



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
COPENHAGEN

MASTER'S THESIS

Integrated Food Studies

JAMMERBUGT FOOD NETWORK

The development of a local food network and its potential to drive rural development

Author

Anna Pries

Supervisor

Mette Weinreich Hansen

Submitted

May 9th 2018

ABSTRACT

Increasing urbanisation has led to an increased focus on rural development. This is seen in rural policies building on the place-based approach of The New Rural Paradigm which emphasises the activation of place-bound potential and human engagement as drivers for local development.

This thesis concerns the development of a local food network in a Danish, rural municipality. Two different initiatives, a municipal strategy and the vision of a local enthusiast, are analysed and compared. The aim is to explore the possibilities for building the food network as well as to determine whether this network can be a driver for local, rural development. The empirical data consist of one focus group conducted with residents of the local community and six semi-structured interviews carried out with the initiators of the food network, local producers and a local supermarket manager.

The findings suggest a general interest in participation in the food network among the local producers, consumers and the retail representative. Local food and selling locally is valued mainly because of the close relationship between the producer and the consumer. In order to target a wide consumer group and include all farmers in the area, the network needs to include both organic and conventional products. Moreover, internal communication is important to avoid conflict and loss of motivation among the involved actors. The local food network can strengthen the cohesion, community feeling and collective identity in the local community leading to a sense of belonging among the locals. Moreover, the network can function as a symbolic meeting place and reconnect the local people. Conclusively, the local food network can add to the social aspect of life quality in the local, rural community.

Regarding the two initiatives, the municipal strategy failed to mobilise the locals, whereas the local initiative has better chances of bringing the network to life. However, far greater support is needed from the municipality in the form of counselling, finances, and possibly project management in order to build a resilient network and generate local, rural development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	4
2. PROBLEM AREA	5
The modern food system and the rise of alternatives	5
Danish food politics	6
The New Rural Paradigm	7
Danish rural politics	7
Politics of Jammerbugt Municipality	8
Summary	8
3. PROBLEM STATEMENT	9
4. STATE OF THE ART	10
Methods	10
Keywords	10
Search methods	10
Description and definitions of AFNs	10
The contested nature of local food	11
The modern food system, the quality turn and defensive localism	12
Alternative food networks and rural development	13
Sustainability and impacts of AFNs	14
Consumer attitudes and motivations	15
Summary	16
5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	17
Rural development	17
Local governance	18
Neo-endogenous development	19
Place-bound potential and the role of the enthusiast	19
Local food networks - drivers and barriers	20
6. METHODOLOGY	22
A qualitative approach	22
Preliminary research	22
Unstructured interviews	22
Observations	22
Situational Analysis	23
Research design	28
The role of the researcher	28
Semi-structured interviews	29
Sampling and interviewees	29
Interview guides	30
Conducting the interviews	31
Focus group	31

Sampling and participants	31
Conducting the focus group	33
Other materials	33
Follow-up data collection	33
Transcription	33
Coding.....	34
Delimitations.....	34
7. INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD.....	35
Local food initiatives in the North Denmark Region and Jammerbugt Municipality	35
The history of food networks in the region of North Jutland.....	35
Jammerbugt Municipality	37
The local community	38
The municipal initiative: Strategic Plan 2030.....	38
The local initiative.....	40
Hjordtal grocery store.....	41
8. ANALYSIS	42
Presentation of the interviewees.....	42
Actor motivations.....	44
Availability	44
The producer-consumer relationship.....	45
Loyalty and trust	46
Network cooperation	47
The social value of JFN	48
Community and cohesiveness.....	48
The reconnection of the rural people.....	48
Organic versus conventional	50
Vision and the local market	50
Consumer perspectives.....	52
Network management.....	53
Local governance: the municipal versus the local initiative	55
The municipal initiative: Strategic Plan 2030	55
The local initiative: Jammerbugt Food Network.....	57
The local versus the municipal initiative.....	59
9. CONCLUSION.....	61
10. DISCUSSION.....	63
REFERENCES	67
LIST OF APPENDICES	72

List of figures

Figure 1: Messy map

Figure 2: Ordered map

Figure 3: Relational map

Figure 4: Jammerbugt Municipality

Figure 5: The local community in focus: Fjerritslev, Svinkløv, Slettestrand and Hjortedal

Figure 6: Map of potential

List of tables

Table 1: Interviewees of preliminary research

Table 2: Interviewees of semi-structured interviews

Table 3: Characteristics of focus group participants

Table 4: Initiatives relating to local food networks in the North Denmark Region and Jammerbugt Municipality 2005-2017

Table 5: Jammerbugt Municipality

Abbreviations

AFN: Alternative food network

JFN: Jammerbugt Food Network

1. INTRODUCTION

Increasing urbanisation has caused a depopulation of rural areas worldwide as well as in Denmark. At the same time, the centralisation of public welfare services, businesses and jobs has resulted in a skewed Denmark. Young people and people with higher educations move towards the bigger cities and elderly people and people with lower social status stay in the rural areas (Local Government Denmark, 2014). Consequently, the rural areas of Denmark face several social and economic challenges and many local communities are fighting to survive.

As a response to the deepening crisis of rural Denmark, popularly known as *Outskirt Denmark*, rural development programs and regional political strategies increasingly focus on identifying and activating the unique qualities of these regions: the so-called place-bound potential (Hansen, Laursen & Møller, 2014). This place-based approach derives from The *New Rural Paradigm* introduced by OECD in 2006 and supports the growing focus on creating and maintaining the good life in the countryside (OECD, 2006).

The attention to the potential of branding the Danish regions through food is very limited (Johansen, Hjalager & Hoff, 2015). However, the Danish Centre for Food Development and Innovation states that the potential for increased food production and innovation in rural Denmark is significant and recommends an ongoing development of regional food networks (Hjalager, Boisen & Leth, 2016).

Recently, several regions have discovered the untapped and place-based potential connected to local food production. An increasing number of regions and rural municipalities have put a strategic focus on local food. Likewise, several local food networks have emerged all over Denmark (Kristensen, Dal & Wolf, 2017).

These dynamics demonstrate the prominence of the local food trend which has grown remarkably during the past decades. The trend can be seen as a response to the industrialised and globalised modern food system in which the consumer has been increasingly disconnected from the producer because production and consumption can now take place distant from each other (Murdoch & Miele, 1999). They also demonstrate how local food networks can possibly be central in rural development and in the branding of Danish rural regions. A number of studies suggest that local food networks can indeed influence the development of rural areas (Renting et al., 2003; Marsden & Smith, 2005; Mundler & Laughrea, 2016). However, certain resources are needed for the networks to succeed (Sonnino, 2013; Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). Hence, it is interesting to investigate the link between local food networks and rural development in a Danish context.

The rural Jammerbugt Municipality is situated along the Northwestern coast of Jutland. The area has a long history of traditional agriculture and fishing but during the past years, new and innovative products have been introduced on the market. These products take advantage of the distinct nature conditions in the area, e.g. spirits made with wild herbs and beef from cattle grazing on wild, protected land (Nordisk Brænderi, 2018; Naturkød Jammerbugt, 2018).

Recently, local initiators have taken the first steps towards forming a food network for local producers, retailers and restaurants. The network will be based at a small grocery store in a local

community. The purpose is to increase the availability of local food in the area and to generate local development by creating new job opportunities, encouraging innovation and entrepreneurship, and attracting tourists as well as newcomers to the area. Parallel to this, Jammerbugt Municipality has initiated a strategic development plan for the same local community. One of the strategic aims concerns the creation of a food network as a tool to promote the local food production (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). Thus, the present attention to local food in Jammerbugt Municipality and to the potential implicit value of a local food network is evident and calls for action.

In the light of the above, it is interesting to investigate whether there is a solid foundation for a food network in Jammerbugt Municipality and how such a network can possibly be a driver for rural development. It appears that Jammerbugt Municipality is ready to enter the market of local food by creating a local food network, but how can the visions be turned into action? Challenges might appear in the development process, and questions arise to what motivations and resources exist in the local community. Hence, this thesis seeks to explore the possibilities for building a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality by analysing existing initiatives and strategies, motivations among implicated actors and the possibilities and challenges in the development process. Moreover, the purpose is to investigate whether this network can be linked to local development and add to the quality of life in rural areas.

2. PROBLEM AREA

This chapter introduces the underlying tendencies, politics and discourses relevant to the development of a local food network and its relation to rural development in a Danish context. The first part describes the characteristics of the modern food system to illustrate the power and trends affecting agriculture and consumerism today and how the local food trend has emerged. The second part deals with The New Rural Paradigm and the European, national and local rural development politics in order to set the scene for the rural development processes discussed throughout the thesis.

The modern food system and the rise of alternatives

The modern food system is characterised by globalisation and a highly technological and standardised production led by large-scale producers (Winter, 2003). As such, the modern food system has changed fundamentally from its origin and is now locked into the productivist paradigm as described by Lang, Barling and Caraher (2009). This paradigm is ruled by the demands of efficient production and cheap labor resulting from accelerated developments in science and technology throughout the 20th century. Consequently, the contemporary food system is dominated by large-scale, transnational food companies forming a centralised and highly concentrated system with global reach and impact (Lang, Barling & Caraher, 2009). Murdoch & Miele (1999) note how this has standardised both the production and consumption of food. They also stress how the globalisation process has separated the producers and the consumers spatially and socially. Hence, trade can happen without the producer and consumer ever meeting face-to-face (Murdoch & Miele, 1999). This spatial and social de-connection of the producer and the consumer is also entitled *the placeless foodscape* (Sonnino, 2013). Another critical aspect is how the technological development has resulted in a more complex food system as new and

modernised possibilities for farming, transportation and processing have emerged (Murdoch & Miele, 1999; Lang, Barling & Caraher, 2009).

The agricultural consequences of these developments are seen in a *prize squeeze* fostered by increased pressure on farms to expand their production and income until the saturation of markets put an end to further expansion. As the production costs have continued to rise, farmers are now stuck in this squeeze (van der Ploeg et al., 2000; Renting et al., 2003). Furthermore, the conventional agriculture is criticised for its production methods which are held responsible for having negative impacts on the environment, animal welfare and human health.

On the consumer side, an increasing awareness of sustainability and health aspects has emerged along with a growing distrust in the global food system. The distrust is caused by food scandals as well as by the environmental and socio-economic problems associated with conventional agriculture and the global market (Renting et al., 2003; Sonnino, 2013). The consumer demand for transparency is growing and the spatial and social distance between consumers and producer has caused an increased interest in knowing the origin of the food as well as how it is produced and handled (Eriksen, 2013).

