

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Urban and Rural Development
Rural Development and Natural Resource Management



Initiatives to establish local food systems in Sweden

A study from a social movement perspective

Ida Engström

Uppsala 2010
EX0681 Master Thesis 30 hp
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences

Initiatives to establish local food systems in Sweden

A study from a social movement perspective

Ida Engström

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Department of Urban and Rural Development
Rural Development and Natural Resource Management

Keywords: local food systems, self sufficiency, ideas, values, beliefs, social movements, collective action and natural resources management.

EX0681 Master Thesis in Rural Development and Natural Resource Management, 30 hp, Master E, Uppsala, 2010

© Ida Engström

Supervisor: Seema Arora Jonsson, Department of Urban and Rural Development, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

Examiner: Örjan Bartholdson, Department of Urban and Rural Development, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

engstrom.ida@gmail.com

<http://epsilon.slu>

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction and research problem	6
Chapter 2: Background discussion	9
2.1 Agricultural development in Sweden	9
2.2 Future food systems scenario.....	11
2.3 The global food order.....	12
2.4 Perspectives on local food systems and localism	14
Chapter 3: Method.....	16
3.1 The research process	16
3.2 Interview studies	19
3.3 Ethical considerations	21
Chapter 4: Theoretical frame.....	22
4.1 Social movements	22
4.2 New Social Movements	24
4.3 The role of discourse in collective action	26
4.4 External relational fields	26
Chapter 5: Initiatives to localise the food systems – presentation of the cases.....	28
5.1 The association Kärngårdar	28
5.2 Alternativ.nu	32
5.3 Mykorrhiza.....	33
Chapter 6: Results and analysis of values, ideas and believes	35
6.1 Quality of life.....	35
6.2 Alternative to / independence from present society.....	36
6.3 Aiming for sustainability	38
6.4 Keeping and exchanging knowledge at grassroots level	41
6.5 Self sufficiency	43
Chapter 7: Discussion.....	45
7.1 Social movement.....	45
7.2 Social network	48
7.3 Local food systems and justice	49
7.4 What about the future of local food systems?	51
Chapter 8. Conclusions	53
References:	55
Appendix 1	60

Abstract

This study aims to explore contemporary initiatives to establish local food systems in Sweden. How and why people take initiatives to establish local food systems are investigated. Of concern is how people justify their actions and which values, ideas and beliefs they act from. The study is based on empirical studies of the association Kärngårdar, the network Mykorrisa and the web based forum alternativ.nu. Interview studies have been conducted on the small scale organic farm Ramsjö and the smallholding Arvidstorp. Ideas, values and beliefs connected to quality of life, finding alternatives to the present economic and bureaucratic system, aiming for sustainability and sharing of knowledge are expressed by the actors. The chosen cases are put in context of related research. Theories about social movements are applied to discuss the initiatives taken from a social movement perspective. The movement for local food systems is described as broad, fragmented and diverse, opposing the dominant industrial food systems and surrounded by a social current favouring local food systems.

Keywords: local food systems, self sufficiency, ideas, values, beliefs, social movements, collective action and natural resources management.

Chapter 1. Introduction and research problem

“To get it [the food system] to function you have to take it all the way to the consumer yourself. It [Community Supported Agriculture] has showed being the optimal model for many reasons, climatewise which is so popular to speak about now, but also for the sustainable agriculture. In fact, the only way is for consumers and producers to cooperate and be equally actively interested in the food. Then you are creating something for the long-term where the consumer wants the food to be produced locally, and where the producer finds it possible to survive in this place, it pays off to produce food in this locality.”

Anders runs the small scale organic farm Ramsjö north of Uppsala together with his wife Karin. They have practised vegetable and grain cultivation since the 70's and tried different models for distributing their produce locally. Since 2002 they work with the system of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), where their consumers buys a share of the Ramsjö's annual production and access weekly deliveries of seasonal food from the farm.

Initiatives to establish local food systems are taken by many actors on different levels in Sweden at present. A food system can be described as “the complex interactions among processes and actors in the provision and consumption of food in human society. A food system embraces not only the different stages of food chains (the flow of products) but also the production of inputs and waste management involved in each stage. In addition, the support, control and value systems associated with food are included with their respective actors”. (Dahlberg, 1993; Tansey and Worsley, 1995; Johansson et al., 2000. In Kahiluoto et. al. (ed.), 2005:14)

Initiatives to make the food systems more locally situated in Sweden are diverse. The actors are individual producers and consumers, associations, cooperatives etc. Some examples are the small scale producers who cooperate with each other around farmers markets, the

association Kärngårdar, which organizes a network of small scale farms in Sweden and associations of organic and/or regional producers, who jointly manage distribution to supermarkets like 'Tjörnodlat' and 'Dalaodlat'. There are also producers who cooperate directly with consumers around distribution of food boxes like 'Ramsjö CSA-farm' and 'Roslagslådan'. A recent phenomena is that individuals in urban areas comes together and organize community gardening like 'Folkets matpark' and 'Flogsta Food Group' in Uppsala and the network 'Mykhorrisa' joining in local groups in Gothenburg, Malmö, Stockholm and Örebro. Web based forums like 'alternativ.nu' shows how individuals settle in rural areas to manage living on what they produce themselves. Although all these initiatives are not new, there has been an increase in interest which can be described as a recent social phenomenon (Milestad, 20100512). Concepts like locally produced food, local food and regional food are widely used and promoted at present by different actors within the society; the environmental movement, mass media, large scale farmer cooperatives, supermarkets as well as alternative food distributors and small scale farmers.

The objective of my research is to explore initiatives taken to establish local food systems in Sweden at present. Of interest is how and why people in rural Sweden engage themselves in establishing local food systems. Empirical studies of the association Kärngårdar, the network Mykorriza and the web based forum alternaiv.nu have been conducted to deepen the understanding of how people justify their actions. Interview studies have been made on 'Ramsjö CSA-farm' and the horse run smallholding 'Arvidstorp'. The cases chosen for the study is put into the broader context based on recent related research.

During my research process I have come across a large volume of research about local food systems in Europe and North America. The research within the specific Swedish context about local food systems that I have found though is less, especially when it comes to investigating them from a social movement perspective. I found it interesting to dig into this topic in a Swedish context, since I perceive the increasing interest in local food and establishment of local food systems as a recent social phenomenon. A strong motive for my choice of research is further the lack of earlier studies of this phenomenon.

The research questions that I aim to investigate concerns what ideas, values and beliefs the present development of local food systems in Sweden is based on. How do the actors justify their actions and what kind of discourse do they make use of? What do the the actor's network look like and of what importance are their network for their activities? Can the establishment of local food system be conceptualized as part of a social movement? If so, what constitutes the movement and how can that movement be described?

The structure of the thesis will be as follows; (1) introduction with a statement of the research problem, objective and research questions, (2) background of the area of study, (3) method where the research process is described, (4) the theoretical frame based on theories about social movements, (5) presentation of the empirical study, (6) result and analysis of values, ideas and beliefs, (7) discussion from a social movement perspective, also bringing up issues of justice and thoughts about the future of local food systems, and finally (8) conclusions.

Chapter 2: Background discussion

In this section I will give a brief overview of the agricultural development in Sweden during the last hundred years, the global food order of the present and describe a possible future food systems scenario. Perspectives on local food systems and localism will also be given.

2.1 Agricultural development in Sweden

During the last century the Swedish society has undergone a large transformation where people has migrated from the rural areas to urban areas. The industrialisation of the agricultural system has played a large role in this change. To be able to reflect on how the food system has changed during the last century, there is a need for an historical background.

Most of the agricultural land is in the south and middle parts of Sweden. 40% of the small scale farms, though, are to be found in the north and in the county of Värmland (Ds:2004:9). In 2001, 1.4% of the population in Sweden was engaged in the agricultural sector (Ds:2004:9). At the end of the 19th century 75% of the inhabitants of Sweden were engaged in agriculture in one way or another. Farms were run by families, often with hired help. The productivity of the farm were low compared with the present output, primarily because of lack of fertilizers. The farms were basically self sufficient, where the surplus was sold at the market in the adjacent towns. In the beginning of the 20th century industrialisation had a large impact on the society at large. Fertilizers became available and new techniques for crop rotation were introduced. Plant and animal breeding techniques were introduced, e.g. more efficient ploughs. In the 1920 and 30's the farming was transformed into a market oriented agriculture, for which one important prerequisite was the use of tractors (Jansson and Mårald (ed.) 2005). When cereals from America started to conquer the European market, import duties and protections for domestic production were introduced in Sweden (Ds:2004:9). After a temporarily break of the development, due to the second World War, the market based agriculture continued to advance. The productivity increased and specialization became widespread (Jansson and Mårald (ed.) 2005). Increased production, efficiency and income were the objectives within agricultural politics (Ds:2004:9). The agricultural system was rationalised and the number of farms decreased. The ones that survived were those developed into larger farms. As a result of this process, the agricultural system is relatively specialized at present; 70% of the farms can be categorized as husbandry animal farms or plant cultivation farms. The part time farms, which are of importance for biodiversity and the structure of the landscape, have not

been decreasing to the same extent as the family farms. (Ds:2004:9) When the environmental impact of the intensive agriculture of the large scale farms became evident during the 1970 and 80's agriculture turned more into a focus on environmental conservation strategies and levels of artificial fertilizers were limited. (Jansson and Mårald (ed.) 2005) In 1985 directions for a coherent agricultural and food politics was established for the first time. Regional balance as a political objective and support for overarching activities for rural development was introduced. The main aim though, was still to secure the national food supply. (Governmental bill, 1997/98:142) In 1991 internal market regulations were abolished, demand and competition were supposed to steer the market instead. In 1995 Sweden became a member state of the EU and agriculture became dependant on subsidies from the EU (Ds:2004:9). The EU:s Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has been described as the culmination of over 100 years of state support for agriculture in Western Europe, which works as "a safety net against complete collapse" of agriculture. (Ockenden, J. and Franklin, M. 1995:2) The objective of CAP, stated in article 39, aims at increasing agricultural productivity and ensure fair standard of living for agricultural communities. Further objectives are to stabilize the market and guarantee supplies for reasonable prices. According to Ockenden and Franklin's analysis (Ibid.) the stabilization of markets has been translated into a stabilization of prices. They also see a missing link between the objective to increase productivity and ensure a fair standard of living in agricultural communities. There has been a long decline in agriculture in Western Europe and the relationships between farmers and consumers have been changing, since purchase of food has been concentrated to a few market players. (Ibid.:ch.1) In 2003 the agricultural support from EU to the agricultural sector were transformed from income support to farm support, independent of the direction of the farm (Ds:2004:9).

Lately, alternative ways of conducting agriculture have been introduced with focus on diversity and organic approaches. Strategies promoted by the Swedish Board of Agriculture and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency focus more than earlier on the responsibility of conservation and traditional ways of cultivation to conserve the agricultural landscape. (Jansson, U and Mårald, E. (ed.) 2005) Several of Sweden's environmental objectives, adopted by the Swedish government in 1999, concern the agricultural sector; these are a varied agricultural landscape, reduced climate impact, a non-toxic environment, zero eutrophication, flourishing lakes and streams, good quality groundwater, a balanced marine environment and flourishing coastal areas and archipelago. (Ds:2004:9)

Beside the specialised agricultural system a concept describing another kind of farming has been introduced in Europe: multifunctionality. In an agricultural setting multifunctionality means that many activities are taking place on the same farm, eg. base production of food, processing of food as well as handicraft in wood and textiles. When local cooperation increases, the functions of the farms increase as well, according Björklund and Milestad (2008:287-298. In Johansson, B. (ed.)). The local cooperation is assumed to create vitality in the rural areas of Sweden. Their study shows that multifunctional farms contribute to the village with ecological, cultural and social functions. Examples of ecological functions are the creation of nutrient rich soils, enhanced biodiversity and a base for the local cycle in nature (Ibid.).

2.2 Future food systems scenario

The Western population is living in a risk society (Beck,1992). Some argue that we already are in the middle of a crisis, other people believe that there is a risk of an emerging global crisis. Current discussions about the crises mainly concern the climate change. The agricultural historian Janken Myrdal (2008:55-78) depicts how people in our times are obsessed with a fear of the large crisis, and at the same time repress the fear. Awareness about climate change and oil depletion is high and widely spoken about. The concept of a crisis is in present social science used to describe a negative disturbance of the normal state followed by a fall (Ibid.). It differs from the catastrophe which is a single negative occurrence and the collapse which is a total and prolonged breakdown. Since the concept of crisis is widely used in our society at present, Myrdal distinguishes this from the large crisis, which more specifically denotes a crisis which challenges the structure of a system. The latest centuries the societal changes has happened with milder crises, without large downfalls like large declines in population or total collapses of societies, according to Myrdal. Instead of a coming large crises, he believes that we will find new solutions to overcome the problems with overuse of resources and increasing conflicts of our present society. Typical, though, is that humans seek solutions which can be solved within the present system (Ibid.).

