: highest, high, medium, low. I can ask participants to rank the "3 most important forces" as a way to identify them. Then, the "3 next most important forces", and so on... this will give me the *high, medium, low* qualifications I need. I will mark the sticky notes with 4 stars for highest, 3 stars for high, 2 stars for medium, and one star for low.

1:30-1:40

Step 5c: Focus on the swinging neutral forces. Some may be latent now, but can have significant influence if conditions change. Participants mark the swinging forces with a triangle for change, and the neutral forces with an open circle.

1:45-1:50

Step 7: Gather written feedback from participants in the group. I can ask feedback questions such as: *What was the most interesting aspect of this group experience for you? Do you feel as though you had space and time to share your thoughts, opinions, and feelings? Did we leave anything out? How can I improve as a facilitator?*

1:50-2:00

Coffee and chatting. Closing and giving gratitude/saying thank you!

Interview Guide

Table 1: Interview questions that will help me address and understand the current life space of the SFSCs.			
Topic/Criteria	Research Questions	Interview Questions/Written-down prompting questions	Themes for follow-up/Follow-up questions
Life Space	<p>What is the <u>future desired state</u> of the studied SFSCs?</p> <p>What are the <u>helping</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs? (Tables 3 and 4)</p> <p><i>RQ2b:</i> What are the <u>hindering</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p> <p><i>RQ2c:</i> What are the <u>neutral</u> or <u>swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>Can you tell me a brief history of this group?</p> <p>Are there guiding goals for this initiative? What are they? Or, What are some of the guiding goals for this initiative?</p>	<p>Government policies – are there government programs that affect your group?</p> <p>Collaboration with local community – is this group involved with other NGOs?</p> <p>Economic</p> <p>Social – How does dugnad help or hurt the current state of the initiative?</p> <p>Cultural – Are there distinctly Norwegian culture aspects to this initiative that you can identify?</p> <p>Are there any environmental values at the core of this group?</p> <p>Idealism</p> <p>Education about local agriculture</p> <p>Access to organic food</p> <p>Food Sovereignty</p>

Table 2: Interview questions that will help me explore and characterize the group's ideal situation.			
Topic/Criteria	Research Questions	Interview Questions/Written-down prompting questions	Themes for follow-up/Follow-up questions
Future desired state	<p>What is the <u>future desired state</u> of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>What are some of the hopes for the future that you have discussed within this group? Or, <i>What are the visions for the future that you have discussed within this group? These are different from the GOALS of the organization, because goals are focusing on the current state too. The future desired state is more broad, based in hope, and not restrained by any forces.</i></p> <p>What are some visions that you have that you may have not discussed yet with the group?</p> <p>Do you ever envision the future for this initiative? What would your dream for this group be?</p>	<p>Will the scale of this group change? Will it grow or shrink? Who will be involved? What will the SFSC supply, and to how many people?</p> <p>How will the environment be affected?</p> <p>How will your local community (townspeople or farmers) be affected?</p>

		How will you know success when you see it?	Other topics for follow up: Health, recreation, social ties, efficiency, cost
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Table 3: Schwering's 7S criteria exploration.