The agricultural crisis together with the emerging consumer demand for quality products and transparency has led to the emergence of alternative food systems as solutions to the problems and demands. Thus, several alternative and more local systems are seen today such as organic farming, small-scale producer networks, community supported agriculture and farmers' markets. Some alternatives focus on the social aspect by involving the consumer to a greater or lesser extent, and some focus on aspects like sustainable production or simply on shortening the food chain.

In a Danish context, the alternative movements are seen in several ways. Most noticeable is a booming rate of conventional farmers converting to organic farming as a response to the growing market for organic food as well as the fact that Denmark has the highest organic market share in the world (Organic Denmark, 2017). Other examples include local food sold in retail, the establishment of community gardens in the cities, and regional food networks emerging all over Denmark (Kristensen, Dal & Wolf, 2017). Compared to France, Italy, UK and USA, the Danish local food initiatives are in the early stages (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). However, some rural regions, like Bornholm, have already experienced the synergetic effect of a successful branding strategy based on local food, and today, the region is well known for high quality food products and gastronomy (Kristensen, Dal & Wolf, 2017).

In the light of the changes in food production and consumption, it is relevant to look at the political arena concerning food and rurality. Hence, the following sections introduce The New Rural Paradigm and the national and local politics regarding food and rural development.

Danish food politics

In Denmark, food politics are tightly connected to agricultural politics. As a member of the EU, Denmark is partly governed by European laws and regulations, and most Danish food and agriculture policies are regulated by the EU (Ministry of Environment and Food, 2017a). The political interest in alternative food networks (AFNs) on a national level appears to concentrate on organic farming. In 2012, an ambitious strategic plan for national organic development was launched, and recently, a new plan for great investment in the organic sector was presented. At a municipal level, food plays a minor

role in most local politics. A mapping of political food strategies in Denmark shows that only six municipalities have defined a specific food strategy. However, several cross-municipal initiatives and cooperations exist among the municipalities and regions. Still, food strategies are rather new on the political agenda in the municipalities despite the fact that agriculture and food production is a main business in many parts of rural Denmark (Kristensen, Dal & Wolf, 2017).

The New Rural Paradigm

Today, rural Denmark is commonly known as *Outskirt Denmark* [Da: Udkantsdanmark] or *The Rotten Banana* referring to the geographically curved shape of the peripheral Denmark. For the last decade, these notions have been widely used by the media creating a negative discourse built on the assumption that all rural areas are underdeveloped and lack opportunities for the good life (Winther & Svendsen, 2012). However, a counter-reaction to this negative discourse has recently evolved denoting the rural Denmark *The Green Cucumber* or *Waterfront Denmark* [Da: Vandkantsdanmark] attempting to turn the discourse in a positive direction (Danish Centre for Rural Research, 2015).

The attention towards generating positive development in the form of economic growth, job possibilities and attractive local communities in rural regions has increased since OECD revealed *The New Rural Paradigm* in 2006. The New Rural Paradigm is an integrated, cross-sectoral and place-based approach which acknowledges the diversity of rural regions and aims to exploit unused resources and increase competitive-ness in the regions. The paradigm supports a bottom-up approach by including citizens in the decision-making concerning their own local communities. The approach builds on the LEADER¹ principles of area-based and community-led local development (OECD, 2006). These approaches centre around public-private cooperations and the active, enthusiastic and innovative citizen as a driver for rural development. Furthermore, the approach strongly emphasises activation of unique, local resources - the place-bound potential - as a means for development.

In Denmark, several recent initiatives reflect this approach. Since 2000, the private foundation, Realdania, has funded a number of extensive development programs to improve the quality of life in rural areas by activation of the place-bound potential of each local community. The formation of the NGO, Joint Rural Council [Da: Landdistrikternes fællesråd], further indicates the increasing attention to rural Denmark. In 2012, the Danish government even developed a vision for rural Denmark which points to digitalisation, community, stronger connections between the rural and the city, and the importance of place as the developmental potential for rural Denmark (Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, 2014).

Danish rural politics

The Rural Development Program is a part of the European Common Agricultural Policy, aiming to strengthen agriculture, improve the environment, increase job opportunities and improve the quality of life in rural areas. More specifically, the Danish program focuses on four areas: innovation and competitiveness, rural development through Local Action Groups (LAGs), organic farming, and nature, environment and climate (Ministry of Environment and Food, 2018). The LAGs are the main actors in

¹Acronym for: "Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale", meaning "Links between the rural economy and development actions."

the rural development program, as they develop local strategies and administer the finances for support in their respective local communities (Tanvig & Jankovic, 2017).

Several Danish ministries have been in charge of the Danish rural policy since the first national political appearance in 1991. Until 2007, the area belonged to the Ministry of Internal Affairs indicating a change of perspective from agriculture towards welfare, culture and local community development (Tanvig & Jankovic, 2017). Today rural policy belongs to the Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs, and the current policy takes its departure in a national development strategy from 2015 known for the relocation of several public institutions and jobs.

A diverse field of policies influence the development of rural Denmark. The changing political affiliations, along with the continuous influence of a great number of public and private actors, have affected the rural policy so that is neither clearly delimited nor defined. The former chairperson of the Joint Rural Council, Thorkild Ljørring Pedersen, argues that rural politics lack a holistic view on rurality. However, two dominant political tendencies appear: a bottom-up approach including limited financial support, and a top-down approach including regulation of framework conditions (Tanvig & Jankovic, 2017).

Politics of Jammerbugt Municipality

The recent rural development strategy of Jammerbugt Municipality was published in 2016 with the headline: *Enthusiasts Make a Difference* [Da: Ildsjæle gør forskellen] referring to the municipal vision, *Vi går efter forskellen*², and strongly emphasising the engaged citizen as the driver for local development. Networks, co-creation and municipal-private partnerships are stressed as the foundations for local development (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2016). Similar themes recur in the municipal vision in which the municipality positions itself as facilitator and motivator in the development of local communities. The purpose is to include the citizens in decision-making processes and mobilise local human competences and physical resources in local projects. Among numerous objectives of the vision, the support of food production and innovation are worth mentioning as is the support of alternative food systems and business networks related to food (Jammerbugt Municipality 2017b).

Finally, several other rural initiatives exist: employment of two rural development consultants, development plans and yearly grants for each of the 24 municipal local communities, founding of a rural council with members from the 24 local communities and five politicians, educational events for citizens wishing to engage in local development, and the yearly award for engagement in local community development.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the contextual themes that form the frame of the investigated problem of this thesis. The emergence of alternatives to the modern food system and the paradigm shift in agricultural and rural policies illustrate a movement towards citizen action, an integration of the public and private systems, and a focus on how to create and maintain the good life in the countryside. These approaches are reflected in the vision and policies of Jammerbugt Municipality.

² The wording of the vision is twofold and can be understood in two ways: "We aim for diversity" or "We need you to make a difference" (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017b)

To examine how the vision of Jammerbugt Municipality is enacted, and how rural development might happen through the creation of a local food network, a problem statement is formulated and presented in the following chapter.

3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Based on the dynamics in contemporary rural policies and in the market for local food, this thesis seeks to examine whether there is a solid foundation for building a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality, and whether this network can be a catalyst for rural development in a local community. The problem statement is as follows:

What are the possibilities for building a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality, and how can this network contribute to rural development in the local community?

4. STATE OF THE ART

This chapter presents a selection of the relevant literature concerning alternative food networks (AFNs), local food and rural development. The objective is to provide an overview of current research in these scientific fields as well as to position this thesis within the fields. The chapter focuses on how AFNs have evolved, what characterises them, and what impact they might have on people, economy and nature. The role of AFNs in rural development is also discussed as are critical voices towards the unambiguous celebration of local food and the transformative power and sustainability of AFNs. Finally, consumer attitudes towards local food are explored.

This review does not seek to be exhaustive, thus it does not include every approach to AFNs and local food but addresses the issues most relevant for this thesis. In this chapter, *local food* and *AFN* are used as the overall terms covering the various terms used in the literature.

Methods

The review includes international, peer-reviewed articles and reports. The review is not narrowed down by specific years of publication. The objective is to provide an overview of the development in this research area since its emergence in the 1990s, thereby illustrating the diversity of approaches and related research areas that AFNs have been, and still are, entwined in.

Keywords

The keywords for the literature review were selected with reference to the problem statement. Thus, the keywords are identified as: *alternative food system/alternative food network, local food system/local food network, rural/regional development, and consumer motivations.*

Search methods

The majority of the literature presented in this section was found through snowball searching which was carried out by consulting the reference lists of key journal articles and by using the search function *cited by* in the online database of Aalborg University library, *Primo*. The snowball search was conducted to identify relevant literature, including the keywords, as well as to identify main authors and literature frequently cited by other authors in the field.

Through the snowball search, three journals were prominent: *Journal of Rural Studies, Agriculture and Human Values* and *Sociologia Ruralis*. Additional searches were conducted within the respective online databases of these journals.

It should be noted that not all the identified influential authors and literature made it to this review, mainly because of the scope of the thesis. These inclusions and exclusions might naturally influence the review by including some aspects and excluding others and potentially relevant points will be missing. It should also be noted that this search method might result in some skewed results as the same authors and articles might appear continuously whereas others might not appear at all despite their relevance.

Description and definitions of AFNs

There has been a considerable amount of research in the field of AFNs and local food since the 1990s, primarily in Europe and North America (Renting et al., 2003; Goodman, 2003).

Goodman (2003) argues that there is a lack of congruence between North American and European research, as the European literature tend to connect AFNs with rural development and the North American authors in many cases concern AFNs as political projects which emphasise the transformative power of AFN (Goodman, 2003). This review does not seek to discuss these differences and similarities, however, both American and European literature are included.

The literature shows a great diversity in approaches to the field leaving a fragmented theoretical picture. Firstly, various terms are used to describe and define these food systems: local food networks, short food supply chains and alternative agri-food networks are but a few of the descriptive attempts. Secondly, AFNs and local food are linked to numerous different notions and concepts, e.g. sustainability, quality, embeddedness, social capital, trust, place, and rural development (Goodman, 2003; Sonnino, 2013). In line with this, the heterogeneity of AFNs is immense as they “*employ different social constructions and equations with ecology, locality, region, quality convention, and consumer cultures*” (Renting et al., 2003). Several scholars stress that the formation and function of AFNs are context dependent (Winter, 2003; Hinrichs, 2003; Selfa & Qazi, 2005; Papaoikonomou & Ginieis, 2016) and the list of varieties and organisational models is long: regional food networks, farmers’ markets, community supported agriculture, producer networks, box-schemes, organic food production, community gardens, direct farm sales and many more. Furthermore, the diversity and differences of AFNs also appear between countries as demonstrated by Renting et al. (2003).