The perception of crisis will, according to Myrdal (2008:37-48. In Johansson, B. (ed.)) lead to a mental transformation of people's way of thinking and changes in lifestyle. This is not a change that will happen from above, but through actions taken based on changes in the way how people conceptualize the state of the environment (Ibid.). Our present norm system and will slowly develop into new norms where economization of resources, long termability and consideration will replace the principle of extravagance (Myrdal, 2008:153-169). The largest change which Myrdal predicts is

within the transport sector; we will not travel and transport goods the way we do today (2008:37-48. In Johansson, B. (ed.)).

The landscape reflects our food culture, according to Sarlöv-Herlin and Tellström (2008:294-310. In Johansson, B. (ed.)), specialized in landscape architecture respectively restaurant and food science. Our present food landscape consists of monocultures, highways for transports and storages for food in the outskirts of urban areas. Small scale food processing in rural areas is sometimes connected to enhanced quality of life and a critique of our civilization, opposing industrial production (Ibid.). Myrdal (2008:171-176) believes that production of basic food, like cereals, will continue to be managed large scale. Parallel with this he predicts a trend opposing the rationalisation of food production, focused on high quality of foods and development of vegetable cultivation in rural areas close to the urban centres. Self sufficiency and part time farming is also likely to increase, according to Myrdal, since people who are settled in urban areas during winter will spend longer periods in the rural settings during the warm months (Ibid.).

From being the backbone of the Swedish society the farmers have become a minority during the span of one century. This fundamental change implies that the role of the farmers have been changing radically during the past 100 years and probably so has the farmers self-conception. (Larsson, B. (ed.) 1994). This raises questions about how people who engage in farming today perceive themselves. As there is a trend at present for people to construct local food systems, I believe it is of importance to investigate how the people engaged in these activities conceptualize and identify themselves is of my interest to find out.

2.3 The global food order

With the change in the food system Sweden, has become an integrated an global food system. Not only the food sytem is globalized, but also the notion of crisis described above. The distinct notions of crisis are interlinked; development crisis, economic crisis, environmental crisis, and food crisis. According to the professor in development sociology, engaged in research on international food systems and peasant movements, McMichael (2000:21-32) we are situated in a development crisis with an increasingly fragile food order. He describes this crisis as a philosophical and ethical crisis which leads to growing inequalities. Food is not just an item; for the majority of the people in the world it is a means of life, filled with deep material and symbolic values. The image of development has been associated with modernity and industrial rationality viewing nature as a

human laboratory. McMichael claims that industrialisation has transformed agriculture and degraded its natural and cultural base (Ibid.). Morgan, Marsden and Murdoch (2006:9-11) refer to the never ending industrial revolution when describing the transformation of the food system. In the present system the links between food production and nature are squeezed out of the production process, i.e. by an eroded undercut in attachment to seasonality. Further the crises of development has transformed from national to global scale, which McMichael (2000:22) refers to as the 'globalist enterprise' and questions the sustainability of it. The globalization of the food system cannot fully be equated with globalization of other economic sector though, since the food system has a close connection to its natural resource base and cultural consumption practices. One example of the dependence of the rhythms of nature, before food was transported long distances, is the adjustment to seasonality. The slow food movement¹ links regional food with the culture of a specific place, and asserts that food is cultural heritage which should be consumed as such. For these reasons the industrialization of the food system is continuously questioned. (Morgan, Marsden, and Murdoch. 2006:9-11) In the globalized food system the state plays a 'clean up' role if it has a role at all according to McMichael (2008:211). Regions in the 'South' have been converted into agro export platforms. McMichael describes the answer to the agricultural crises as twofold. One promoted by the corporate regime, organizing the food system through monocultures and biotechnology. This is an approach which McMichael criticises for denying cultural diversity, citizen's rights and biodiversity. This is institutionalised by WTO, which is "designed to operate as an enforcement mechanism of market rules for the globally dominant states and corporations" (McMichael, 2000:25). The counter movement offers alternatives to the globalist solutions through local and organic food, community supported agriculture, principles of bio-diversity and fair trade. There is a necessity for these movements to engage in policy-making institutions, since the space for democratic politics is shrinking when states are transforming into corporate entities according to McMichael. When describing people who engage themselves in these counter movements, ranging from of global citizen networks to community-level organizations, he borrows the term 'cosmopolitan localism' from Wolfgang Sachs (1992, cited in McMichael, 2000:31) Wolfgang Sachs, researcher in environment, development and globalization, describes how 50 years of development favouring the perception of universality and 'one world' now has turned into a development noticing the diversity of places. In this turn traditional knowledge systems and local economies becomes revitalized (Sachs, 1992:112-114).

¹ Slow Food is member-supported organization, founded in 1989 with the aim to counteract fast food and fast life and the disappearance of local food traditions. (Webpage of Slow Food, 20100818)

Standardization of food is opposed by alternative food cultures. Movements like the Slow food proponents and other advocates for local or regional food challenges the fast food culture. (Morgan, Marsden, and Murdoch. 2006:12-13) Another example is the food sovereignty movement which puts questions of sustainability as well as rights to produce society and manage local resources under small scale farmers stewardship at the centre. Food comes to embody social, cultural and ecological values. The focus in the agrarian question is changed from production to social reproduction and advocates an alternative modernity. The concept of food sovereignty can be seen as problematic since it can induce protectionism. However, it gets a meaning in relation to the concept of 'food security', which according to McMichael has come to indicate feeding the world through the self regulating market by the neo-liberal project. Food sovereignty implies different things in the 'South' and the 'North' according to Bové (Bové and Dufour 2001:96, cited in McMichael, 2008:221). In the 'South' the concept means that people protect themselves against food imports. In the context of Europe it means that people struggles against export aid and intensive farming. (Ibid.)

This background raises questions about how and why people in Sweden engage themselves in establishing local food systems and their motives behind their actions. Do they relate their actions to the imagined community of local food production, interlinked with the global food order and the notion of crises?

2.4 Perspectives on local food systems and localism

Perspectives on local food are contextual. A North-American perspective on local food systems is described by Maria Fonte, professor in Agricultural Economics, as opposing the industrial agri-food system and aiming at establishing an alternative food system where principles of social justice and environmental sustainability are central (Fonte, 2008:201). A European perspective is pictured as more reformist and integrated with the governance system of EU for rural development which is supposed to "enhance rural livelihoods and preserve European heritage". (Goodman and DuPuis, 2005:359) This makes it interesting to look in to the movement in Sweden to explore how they motivate their engagement in local food systems.

EU's Common agricultural Policy (CAP) is slowly being transformed from a strong centralised policy with focus on productivity towards a more decentralized approach, where a multifunctional agriculture and pluralistic rural development is of importance (Goodman and DuPuis, 2005). In this

context, the professor in environmental science David Goodman and the professor in Sociology E. Melanie DuPuis, sees a movement for re-localisation of food systems and a re-peasantization of farming emerge (Ibid.). Place has a role to play in the reaction against a global industrial homogenized and ‘placeness’ agriculture. What is ‘local’ in local food systems? And who gets to define what is local? Localism means countering globalization and claims for local power instead of global power (Ibid.). But is localism in itself more socially just? ask Goodman and DuPuis (2005). The concept ‘the local’ is including and “excluding particular people, places and ways of life”. (Goodman and DuPuis, 2005:361) A closer examination of the ‘local’ and reflexive politics on localism is needed according to Goodman and DuPuis. Their aim is to “put localist actions on better political footing” (Ibid:360) and contribute to a more democratic local food politics. A reflexive approach on local food politics would include people’s notions of what ‘right living’ and ‘right eating’ implies from a perspective of social stratification, ethnicity and gender. Instead of taking for granted that local food systems are more just, Goodman and DuPuis see the challenge in how to make local food systems more just and to make localism an open vision based on process rather than a fixed set of standards. Justice in this context is referred to as an *“open, continuous, reflexive process which brings together a broadly representative group of people to explore and discuss ways of changing society”* (Ibid:361). Morgan, Marsden and Murdoch (2006:7-25) are also demanding a better food politics, built on a multilevel governance system which is ready to defend the local globally.

Looking into local food networks in Europe from a knowledge perspective, Fonte (2008:202-203) identifies a dual perspective. One is the reconnection perspective, where initiatives are taken from grass roots to relocalise the food system and rebuild links between producers and consumers on an interpersonal level. The other perspective referred to as the ‘origin of food’ perspective is more related to values connected to “territory, tradition and pre-industrial production practices”. (Ibid:202) Sweden is placed within the reconnection perspective, by Fonte, where the local food networks has been developing within a context characterized by an export-oriented agriculture and loss of food culture. This context, where food mainly is provided by supermarkets, has been referred to as ‘food deserts’. (Ibid.) The movement, aiming at relocalise the food systems, is described by Fonte as being motivated both by environmental concerns and by improving social life and local identity within the community. Direct contact between farmers and consumers is supposed to generate trust and developing associations among producers is seen as a way of supporting local social sustainability built on strong networks and interpersonal relations (Ibid.).

Chapter 3: Method

In this chapter I will describe the research process and explain how and why I made decisions. I will present the methods I have used and give details about the interview study. The ethical considerations that I have considered will be described. Literature about ethnographic methods, reflexive methodology, participatory research methods within Swedish agricultural settings, how to set up interview studies as well as preparatory lectures and seminars about research methods have constituted the knowledge base for the methods I have chosen.

3.1 The research process

To be able to make reflective decisions throughout the research process and not end up with an empirical material impossible to manage, I chose to do a systematic planning following seven steps of the inquiry. These included thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying and reporting. (Kvale, 2008:97-121)

I started the process with formulating the theme, the purpose and the research questions of the study. The questions *why* and *what* to study was answered before *how* to do it. (Ibid.) My next step was to deepen my understanding of the theme by reading articles from an American and European context about food related to place, localism, knowledge, globalised food systems and peasant movements. Literature about the development and transformation of the agricultural system and life in rural areas of Sweden during the last century was important to get an historical understanding. This literature is compiled in ch. 2, the background of the study.

To explore how and why people in rural Sweden engage themselves in establishing local food systems I found qualitative methods most appropriate, since these methods focus on “cultural, everyday, and situated aspects of human thinking, learning, knowing, acting, and the ways of understanding ourselves as persons” (Kvale 2008:12). I asked my self how to best obtain the intended knowledge with the resources I had and within the time frame. I started to search for cases within the association Kärngårdar and the project Sustainable Villages, run by the organization All Sweden Shall Live. My idea was that they could guide me towards possible case studies. At first I intended to do focus group interviews with groups/networks which took initiatives to establish local food systems. These groups consisted of both producers and consumers. However, this did not work out, since it was difficult for the groups to find time to gather although they were positive to meet

me. I went on to search for small scale farmers who distributed their produce in the nearby region within the association Kärngårdar. I found this association of interest since their members are connected through the associations network. My preconceived idea was that these producers possibly networked in other forums as well. The farms that I finally decided to select for interview studies were the small scale organic farm Ramsjö and the smallholding Arvidstorp, both members in the association Kärngårdar. These farms appealed to me of different reasons; Ramsjö since they organize their activities through the system of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) with food box deliveries to their members. Arvidstorp since they have a farm shop and café as well as their focus on agricultural methods from earlier times, e.g. managing their agricultural activities with horse power. Access to the interview studies was gained directly from the farmers themselves. The interview studies are described in detail in part 3.2.

After finishing the interview studies I experienced a need to include initiatives taken by other actors, to gain a broader perspective on how people take initiatives to localise food systems in Sweden. I chose to include the recently started network Mykorrisa, a movement which aims at change through self sufficiency, and the web based forum alternativ.nu, gathering people who shares an interest in self sufficient living. I could easily access information about these initiatives on their web page respectively forum, which I used for the empirical material. The case studies came to comprise the association Kärngårdar, the network Mykorrisa and the web based forum alternativ.nu. Although these initiatives shares an interest in self sufficiency and local food systems, their structure of organization differs, which motivated me to analyse if they could be seen as part of the same movement. I chose to delimit the study to comprise initiatives taken by actors who engage in production and local distribution of food. I see possible initiatives taken by other actors as well, e.g. consumers, which could be interesting to include in further studies.

To complement the case studies I chose to do an interview with Rebecka Milestad, a researcher engaged in research on multifunctional agriculture, local food and rural development, at the Department of Urban and Rural Development at the Swedish University for Agricultural Sciences. To obtain a researcher's perspectives on the development of local food systems and what values and beliefs she has met among actors taking initiatives to establish local food systems contributed to my understanding.