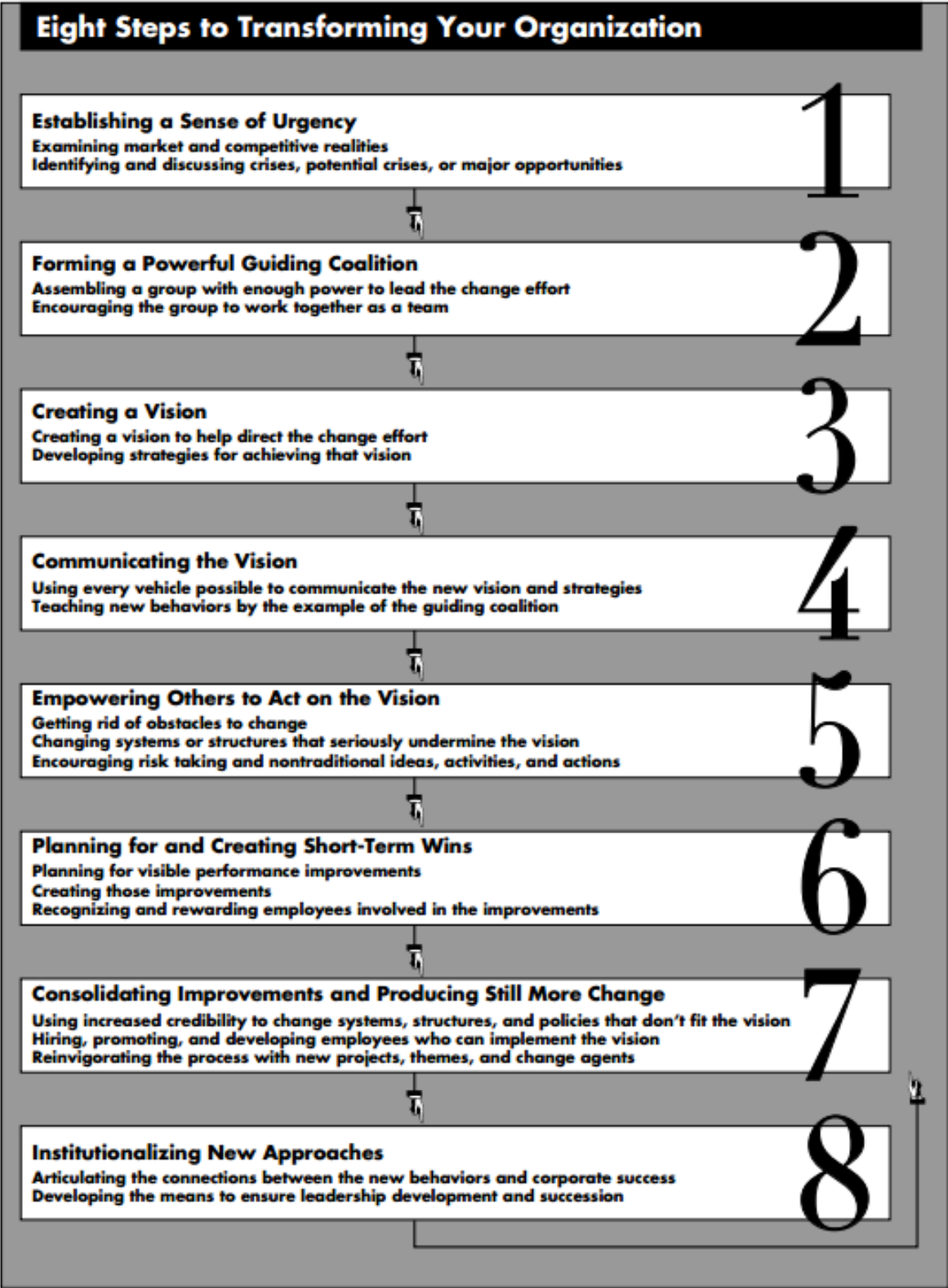
I can ask or present these prompting questions during the force field analysis (step 5) aspect of the group discussion-style interview. They are not in chronological order. Rather, I asked these questions when the opportunity arose in the interview.

Topic/Criteria	Research Questions	Interview Questions/Written-down prompting questions	Themes for follow-up/Follow-up questions
Skills Abilities Knowledge Background	RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?	What is your background? Does that relate to your involvement with this group? What skills do you think are missing on this group's organizer team? (In step 5b) What are the strongest/weakest skills, abilities, and knowledges on your team?	What specific skills or abilities do you bring to the team? What specific knowledge do you bring to the team? What skills and knowledge do you miss for yourself? (From Gunnar)
(Leadership) Style Communication between organizers-organizers, organizers-farmers, and consumers	RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?	Can you describe the communication techniques this group uses between the organizers, farmers, and members/consumers? Have you ever received feedback about your communication with members/consumers? With farmers?	Which communication techniques are helping the group? Which communication techniques are hurting the group? Are there any communication techniques that aren't being used currently that could benefit the group that you know of?
Systems Technology use Meeting structure Decision-making processes	RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?	How does this group use technology (social media, internet, smart technology& apps – suggestions from Gunnar) to communicate with consumers, and between organizers? How does this group use technology to organize ordering and distribution efforts? Tell me about distribution days. What have been some challenges or successes of	Are there any consumers that might be left behind through this use of technology? What have the challenges and successes been of using different technology approaches? Are there very successful or unsuccessful meeting models being used? Efficient? Frustrating? What are aspects of meetings that work well and what are other aspects that do not work well?