The contested nature of local food

The definitions of the term *local food* are many (Eriksen, 2013, Feldmann & Hamm, 2015). Some argue that local food is a social construction (Hinrichs, 2003; Sundbo, 2013), giving space to individual interpretations by different actors in various contexts and resulting in a diversity of meanings that causes confusion in both science and practice (Mount, 2012; Eriksen, 2013).

Eriksen (2013) explores the use of the term within the local food systems literature and found that there is no consistent definition. She (2013) argues that *local* is inherently distinctive and thus cannot be defined in one single way. She further concludes that it is not crucial to suggest a fixed definition, but more important to look at the context and the social construction of the term within this context. However, her review shows that certain characteristics are prominent when defining local food, and they all relate to three domains of proximity: geographical, which concerns spatial distance; relational, which indicates direct relations between actors; and values of proximity, which refers to the values attributed to local food. The most frequent definition is related to geographic proximity (Eriksen, 2013). These findings correspond to the findings of Kneafsey et al. (2013) who report a primary focus on distance in the definitions of short food supply chains and AFNs. Likewise, Feldmann and Hamm (2015) found that the most frequent definition of local food referred to distance.

Selfa & Qazi (2005) similarly found the term *local* open to interpretations. As such, the definitions in their study vary from being related to social relationships, political boundaries like state and county, physical distance between producer and consumer, and values associated with local food. An interesting point in their study is how *local* has different meanings to different actors in the food chain and further depends upon their socio-economic status and place of residence (Selfa & Qazi, 2005). These findings indicate that producers and consumers have different perceptions of local food, and that the local foodscape and community can influence consumers’ food behaviour.

The modern food system, the quality turn and defensive localism

Alternative and local food networks are widely seen as a response and solution to the problems associated with conventional agriculture and the globalised food system. Consumer concerns over food safety, human health, animal welfare and the environment are the driving forces in the move away from the standardised food products of the global food industry (Murdoch & Miele, 1999; Winter, 2003, DuPuis & Goodman, 2005).

Alternative ways of producing, selling and consuming food have thus emerged, symbolising this turn away from the industrial food system towards quality products. Some scholars denote this development *the quality turn* (Goodman, 2003; Winter, 2003). Others talk about how these alternative food systems can reconnect the producer and consumer (Mount, 2011). The global food system has created distance and complexity in the producer-consumer relationship, and AFNs are considered to be an important aspect in reconnecting the producer and consumer through shorter supply chains, greater transparency and stronger social relations. These new spatial and social relationships between the producer and consumer are often referred to as the re-spatialisation, re-socialisation, and re-localisation of food (Marsden, Banks & Bristow, 2000; Hinrichs, 2003; Renting et al., 2003). The producer-consumer relationship is central because it adds to the meaning-making for consumers when purchasing food. According to Marsden, Banks & Bristow (2000), the producer-consumer relationship does not necessarily have to be face-to-face. The connection can consist of information printed on the product as long as it enables the consumer to make a connection to the place of production, and potentially to the producer or production methods as well as values connected thereto. However, the quality turn is not an unambiguous notion and AFNs ability to reconnect producers and consumers has also been discussed in the literature.

Goodman (2003) discusses the quality turn in relation to the key concepts used to understand it: embeddedness, trust and place. He (2003) argues how these concepts are constructs and thereby contested notions. He further points to the contingent and dynamic dimension of quality, arguing that the quality turn can be understood in multiple ways.

Winter (2003) agrees with this in his research on embeddedness and local food. He questions quality as the defining characteristic of AFNs since quality is socially constructed and constantly subject to change, meaning that consumers define food quality in several different ways. Like Murdoch and Miele (1999), he claims that the quality turn, to some extent, is driven by a growing consumer demand for high value products because of increasing incomes. Furthermore, Winter argues that quality and local production cannot be equated, as localism may simply derive from a wish to support local farmers and thereby the local economy. Additionally, local products are often chosen over organic products (Selfa & Qazi, 2005). Hence, the development towards quality and alternative ways of production is not simply based on the consumers' concern for food safety, ethics and a radical transformation of conventional agriculture, but draws a more multi-faceted picture. The turn to quality and local food may thus include a variety of agricultural forms and consumer perceptions which raises the question about whether these alternatives are in fact challenging the global, conventional food system (Winter, 2003).

Winter's (2003) study illustrates a *defensive localism* which is also described by Hinrichs (2003). Hinrichs points to a tendency of a local-global binary, where *local* has positive connotations and *global*

has negative connotations. This binary also indicates the boundaries defining what is local and what is not. From this binary, Hinrichs identifies two aspects: a defensive localism and a diversity-receptive localisation. Her findings suggest that the creation of a regional identity centred around local food can generate a defensive approach based on a simplistic and elitist view on localisation as the antidote to globalisation. This defensiveness can derive both from producers and consumers claiming that their locality needs protection from the non-local, stressing the homogeneity of the local in sharp contrast to the heterogeneous and dangerous global. On the other hand, localisation can also promote inclusiveness and diversity in the food system. This diversity-receptive localism acknowledges the differences within as well as outside of the local. These two perspectives illustrate the underlying complexity of *local* and the discussion of how inclusive or exclusive local is, or should be.

The critiques made by Winter (2003) and Hinrichs (2003) are continued by Dupuis & Goodman (2005) in their search for a reflexive politic of localism. They (2005) question a localism based on a pre-defined set of norms and caution against the assumption that local food systems are inherently better simply because of their scale. They argue that scale is socially constructed and cannot be related to pre-determined qualities. Thus, they call for a more democratic, local food politic consisting of open, respectful and reflexive processes seeking to include a broad range of people and opinions.

Alternative food networks and rural development

A part of the research on AFNs and local food focuses on rural development and the possible impact of these networks in local, rural communities. As AFNs and local food are irrevocably rooted in agriculture, and AFNs are often geographically connected to rural areas, AFNs are seen as a possible route to rural development.

Van der Ploeg et al. (2000) examine the turn to quality and the rise of alternative and local food systems from a rural development perspective. They describe the new dynamics and alternative practices in agriculture, as well as in policies and theory, as a paradigm shift from modernisation to a new rural development paradigm. They argue that the paradigm shift is a result of new interrelations between society and agriculture, and that it demonstrates a new way of looking at agriculture as an integrated part of rural areas. This new paradigm builds on synergies and multi-actor processes as a contrast to the modernisation paradigm dominated by specialisation, and an agricultural sector separated from other rural activities. In the new rural development paradigm, rural is no longer only about agriculture. However, the authors recognise the centrality of agriculture in rural development, claiming that farmers are faced with new options to develop their businesses and that these developments can indeed have socio-economic impacts on the rural areas (van der Ploeg et al., 2000).

In a European study, Renting et al. (2003) investigate how AFNs contribute to the development of rural regions in seven European countries. The study measures the impact of AFNs by illustrating the incidence of AFNs and by using socio-economic indicators like net value added. Overall, the study finds that AFNs have developed substantially throughout Europe and play an important role in relation to rural development. However, the study shows large differences in the incidence of AFNs between countries, with a higher percentage of farms involved in the Mediterranean countries and Germany. The incidence of specific types of AFNs also vary noticeably between the countries, with the Mediterranean countries concentrating on direct selling and a regional quality production which is rooted in strong cultural and gastronomic traditions. In the Netherlands, the UK and Germany, the

AFNs tend to be based on more “modern” quality definitions like sustainability and animal welfare. Likewise, the study finds the socio-economic impact present, but at different levels occurring between countries. Finally, the synergy effect arising from other rural development practices is argued to play a crucial role in rural development at both farm and regional level.

In a case study of two regionally based specialised food networks and their impact on rural development, Marsden and Smith (2005) argue that economic, environmental and social value-capture can happen through, what they call, ecological entrepreneurship. This form of entrepreneurship requires that key actors create economic benefits through innovation in a socially and environmentally sustainable way. The two cases illustrate how business and network development towards quality production and organic farming can create several benefits for farmers, consumers and the local community. The British case shows how network activities and a focus on high quality products encourage sustainable economic, social and ecological development in the local area. Overall, the authors argue that the network has created “*a social landscape of agro-ecological improvement*” (Marsden & Smith, 2005). Besides economic success, the Dutch network case facilitates significant synergies along the supply chain and in related activities. For both cases, the authors argue that entrepreneurial facilitators and the openness to internal and external ideas are crucial for the problem-solving ability and the success of a network. Finally, the need for alternative ways of institutional support is stressed if AFNs keep developing (Marsden & Smith, 2005).

Some studies point to the fact that the revitalising of rural areas through alternative food initiatives can also be challenging. In their study from Washington State, USA, Selfa and Qazi (2005) find that local, organic produce was transported 200 miles to be sold at urban farmers’ markets because the consumers in the farmers’ local communities had little or no interest in buying organic. In this way, the synergies in the local community of the farmers might not occur and the environmental effects are negative.

Another study from Quebec shows that short food supply chains can have a positive effect on their local areas in the form of job creation and satisfaction with the agricultural practices, including learning new skills (Mundler & Laughrea, 2016). However, unlike several other studies, their findings do not indicate any positive effect on social cohesion.

In a Danish context, Kjeldsen, Deluran and Noe (2013) do not find any general indication of development in rural Denmark as an effect of local food and AFNs. However, their (2013) case study shows significant developments of new producer-consumer relationships which has led to a successful revitalisation of a Danish rural area.

Sustainability and impacts of AFNs

Closely connected to the research on AFNs and rural development are sustainability and the possible impacts of AFNs. In the literature, AFNs are widely seen as more sustainable than conventional food systems, providing a more environmentally-friendly and socially embedded food chain (Sonnino, 2013). However, the sustainability perspective has met some critique over the years, since local food certainly holds the possibility of a sustainable outcome but is not necessarily an answer to environmental and social problems (Sonnino, 2013; Marsden & Smith, 2005). Born and Purcell (2006) and Sonnino (2013) refer to this as *the local trap*, a phenomenon with links to the discussion of defensive localism as noted

above. Born and Purcell (2006) argue that sustainability in food networks is a result of context and social relations within the networks, not scale. They (2006) therefore stress the importance of assessing each individual case and further argue that local should be a means not an end to sustainability, for example.