When analysing the empirical material from the case studies with the purpose to investigate what ideas, values and beliefs the present development of local food systems in Sweden is based on and

if the establishment of local food system be conceptualized as part of a social movement, I have been inspired by the three levels of interpretation, described by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000:208) These levels are (1.) Discursive; i.e. language and expressions, (2.) Ideational; i.e. values, ideas, concepts and beliefs, and (3.) Action and Social condition; i.e. relations, events, behaviours, social patterns and structures. When analysing the empirical material I studied how the informants expressed themselves when justifying their actions. For the association Kärngårdar this meant to analyse how they presented themselves on their web page, as well as analysing the interviews from the organic small scale farm Ramsjö and the smallholding Arvidstorp. In the case of the network Mykorrisa I analysed how they presented themselves on their web page; their aim, which values they base their activities on and how they describe their network. On the web based forum alternativ.nu I analysed quotations from members, expressing themselves on the forum on the topic 'ways to self sufficiency', since this was where I found the members justifying their actions by sharing how and why they take initiatives for self sufficiency and local food distribution. I investigated if there were values, ideas, concepts and beliefs shared by the different actors. Further I applied a theoretical social movement perspective, to discuss if and how the initiatives taken can be seen as part of a social movement. For this I used the third level of interpretation (ibid.).

During the process of interviewing, transcribing as well as the analysing I have considered if my research findings are reliable, that is if they are consistent and trustworthy. To bear validity in mind, to focus on whether my methods are investigating what it is meant to investigate and if my arguments are well grounded and convincing, has helped me to keep track during the whole process. This has been possible with the help from my supervisor, who has continually read and commented my work. Since I have done my empirical case studies with few informants, my purpose has not been to generalise my findings with a larger context than it fits too. The decision to broaden the study, to include several initiatives than the two farm interviews, was taken to be able to analyse my findings from a social movement perspective. By making contextual descriptions of my cases and comparing with similar case studies and theories I have been able to draw conclusions out of my empirical findings. (Kvale, 2008:241-265)

As an author I am creating a subjective view of reality. By describing and motivating the steps and decisions taken throughout the process I have aimed to make the research as transparent as possible (Kvale, 2008:267-291).

3.2 Interview studies

Two interview studies have been conducted; one at Ramsjö farm, a small scale community supported agriculture organic farm, located north of Uppsala. The other case study has been conducted at the smallholding Arvidstorp, located north of Skövde, where the agricultural activities are managed with horse power. My aim was to do farm visits with focus on deep interviews with the farmers to get an understanding of how and why they are taking initiatives to establish local food systems. Mapping of their external relational fields, which is further described in the theoretical frame, were also of my interest, so therefore each interview included a network analysis. The interview studies were prepared during March and conducted in the end of March and beginning of April 2010. To make my case studies more substantial I have complemented my farm visits with information from the farmers web pages, a radio program made by one of the farmers, news articles, brochures made by the farmers themselves and organisations where they are members, and a master thesis about one of the farms.

The purpose with conducting interviews was to widen my knowledge and assist me in my research to be able answer my research questions. My aim has been to understand the ideas, values and beliefs behind a people's action related to local food systems. Before I started the interview study I considered which approach to use and how many interviews to make. To be able to analyse the interviews carefully I found two interview studies proper for the time frame. I found open ended questions followed up by semi-structured questions during the interview as the best option for my interviews since I my aim was to get my informants own perspectives on why and how they took initiatives to localise the food systems. The open ended questions were sent to my informants by email before the interviews together with a description of the objective of my research. During the interviews I followed up with semi structured questions adjusted to how they chose to tell their stories. I had prepared semi-structured questions in beforehand in order to facilitate for me and my informants during the interview process. I experienced that the follow up questions helped the informants to deepen and develop their answers while it helped me to channel the interviews towards the subject of my research.

As an interviewer I was put in a power position since I determined the topic of interchange. (Kvale, 2008:3) By choosing a semi structured interview form I allowed my informants to take an active part in constructing data about their own life. Too structured interviews would not fill the purpose of understanding why and how people in rural areas of Sweden engage in establishing local food systems. I believe that strict direction by me as an interviewer could hinder my informants to tell

about their personal ideas, values and beliefs. The interview method chosen, opened up for the opportunity to get a relatively deep understanding of the informants everyday life, suitable for the time frame of the study. The interviews has been useful to get an understanding of how the informants make sense of their actions relate to their social world. I also helped me to get an insight in the discourse and the social context they are part of. (Blee and Taylor. In Klandermans and Staggenberg (ed.) 2002:92-117)

The interviews included a network analysis based on a method for environmental scanning described in a book about participatory research methods within Swedish agricultural settings. (Eksvärd 2003) In order to find out how my informant's network look like and of what importance their network is for their activities I asked my informants to reflect of all their contacts of all kind (e.g. social relations, networks, organisations, authorities, forums and events) which are meaningful for their activities. The informants were asked to write down their contacts on post it notes. After listing their contacts related to their activities the informants were asked to consider which of their contacts that was of more or less importance for them and which they had a low respectively high influence over. To visualise this and be able to discuss it, the informants were asked to put in the post it notes in a matrices, which is showed below.

Network analysis

Big importance*		
Little importance*		
	Low influence*	High influence*

* for the informant's activities

I used a recorder during the interviews on the farm visits, with the consent of my informants. I did the transcriptions myself, which I believe was an advantage since I probably understood the situations better than a person who wasn't present and could reflect on the shade of meanings in my informants expressions. Since the interviews including the network analysis lasted between 1.5 – 2 hours I chose to write sum ups of the interviews and transcribe the parts words for word which I found of more value for my research objective. During the interview conducted by telephone, with the researcher Rebecka Milestad, I was taking notes and compiled them afterwards. The informant got access to the questions before the interview by email.

3.3 Ethical considerations

During the research process I have made ethical considerations. I have had a dialogue with my informants if there is data that they want to keep confidential, to be sure of having their permission. My interview informants from the farms have been able to read and comment the compilation of the interviews. Concerning the interview with the researcher Rebecka Milestad, she has been given the opportunity to read and comment on the way she is represented and quoted in the thesis. Production of knowledge has consequences which can be hard to predict before the research is finished. I haven't found that the informant's participation in this study could harm them in anyway, and therefore don't see any reason for avoiding publication. I will not use the result in any commercial way, only for the purpose of research. How other actors will use the thesis after publication is more difficult for me to influence. (Bartholdsson, 2009-10-20) The role of the researcher is of importance for the result of the study. It has been important to keep my researcher role and not acting as a personal friend to my informants. At the same time I believe that a too strict researcher role can create a distance to the informants which leads to lack of trust. This motivated me to conduct the interviews at the informant's farms, where I could experience how they managed their activities by letting them show me around at the farm and by helping out with activities.

Chapter 4: Theoretical frame

Since I will analyse the initiatives taken for establishing local food systems from a social movement perspective, I will base the analysis on theories about social movements. I will here explain what I refer to when I use the concepts of social movements, collective action and collective identity in my analysis. Further, I will look at the concept of new social movements and the sub field of the environmental movement. This will guide me when analysing if and how the initiatives that this thesis is exploring can be seen as a social movement. The role of discourse in collective action will also be presented as a base for my analysis in this chapter, since one of my research questions concern what kind of discourse the actors who take initiatives to establish local food systems make use of when justifying their actions. Finally, mapping of actors external relational fields related to the actors network will be explained.

4.1 Social movements

I choose to see the initiatives taken by people in Sweden for establishing local food systems as a form of collective action. Basing myself on one of the great theorists within social movement theory, Alberto Melucci, I see the diverse and fragmented initiatives for local food systems as part of a social movement. Melucci (1991:34-35) describes how traditional approaches from the Freudian and Marxist traditions view collective phenomena as a *thing* which can be understood and interpreted by the observer where the behavior of individuals forms a *uniform character*. These ideas developed during a time when conflicts about industrialization and citizenship dominated, but since the western post industrial society is more complex with complicated production fragmented in time and space the areas of concern, actors and forms of action are more differentiated at present. (Habermas 1987) The change of conditions for collective action conflicts has made social scientists question the stereotype view of collective phenomena. Cognitive and constructivist² theories about human action has helped developing an understanding of collective events as *processes through which actors produce meanings, communicate, negotiate and make decisions*. (Melucci 1991:35) However, social movements as the workers' movement, women's movement and environmental movement is still depicted as uniform entities, where actors follow an epic manuscript. I will analyze if this view of social movements, questioned by Melucci (1991:40-41), corresponds with the initiatives to establish local food systems in Sweden, or if the movement is to be described in another way.

² According to social constructivism the subject is an active agent which shapes societies through interaction. Social reality is not viewed as something outside science, but partly constituted by science. (Delanty, 2005:136-137)

Collective action

What makes action collective, and what do I refer to when using the term collective action? The social scientists van Zomeren and Iyer (2009:646) describes collective action as something that “aims to improve the status, power or influence of an entire group” (Ibid.). This differs from an action which aims for improvement on an individual basis, but must not be performed by collectives. (Ibid.)

Why do I choose to see the action that is taken by different groups in Sweden for establishing local food systems as collective? To be able to analyse that I will look further into Meluccis reasoning about collective action. Melucci (1991:41-45) views collective action as a product of conscious orientations within a field of possibilities and limitations. Individuals who acts collectively construct their actions by defining their possibilities and limitations and interact with others to make meaning out of their collective behavior. By doing this, they define both themselves and their environment. Melucci (Ibid.) argues that when individuals act collectively they are in a *multipolar system of action* where the actors shapes a 'we', by working out the *goal* of the action, the *means* to use and the *environment* to act in.

Collective identity

The actors within a social movement share a collective identity, according to Melucci. The motivation for participation in the movement cannot be seen as a solely individual phenomena. The motivation which starts off in individual psychological features, is shaped and develops through a process of interaction. Expectations, which are socially constructed, are of importance for how the actors conduct themselves in relation to the surrounding world. The actors shape their goals, makes their choices and decisions based on how they experience the surrounding world. Melucci describes collective identity as “*an interactive and joint definition, produced by many interacting individuals who are concerned about the goals of the actions as well as the field of possibilities and obstacles where the action takes place.*” (Melucci 1991:49-50. My own translation from Swedish) Three interlinked dimensions are included in the process of a collective identity;

- a formulation of the actions goals, means and environment,
- an activation of the relations between the interacting actors,
- an emotional investments which makes the individuals recognize themselves in each other.

(Melucci 1991:50)

4.2 New Social Movements

Social scientists engage in debates if there is anything that can be called 'new social movements', and if so what is it that makes them different from the earlier one's? According to Melucci (1991:55-59), this debate has visualized the plurality in the meanings and forms of actions of the present social movements. Examples of movements which often are referred to as new are the gay movement, women's liberation, environmental movements, peace movements etc. McAdam states that what is new is the goal of the creation of a new collective identity. One example of this is the identity of being a feminist, created by the feminist movements. In earlier movements, as the workers movements, the goal was more of material kind and the identity was focused on class. (Larana, Johnston and Gusfeld (ed.) 1994:ch.2) I will analyse if the establishment of local food systems in Sweden is to be seen as a new social movement.

Melucci argues that the relations and meanings in the collective actions of the present complex society differs from the ones of the early social movements, as the worker's movement. In complex societies material production is gradually replaced with production of symbols and social relations. Groups who experience that the economic and bureaucratic system encroach on their ability to produce meanings take collective actions and thereby becomes indicators of a structural problem of the system; system conflicts are focused on these group's condition to control their actions. Melucci describes the actors of the present as *nomads of the present*, where the present is the space where the conflict takes place. The forms of collective action differs from the conventional model for political organizations and takes place more and more outside the established parameters for the political systems. New spaces working as sub systems are created as a product of new forms of behaviors which the dominating system fail to integrate; in this way the structural logic of the established systems is questioned by the collective actions. (Melucci 1991:69-70)

Melucci argues that contemporary movements relate their action to daily life and individual identity, and detach themselves from traditional political organizations. (Larana, Johnston and Gusfeld. (ed.) 1994. ch.5) Since the actions taken by people in rural part of Sweden for establishing local food systems is part of their daily life it becomes interesting to use Melucci's theories for this study. Melucci means that meaning is constructed through interactions (Ibid.). How is meaning constructed among the people within the case studies that I will conduct?

Melucci (1991:71-91) describes the present forms of collective actions as networks, consisting of multiple groups which are scattered, fragmented and concealed in every day life. These networks

are mobilized irregular, reacting on specific issues. How the movement is organized can be seen as a message in itself, challenging the predominant codes and showing alternatives to these by the collective actions. Short term engagement, possibility to draw back, multifaceted leading and occasional structures for organization, serves as the basis for internal solidarity and symbolic confrontation of the external system. The rationality of the system is challenged by alternative experiences of time, space and personal relations. The voice of the movement is subtle, since the purpose of the collective action is to recapture the right to define oneself, which has been taken over by a power apparatus and regulatory system, which is similar to the social theorist Habermas words described as the colonization of the life world (Habermas 1987). New social movements are striving for a new consciousness, reacting against the rationalization of human life. The belonging to a social movement is mostly defined by the actors themselves. The new social movements can be seen as resources of information at the center of collective conflicts. These movements are characterized by self reflecting action form and a global interdependence in which the actors are shaped and take actions. What Melucci wants to emphasize though, is that the movements functions as symbols; challenging the predominant codes in a symbolic way and giving alternatives to the rational thinking of the power apparatus. By the symbolic challenge, the movements make the power which has been neutralized visible, and this makes it possible for the society to deal with issues which affect peoples lives and bring about change. Collective actions create change in everyday life, way of living or forms for personal and social relations. (Melucci 1991:71-91) Since the initiatives I am investigating are contemporary and have different origins, the theories about new social movement will be useful for the analysis.