		<p>distribution locations and coordination?</p> <p>Can you assess the group's storage space for supplies?</p> <p>What does this group's meeting structure look like? Is it formalized or informal?</p> <p>What feedback is common to hear from consumers? From farmers?</p>	<p>How functional are different systems that this group uses (communication, distribution, meeting styles)?</p> <p>Is time and convenience/efficiency (a convention) a common theme? A limiting factor?</p> <p>Logistics</p>
<p>Staff</p> <p>Organizers</p> <p>Training, skills, interests</p> <p>Dugnad</p>	<p>RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>Who are the people who are the main organizers for this initiative?</p> <p>Are the organizers paid or volunteer? About what percentage of the people involved in this initiative are paid versus volunteer?</p> <p>Do the organizers receive any training?</p> <p>What are your and the organizers' skills and interests?</p>	<p>How many people are involved in organization?</p> <p>What essential skills might be missing on this team?</p>
<p>Shared Values</p>	<p>RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>What are (some of) the reasons you are involved with this group?</p> <p>Have you heard from other consumers about why they are involved in this group?</p> <p>Why do farmers get involved in this group?</p>	<p>Conventions theory can guide some of my follow-up themes. Were there... economic reasons? Socio-cultural reasons? Trust reasons? Are you interested in preserving the cultural landscape? Environmental reasons? Political or civic society reasons? Creative reasons? Does this group have a good reputation? Is this group efficient and effective? Moral reasons? Identity reasons? Dugnad?</p>
<p>Structure</p> <p>Interactions between people involved</p> <p>Models</p> <p>Marketing</p>	<p>RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>Can you map (here, on a piece of paper) the people involved with this group, including farmers, organizers, and consumers? How do these separate groups interact?</p> <p>Did you follow another model? Which one?</p> <p>What are the marketing strategies this group uses?</p>	<p>Which aspects of the structure of this organization are based in other models' successes?</p> <p>Which aspects of the structure of this organization have strengths/weaknesses?</p>

		Which marketing venues do you not employ?	
<p>Strategy</p> <p>Organizational goals</p> <p>“Scarce resources”</p> <p>Funding</p> <p>Budget</p>	<p>RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>Has this group ever defined any clear goals? If so, what are they?</p> <p>What are some of the “scarce resources” that limit the development of this group? Is the budget tight?</p> <p>Where does this group receive funding from?</p> <p>How much extra money is there?</p>	<p>Does this group hope to expand or are they content with current size?</p> <p>Has the group anticipated expansion in their strategies?</p>
<p>Society</p> <p>Financial opportunities</p> <p>Cultural inclusion/exclusion</p> <p>Norwegian culture</p> <p>Government programs & initiatives</p> <p><i>Time constraints or opportunities</i></p>	<p>RQ2: What are the <u>helping, hindering, neural and swinging</u> forces to the development of the studied SFSCs?</p>	<p>Do members ever comment about cost of membership or the cost of bags?</p> <p>Which groups of people are included/excluded (because of culture/time/money) from membership in this initiative?</p> <p>Are there any government programs which affect your group?</p> <p>Can you think of any connections between Norwegian culture and the successes/difficulties (forces) of this group?</p> <p>Does this initiative get much positive/negative attention from inside/outside stakeholders, media, consumers? What type of reactions? (from Gunnar)</p> <p>Are members of your organization politically active? If so, how?</p>	<p>Are there connections with public programs, specific funds, money from the government to the organization, cooperation with other groups?</p> <p>Do you know of any government initiatives or loans that could help you invest in new technologies/facilities?</p> <p>Do you know of any government initiatives that are supposed to support small businesses?</p>

Kotter's 8-Step Change Model





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