Sonnino (2013) points to the important role played by the State in the making of sustainable food chains as AFNs are fragile and need support at wider governance levels to remain sustainable. This is especially urgent when AFNs expand. The sustainability effects are also examined by Schönhart, Penker & Schmid (2009) who argue that the effects of AFNs are far from obvious and transparent, thus most effects of AFNs can be both positive and negative. They (2009) argue that most effects are context and case dependent, making generalisations challenging. This underlines the importance of studying the impact AFNs have on local communities, and the rural area in which they are rooted, to identify their degree of sustainability (Marsden & Smith, 2005; Sundbo, 2013).

Finally, the transformative power of AFNs, and whether AFNs are in fact a real challenge to the global food system, is discussed (Winter, 2003; Mount 2012). Some argue that AFNs primarily target exclusive customers through niche markets (Winter, 2003; Hinrichs, 2003; Eriksen, 2013), and as argued above, AFNs are not always environmentally-friendly or able to reconnect producers and consumers (Papaoikonomou & Ginieis, 2016). Mount (2012) suggests that AFNs need to scale up to be a real challenge to the modern food system.

Consumer attitudes and motivations

Consumers' motivations for purchasing local food have been subject to several studies. Pearson et al. (2011) report strong emotional drivers for local food purchases: high standards of freshness and taste, authenticity, and knowing the origin of the food were among the main reasons. Moreover, support for the local community, health and environmental benefits were also important drivers. The research was conducted in a local food co-op, with some customers preferring an alternative to supermarket shopping. The barriers to local food purchases were: restricted availability, lack of information on products and outlets due to limited promotion, and higher costs (Pearson et al., 2011).

Feldmann and Hamm (2015) reviewed the literature on local food from the consumer's perspective and found multiple reasons for, and attitudes towards, local food purchases. Information seeking and knowledge on food production were strong influencers on attitude formation, and positive attitudes towards other AFNs effected an increase in information-seeking and a greater positivity towards local food. However, positive attitudes did not necessarily translate into behaviour which illustrates an attitude-behaviour gap and implies a possible bias in consumer research in the area. Hence, many studies identify a gap between consumers' stated attitudes and their actual behaviour (Feldmann & Hamm, 2015).

Contextual factors like price, availability, seasonality and convenience were all-important influencers. Specific product groups were appreciated more if they were local, and willingness to pay differed depending on the product. Furthermore, the quantity consumed of one product was found to relate to willingness to pay (Feldmann & Hamm, 2015).

In relation to attitudes, product qualities such as freshness, taste, health, food safety, environmental care and support for the local economy and community were the most frequently named. Greater trust in local food products and traceability were mentioned as well as social relationships and proximity (Feldmann & Hamm, 2015).

Both studies discussed here characterise the typical local food consumer as an affluent, older, married woman living in a rural area (Pearsons et al., 2011; Feldmann & Hamm, 2015). Moreover, local food buyers are often people with an interest in cooking and food shopping who value family life (Feldmann & Hamm, 2015). Finally, Pearsons et al. (2011) suggest that most local food consumers buy relatively small amounts from a narrow range of local products.

Summary

This literature review provides a targeted look into the extensive research on AFNs, local food and rural development and illustrates the diversity and continuous developments within this field reflecting the need for ongoing research.

The thesis seeks to explore the possibilities and challenges of developing a local food network and the potential impacts of such a network in a rural area of Denmark. In this light, the review can add to my pre-understanding of relevant concepts, discussions and discourses in the research field of local food networks and rural development. The most relevant issues for my research are related to rural development, consumer motivations and the effects of AFNs. Hence, to qualify the research of this thesis, these areas are presented by exploring the developmental phase of a local food network with a focus on the involved actors and governance processes. The thesis can thus add to the understanding of the outcome of contemporary approaches to local, rural development. Furthermore, my research may contribute constructive knowledge for local communities and rural policymakers wishing to exploit the possibilities for working strategically with local food.

5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter introduces the theories and concepts which lay the foundation of the research and serve to answer the problem statement. The objective is to create a framework that encapsulates the dynamics of local food network development in a rural context.

As the local community in focus is in a rural area, rural development in this case also means local community development. Thus, the theories and concepts in this section derive from both rural and local community studies and are applied to investigate local community development in a rural area.

The section begins with an introduction to rural development and how this is connected to the quality of life in rural areas. Thereafter, the concepts of local governance and neo-endogenous development are presented. In relation to this, the concept of place-based potential and the role of local enthusiasts are introduced. Finally, drivers and barriers to local food network development closes the chapter.

Rural development

In this thesis, local, rural development is seen in the light of the dynamics of the contemporary approaches, practices and politics which were presented in chapter 2, *Problem Area*. I further draw on van der Ploeg et al. (2008) who argue that new networks, new forms of governance, and new processes and activities are all part of a repositioning of the rural. The shift from agriculture as the main rural activity to new ways of using the rural is central, and in this thesis, rural development is basically about revitalising and strengthening the rural by unfolding the endogenous resources (van der Ploeg et al., 2008). This is in line with The New Rural Paradigm (OECD, 2006) which takes into consideration the new dynamics of rurality and focuses strongly on local resources and how these can add to the competitiveness of local, rural communities. Van der Ploeg et al. (2008) propose a definition of rural development which goes beyond economic growth. The aim of rural development is thus to: *“reposition the rural within the wider society, by making the rural more attractive, more accessible, more valuable and more useful for society as a whole (including rural dwellers).”* (van der Ploeg et al., 2008). This definition of local, rural development draws attention to how the rural is used and how it can add value to people’s lives, both locals and non-locals. Thus, rural development is related to the quality of life, which is by nature a subjective matter. To measure life quality, van der Ploeg et al. (2008) suggest examining the phenomenon as the presence of, and coherence between, three elements: *the physical aspect*, which especially refers to the landscape and its attractiveness, sustainability and accessibility; *the social aspect*, which refers to social networks, shared norms, rules and expectations that generates a sense of belonging (Van der Ploeg et al. (2008) refers to this aspect as social capital); and finally, *the economic aspect*, which refers to the job and business opportunities, and availability of services. Here, focus is on the social aspect as a contributor to the quality of rural life.

As this thesis seeks to explore the ways in which a local food network can generate rural development, the definition of rural development by van der Ploeg et al. (2008) is used as an inspiration to analyse the potential impact of Jammerbugt Food Network (JFN) on the local community. More specifically, it will be analysed whether JFN can make the local community more attractive, more valuable, and more useful for the local residents and add to the social aspect of the quality of life in this local, rural community.

Local governance

Governance refers to the processes of governing or decision-making (Stoker, 1998). More specifically, governance concerns new governing styles in which the private and public sector are increasingly integrated. Bevir (2011) points to the diversity of activities within governance and the partaking of multiple stakeholders who act together in networks. Thus, the traditional way of governing is replaced with governance processes in which a wide set of actors from the private sector and the civil society are involved in multi-actor and multi-level networks that cross traditional boundaries (Denters, 2011). It is important to note that the actors involved in these governance networks are interdependent. In order to achieve goals, they need to exchange resources, and the outcome is determined not only by these resources but by the context (Stoker, 1998).

As non-governmental actors are increasingly influencing public decision-making, new governance styles challenge the traditional understanding of government and policy-making (Stoker, 1998; Denters, 2011). This is seen in a growing number of public-private partnerships, involvement of private actors in policy partnerships and new forms of citizen involvement (Denters, 2011).

The increased integration of the state, the market and the civil society suggests that the boundaries between the public and the private are blurred, and that responsibilities have shifted from the state onto the private sector and ultimately the citizen (Stoker, 1998). It further indicates how the civil society and the private systems must find their own ways to promote development by operating within the political framework conditions. This relates to the contemporary rural development policies and the ways in which rural development is financially supported, often through funding and programs (Tanvig, 2012).

In The New Rural Paradigm (OECD, 2006), rural development and local governance goes hand in hand, and the approach puts an emphasis on local initiatives as the drivers of development. In this light, local residents can drive development in their own local communities, which indicates a need for human competence and local engagement in development projects. This bottom-up approach is related to the importance of dedicated citizens in development projects and the concept of neo-endogenous development. These will be elaborated in the following sections: *Neo-endogenous development* and *Place-bound potential and the role of the enthusiast*.

In spite of the great attention to the private and civil actors in governance processes and their increased responsibilities, the government is still considered an important actor in local governance networks (Denters, 2011). The new tasks of the government are to identify key stakeholders and develop linkages between them, and to influence and steer these relationships to reach the desired outcome (Stoker, 1998). The crucial participation of the local government is also stressed by Tanvig (2012) who argues that networks and partnerships need participation of relevant actors from both the civil society and the local government.

The governance perspective will be applied to identify and analyse key features of the political-private actor relationships and the governance processes in the developmental phase of JFN. Thus, it will be applied in the analysis of the private and the municipal initiative to build a local food network

Neo-endogenous development

The governance perspective sets the frame for the notion of neo-endogenous development. This approach takes rural development one step further than The New Rural Paradigm, in which the bottom-up approach is key, by dealing with local community development as a dual process, including a combination of a bottom-up and a top-down approach (Tanvig, 2012).

Thus, in neo-endogenous development, development is initiated from within the local community and is linked to, and utilises, exogenous driving forces to create local dynamics. The ability of a local community to create development and growth thus depends on the ability to make use of both endogenous (local) and exogenous (global) resources and potential (Tanvig, 2012).

Tanvig (2012) suggests that successful neo-endogenous development happens through three phases. The first is a local mobilisation phase in which a project is initiated and the local community is mobilised to create ownership and engagement. In this phase, local, horizontal networks are built. In phase two, strategies and agendas are developed with vertical networks involving more local and non-local actors from across sectors. At this step, a degree of professional coordination is needed. In the last phase, the project becomes self-generating. The local and the global are deeply interconnected in horizontal and vertical networks of civic, private and political actors, and the organisation is professional but with continuous participation of the local residents (Tanvig, 2012).

It is important to note that the above is a standardised description of the unfolding of the phases. Tanvig (2012) argues how this is the typical way for successful projects to develop, however the phases may be integrated and elements may differ as each development project is unique.

In sum, the neo-endogenous approach suggests that successful development depends on the use of a combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches and the creation of horizontal and vertical networks. This corresponds to the interaction between the local and the global. Moreover, the creation of local, professional and strategic management, with the ability to operate within the local community as well as externally, is essential. Hence, volunteers can make a great difference in the beginning of a development project, but to reach success, a certain degree of professionalism is needed (Tanvig, 2012).

The neo-endogenous approach is applied along with the governance perspective to analyse the processes of developing JFN. The municipal and the private initiatives are discussed in terms of their use of neo-endogenous principles to analyse their respective potential to make progress in the project and generate local, rural development.