The environmental movement is pictured by Melucci (1991:107-110) as a network of diverse actors, motives, interests and goals to protect the environment or enhance the quality of life, and not as a unified phenomena. When describing the environmental movement, Melucci depicts a conflict in the humankind's relation to nature. We are starting to see the reality in new terms, according to Melucci. Ecological reflections goes far beyond the environmental issues and shows a systematic problem, illustrating a global interdependence of the complex societies and mirroring a deep change in cultural models and social relations. The reason for the change in how we perceive the reality is, according to Melucci, not only because the environment is more threatened by e.g. increased pollution but because of the focus of environmental issues in media, daily conversations and politics from local to global level. The cultural dimension in the environmental discussion foreshadows that we are in a changing time where the economic dimension no longer will be dominating the social life in the same way as in our present society. We are in a transition period

where the means of goal oriented rationality and calculations of political exchange seems to be a purpose in itself. We need to consider which cultural models that will be the basis for the social relations, political systems and forms of production and consumption in the future, Melucci argues. (Melucci 1991:107-110)

4.3 The role of discourse in collective action

Since I will analyse how the actors that take initiatives to establish local food systems justify their actions and what kind of discourse they make use of, I will clarify what I base myself on within the research field of discourse analysis. A discourse can be described as a certain way to speak about and understand the world (Winther Jorgensen and Philips, 2000:7-12). How we understand the world is shaped and maintained through social processes of interaction where shared notions is constructed. How we perceive the world will lead to actions based on these notions, which is interesting since I will analyse how the actors within this study justify their actions (ibid.).

The professor in sociology, Marc W. Steinberg, (1998:845-872) emphasise the importance of making a discourse analysis of collective action, since the role of language in meaning production is essential. I will investigate which meanings that are ascribed to local food systems by analysing how the actors express themselves when justifying their actions. To understand the linkages between the micro and macro level in processes of collective action discourse has a role to play. When discussing discourse, Steinberg is referring to the Bakhtin Circle of literary theorists and sociocultural psychologists, who means that ideological meaning is created between us, not within us. This becomes interesting for my study, since the process of interaction between actors part of a social movement.

4.4 External relational fields

With the spread of democratic institutions around the world, one could imagine that groups engaging outside the institutionalized politics would diminish. The case though seems to be the opposite, according to the sociologist and political scientist Jack A. Goldstone, who argues that “we are moving into a movement world” (2004: 335). He gives examples of how movements of radical environmentalists and animal right activists develop in advanced democracies. Social movements are described as a complement to institutionalized politics rather than as a substitute. The boundaries between institutionalized and non-institutionalized political action are blurred and the

two are becoming interdependent. Goldstone believes that political opportunity structures³, have clear meaning for the emergence of social movements since the movement's access is increasing. *“To understand why certain groups take certain actions at certain times”* (Ibid:350), though, he sees a need to go beyond the political opportunity structures and analyse the external relational fields. This means to do a detailed mapping of a movement’s relationship with other actors and groups which can affect them; including other movements and counter movements, political and economic institutions, state authorities, elites and public. Value orientations in the society and critical events which influence the movement shall be considered as well. (Ibid.) Goldstone's reasoning has inspired me to look into of how the social contact network of my informants of the interview studies look like, and of what meaning their network is for their activities.

³ Political opportunity structures or political process theory is one of the large schools within social movement theory, arguing that outside political opportunities affects the development of social movements to great extent.

Chapter 5: Initiatives to localise the food systems – presentation of the cases

The initiatives to establish local food systems in Sweden are diverse and many. The ones that I have chosen for this study are organised in different ways, but appealed to me since they at a first glance seemed to share values for their activities. I chose to look into the association Kärngårdar, the web based meeting place *alternativ.nu* and the network *Mykorrisa*. I base my results and analysis from these initiatives primarily on information from their websites. Since my aim is to understand the ideas, beliefs and ideas behind people's actions I decided to look deeper into two cases which are members of the association Kärngårdar; Ramsjö organic farm and Arvidstorp smallholding. Within both cases I did two farm visits including interviews with the farm owners, which constitutes the main source of information for the analysis of the cases. During the interviews I asked my informants to reflect on their relations and network of importance for their activities, since it was of my interest to find out how their networks looked like and which kind of contacts they valued and how they experienced that they influenced their contacts. An interview made with the researcher Rebecka Milestad, engaged in research about multifunctional farming, rural development and locally produced food, from the Department of Urban and Rural Development at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences serves a useful source for the analysis. She contributed with perspectives of the movement from a different angle than my other informants.

5.1 The association Kärngårdar

The association started in 1984 and consists of 70 farms around Sweden. Their idea is to preserve and develop sustainable cultivation and manufacturing techniques, to collect and spread knowledge and experience about self subsistence, to re-establish the balance between the city as a meeting place and a living rural area and to develop international contacts and work for implementing Agenda 21. Openness, gentleness and foresight are key words for the association. Openness is described as being open to share experiences and knowledge with guests. Gentleness implies working with small scale techniques, eco-cyclic practises, and care about humans, animals, plants, soil, air and water. Foresight means being prepared for crises and being able to manage during simple conditions and not depend completely upon modern technique. (Webpage of the association Kärngårdar, 20091217) I find that the association Kärngårdar is of interest for the study since it unites small scale farmers which share the key words of the association.

Ramsjö organic farm

Ramsjö farm is one of the farms within the association Kärngårdar is located 20km north of the city Uppsala in the small society Björklinge, which belongs to Uppsala municipality and the county of Uppland. Ramsjö farm is run by Karin and Anders Berlin, who took over the farm from Anders parents in 1975. At that time they practiced conventional grain cultivation and in the beginning of the 1980's they started up with organic vegetable cultivation. In 1989 they certified the whole farm according to KRAV, the Swedish certification for organic production (Uppsala Nya Tidning. 20090513). At present they grow grains, potatoes, vegetables and herbs on 50 hectares. The vegetables and herbs cultivated are around 100 different varieties and the grains are of old varieties. During early spring plants are pre-cultivated inside a barn, and put into greenhouses without heating later in the season. Besides the cultivation, Anders has earlier been running a bakery in Uppsala where he prepared bread based on the grains from the farm. In 2006 they moved the bakery to the farm, where they run it at a more irregular basis. Anders and Karin are self-sufficient on all food they need, except from dairy products and oil. Meat products are not included in their diet since they are vegetarians.

When starting the production, Karin and Anders distributed their products through a vegetable association which delivered to wholesalers in Uppsala. When that association went in bankruptcy Karin and Anders started to sell directly to supermarkets. This though, demanded a lot of work and Karin and Anders experienced an insecure market. They found it more fun to sell directly to consumers, and therefore they participated in markets and developed a system where they delivered directly to consumers, who came together in groups called 'foodfronts'. The packing of foodboxes for this system was complicated though, since each consumer made individual orders.

In the end of the 1990's Karin and Anders traveled to the US and got inspired by the idea of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). This system has roots from the 1960's in Japan where a group of women started to cooperate with a local farmer. The Japanese word for this CSA is Teikei, which means cooperation and represents 'food with the farmers face on it'. The phenomena grew in the US in the 80's as an reaction against the large scale industrial agriculture. (Andersson, 2006:15-16) Anders describes CSA as based on cooperation between the producers and consumers, with the aim to get the best possible food. In Ramsjö farm the system works as follows; the consumers are members of the farm who buys a share of the farms annual production. The food is delivered to the consumers at agreed delivery places during the summer, autumn and winter. The members can choose between a half or full basket of products. (Brochure Ramsjö CSA-farm) The content depends on what is available at the farm at the moment, but the consumers are welcome to suggest

what they want the farmers to cultivate during the coming season. In April all the members are invited to a meeting where the season is planned. The members also have contact with the farmers through email, phone and are welcome to visit the farm and participate in work. Anders expresses that the system where members buy shares in the production gives an economic security for the farmer and helps to plan the extent of the annual production.

Ramsjö farm has volunteers on regular basis from the network World Wide Opportunities On Organic Farms (WWOOF)⁴ (Ekologiskt Lantbruk. No 7:20-22). The volunteers learn about self sufficient living, organic farming and how to prepare nutritious meals at the farm by their participation in working activities. They get food and accommodation at the farm and contribute with labor.

When Anders and Karin from Ramsjö organic farm reflected upon their network (See Appendix 1, fig. 1) they valued the consumers who are part of their CSA-system highly. The cooperation with their members is the basis for their way of organizing their local food system. The volunteers were also given much importance. Beside this, Anders mentions internet, where they keep themselves informed and communicates with other CSA farmers around the world. He expresses a fellow feeling with other cultivators in Sweden and around the world. The association which is most importance for them and which they influence most is Allkorn, it specialises in old varieties of seeds. Actors which also are of importance for their activities, but which they influence less, are The Swedish Ecological Farmers, the youth association Fältbiologerna, the certification authority for organic products KRAV, the rural department of the County Administrative Board, the Centre for Sustainable Agriculture at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and courses which Anders and Karin participates in.

Arvidstorp organic smallholding

The smallholding⁵ Arvidstorp is run by Daniel Placzek and Cecilia Wadenbäck. The smallholding is located 13km north of the city Skövde in the highland area of Billingen, in Skövde municipality and the county of Skaraborg. Cecilia and Daniel took over the smallholding in April 2009 and started up a café and farmshop during the summer of 2009. The life as smallholders though, begun

⁴ WWOOF is a world wide network which aims at helping people to share more sustainable ways of living. Organic farmers who hosts volunteers linked by the networks webpage offer food and accomodation. Focus is on learning about organic lifestyles. (Webpage of WWOOF, Last visited: 20100809)

⁵ A smallholding in this context can be described as a small scale farm with main focus on self subsistence, were only the surplus products is sold.

earlier for Daniel and Cecilia. It all started in Skåne 2003, when they were tired of urban life and wanted to move to the countryside where they could have a small vegetable cultivation and some poultry. Then they got inspired by a book about horse farming, i.e. using horses for farming activities, so they decided to get a horse. As Cecilia describes it, they got more and more animals without planning for it; poultry, a couple of cows and pigs; *“My feeling is that the animals just came all the time before we prepared space for them, they just came.”* Daniel was spending a lot of time at a museum farm where he learnt to practice horse drawn agriculture. From there he got inspiration to get native breeds of cows, pigs, poultry, ducks and geese. When moving out to the countryside Daniel and Cecilia earned their living from other jobs, and Cecilia expresses that she never intended to become a full time smallholder. Daniel though, tells that it was his wish all time time to be able to make his livelihood from the life at the smallholding. When starting up a cafe and a farm shop and by selling their surplus products on markets, they got quite good income. They reduced their other jobs bit by bit and since they moved to Arvidstorp non of them are working outside the farm.

Cecilia and Daniel longed to move a bit north in the country and when they lost the land that they leased in Skåne they found the smallholding Arvidstorp, and took the chance to move. They brought all their livestock from Skåne to their new smallholding of 23 hectares. At present they have four horses, thirteen cows, pigs, ducks, hens and gees. The grains and the fodder for the animals that they grow is of old varieties. With their way of living Cecilia and Daniel aim to 'keep and pass on knowledge about old methods, crops and native breeds on a living, organic smallholding' (Webpage of Arvidstorp, 20100815). They are self sufficient in vegetables, dairy products and meat. While Daniel is responsible for managing the horses for agriculture, Cecilia is the one who does most of the processing of the diary into milk, butter and cheese and bakes cheesecakes and other pastries for the café. The daughters of the family still living at home, helps out in the cafe and the farm shop. Farming on Arvidstorp is work intensive and they manage with help from volunteers through WWOOF and other organizations. The time the volunteers stay at the farm differs from short stays like a week up to longer seasonal periods. Sometimes the volunteers comes back next season, or recommends their friends to come. Cecilia and Daniels main focus is on self sufficiency, not on food production. Daniel expresses that the food is a by-product of their way of living. They sell their surplus products to neighbors and friends; Daniel describes that when they have surplus of something they just need to make a couple of phone calls and ask who are interested to buy. In the farm shop they have a selection of organic products which they buy from other

producers and wholesalers to assure a regular supply. Farm visits and rides with horse and wagon for schools classes and other groups are arranged at the smallholding.

Cecilia describes how she started up an association in Skåne together with her neighbours with the purpose to inform visitors about what they could experience in the area. After speaking with some guests in their café last summer, she initiated a similar association in their new local area. 20 entrepreneurs in the area offering art exhibitions, selling of handicrafts, bed and breakfast, farm shop and café and more joined and applied for funding and got much more than they could expect. They have printed a brochure together and plans for renting out bicycles and establish an information centre in Skövde.