Place-bound potential and the role of the enthusiast

A salient notion in contemporary rural development theory and policy is the so-called place-bound potential. The place-bound potential includes material resources like buildings and nature, but also refers to the local people and their competences. The notion implies that each local community is unique and holds distinctive qualities and points to the fact that rural areas increasingly need to identify their distinct qualities and potential for development to differentiate and remain attractive areas for settlement as well as tourism. Moreover, local communities and rural areas are diverse, and therefore recovery and activation of the place-bound potential can be crucial for achieving attractiveness and competitiveness (Hansen, Laursen & Møller, 2014).

According to Christensen (2013), local development is ultimately linked to human engagement, and place-bound development requires enthusiasts [Da: ildsjæle] to be successful. Here, the term *enthusiast* is used to describe the engaged citizen who act in an entrepreneurial way to create local development. This is in line with Hulgård's (1995) definition of the enthusiast as an individual who acts with great enthusiasm as coordinator and entrepreneur in a local project. The enthusiast has a talent for reaching out across administrations and for building trust-based relations among the actors involved in development projects (Christensen, 2013). Furthermore, the enthusiast is a great communicator who operates well in local community networks as well as in greater networks. Thus, the enthusiast can be the paramount link between the actors in a project (Hulgård, 1995), and Christensen (2013) advocates for municipal openness towards cooperation with the enthusiasts in order to create local development.

The enthusiast is tightly linked to governance and the ways in which the civil society is activated in decision-making processes. Furthermore, the attention towards local enthusiasts as drivers of development reflects the imposed responsibility of local communities to find their own ways to development (Tanvig, 2012). In this way, enthusiasts represent the bottom-up approach which is a key element in The New Rural Paradigm and in the rural policies of Jammerbugt Municipality.

Like Christensen (2013), Tanvig (2012) argues that local initiatives are crucial for the development of rural, local communities. She (2012) describes a local community as consisting of three elements: the physical space, the economic actors, and the civil society. When the local businesses and residents join forces and make use of the distinctive opportunities and resources of their locality, development can happen. This can add to the understanding of how enthusiasts from the civil society can influence development processes and the importance of a place-bound approach in local, rural development. However, these two elements should gain strength from economic actors.

Since one of the initiatives towards a local food network was taken by local enthusiasts, and Jammerbugt Municipality points to local enthusiasts as the drivers of local development, it is relevant to examine how enthusiasts and the municipality act and interact in the development processes. The notion of enthusiasts is tightly connected to governance and the increased responsibility and participation of the civil society. This further connects enthusiasts to neo-endogenous development in which the local initiative and engagement is crucial. Hence, these concepts will be applied and combined to analyse the nature of the governance processes and development potential in the initiatives to develop JFN.

Local food networks - drivers and barriers

The sections above concentrate on the processes and actors in local, rural development. This last section seeks to elaborate more specifically on the drivers and barriers that can influence the development and success of local food networks and, consequently, rural development. The drivers and barriers presented here draw on the concepts of entrepreneurial networks, local food networks and experience economy and are the results of research conducted in three Danish food networks in rural areas (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

Local food networks are entrepreneurial attempts to create new and innovative ways of producing, marketing and distributing local food. The development of the networks widely depends on

collaboration among producers, who are often innovative entrepreneurs. Local food networks can thus be seen as a type of entrepreneurial network (Boesen, Sundbo & Sundbo, 2017).

Participation in networks and social bonds are crucial for successful entrepreneurship as the network activities are ways of exchanging resources (Witt, 2004). Social factors, such as common passion, loyalty and especially trust are crucial for success as are the relationship between the producer and the consumer. However, local food networks are also dependent on economic investment and profit, and a joint strategic focus can drive the development. Accordingly, the social and economic relationship is intertwined (Witt, 2004; Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

Newcomers or outsiders can contribute with entrepreneurship and innovation and bring new spirit to the project. However, they may either create or solve conflicts, and it is crucial that newcomers are integrated in the network. This indicates the importance of cooperation for network success and suggests the need for sensitive coordination which takes into account all the different needs and challenges. Overcoming internal and external conflicts and resistance is crucial. Informality in the networks can both drive and hinder development as conflicts can emerge or be solved because of the informality (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

Transparency and knowledge of origin are identified as main drivers for development. These aspects further relate to authenticity and the connection of food and place which can attract consumers. Place-branding strategies are used by some networks as a developmental driver that further connects food and place and may generate rural development. Rural development is connected to both economic aspects like job creation and social aspects like closer relations and greater quality of life. Furthermore, product characteristics and associated attributes such as quality, terroir and organic status are considered drivers that can add to the differentiation of the local food products (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

Regarding network actors and logistics, both drivers and barriers appear. Limited or irregular supply from producers, and other uncertainties regarding delivery, are barriers in cases where the local producers cannot meet the growing consumer demands. This is related to production volume and seasonality of the products. Lack of key intermediaries like transporters and wholesalers is a major challenge for some networks, and a driver for other networks with access to storage and transport facilities.

Distance from the market is a general barrier for networks located in rural areas. However, the rural embeddedness and the specific geographical origin are also part of the uniqueness of the products and the local food networks, and are thus stimulating the market potential of the products (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

Conclusively, Eriksen and Sundbo (2016) propose sensitivity towards the individual needs and conditions of the local food network, as each network has a unique set of driving forces and impediments dependent on its character, resources and contextual factors. Thus, JFN needs to be analysed in its contextual frame, and the concepts in this section are used to analyse the possibilities for development and operation of JFN in Jammerbugt Municipality.

6. METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the methodological framework for the research on the development of JFN. The applied methods are presented in a way that is both descriptive and evaluative to explain and qualify how and why the research was carried out. The qualitative approach of the research design is presented along with considerations on my role as a researcher in the qualitative process. Thereafter, the methods for data collection and analysis are presented and discussed.

A qualitative approach

The data collection for this thesis is based on a qualitative approach, which is useful for investigating a problem that deals with a specific context and when the purpose is to identify different perceptions, opinions and attitudes as well as cultures and lifestyles (Bjørner, 2015a). In this thesis, the research question deals with contextual issues in a local community including aspects as place, people, networks and local food production. Moreover, I wish to investigate the problem in a way that provides me with in-depth data about this context by exploring the views and interpretations of individual actors in relation to JFN and the local community.

Preliminary research

The preliminary phase of the research served to open and get an overview of the research area. Focus was on getting knowledge about former and contemporary local food networks and initiatives in the North Region of Denmark North Denmark Region and local food production in Jammerbugt Municipality as well as the political plans and engagements at both regional and municipal level. This data collection consisted of unstructured interviews and participation in a public meeting regarding the Strategic Plan 2030.

Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews were conducted with actors possessing knowledge about local food and networks at a national, regional and municipal level, farming in Jammerbugt Municipality and the Strategic Plan 2030. These are presented in table 1.

These interviews were conducted by phone or in person, they were not recorded. However, notes were taken during some of the interviews. The interviews were unstructured in the way that a few questions were prepared beforehand, but no strict interview guide was followed.

The interviews act as mediator, and expert interviews and are not a part of the analysis in the same way as with the main data collected through semi-structured interviews and a focus group. The mediator and expert interviews provided me with valuable background knowledge for approaching the field of local food in Jammerbugt Municipality, specifically with the local community in focus.

Observations

Prior to the main data collection, I participated in the open kick-off meeting for Strategic Plan 2030. The purpose of this meeting was to set up working groups of volunteers to further facilitate and bring the strategies to life. The observations from this meeting added to my knowledge on the cooperation and relationships between the municipality and the local community, and its residents and provided insights regarding the preliminary process of developing the strategic plan. Hence, these observations serve as part of my background knowledge when collecting further data (Dahlager & Fredslund, 2015).

Table 1: Interviewees of preliminary research

Name	Occupation	Organisation
Dolf Handrup	Organic cattle farmer and grain producer	Self-employed
Jesper Zeihlund	Local food consultant	Nordic Centre for Local Food
Torben Kronborg Pihl	Innovation and food consultant	North Denmark Region
Flemming Pedersen	Former coordinator of the food network, The taste of North Jutland	AgriNord
Ulla Flintholm	Local politician & Co-initiator of Strategic Plan 2030 & Chairperson of the development association created to execute Strategic Plan 2030	Jammerbugt Municipality & Development association of Strategic Plan 2030
Peter Mortensen	Consultant of socio-economic businesses	Jammerbugt Municipality
Ida Rytter	Development consultant & Co-initiator and municipal project manager of Strategic Plan 2030	Jammerbugt Municipality

Situational Analysis

Situational analysis is an analytic tool and research method developed by Adele Clarke. This tool was applied to analyse the complexity of JFN and to explore the nature of the relations between relevant actors. Situational analysis was used to open up and explore the data during the research process—that is before, during and after the data collection. According to Clarke (Clarke, Friese & Washburn, 2018), the maps can provide the big picture of a given situation by illustrating all elements—human and non-human—that matter in the situation. In other words, the maps are a way of visualizing data which can help the researcher discover areas of interest or less prominent actors that might be of importance to the research.

At the beginning of the research phase, an *Abstract Situational Map: Messy Version (messy map)* was created to illustrate the major human actors and non-human actors, discourses and elements in the situation of JFN. The messy map is illustrated in Figure 1. As seen in the figure, numerous actors were identified in this initial phase. At this point, I tried to keep an open mind and include every person, organisation, natural element, political discourse, etc. which could be related to the development of a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality. As Clarke (Clarke, Friese & Washburn, 2018) puts it: *who* and *what* matter in the situation. This is also a way of including differences, complexity and variation, as advocated by Clarke.

Clarke further argues that “researchers should use their own experience of doing the research as data for making these maps” (Clarke, Friese & Washburn, 2018). Thus, the maps should include my knowledge, preconceptions and assumptions of the topic. Accordingly, in the process of identifying actors and making the messy map, I used my knowledge of the local area as well as insights gained from the

preliminary research phase. Hence, the messy map illustrates the situation of JFN as seen from my perspective during the research process. The messy map was revisited several times after the data collection and during the coding of the interviews.

Following the messy map, an *Abstract Situational Map: Ordered Version (ordered map)* was created. The ordered map is illustrated in Figure 2. In the ordered map, the actors were sorted into categories. As the categories should fit my topic and the corresponding research, these are changeable from project to project (Clarke, Friese & Washburn, 2018). The categories for the ordered map were selected by looking at the characteristics of the actors of the messy map, and what overall categories would make sense for these to fit into. The categories were thus related to my research question.

The maps should not be seen as static. Rather, their changeability is central and they should be returned to and revised throughout the research process. (Clarke, Friese & Washburn, 2018) This was done by adding and deleting actors after each round of data collection, and by collapsing and expanding categories throughout the process.

Finally, a series of *Abstract Relational Maps (relational maps)* were conducted. In these maps, each element is taken in turn and its relation to other elements are identified and the nature of the relation is described. The relational maps revealed strong and weak connections between actors, and guided me towards critical themes for the analysis. However, they also revealed relations that could be further investigated in an additional round of data collection or in a new research project. Figure 3 is an example of a relational map. The words marked in red are weak or problematic relations which needs attention. This illustrates how the relational maps were used to identify critical relationships which should gain attention in the further analysis.

The three situational maps are presented in the following pages.

food service	Jammerbugt Municipality	LAG	The North Sea
local food trend	economy	sustainability	climate
beach kiosks	pride	ecology	tourists
			North Denmark Region
Han Herred fishing boats	environment	North Jutland food business	
organic farmers	local cottage rental agency	Tine Bilgram	
Henrik Beith	storytelling	entrepreneurship	Jammerbugt Municipality officials
development association	place-bound potentials	community	Limfjorden
Visit North Jutland	producers	mountainbiking	other food
networks	soil	schools	Thorupstrand fishermen
laws and regulations	JFN business plan	retail branding	
Danish Veterinary and Food Administration	missing foods		
the foods	Realdania	trust	Growth North Jutland
conventional farmers	Kresten Kronborg	University College	
Aalborg University	Nordic Centre for Local Food	traceability	proximity
Danish Coast and Nature Tourism	animal welfare	value creation	
Aalborg Food College	large-scale producers	Madsmedjen	small-scale producers
volunteers	Masterplan 2017-2029	European Union	enthusiasts
public institutions	nature	funds	seasons
			Råd og Dåd
Jammerbugt Municipal Rural policy	taste	local knowledge	authenticity
catering	Landbonord	experiences	local citizens
consumer habits	nature management network	Strategic Plan 2030	
Hjortdal Grocery Store	organic vs. conventional	Visit Jammerbugten	
Growth Jammerbugt	campsites	Organic Denmark	logistics
quality wholesalers	Jammerbugt rural policy	EU	Shareholders of Hjortdal Grocery Store
Hjortdal sports association	Development association	Seasonality	

Figure 1: Messy map

INDIVIDUAL HUMAN ACTORS

Kresten Kronborg
Tine Bilgram
Henrik Beith
René
Kenneth Hansen
Peter Brinkmann
Peter Mortensen*
Ida Rytter*
Martin Storgaard*
Marianne Fisker*
Ulla Flinholm*
Mogens Gade*
Local enthusiasts
Volunteers
Local citizens

NON-HUMAN ACTORS

Local foods
JFN Business plan
Missing foods
Place-bound potentials
Embeddedness
Environment
Logistics
Local knowledge
Branding
Finances
Mountainbiking
Jan's potatoes

SPATIALS

The North Sea
Limfjorden
Nature
Soil
Climate

* *Jammerbugt Municipality representatives*

POLITICAL ACTORS

Danish Veterinary and Food Admin.
Growth North Jutland
Growth Jammerbugt
North Denmark Region
Jammerbugt rural policy
Master plan 2017-2029
Laws and regulations
EU
Jammerbugt Municipality
Strategic Plan 2030

TRENDS

Organic practices
Quality
Taste
Seasonality
Terroir
Traceability
Experiences
Storytelling

SILENT ACTORS

Consumer habits
Municipal support
Conventional farmers
Tourists
Settlement
Governance processes
Conflict between the two initiatives
Organic vs. conventional

DISCOURSES

Animal welfare
Sustainability
Pride and community
Trust
Quality vs. Discount

COLLECTIVE HUMAN ACTORS

Development association
Organic Denmark
Retail
Large-scale producers
Funds
Small-scale producers
LandboNord
Visit Jammerbugten
Food service
Campsites
Hjorddal Grocery Store
Nature management network
Organic farmers
Conventional farmers
Han Herred fishing boats
Catering businesses
LAG
Other food networks
Realdania
Thorupstrand fishermen
Aalborg University
Aalborg Food College
University College
Schools
Kindergartens
Nordic Centre for Local Food
Hjorddal Sports Association
Local cottage rental agency
Wholesalers
Madsmedjen
Shareholders Hjorddal Grocery Store
Beach kiosks
Råd & Dåd
Danish Coast and Nature Tourism

Figure 2: Ordered map

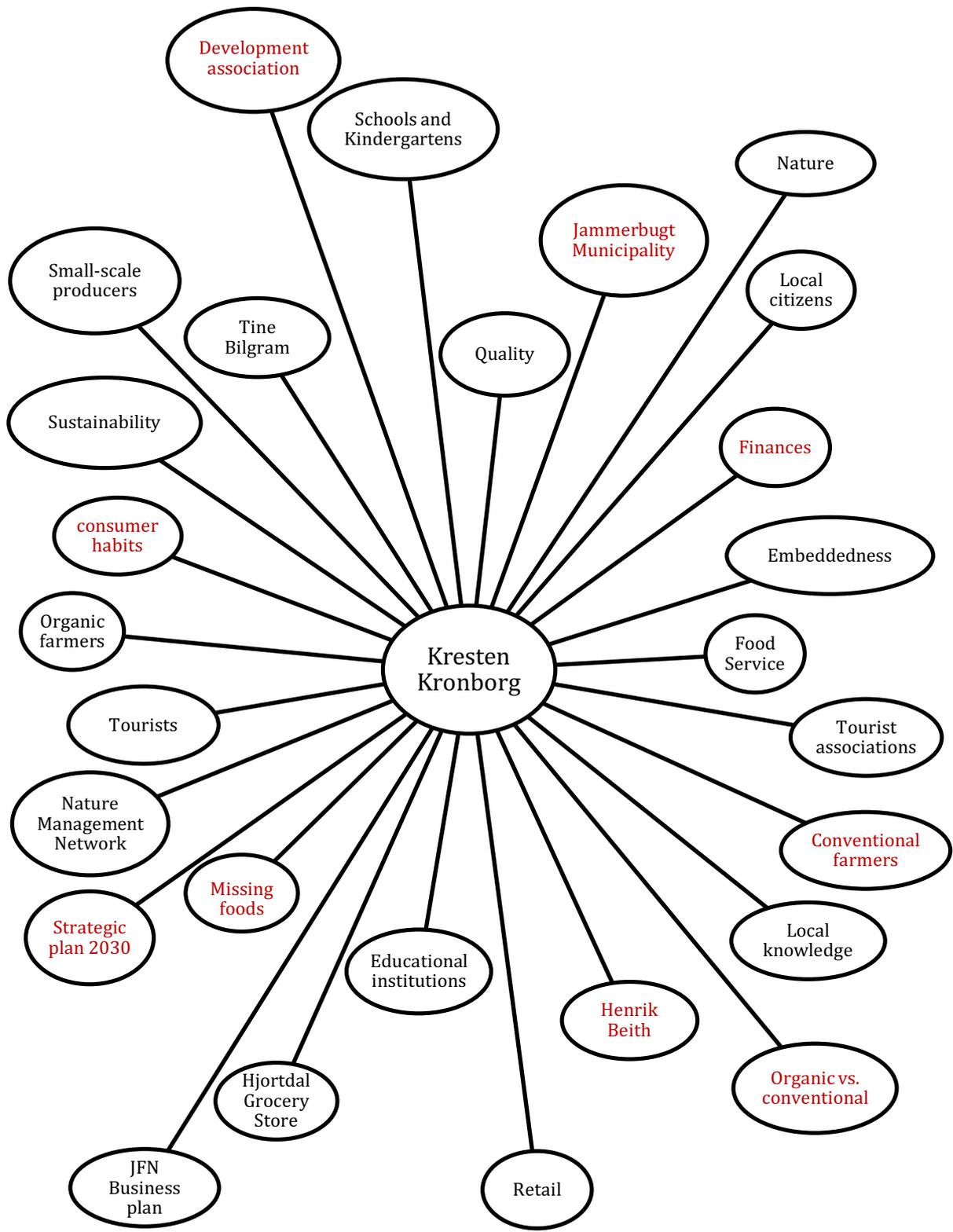


Figure 3: Relational map

Research design

The research design qualifies as an exploratory study and the data collection consists of six individual, semi-structured interviews and one focus group interview. The data collection concentrates on exploring the local initiative to build a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality. The purpose is to collect data through different actors relevant to JFN. It includes the initiator and project manager of JFN as well as actors from the main links in the food supply chain of the network: production, distribution, retail and consumption. As JFN is an attempt to create an alternative and short supply chain, it is crucial to know whether actors representing all links in this short supply chain are motivated and able to participate in this new food system. To explore the views and attitudes of these different actors towards a local food network, semi-structured interviews were chosen. However, to explore the views of the consumers, a focus group interview was chosen, as this method allows for several interviewees to participate at the same time. Furthermore, the focus group can reveal aspects of the culture and norms of the people in the local community, which can be harder to identify through individual interviews.

Focusing on actors representing important links in the food supply chain as well as the project manager provides a broad view of the possibilities and challenges in developing a resilient local food network, as these views represent different perspectives. This uses the strengths of the qualitative approach by emphasising the individuality of the participants to gain a deeper insight into the area of research (Bjerg, 2015). By choosing the qualitative approach, I am also aware of the challenges it might bring to the process. Interviewing is time consuming and the data outcome can be overwhelming. In my case, the challenge was to delimit the data collection and stop interviewing actors despite my desire to include several more. Another challenge is the interpretation of the data which is by nature subjective in qualitative research. Thus, the interpretation of the interviews and the focus group is my personal understanding and further reflects how I, as a qualitative researcher, am part of the data. Finally, the knowledge gained from qualitative research cannot be generalised. However, in this case, as with qualitative research in general, this is not the goal. The goal is to conduct in-depth research of the specific case of JFN to understand the complexity of motivations and challenges in the process of creating a local food network.

The role of the researcher

As noted above, I am part of the qualitative data production (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Bjørner, 2015b). Thus, it is important to be aware of my role as a researcher and how I fulfil this role. My intention is to be reflective of my own role before, during and after the data collection in order to use it as a resource (Bjerg, 2015). This is in line with the hermeneutic understanding that the researcher and the researched object cannot be separated. According to Hans-Georg Gadamer, this interconnectedness is also the basis of understanding. Gadamer sees the preconceptions of the researcher as a necessary element to understand what is investigated, and the researcher should actively use these preconceptions in the research process (Dahlgren & Fredslund, 2015).