When describing and reflecting upon their network (See Appendix 1, fig. 2), Daniel and Cecilia from Arvidstorp, enumerate name after name of specific persons which together constitute a large network of personal relations. Among them, they describes as most important and whom they influence most as; people experienced in horse farming, suppliers of equipment, the network 'Vallevägen' which they formed an association to promote local activities together with and volunteers from WWOOF. The local church choir, Daniel's mother and friends involved in building preservation and horse drawn vegetable cultivation is also mentioned in this category. Most of these people live in their county. Other contacts which are of great importance, but whom they influence less, are a local electrician, a forest owner and neighbors who helps with practical skills, Coop Forum in Skövde where they buy the food they can't produce themselves, the local radio P4 Skaraborg where they have participated, the WWOOF network, a contact person within the association Kärngårdar, the association for native breeds Allmogekon and the County administrative board from where they get EU support.

5.2 Alternativ.nu

Alternativ.nu describe themselves as an internet based meeting place for the practical alternative movement in Sweden. The website works as a forum for exchange of knowledge about practical self subsistence. The forum is open for people who are interested in a life style based on democracy, solidarity and ecology in a living rural area. People who want to share their experiences about smallscale farming, environmental-friendly building and handicraft are encouraged to become members. There is also a place for advertisements on the website for collective housing, eco village projects and selling/buying of animals. (Website of alternativ.nu, 20091217) Besides the website the network has a magazine named 'åter' which can be translated into 'return', 'back' or 'again'. The

focus of the magazine is on self subsistence and alternative living in the rural areas. In the magazine, there are practical articles with advice from members on how to prepare, value add and conserve food, do woodwork, handicrafts, keep animals and cultivate organic vegetables and berries. There are also personal stories about how members make their living in the rural areas (Åter: 2009:No. 3 and 4).

I found alternativ.nu an interesting forum to look into since it connects as many as 688 members and has 2.5 million visits a month, by 120 000 different persons. There is no outspoken aim of the network to localise the food system. But since it is a forum for self subsistence many of the members produce their own food and distribute and sell their surplus. By being very practical and having an apolitical rhetoric this network differs from much of the environmental movement in Sweden, which made me interested in investigating the values, beliefs and ideas of the forum. I will analyse quotations about from the forum of people describing how and why they choose to live an 'alternative' way of living and practice self subsistence.

5.3 Mykorrisa

Mykorrisa is a recently started network which brings together people “who believe that Sweden is in need of a movement using practical methods to act for change through self sufficiency”. (Webpage of Mykorrisa, 20100513)_The network aims to work with issues of environment, health and global solidarity through a focus on local food production (Ibid). The name Mykorrisa is a metaphor which compares the fungi mykorrhiza, connecting plant life in a giant web in the soil, with the network which aims to ”reach all parts of our society, help others and spread valuable knowledge and ideas, to make the world a better place” (Ibid.). On their web they state that their values are based on a view of the human being as a part of nature, in a responsible cooperation with the ecosystems, cooperation before concurrence, non violence, solidarity, love, transparency, open and honest communication, strategies focused on solutions and equality regardless of ethnicity, religion, sex, nationality, sexual preferences and social status (Ibid.).

Mykorrisa has local groups in Malmö/Skåne, Gothenburg, Stockholm and Örebro. They encourage people to start up new groups in their locality. The group in Malmö/Skåne has urban cultivation as well as cultivation in rural parts of Skåne at Holma organic farm. In

Gothenburg the local group has been doing guerilla gardening⁶, in Stockholm a new group is looking for arable land in urban areas and plans to negotiate with land owners and the district administration. The group in Örebro is also new and plans to engage in urban cultivation as well as activities on the biodynamic farm Spiragården and aims to spread information about seed rights and local food production (Ibid.).

Mykorrhiza is the Swedish part of the European initiative 'Reclaim the fields', which is described as a movement for a new generation of cultivators in Europe (Ibid). 'Reclaim the fields' depict themselves as *“young peasants, landless and prospective peasants, as well as people who want to re-assume control over food production”* (Webpage of Reclaim the fields, 20100513). In their description about who they are they state that they aim to create alternatives to capitalism through *“real needs oriented small scale production and initiatives”* and use the concept of food sovereignty. (Ibid.) The link between local political action and global political struggles is emphasised. The method to achieve their aim is to build up local actions and activist groups and to cooperate with existing initiatives (Ibid.).

⁶ Guerilla gardening is to cultivate land without permission and can be described as a non-violent direct action method.

Chapter 6: Results and analysis of values, ideas and believes

In this chapter I will present and analyze the results from the case study. It is of my concern to give space to the voice of my informants in this chapter. I will take a closer look on how the actors of this study who take initiatives to establish local food systems justify their actions and I will analyze why these initiatives are taken. I will investigate if there are values and and beliefs shared by the actors or if they diverge. For this analysis I will use the two first levels of interpretation described in chapter 3, methods and reflections; (1.) the discursive; language and expressions and (2.) the ideational; values, ideas, concepts and believes (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000:208. How do the actors justify their actions and what kind of language and expressions do they make use of? When analysing why the actors of this study take initiatives to localise food systems I found justifications related to the quality of life, a strive to become independent from the regulatory economic and bureaucratic system of our current form, environmental concerns with an aim to enhance sustainability and health and a strong belief in preserving and exchange knowledge people with similar interests. The analysis of these justifications will be developed in the subdivisions below. To understand the character of the movement and on which values and beliefs it is based, the researcher specialized on sustainable food systems and multifunctional agriculture, Rebecka Milestad's view of initiatives taken to establish local food systems is represented in the analysis.

6.1 Quality of life

Being the host of a regional radio program Cecilia justifies what makes them inspired in their life style and what motivates them to chose the life as smallholders: *“For us it's about quality of life”*. (Wadenbäck, 2009:1230) She exemplifies what quality of life means to her; to start the morning in the poultry house, to pick a bundle of carrots from the land, to cook your morning porridge from your own seeds and to hold a fresh laid egg in her hand. *“You can hardly get closer to life”* Cecilia expresses (Ibid.). When describing the importance of the animals in their life, Cecilia refers to how livestock were looked upon around the turn of the 20th century in Sweden; as family members. She said that Daniel can distinguish their cows by their smell and that they all have individual names. As McMichael (2000:21-32) argues; food is not just an item for the majority of the people in the world, its a means of life filled with deep material and symbolic values. These values become clear by the way Cecilia expresses herself; Cecilia makes expressions about life when describing their way of producing food and justifying why they live as smallholders. At the same time, Daniel describes the food they produce as a by-product of their way of living and not as an aim in itself,

when describing their network related to their activities. *“It doesn't have so much to do with food, because the food is only a by-product of our living”*. (Placzek., 20100407) Daniel and Cecilia identify themselves with their self subsistence life style. They express that they don't want to see their production as a kind of entrepreneurial activity alienated from themselves; it is their life where their work is interwoven.

6.2 Alternative to / independence from present society

A desire to become more independent from the regulatory system of our society is expressed by several members of *alternativ.nu*. Under the heading of, way's to self subsistence on *alternativ.nu*'s web based forum, people are sharing their ideas on why and how they are living in an alternative way and practices self subsistence. What is repeatedly being expressed as a justification to produce your own food, is the aim to reduce the time spent on wage labour and being able to earn your living from something that you build up yourself. The quotations below from two of the members of *alternativ.nu*, who write about how they practice self subsistence, exemplifies this:

“We have a small farm with around 15 ewes of fine wool breed and a ram and juveniles. In the summertime some vegetables and potatoes as well. Mostly for our own household, but the surplus is sold and lamb is sold directly to customers through an economic association which we are sharing with a couple of neighbours. My husband still works as wage employed, but I jumped off that carousel in 06. At that time both my body and soul said stop. I had to choose between working myself to death and being caught in the wage carousel and have plenty of money, or have access to my own life and be free but poor....unfortunately the whole world is built to function with only MONEY!!! I try to get around that by exchanging things you need for other things or services...” (Webpage of *alternativ.nu*, 2010-05-04)

“Most important for us is probably to decrease time you spend on being employed, that is to say when you work for someone else...we want to try to build something of our own, that we can earn our living from....we are cultivating, building up a garden...have got some poultry to get our own eggs. Try to take good care of what the garden gives.” (Webpage of *alternativ.nu*, 2010-05-04)

This quotations shows how the actors connect producing your own food to a life with different values than the one that dominates in the present society.

The concept of alternative indicates that the members of this forum want to find alternative ways of living. But, alternative to what and what kind of alternative? The members within this forum probably all have their own view of what they mean with alternative; one member justifies the concept and her choice as follows:

“Alternative for me is to produce as much of my food as possible myself. Big vegetable garden, a flock of poultry and eventually get goats. Alternative is also to be able to 'check out oneself from' the norm which says that you have to consume, experience and all the time chase a lot of things in life. I want to feel that every day has a meaning in a larger perspective, that you are living in harmony with nature and thereby adapts to its systems of rules...” (Webpage of alternativ.nu, 2010-05-04)

Daniel from Arvidstorp smallholding expresses a belief in diversity;

“It is our concept not to concentrate on one big thing, but on a lot small things. And in fact it's only about our surplus, because it is about self sufficiency, but we have to earn money since we live in this society....” (Placzek, 20100407)

So, selling their products is described as something that they have to do to survive in a society where money has a greater role to play than they would wish. I interpret Daniels expression about the need to earn money in 'this society' as linked to Melucci's reasoning about the cultural dimension in the environmental discussion. Melucci argues that we are in a changing time where the economic dimension no longer will be dominating the social life in the same way as in our present society. What Daniel expresses here is a need to adjust their way of living to a society where the economic system dominates the social life. At the same time his reasoning shows a choice to live as independent from 'this society' as possible, and a wish for a society built on values of other kind than the economic rationality.

What I have found is that the individual actors who react against the current production and consumption system and take initiatives for self sufficiency aim to change the system to different extent. What I read in justifications from members of alternativ.nu and expressions from Cecilia and Daniel at the smallholding Arvidstorp is a strong will to become independent from the present system of production and consumption with the aim of having a better quality of life for themselves: (as a member of alternativ.nu describes it) to be able to check out of the norm which says that you have to consume, experience and all the time chase a lot of things in life. Anders and Karin from Ramsjö organic farm, on the other hand, emphasize cooperation with consumers and the establishment of a local food system.

Cecilia and Daniel are individuals who have definitely taken actions for change, in their own life, based on a belief in another kind of society. Still, when Cecilia expresses her thoughts about the future, she says “*Well the farm is, we are not so much for developing things*”. (Wadenbäck, 2010:407) At the same time, their story is all about the development of a diversity of activities; practising of agricultural activities with old methods, start up of café and farm shop, cooperation with volunteers, offering services like farm visits and rides with horse and wagon for guests. Cecilia's expression about 'not being so much for developing things' tells something about what the word development has come to imply. As McMichael (2000:21-32) argues, the image of development has been associated with modernity and industrial rationality viewing nature as a human laboratory including a transformation of the food system. This transformation of society at large including the food system is something which Cecilia deprecates. This can be seen a reason for her to dissociate herself from the term development. The word change, which is not filled with the same values as development, is adopted by the the network Mykorizza as a key solution to achieve sustainability.

6.3 Aiming for sustainability

To live in harmony with nature and adapt to it systems of rules is expressed by a member of *alternativ.nu* as a motivation for choosing to produce your own food. Caring for the environment is something which can be found in all the different actors' motivations. Both Arvidstorp and Ramsjö are members of the association *Kärngårdar*, which shows their interest in environmental concerns. The association *Kärngårdar*'s key concepts: gentleness and foresight show this. Gentleness implies working with small scale techniques adjusted to nature's cycle and care for humans, animals, plants, soil, air and water. Foresight means being prepared for crises and being able to manage in simple conditions and not depend completely upon modern technique.

Cecilia expresses that one of the reasons for being a smallholder is to live gently on earth and explains that they have adjusted their lifestyle to be based on the nature's cycle. Through their membership in the association *Kärngårdar* they receive visits and volunteers to share ideas with about alternative ways of living, which do not drain the earth unnecessarily. For her, it is about taking responsibility for your everyday life. The key to this seems to be through recapturing old knowledge for Cecilia and Daniel.

Karin from Ramsjö organic farm expresses that she believes that we have to live very carefully and says:

"We have a knowledge which I think will be needed more and more in the society, since whatever we do I can't see another outcome than that we have to save more, we have to save more energy to be able to manage at all....there are so many small tricks to use without suffering so much and have a healthier life." (Berlin, K., 20100330)

She says that we have been knowing that the oil is running out for 20 years. With the present agricultural system we are using up the fossil fuel and impoverishing the soil: *"It is not sustainable...you just continue missing the long-term planning"*.(Ibid.) Lately Karin has seen that more people are interested in the kind of food system that Karin and Anders are working with. She describes how highly educated persons who have understood that we have to change our living, take a year off from their university studies and volunteer at small scale organic farms to understand how it works.