My preconceptions of the research area derive partly from literature and preliminary research and partly from my upbringing and my recent resettlement (2017) in the area in which the research takes place. My personal connections to the area might affect my pre-understanding of the culture and lifestyle of the local citizens and can thus affect how I design my interview guides, how I carry out my role as interviewer, or how I select participants for the data collection. That said, I have not lived in the

area for 20 years, and many changes will naturally have happened during the intervening years, suggesting that my insights could be outdated. On the other hand, my basic cultural and place-specific knowledge strengthens my position as a researcher, as there are many areas in which I already have insights. From my preliminary research, I gained updated knowledge through selected actors about food production and retail in the area which can affect the way in which I approach these parts of the research.

In summary, my preconceptions can influence the research in several ways, and I aim to use my preconceptions actively in my understanding of the researched areas (Dahlager & Fredslund, 2011).

Semi-structured interviews

Six semi-structured interviews were carried out with relevant actors connected to JFN. As a method, the interview serve to produce knowledge through the personal interrelation between interviewer and interviewee (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). Thus, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is critical for gathering rich data. The interview situation is further characterised by Brinkmann & Kvale (2015) as a professional conversation with structure and purpose.

Sampling and interviewees

The participants for the interviews were found through a combination of snowball sampling and quota sampling (Bjørner, 2015b). In quota sampling, certain criteria are predefined and the participants are selected based on these criteria. In snowball sampling, one participant leads to other participants. The focus and delimitations of the research were the overall guidelines to identify which actors to involve, and as described below, some interviewees were found through recommendations from other interviewees.

Prior to the data collection, Kresten Kronborg, the initiator of JFN, was contacted. He provided me with overall information on the plans of the network and gave access to the business plan of JFN (Appendix 1) and to a list of contact information of several stakeholders. Kresten was chosen as the main interviewee who could provide detailed knowledge about the plans, objectives and preliminary activities of JFN. In addition, Kresten recommended other participants for interviews: local producers as well as the manager of Superbrugsen, Brian Thisted. The first producer who was contacted did not want to participate as he was planning to close his business. Instead he recommended two other producers, who corresponded to Kresten's recommendations. These two producers, Pia Hjorth and Anders Brekling, represent two different food groups (meat and vegetables) which was desirable to get a broad view on the possibilities and challenges of local food production. However, both are certified organic farmers, which narrows the view towards a certain way of producing and the market opportunities of the products.

As Hjortdal Grocery Store will be the main distributor in JFN, the chairperson of the board, Tine Bilgram, was contacted and an interview with her and the manager of the grocery store, Henrik Rasmussen, was set up. Unfortunately, the manager had to cancel the joint interview, and thus, the interview was split in two: the main interview was conducted face-to-face with Tine Bilgram, and an additional, but significantly shorter interview, was conducted by telephone with Henrik Rasmussen.

All participants were contacted by email or phone and all were very positive about partaking in the project. The interviewees are introduced in Table 2 and further presented in chapter 8, *Analysis*.

Table 2: Presentations of interviewees of semi-structured interviews

Name	Relation to Jammerbugt Food Network
Kresten Kronborg	Chef and gastronomic entrepreneur Initiator of Jammerbugt Food Network
Tine Bilgram	Former chairperson of the board at Hjortdal Grocery Store
Henrik Rasmussen	Manager at Hjortdal Grocery Store
Pia Hjorth	Organic vegetable farmer
Anders Brekling	Organic cattle farmer
Brian Thisted	Manager at Superbrugsen, Fjerritslev

Interview guides

The interview guides were designed to structure the interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). Since the participants represent different sectors of the food system and will fulfil different roles in JFN, the interview guides needed to be personalised for the individual interviewees. Four different interview guides were made: one for Kresten Kronborg (Appendix 2), one for Tine Bilgram and Henrik Rasmussen (both from Hjortdal Grocery Store) (Appendix 3), one for Brian Thisted (Appendix 4), and one for Pia Hjorth and Anders Brekling (both producers) (Appendix 5).

The interview guides are divided into themes related to the research question. Furthermore, the interview guides are split in two columns. The first column includes the thematic research questions which act as a guide for the interviewer in designing which questions to ask during the interview. The second column includes the questions derived from the thematic questions in the first column. The second column has more questions than the first column to ensure that all aspects of the thematic questions will be covered. These questions serve as suggestions as to what and how to ask depending on the exact situation during the interview. Moreover, these questions are designed to be dynamic in the way that they promote interaction and are easy to understand and answer as opposed to the thematic questions which are more overall, academic and close to the research question (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

All interview guides begin with a presentation of the interviewee and his or her company or connection to JFN as this is an easy way to begin the conversation. Likewise, all interview guides end with a closing statement and an offer for the participants to speak freely about anything they find relevant in relation to the themes of the interview (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The bodies of the interviews, on the other hand, are designed individually. The guides for the producers concentrate on production and quality issues, local sales experiences, and drivers and barriers for participating in the network. The guide for the manager of Superbrugsen seeks to examine what the role of a large Supermarket could be in JFN. The guide for the initiator focuses on visions and plans for the network as well as financial, logistical and quality-related issues. The guide for the two actors of Hjortdal Grocery Store seeks insights into objectives and visions, customer characteristics and demands, and the function of the store in the local community.

Although the interview guides are thematic and the questions are ordered, the interviews are not conducted in this way. Themes brought up by the interviewees are followed and the questions in the guide are meant as propositions and not a fixed plan.

Conducting the interviews

All interviews were conducted in a setting chosen by the interviewees. This meant that the interviews were conducted in the homes of the interviewees and at Hjortdal Grocery Store, except the one interview conducted by phone. In all cases, the settings provided a safe environment to establish a relaxed atmosphere in which the interviews could unfold undisturbed.

The interviews began with a brief introduction to the project and a presentation of the researcher. After this, the interviewees were informed about ethical concerns like the audio recording of the interview, readers of and access to the written report, and their right to be anonymised if desired (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). All participants accepted to be quoted by name.

Focus group

A focus group interview was conducted with participants from the local community. As a method, the focus group produces data on a collective level and it is a suitable method to gain insights into the interactions, interpretations and norms of a social group, as the discussions reveal the social norms in the group. Thus, the discussions and social interactions in the group are the basis of the production of data. The participants can express their own views and inquire about the views of the other participants. In this way, the participants can compare understandings and experiences, producing more complex data on the creation of common understandings and social practices than with individual interviews (Halkier, 2016).

The purpose of conducting a focus group instead of individual interviews was to gain insights into the social construction of opinions and norms connected to the research areas: local food, Hjortdal grocery store and the local community. The focus group can, as such, produce data on how the participants experience living in the community and how they value local food and the grocery store—and more importantly, on what they do and do not agree on (Halkier, 2016).

Sampling and participants

The participants for the focus group were found through a combination of quota and snowball sampling (Bjørner, 2015). The selection of participants for the focus group was based on the following criteria: adult residents in Hjortdal and the area around (max. 2 km from Hjortdal), who participates in or oversee shopping and cooking in their household.

The recruitment of participants began with a post on the Facebook page of Hjortdal Housewife Association. Since nobody replied to the call, the participants were then found through friends and family of the researcher. Through this use of snowball sampling, the participants tend to feel more obligated to show up and feel safer in participating (Halkier, 2016). After the first recruitment made through the network of the researcher, the participants were contacted by phone to ensure that they met the requirements and to make a short briefing of the project. Finally, two days before the date of the focus group, a text message was sent as a reminder to the participants. Halkier (2016) argues that participants should be introduced briefly to the themes of the research to ensure their willingness to participate. Keeping this instruction short and in general terms further ensures that the participants are not biased beforehand.

The participants were segmented regarding place of residence and food/shopping practices, but not regarding age and social status (Halkier, 2016). The aim was to include a wide age range among the participants to get views from both younger people with children and older people from smaller households; food and shopping practices can differ from one age group to another and depend on whether children are a part of the family or not (Roland, 2016; Madkulturen, 2015). Furthermore, local food purchases differ between age groups (Stamer, Jakobsen & Thorsen, 2016). Regarding social status, the aim was to include participants with different educational levels as this can also affect food and shopping habits (Madkulturen, 2015). The snowball sampling resulted in exclusively women signing up for participation, and the choice was made to not make extra efforts to recruit male participants since the women fulfilled the requirements. However, this choice can naturally affect the results, as men and women may be quite different in regards to food shopping habits and meaning-making of food. Moreover, male participation might have created different dynamics and brought other topics into the conversation of the group.

As Halkier (2016) argues, it is important that the focus group is neither too homogeneous nor too heterogeneous to achieve the right amount of interaction in the group. As the participants live in the same small, local community, they have a common frame of reference. This can create a feeling of fellowship among the participants, which can eliminate some of their individual differences, e.g. age or social background. It can also add to the feeling of being safe and comfortable and thereby let the participants feel free to express their opinions in the group. The fact that some of the participants might know each other and some might not, can add both to the feeling of safety within the group and on the other hand it can also reveal social patterns inhibitory to the interaction and communication in the group (Halkier, 2016). The five participants of the focus group are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Characteristics of focus group participants

Name	Age	Household composition	Occupation
Anna Mette	60	Husband	Pedagogue
Ida	38	Husband Three children	Pedagogue assistant
Bente	67	Husband	Retired school teacher
Lotte	44	Partner Two children and two step children	Self-employed psychotherapist
Betina	37	Husband Four children	Veterinary clinic assistant

Conducting the focus group

The focus group was conducted at the former village school, which functions as a meeting and activity centre accessible for the local residents. The school is a neutral place to meet for both the researcher and the participants and well suited because it serves as a meeting place in the local community.

The structure of the focus group was based on what Halkier (2016) describes as a funnel model starting with an open, descriptive question followed by more specific questions. The opening question is easy for all participants to answer and opens up the conversation. The following questions are a mix of descriptive and evaluative questions more specifically related to the research questions.

The questions are collected in a moderator guide (Appendix 6), which is divided into three themes relating to the research questions: local food, Jammerbugt Food Network and Hjortdal Grocery Store. The moderator guide also includes an exercise where the participants are asked to rank cards with food categories relative to their preference to buy local food.

As moderator, my role is to make the participants interact and discuss the questions, and at the same time, handle the social dynamics in the group, e.g. getting everybody to talk. Another important task is to keep the discussions focused on the themes and to ask follow-up questions if needed.