The engagemant for a more sustainable lifestyle and people who takes action for change can be seen in Mykorrisa's description about themselves on their webpage:

The food we consume and the lifestyle that dominates in the industrial world favours unsustainable methods in farming. The use of huge, heavy and energy-consuming machinery, poisonous pesticides, chemically produced fertilizers and huge monocultures contribute to the destruction of bio-diversity. This contributes in turn to the destruction of the environment and suffering of people around the world. The way in which we produce and consume our food is the source of many of the major challenges of our time, and by effecting change we will find solutions.

We aim to be a network focused on solutions rather than problems, and to be relevant to people both in the countryside and in cities. Change can be made in a variety of ways. It is all about finding your own way to a more sustainable life, that lighten the burden on the environment and contribute to a healthier lifestyle for us as human beings. What is needed are more small-scale peasants, and our aim is to inspire and help those who want to run small-scale organic farms live in a more self-sufficient way or grow crops in the city. We want to highlight solutions for local food production and create meeting places for exchange of knowledge and inspire those who want to create a new way of living. (Webpage of Mykorrisa, 20100513)

The term sustainability, which is emphasised as an aim and a motivation for practising self sufficiency and establishing local food systems by several of the actors, has been widely used during the past decades by actors with diverse interests. One example of this is given by Kloppenberg et al. (2000:178) in an article defining alternative food systems. According to them sustainable food production is an aim of both the multinational corporation Monsanto and the Madison Area Community Supported Agriculture Coalition (MACSAC). With this in mind it becomes interesting to analyse what the sustainability implies for the actors chosen for this study. The network Mykorrisa makes it explicit that they believe that the farming methods that dominate in the industrial world, with high input of energy, chemicals and fertilizers and mono cultural production are unsustainable. They claim that the way to achieve sustainability will be through a lifestyle based on self sufficiency with small scale peasants who use organic methods, local food production and exchange of knowledge. Daniel from Arvidstorp smallholding seems to espouse the same kind of belief when he says that it has been shown that mono cultures don't work and that he expects a real collapse soon. The solution as he puts it, would be to subsidize smallholders instead of large scale agriculture, and to make use of the unemployed labour which is available in Sweden in agricultural activities.

Anders from Ramsjö organic farm motivates his interest in local food systems with the belief that to be able to build a sustainable agricultural system, producers and consumers must cooperate and be equally interested in the food. He emphasises the long term perspective, which is created when food is produced close to the consumers and the producers see that it's possible to earn their living from food production. Further, Anders reasons around the general development of the food systems in the world:

“In fact the development has been going in an other direction; with elimination of small scale farms all over the world and then the large multinational corporations which grow more and more and produce cheap food. Money is squeezed from every single grain. There it becomes visible that we have an important function; to hold on to our way of producing which in fact is the one that most people want to have.” (Berlin, A., 20100330)

In this way, the actors make clear what they mean with sustainability by dissociating themselves from the development of the food systems where large scale solutions with high energy input and power in the hands of large multinational corporations dominates. Local small scale solutions are emphasized as an important part of sustainable food systems. However, local is not expressed as an

aim in itself but as a way to sustainability. A similar view is also expressed by the researcher in sustainable food systems, Rebecka Milestad, who highlights that it is of importance to consider how the food has been produced, not only where. When she reasons about sustainability, she defines it as not to live beyond one's resources. Within an agricultural context this implies according to her; organic, energy-saving, adjusted to the nature's cycle, not dependant on fossil fuels and to take good care about animals and humans. In a future sustainable agricultural system she pictures smaller production units close to the urban areas or within the urban areas, more manual techniques and use of horse power.

6.4 Keeping and exchanging knowledge at grassroots level

Daniel from Arvidstorp smallholding describes where he got the inspiration to practice self sufficiency:

“For me it is as simple as being human, isn't it as human as it can be...I use to say that we have no less than 10 000 years of farmer history behind us, it's only one generation which separates us from it. It is the way we have been living in these countries for around 10 000 years...” (Placzek, 20100407)

Cecilia from Arvidstorp smallholding continues:

“I think it's my grandmother who has inspired me most. She has taught me a lot, baking cheesecake.” (Wadenbäck, 20100407)

They mentioned books about old farming techniques as a source of inspiration, as well as the time Daniel spent on the museum farm in Skåne. He said that there were many people on the way that inspired them. The aim to preserve and pass on knowledge about old methods is clearly explicit on Arvidstorp's web page. When Daniel and Cecilia reflects on what inspires them in their way of living and farming, they make connections to the time when the farms were run by families, basically for self sufficient living where only the surplus was sold to the adjacent towns. This was before industrialisation influenced the society and the agricultural system became transformed into market based (Jansson and Mårald (ed.) 2005).

Rebecka Milestad stresses the importance of knowledge when developing sustainable food systems, and says, *“without knowledge you can't take action”*. The belief in preserving and sharing knowledge is given importance by the actors when taking initiatives for self sufficient living and establishment of local food systems. Both Ramsjö organic farm and Arvidstorp smallholding have volunteers from the network WWOOF on a regular basis. Except from ease of the work load this gives they express that this is a way to pass on knowledge about a more sustainable lifestyle.

Alternativ.nu is itself a forum for exchange of knowledge about different ways of practicing self sufficient living; members share their practical knowledge, contacts to useful resources as well as their stories about their life and their philosophical motives and ideas. Mykorizza makes explicit that the network aim to create meeting places for exchange of knowledge.

Do the belief in exchange of knowledge expressed by the actors in this study cohere with the research professor in agricultural economics Fonte (2008:202-203)? In her view, Sweden is a country where the relocalisation of the food systems is taken on initiatives at grassroot levels with the aim to rebuild links between producers and consumers. In my view the actors in this study from the association Kärngårdar, the network Mykorizza and the web based forum alternativ.nu take initiatives at grassroot levels. Karin from Ramsjö organic farm who is actively engaged in rebuilding links between consumers and producers reflects on her engagement and what has influenced her. She describes how their agricultural methods they practise go against the idea of rapidity in the society and says *"I feel satisfied by being 50% of this grassroots thing"*. (Berlin, K., 20100330) She tells that she often heard the term grassroot as a youth growing up in New York and now identifies herself and Anders as doing grassroots activities. Mykorizza's name in itself, being a metaphor for a fungi connecting plant life in a giant web in the soil, appears to be closely connected to grassroot actions. Their way of organising through local groups and network and the international network that describe itself as young, landless, prospective peasants shows that these activists belongs to a grassroots movement. Alternativ.nu differs from Mykorizza in that they do not organise themselves in action groups; it is individuals with a common interest who share their experiences and ideas. However, all these individuals networking in the web forum undertake grass root activities by changing their own life be self sufficient. The smallholders at Arvidstorp are individuals who exemplify this kind of change. Their membership in the association Kärngårdar also shows that they are connected to a grassroot network, which aims at 're-establishing a balance between the city as a meeting place and a living rural area'. Since their members are small-scale farmers, I interpret this aim as re-establishing links between producers and consumers. Fonte describes the context where initiatives of these kind are taken as 'food deserts', i.e. a system where food largely is provided by supermarkets (Fonte 2008:202-203). A picture which cohere with a study about local food systems in the Baltic Sea region which concludes that local food systems currently have a marginal position in Sweden, as well as in Denmark, Germany and Finland (Kahiluto et al. 2005:27). I would argue though, that the initiatives taken to establish local food system are coming from more diverse sources than from grassroots level. The views expressed by

Rebecka Milestad, representing a researcher's perspective, exemplifies that the academia also constitute part of the movement.

Producer networks who deliver their products to supermarkets in their nearby geographical area, like 'Tjörnodlat' consisting of organic vegetable cultivators and 'Sju gårdar' consisting of dairy farmers, are also initiators of establishment of local food systems. They differ from the actors of this study, since they don't rebuild links between consumers and producers; the supermarkets are still the middlemen. According to Rebecka Milestad, the large scale food stores and processing corporations have a devastating power. She sees a risk with the trend of locally produced food that the power holders just include locally produced in their selection, and keep the power. For a small scale vegetable cultivator it is hard know when you can deliver your products to the supermarket, a fact which the large scale food stores don't consider. Ramsjö organic farm is one example of small scale vegetable producers who have seen the necessity of establishing a system where they are independent of the supermarkets, since they earlier experienced difficulties when distributing their products to the local supermarket. The cooperation with the consumers is emphasised by Karin and Anders in their motivations. They value the possibility to enhance the quality of life of the consumers by providing them with what they perceive as healthier food.

6.5 Self sufficiency

When starting to investigate how people in Sweden take initiatives to establish local food systems I found a stronger focus in self sufficient living, than I expected. The smallholders of Arvidstorp expressed that it is self sufficient living which is the basis for them. What they sell is only the surplus of their products. The members of *alternativ.nu* and the network *Mykorriza* do also state that they aim at self sufficiency. Karin and Anders, from Ramsjö organic farm, has to a greater extent than the other actors built up a system where they distribute food locally on regular basis. But still, being self sufficient is highly valued by them, and they aim to share knowledge about how to manage self sufficient living with their volunteers. It is likely that one reason why Ramsjö organic farm has a more established system for local food system than the other actors is that Karin and Anders has been developing their activities since the 1970's. Self sufficiency seems to be the basis for developing local food distribution. Apart from how the actors have justified their believe in self sufficiency, one reason for this can be the economic. To be able to manage economically as a small scale producer, a high degree of self sufficiency is probably necessary. Karin, from Ramjö farm told that for them it is most importance to live from what they produce if it is going to work economically. She also mentioned that the knowledge Anders has in repairing the machinery is

necessary and emphasizes that you need to develop your activities step by step, to avoid loans for large investments. For Cecilia and Daniel from Arvidstorp smallholding it seems like their social network, with different practical skills, makes their way of living possible. Exchange of services is of most importance for them. The volunteers that help out with the activities at the farms is also one part which make the farms viable, since the methods used are work intensive.

The actors focus on self sufficiency makes me think about the border between the aim to practice self sufficiency and to establish local food systems. The concept of local food system is often used in the academic literature, while the actors of this study emphasise the will to produce their own food as well as distribute their products directly to consumers in the nearby geographical area. Therefore I see the concept of local food system as an external concept that I apply for analysis. I don't see a clear boarder between the aim to practice self sufficiency and to establish local food systems, rather an interconnection between these where the movement aims at both.

It is possible that the actors focus on self sufficiency would have been less if I had chosen to base the empirical material on producer networks and/or consumers who take initiatives to establish local food systems. What I find interesting within the cases chosen for this study is that the border between producers and consumers are blurred. It is not only about producers who cooperate directly with consumers for distribution. It is about people who have gone from being consumers and seen the need to become producers themselves and distribute their produce for money or exchange of goods and services.

Chapter 7: Discussion

In the first part of this chapter I aim to analyze the empirical material from a social movement perspective based on the theoretical frame of this paper. Next part concerns the importance of the actors social network, based on the interview studies made at Ramsjö organic farm and the smallholding Arvidstorp. I will use the third level of interpretation presented in the methods; (3.) the Action and Social condition; relations, events, behaviours, social patterns and structures. (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2000:208). Further I will discuss the issue of democracy and justice connected to local food systems. Although this is not part of my research questions I find the aspect valuable to discuss since connections often are made between justice and local food systems. In the final part of the chapter I will discuss the conceivable future of local food systems in Sweden, basing myself on the cases of this study, the concept of crisis and the possible change of the dominating norm system.

7.1 Social movement

I have chosen to see the initiatives I have analysed as collective action part of a social movement since I find ideas, values and beliefs shared by the actors. The initiatives in themselves are diverse and fragmented, but as van Zomeren and Iyer (2009:646) argues, collective action does not need to be performed by collectives. What characterizes collective action is the aim to improve the status, power or influence of an entire group (Ibid.). The three different initiatives which I analyse; the association Kärngårdar, alternativ.nu and Mykorrisa has their own defined aims or purposes. By looking deeper into these and stories and expressions by the involved actors I have been analysing the ideas, values and belief on which they base their actions.

The fragmented actions taken by individual small scale farmers, young activists engaging in urban cultivation and members expressing themselves at alternativ.nu becomes collective since they base themselves on shared ideas, values and beliefs and aim for a change not only for themselves, but for food systems in a larger societal context. To make meaning out their actions the interaction between individuals is emphasised by Melucci (1991:41-45). The actors in this study interact with each other through different channels and in different ways. The smallholders at Arvidstorp value personal relations with people in their neighboring area with whom they interact frequently to manage everyday activities. The vegetable cultivators at Ramsjö organic farm emphasize their cooperation with the consumers to whom they deliver food as well as the interaction with actors with common interest around the world through internet. Through membership in different interest associations they exchange knowledge and make meaning out of their activities, e.g. both Ramsjö and

Arvidstorp receives volunteers at their farms. Internet is used by members of *alternativ.nu* and *Mykorrisa* for interaction and to spread their ideas. *Mykorrisa* aims to link their actions with already established initiatives as well as building up a new network for people who believe that Sweden needs a movement for self sufficiency. The actors of the different initiatives in this study are sometimes linked through membership in associations and interaction through internet. Their actions form what Melucci (*ibid.*) describes a multipolar system of action. These actors hasn't come together to define their goals jointly, the methods to use and the environment they act in, but the similar grounds for their actions and the practical way they engage to reach their goals form a 'we' which makes their action collective. The willingness to interact and cooperate with people who share similar ideas indicates emotional investments and a sense of belonging. Anders at Ramsjö organic farm expresses a feeling of belonging with other organic cultivators and producers and consumers engaged in community supported agriculture:

"Internet is a window where we can have contact with people that we don't meet physically. We have been in the US several times and met organic farmers and CSA-farmers. With them we have the closest contact and follows what is happening over there and how they manage." (Berlin, A., 20100330)

This is one dimension of the collective identity, which is interlinked with the formulation of goals, means and environment. (Melucci 1991:49-50) The network *Mykorrisa* states this clearly on their webpage they belongs to a movement for change through self sufficiency. However, not all the actors of this study make explicit that they consider themselves as a part of a social movement. Why I still see them as part of a social movement is based on their expressions about their shared values, ideas and beliefs and their interaction.

When analyzing how the actors express their motivation for their actions in part 6.1, shared notions of how they experience the surrounding world become perceptible. These notions are formed through a process of interaction and develop from various sources of inspiration. One common ground for the actors is a belief in another kind of food system than the one that dominates the world at present. The dominating is described as built on monocultural production with heavy use of fertilizers and pesticides and distribution through large scale supermarkets. *Mykorrisa* clearly disassociate themselves from this development on their web page and Daniel from Arvidstorp smallholding states that monocultures have showed not to work. Anders and Karin from Ramsjö organic farm talked about the inspiration they get from activists like Vandana Shiva and the interaction they have with farmers who believe in a farming system built on direct cooperation

between consumers and producers. The discourse of the movement becomes visible in the shared notions which contrast the dominating food system.

New social movement

Basing myself on Melucci (1991:69-70) I chose to describe the initiatives taken towards self sufficiency and establishment of local food systems as part of a new social movement. My analysis is not based on that the initiatives are new in themselves, but on the character of the movement. Food is about material production, but in our complex society the food system involves many diverse interlinked dimensions. The actors in this study express dissatisfaction with the present economic and bureaucratic system which includes how food is produced and distributed. Practical actions with the aim to live self sufficient and build up food systems based on direct cooperation between consumers and producers using methods adjusted to the nature's cycle is taken by the actors. By challenging the norms of the present food systems and establishing alternatives, the actors works as symbols who makes the structural problem of the systems which they question visible. The action is taken outside the parameters of the established political system in a very practical manner; forming subsystems which operates outside the dominant economic and bureaucratic system. In this way the actors challenge the codes of the system and presents alternatives built on closer personal relations and cooperation around food in a more narrow geographical space. E.g. the rhetoric used by members of *alternativ.nu* focused on practical change of ones own lifestyle that at first glance can appear apolitical. When analyzing the diverse initiatives though, they appear to be highly political aiming at structural system changes. One example of this is when Daniel and Cecilia at Arvidstorp smallholding and a member of *alternativ.nu* describes how they exchange goods and services as an alternative to the current economic system. Class, which was emphasized in earlier social movements is not the basis in this kind of new social movement, which gathers people from diverse backgrounds. I would argue that the movement consists of a mixture of actors like producers, consumers, activists and academic researchers, even if I haven't included all these actors in this study. These actors do not form a unity, but consist of different groups, sometimes linked e.g. through membership in associations. In this way they form a fragmented network which makes the movement less visible. Through practical changes in their own life, the actors chosen for this study react on the rationalization of human life. This can be related to Habermas reasoning about how our lifeworlds has been colonized by a power apparatus and a regulatory system (Habermas 1987). The voice of the movement can be described as subtle and difficult to capture because of the abstract purpose of recapturing the right to define one's lifeworld.

I see the social movement that I describe in this study as part of the environmental movement. When justifying their actions, the actors reflect over the lack of sustainability of the dominant food systems and the need to adjust resource use to the nature's cycle. What becomes clear as well is that the environmental problem is not seen as a single issue by the actors, but as consequences of a systematic problem where we need to change the way we relate our self to nature and the surrounding world. Reflections on global interdependence are stated in the actors' expressions. Further, to establish local systems of production and consumption is seen as a solution to environmental problems. This means, as Melucci (1991:107-110) argues, a systematic change involving cultural and social dimensions. What the actors in this study are doing is to practice this change; to establish closer relations between producers and consumers, deepen personal relations by managing daily activities with exchange of services from people in the nearby geographical area, interacting with people with similar ideas around the world through internet and shifting power from large scale actors as multinational corporations and political decision makers to themselves.

7.2 Social network

The actors of this study have a large network connected to their activities; through membership in associations, communication via forums on internet, local activist groups and consumer contacts and close relations in the neighbouring areas.

Inspired by Goldstones (2004:350) writings about the importance of mapping a movement's external relational field to be able to understand why certain groups take certain action at certain times, I asked my informants at Ramsjö organic farm and Arvidstorp smallholding to reflect on their relations and network. Further they were asked to reflect upon which part of their network that was of more or less importance for their activities and which part they themselves influenced more or less. This is not actually a mapping of a movement's external relational fields, but of the actors external relational fields. What I was interested to find out, was how their networks looked like and of which importance it was for their activities. This showed to be a way to find out how they identified themselves in relation to others and to analyze if they are part of a larger context which can be described as a social movement.

There is a clear difference when comparing Ramsjö's and Arvidstorp's network. Karin and Anders from Ramsjö organic farm value the cooperation with their member consumers highly, while cooperation with their neighbors seems to be of less importance. Daniel and Cecilia's social network consists to a great extent of persons in their neighboring area, which

they exchange services with connected to their activities. To a higher degree than Cecilia and Daniel, Anders and Karin communicates through internet with people with similar interests worldwide. What they have in common is that they all value the volunteers from WWOOF highly. These volunteers are part of the movement and of importance for several reasons. For sharing of ideas and knowledge, as well as for economic reasons. The differences in Ramsjö's and Arvidstorp's networks show the diversity within the movement for local food systems. This can be connected to the concept of cosmopolitan localism, developed by the researcher in environment, development and globalization Wolfgang Sachs (1992:112-114). He argues that many people "*combine rootedness in a place with affiliation to a larger community*" (Ibid: 113).

7.3 Local food systems and justice

In the background I described how European initiatives to establish local food systems are depicted as integrated with the governance system of EU, while a north American perspective oppose the industrial agri-food system more and puts principles of social justice and environmental sustainability at centre (Goodman and DuPuis, 2005:359, Fonte, 2008:201). What I found expressed by the actors in this study is a strong opposition against the dominant industrial food system as well as justifications to work for a more sustainable and just food system, built on organic small scale techniques and local cooperation between producers and consumers. EU has only been mentioned as a body to apply funds from. An identification with the rural development politics of EU has not been expressed. The focus has been more on building up food systems independently from the present political system and at the same time a wish for more support for small-scale organic farming from the political system. In an article about how to enhance farmers strategies for sustainable development in a European context, the researcher in agriculture and environment Natasja Oerlemans and the doctor of development economics Gérald Assouline (2004:477) argue that policies for sustainable agriculture need to be changed radically towards collective projects and farmers networks from the present individual farm support. The governmental system ought to stimulate bottom-up initiatives and strategies for learning, and therefore need another form of organization. (Ibid.)

The Canadian researcher in environmental studies Levkoe (2005:89-97) suggests that participation in food justice movements can increase knowledge and participation in social justice activities in a broader sense. To create spaces for collective practices around local food is presented as a way to empower people; to enhance learning and participation in democracy and building up strong

communities. (ibid.) The phrase food democracy has been developed by the professor of food policy Tim Lang (1999:218), arguing that food systems symbolize and are a symptom of how we organize ourselves and our societies. Connections between food and democracy is further made by the professor of environmental studies Neva Hassanein (2003:79-80) in the Journal of Rural Studies, who describes food democracy as when citizens actively take part in shaping the food system and have power to decide upon agro-food policies and practices from local to global level. She argues that the main pressure to democratise food systems comes from the alternative agro-food movement⁷. Since there are conflicting values around what sustainability implies, aiming at food democracy is crucial; *"every citizen has a contribution to make to our common problems"* (Ibid:85).

Then, do local food systems mean more democratic food systems? In an interview with the researcher Rebecka Milestad (20100512), she suggests that local food systems could give space for nepotism, but believes that people engaged in local food systems often want to see the link between local food and justice; it is easier to take and demand responsibility when producers and consumers have direct contact. A study about a local organic cereal and bread network in lower Austria (Milestad et.al, 2010:6) based on interviews with actors in the network shows that physical closeness generated closer social relations and trust between business partners in the network. With engagement in the local food network, the actors aimed to contribute to their locality with locally produced bread, jobs, fair prices and salaries and an enhanced value for the region (Ibid.). Taking for granted that local food systems would be more just seems a bit too simplistic though, since these can foster both diversity and defensiveness. (Hinrichs, 2003:10)⁸

One important aspect to consider when developing local food systems is who gets access to the local food. An earlier study from Ramsjö organic farm (Andersson, 2006:24) shows that their members generally are well educated; almost 80% of the 79 members who participated were university educated. All income categories were represented, but most common (30%) were those of 450 000 - 600 000 sek. in annual income (Ibid.). Arvidstorp smallholding mainly distributes their own products to people whom they know in their locality. An example brought up by Rebecka Milestad is the farmers' markets in Stockholm, located in the southern and eastern part of city centre. In these areas the purchasing power is high, but distance long to low income suburbs. If

⁷ Hassanein defines the alternative agri-food movement as "the social activity of sustainable agriculturalists, local food advocates, environmentalists, food security activists, and others who are working to bring about changes at a variety of different levels of the agro-food system". (2003:80)

⁸ Clare Hinrichs is Professor of Rural Sociology.

local food systems shall be seen as fair systems where citizens have power to influence food policies and practices, access for a broader spectrum of people within the society needs to be considered. This is a matter of both money and knowledge according to Rebecka Milestad (20100512): *”Food provision is not to be seen as luxury, we need to think democratically if we want a new food system”*.

7.4 What about the future of local food systems?

For this study I have chosen a few cases to analyse how the actors motivate their actions and which values, beliefs and ideas they base their action on. These initiatives are only a small part of all initiatives taken to localise food systems in Sweden at present; local and regional producer networks are being built up to cooperate around distribution of products in different part of the country. The grassroots levels actors ideas and beliefs that have been expressed in this paper are also reflected in research about local food systems; to aim for sustainability, exchange knowledge, enhance quality of life and create systems less dependent on large power holders. A study about local food systems around the Baltic Sea argues that if rural food systems were localized, it would favor recycling, local economies, create vitality, give local actors more possibility to influence their food systems, generate trust and resilience in rural areas. Partnership between different actors in the food system is seen as a key solution (Kahiluoto et. al. (eds.) 2005:37-38). The farms that I have studied, Ramsjö organic farm and Arvidstorp smallholding, exemplifies how multifunctionality is practised on farms in a Swedish context. Their aim is not to grow on a large scale, but to spread their ideas for others to become interested in building up similar activities.

It should be made clear that those who believe in food systems based on local distribution and organic methods with low energy inputs often oppose food systems built on conventional methods with high energy input and large scale solutions. Advocates of this dominant apprehension often argues that large scale solutions like monocultural production is needed to feed the worlds growing population and that international trade is favoring low income countries. Critiques of the environmental destruction caused by these production and distribution systems, e.g. referring to the consequences of the green revolution, is often met with a believe in that modern technical solutions will make it possible to overcome the environmental problems. (Conway G. and Toenniessen G., 1999, Djurfeldt, Jirstrom and Holmén, 2008:73-86, Kirchman and Bergström (eds.) 2008:39-72)

The actors who have expressed themselves in this study are basing their actions on a belief that present food systems are unsustainable. They live with the notion that we are approaching, or already experiencing, an environmental crisis caused by our way of living. To turn away from this crisis, we have to change our way of living radically, including how we organise our food systems. Myrdal (2008:70) argues that actions taken by people on grassroots level, changing their everyday life will prevent a large crisis to come. He argues though, that people tend to seek solutions within the present system. I would say that the actors of this study are looking for solutions that challenge our present system, since they base their actions on other values and techniques than the ones dominating at present in the society. The question is how much these actors will be able to influence the society at large with their actions. Although they can be seen as a movement, they act in the periphery of the dominant system. Myrdal (2008:155) believes that people who change their behavior in their everyday life will be the lever for the change of the norm- and need-system. What is considered as needs today will change over time; some things that we see as production at present will be seen as harmful activities in the future (Ibid.). I think that the movement for establishing local food systems can be seen as an example of this kind of lever. We can already see that norms are changing in our society and that it has become more accepted to advocate local and organic food in recent years.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This study has aimed to investigate what ideas, values and beliefs the present development of local food systems in Sweden is based on. The method used has been to study how people taking initiatives to localise food systems express themselves and justify their actions. The actors chosen for the study are members of the association Kärngårdar, represented by the farmers at Ramsjö organic CSA-farm and the smallholders at Arvidstorp, members of the web based forum alternativ.nu and the network Mykorrisa.

What is emphasised as a justification to grow your own food and establish local food systems is an aim to find alternatives to the economic rationalisation that is dominating in our present society. The actors are opposing the economic and bureaucratic regulatory system by earning their living from something that they build up themselves. The concept of development is not used by the actors when they describe their activities, although they do a lot of actions for development. One reason for this can be that the word development are associated with the rationalisation of society.

Quality of life is brought up as justification to chose a life style based on self sufficiency and small scale production of food. A desire to re-establish the connection between the work you do in your everyday life and the food you eat is shown. In the industrial food system we have become alienated from the food that we eat, with distant and unclear production chains.

Further achieving sustainability is expressed as an aim for establishing local food systems. The present dominating food systems based on large scale production, using chemical fertilizers and heavy machinery and with long transportation is seen as unsustainable. Solutions are believed to be achieved through small scale organic production adjusted to the cycle of nature, cooperation between producers and consumers and local distribution of food.

Sharing of knowledge at grassroot level is also believed to be an important part of the solution. The knowledge is shared through people volunteering at farms, cooperation with neighbours, membership in associations, establishment of networks and web based communication. Being self sufficient seems to be a prerequisite to build up local food systems and a way of managing the economy.

I want to argue that there is a social current favouring local food systems at present. The perception that the dominating industrial food systems are unsustainable and that we have become distant to where and how the food we eat is produced is widely spread and increases. Within this current there are people who chose to take action for change, among them are the actors expressed in this study. These actors are part of a broad social movement, embracing not only people in the Sweden but activists with shared ideas in different parts of the world; e.g. farmer movements like Via Campesina in South America and activists in an European and North American context opposing the fast food culture. I categorize the movement for local food systems as a new social movement, since the aim is more complex than to achieve something of material kind. The movement for local food systems is challenging the norms of rationalisation and uniformity of the dominant industrial food systems. It chose to see it as part of the environmental movement, which acknowledge a global interdependence and need for systematic change. The movement for local food systems which I have investigated is fragmented and diverse in its forms. Cooperation and relationships in the local area as well as networks with people sharing the same interest in distant places are valued by the actors.

Finally I want to address the importance of thinking democratically when developing food systems for the future. By this I mean to consider access; access to local produced food, access knowledge about food systems and access to power, by having the possibility to influence food systems on a political level as a citizen.

References:

Alternativ.nu (Alternative.now) Webpage: <http://www.alternativ.nu>

Last visited: 2010-05-04

Alvesson, M. and Sköldberg K. 2000. *Reflexive Methodology, New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications, London.

Andersson, K. 2006. *Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) – en väg mot ökad uthållighet? En studie av Ramsjö gård*. Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Department for Urban and Rural Studies, Uppsala.

Arvidstorp. Webpage: <http://www.arvidstorp.com>

[Last visited 20100815](#)

Bartholdsson, Ö. 2009-10-20. Lecture on Research Ethics, Master Course in Research Methods. Swedish Agricultural University, Uppsala.

Bartholdsson, Ö. 2009-09-22. Lecture on How to conduct interviews, Master Course in Research Methods. Swedish Agricultural University, Uppsala.

Beck, U. 1992. *Risk society : towards a new modernity*. London, Sage.

Berlin K. and Berlin, A. Brochure Ramsjö CSA-farm: *Din mat direkt från bondgården*.

Björklund, J. and Milestad, R. 2008. *Jordbruk med många funktioner får hela Sverige att leva*. In: Johansson, B. (ed.) *Ska hela Sverige leva?* Formas, Stockholm, pp. 287-298

Conway G. And Toenniessen G., 1999, Feeding the world in the twenty-first century. *Nature* C55-C58

Delanty, G. 2005. *Social Science. Second edition*. Open University Press, Birkshire

Djurfeldt, G., Jirström, M. and Holmén, H. 2008. *Africa's Food Crisis: Does Asia's green revolution offer any lessons?* In *Development: Toward greater coherence*. Royal Swedish of Agriculture and Forestry.

DuPuis, M.E. and Goodman, D. 2005. Should we go “home” to eat?: toward a reflexive politics on localism. *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol 21, pp. 359-371

Eksvärd, K. 2003. *Tillsammans kan vi lära och förändra : deltagardriven forskning för svenskt lantbruk*. Centre for sustainable agriculture, Uppsala

- Fonte, M. Knowlegde. 2008. Food and Place. A Way of Producing, a Way of Knowing. *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 48, No. 3.
- Frithiof, L. 2009. Gröna fingrar som ger eko. *Uppsala Nya Tidning*. 20090513.
- Förbundet Sveriges småbrukare (The Union for smallholders in Sweden), Webpage: <http://www.jordbruk.nu/smabrukaren/>
Last visited: 2009-12-17
- Föreningen Kärngårdarna (The Association for Core Farms) Webpage: <http://www.karngardar.net/>
Last visited: 2009-12-17
- Goldstone, J.A. 2004. More Social Movements or Fewer? Beyond Political Opportunity Structures to Relational Fields. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 33, No. 3/4, pp. 333-365
- Habermas, J. 1987. *The theory of communicative action. Vol. 2, Lifeworld and system : a critique of functionalist reason*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Hammersely, M. and Atkinson, P. 2007. *Ethnography; principles in practice*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Hassanein, N. 2003. Practicing food democracy: a pragmatic politics of transformation. *Journal of rural Studies*, Vol 19, pp.77-86
- Hinrichs, C.C. 2003. The practice and politics of food system localization. *Journal of Rural Studies*. Vol. 19, pp. 33-45
- Jansson, U and Mårald, E. (red) 2005. *Bruka, odla, hävda. Odlingsystem och uthålligt jordbruk under 400 år*. Kungliga skogs och lantbruksakademien)
- Johansson, S. 2005. The Swedish Foodprint, An Agroecological study of Food Consumption. *Department of Ecology and Crop Production Science*. Uppsala, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.
- Jordbruksdepartementet, Ds:2004:9 Genomförandet av EU:s jordbruksreform i Sverige.
- Kirchman, H. and Bergström, L. (eds.) 2008 *Organic Crop Production – Ambitions and Limitations*. pp. 39-72, Springer, Dordrecht, The Netherlands
- Klandermans, B. and Staggenberg, S. (ed) 2002. *Methods of Social Movement Research*. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
- Kvale, S. 2008. *Interviews. Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage Publications
- Kahiluoto, H., Berg, P.G., Granstedt, A., Fischer, H., Thomsson, O. (eds) 2005. The Power of the Local – sustainable food systems around the Baltic Sea. Interdisciplinary Synthesis of the BERAS project. No. 7. Centre for Sustainable Agriculture, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Uppsala

Kloppenbergh, J. et al. 2000. Tasting Food, Tasting Sustainability: Deining the Attributes of an Alternative Food System with Competent, Ordinary People. *Human Organization*, Vol 59, No. 2, pp. 177-186

Lang, T. 1999. *Food policy for the 21st century: can it be both radical and reasonable?* In: Koc, M., MacRae, R., Mougeot, L.J.A., Welsh, E. (eds), *For Hunger-proof Cities: Sustainable Urban Food Systems*. International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, p. 218

Larana, E., Johnston H. and Gusfeld J.R. (editors) 1994. *New Social Movements. From Ideology to Identity*. Ch. 2 and 5. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

Larsson, B. (red) 1994. *Bondens självbild och natursyn*. The Nordic museum

Levkoe, C.Z. 2005. Learning democracy through food justice movements. *Agriculture and Human Values*, Vol 23 pp. 89-98.

McMichael, P. 2008. Peasants Make Their Own History, But Not Just as They Please...*Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 8 Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 205-228.

McMichael, P. 2000. The power of food. *Agriculture and Human values* 17: 21-33
Kluwer Academic Publishers. Netherlands.

Melucci, R. 1991. *Nomader I nuet. Sociala rörelser och individuella behov i dagens samhälle*. Diadalos AB, Gothenburg.

Milestad, R., Bartel-Kratochvil, R., Leitner, H., Axmann, P. 2010. Being close: The quality of social relationships in a local organic cereal and bread network in Lower Austria. *Journal of Rural studies*, pp. 1-13

Morgan, K., Marsden, T., and Murdoch, J. 2006. *Worlds of food. Place, Power, and Provenance in the Food Chain*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Mykorrhiza. Webpage: <http://www.mykorrhiza.se>

Last visited: 20100513

Myrdal, J. 2008. *Framtiden - om femtio år. Global utveckling och ruralt-urbant i Norden*. Institutet för Framtidsstudier, Stockholm.

Myrdal, J. 2008. *Att begripa med begrepp – den nya produktionen*. In: Johansson, B. (ed.) *Ska hela Sverige leva?* Formas, Stockholm, pp. 37-48

Ockenden, J. and Franklin, M. 1995. *European agriculture: making the CAP fit the future*. Printer for Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

Oerlemans, N. and Assouline, G. 2004 Enhancing farmers' networking strategies for sustainable development. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, Vol 12, pp.469-478.

Regeringens proposition 1997/98:142. Riktlinjer för Sveriges arbete med jordbruks- och livsmedelspolitiken inom Europeiska unionen.
(Governmental bill 1997/98:142)

reclaim the fields. Webpage: <http://www.reclaimthefields.org>
Last visited: 20100809

Sachs, W. 1992. (ed.) The development dictionary: a guide to knowledge as power. Zed Books, London.

Sarlöv-Herlin, I. and Tellström, R. 2008 *Storstadsbornas matval formar landsbygdens landskap*. In: Johansson, B. (ed.) Ska hela Sverige leva? Formas, Stockholm, pp. 299-310

Slow Food. Webpage: www.slowfood.com.
Last visited: 20100818

Steinberg, M.W.1998. Tilting the Frame: Considerations on collective action framing from a discursive turn. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 27. pp. 845-872

Sten, H. 2009. Vi klarar oss själva om det skulle bli kris, *LAND* No. 46, pp. 26-27

van der Krogt, D. 2006. Ramsjö gård – där bonden och konsumenten möts. *Ekologiskt Lantbruk*. No 7, pp. 20-22

Van Zomeren, M. and Iyer, A. 2009. Introduction to the Social and Psychological Dynamics of Collective action. *Journal of Social issues*, Vol. 65, No. 4

Winther Jorgensen, M and Philips, L. 2000. *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. Studentlitteratur, Lund.

World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms. Webpage: <http://www.woof.org>
Last visited: 20100809

Wadenbäck, C. Julvärd Sveriges Radio, Radio program P4 Skaraborg: 20091230

Åter. 2009. *Forum för självförsörjning och alternativt boende på landsbygden*. No. 3 and 4

Interviews:

Berlin, K. and Berlin A. Interview with the farmers of Ramsjö CSA-farm. Farmvisit: 20100330

Milestad, R. Interview with researcher from Centre for Sustainable Agriculture, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. Telephone: 20100512

Placzek, D and Wadenbäck, C. Interview with the smallholders of Arvidstorp. Farmvisit: 20100407

Appendix 1

Fig. 1 Network analysis Ramsjö organic farm

Big importance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses • The Swedish Ecological Farmers • Fältbiologerna • KRAV • County Administrative Board - rural department • Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences - Centre for Sustainable Agriculture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet – CSA farmers • Consumers • Volunteers • Cultivators in Sweden and internationally • Allkorn – association for diversity
importanceLittle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LRF – the Federation of Swedish Farmers • The Swedish Board of Agriculture – farm support and support for organic agriculture • The municipality • Schools – study visits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The association Kärngårdar • Service Civil International
	Low influence	High influence

Fig. 2 Network analysis Arvidstorp smallholding

Big importance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supplier of everything you need within horse farming • Local electrician • Plumber • Handy man • Forest owner • Coop Forum Skövde • Contactperson within the association Kärngårdar • Carpenter friends • The association Allmogen • Radio P4 Skaraborg • Good neighbours and hunter • Wood man practicing horse drawn forestry • WWOOF network • County Administrative Board – EU support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violin player • Good neighbour and jack of all trades • Retail suppliers • Experienced old 'horse man' • Horse breeder from Skåne • Volunteers from WWOOF • Norwegian pony man • Local church choir – 35 persons • Friend and supplier of horse equipment • Network 'Vallevägen' • Good neighbours and living 'user's guide' • Mother of Daniel • Friends who are customers and building preservers • Horse farming vegetable cultivators
Little importance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbour and hunter • Good neighbours • Skövde slaughter house – suppliers of piglets • Granngården (shop with products for farms) • Two men with native cow breeds around the lake Hornborga 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A couple of neighbours • A couple of friends
	Low influence	High influence