Introducing the focus group is important to make the participants feel relaxed and to let them know what is going to happen (Halkier, 2016). The introduction (Appendix 7) was made with the purpose of being informative about the themes of the focus group as well as the process and what was expected of the participants. The introduction also includes a presentation of me and my role as a moderator.

Other materials

The copy of the business plan for JFN (Appendix 1) serves as information on the organisation, vision and objectives of the network. Kresten also provided me with a list of participants at the open meeting in which the idea of JFN was developed. Moreover, the Strategic Plan 2030 serves as an informative research document.

Follow-up data collection

Since the time frame for this thesis was extended due to maternity leave, a few follow-up interviews were made to update my knowledge on the development of JFN. These interviews took place almost one year after the first round of data collection. Two interviewees were considered important sources of updated information: Kresten Kronborg, who was briefly interviewed by phone, and the new chairperson of the board at Hjortdal grocery store, Henrik Beith, who was also briefly interviewed by phone. Notes were taken at both interviews. Furthermore, a follow-up telephone interview was conducted with Ida Rytter from Jammerbugt Municipality (see Table 1).

The follow-up interviews served to validate my research so that discrepancies and uncertainties in the formerly collected data could be checked and further explained (Bjerg, 2015).

Transcription

All interviews were conducted in Danish, recorded and fully transcribed. The transcription process involves a translation from the oral to the written language. It can be argued that this process is the first step in analysing the data (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). To make the transcriptions as close to the interview situation as possible, pauses, laughter and stressed words were marked in the transcription

as described in Appendix 8. However, body language, tone of voice and the like are bodily expressions that are mostly lost in the transcription process. All quotes used in the analysis are translated, which might slightly change some meanings and details of the quotes.

Coding

The coding process is inspired by constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014). The first step is an initial, open coding of segments of data, creating short and precise codes. The second step is a focused coding where the most significant or frequent initial codes are selected and applied to the data forming categories. (Charmaz, 2014). The coding process led to five overall categories: quality measures, network creation, drivers and barriers, governance processes and rural development. These categories included several sub-categories. Through a continuous work with the categories and sub-categories, that is collapsing, linking and combining, the data was sorted and prepared for analysis.

Delimitations

Even though I tried to get a broad view by interviewing the main actors in JFN, it was not possible to include all. Actors from Jammerbugt Municipality were only interviewed in a short and unstructured manner by telephone even if they could possibly be important actors because of their financial and facilitating roles. On the producer side, I chose to interview two organic farmers and no conventional farmers. This can naturally create a skewed picture of such things as the motivations towards participation in JFN. Important insights might come from interviewing a more diverse group of farmers. Two other groups of actors not represented in the data are chefs from the local restaurants and hotels, and tourists.

7. INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD

This chapter introduces the contextual frame for this thesis. The chapter begins with a timeline providing an overview of the developments in the field of local food in the North Denmark Region and Jammerbugt Municipality. Thereafter, the history of food networks in the North Denmark Region is outlined to provide a historical overview of previous and current initiatives in the field. Then, the area in which JFN will be based is presented to outline the geographic, demographic and economic conditions of this region. Finally, the political plans for local development and for building a local food network in this rural area are presented, and the corresponding initiative of a local enthusiast in collaboration with the local grocery store is introduced.

Local food initiatives in the North Denmark Region and Jammerbugt Municipality

Several initiatives focusing on local food and network creation have been taken over the years in the North Denmark region. Some have closed and some are still running. Table 4 illustrates the timeline of the initiatives concerning local food in the North Denmark Region and Jammerbugt Municipality. The table further identifies the actors behind the initiatives as well as the status of each initiative. A small gap is seen between 2008, when the networks covering the whole region are closed, and 2013, when the more locally based networks start appearing. From 2016 onwards, the local initiatives in Jammerbugt Municipality emerge. All initiatives identified through my research are included, however, others may exist. The initiatives will be elaborated below.

The history of food networks in the region of North Jutland

In 2005, the North Denmark Region was the first to develop a food network for producers and other actors in this region. The network *Perikum - Taste Northern Jutland* [Da: Perikum - Smag på Nordjylland] was created to stimulate cooperation and cohesion in the regional food cluster. In 2007, when the Danish counties were replaced with regions, Perikum was closed and replaced with a new initiative: *The Taste of Northern Jutland* [Da: Smagen af Nordjylland]. Out of this network grew *Eat North* [Da: Spis Nord], a network divided into four clusters. Each cluster focused on an area of the food sector and each cluster had an institutional actor as facilitator. (Vækstforum Nordjylland, 2011) An evaluation report from 2011 concluded that the several different initiatives towards creating food networks in the North Denmark Region had left the food sector in that area uncoordinated and fragmented. The overall conclusion of the report was to create one overall network for the entire food sector with a clear strategy, all to be financially supported by the North Denmark Region (Vækstforum Nordjylland, 2011).

Today, *The taste of Northern Jutland* and *Eat North* have closed down due to lack of cooperation and motivation among the members, and the region is left without a unified food network (cf. telephone interviews with Torben Kronborg Pihl and Flemming Pedersen). However, smaller and more locally founded networks have emerged throughout the region during the past years. In 2013, *Regional Food Culture Thy-Mors* was founded as a network of producers, restaurants and other food businesses (Regional Food culture Thy-Mors, 2018), and in 2016, the agro-association LandboNord created *Vendsyssel Foods*, a network of small-scale producers (LandboNord, 2016).

Table 4: Initiatives relating to local food networks in the North Denmark Region and Jammerbugt Municipality 2005-2017.

Year	Initiative	Description	Initiator	Status
2005	Perikum - Taste Northern Jutland	Regional food network for the North Denmark Region	North Denmark Region (Former Nordjyllands Amt)	Closed
2007	The Taste of Northern Jutland	Regional food network for the North Denmark Region	North Denmark Region	Closed
2008	Eat North	Regional food network for the North Denmark Region	North Denmark Region	Closed
2013	Regional Food Culture Thy-Mors	Local food network for Thy and Mors	—	Running
2014	På Forkant ³	Campaign for rural development in Jammerbugt Municipality	Realdania/Jammerbugt Municipality	Completed
2016	Jammerbugt Nature Management Network	Local food network for nature management cattle farmers	Kresten Kronborg & others	Running
2016	Open meeting about local food in Jammerbugt Municipality	Open meeting for everybody with an interest in local food	Kresten Kronborg & others	Single event
2016	Vendsyssel Foods	Local food network for Vendsyssel	LandboNord	Running
2016	Business plan created for Jammerbugt Food Network	Business plan for Jammerbugt Food Network	Kresten Kronborg & Hjortdal Grocery Store	Temporary - open for changes
2016	Strategic Plan 2030 development workshops (Part of På Forkant)	Open workshops for local residents and businesses	Realdania /Jammerbugt Municipality	Completed
2017	Open meeting about local food in Jammerbugt Municipality	Meeting with a focus on business and sales open for everybody with an interest in local food	Jammerbugt Municipality	Single event
2017	Inaugural Meeting for Strategic Plan 2030	Meeting aiming at establishing working groups to carry out the visions of the plan	Jammerbugt Municipality	Single event

The idea of creating a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality has emerged from two independent sources: a municipal strategic plan dealing with development in a local community, and the vision of a chef collaborating with a small grocery store. Both ideas pinpoint the same local community as the base of the network (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). The two initiatives have evolved during the same period, but without any cooperation to this date.

In the following, Jammerbugt Municipality and the local community in focus is presented.

³ The wording is ambiguous and may be translated as "At the cutting edge" or "In the front".

Jammerbugt Municipality



Figure 4: Jammerbugt Municipality (Google, 2018)

Jammerbugt municipality is situated in the region of North Jutland. The municipality is named after the long stretch of coastline bordering the North Sea and marking the northern border of the municipality. The southern border follows the inlet; Limfjorden, and thus most of Jammerbugt municipality, is surrounded by water. In between the waters, the landscape alters between agricultural land, plantations, and distinct natural areas like the Ice Age hills by the coast. There are four main towns, and several smaller towns and villages are widely spread both near the coast and inland.

Jammerbugt is categorised as a rural municipality and is part of the peripheral Denmark which is defined as areas far away from the big cities with lower economic activity and fewer job opportunities than in the rest of Denmark (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2014).

In Jammerbugt, the food cluster is a major business with a 16,2 % share of the total employment in 2013 (Danish Agriculture & Food Council, 2014), and the area is primarily known for cattle farming, milk production and fishing. The share of organic farmland is 7,7 % and the number is growing (Ministry of Environment and Food of Denmark, 2017). Tourism is another important business with a 9,1 % share of the total employment in 2008 (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2014).

Table 5: Jammerbugt Municipality

Jammerbugt Municipality

Population: 38,500
Size: 863 km²
Mayor: Mogens Gade (Danish Liberal Party)

The local community



Figure 5: The local community in focus: Fjerritslev, Svinkløv, Slettestrand and Hjortdal (Own alteration of paper map)

In this thesis, focus is mainly on the coastal area pinpointed as the base of Jammerbugt Food Network (Figure 5). This area is located around Hjortdal - a small village with a population below 200 people (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). Hjortdal is located two km from the North Sea and the coastal town Slettestrand. Hjortdal has one small grocery store which is presented later in this section as this store is an important actor in this project. The local community in and around Hjortdal is very active and engaged and many locals join civic, sports and other associations.

The area around Hjortdal is marked by agricultural land to the south and plantations, the sea and dunes to the north. The presence of several hotels, around 500 summerhouses and a holiday resort, indicate that this is an important tourist destination. People come here to relax and enjoy the surrounding nature, especially the beach. During the past ten years, mountain bike tourism has emerged in the area, because of the opening of a popular track on the plantation, and today Slettestrand is a popular mountain bike destination. Also near Hjortdal and Slettestrand is the now burned Svinkløv Seaside Hotel, which was one of the main attractions of the area. The hotel will be rebuilt in 2019.

The following sections presents the municipal and the private initiative to create a local food network in the local community surrounding Hjortdal.

The municipal initiative: Strategic Plan 2030

In 2014 Realdania, Local Government Denmark and the Danish Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs launched a campaign to support rural municipalities in developing long term strategy plans (Realdania, Local Government Denmark and the Danish Ministry of Industry, Business and

Financial Affairs, 2018). Jammerbugt Municipality took part in the campaign and received 300,000 kr in funding for strategy development. First, the municipal vision was developed, and subsequently, a rural, local community was selected for the development of a locally-founded strategic plan. At the beginning of 2017, this plan, *Strategic Plan 2030*, was ready.

The area around Hjortdal was chosen as the local community. The objective of the plan is to enact the vision of the municipality in a local community that contains commitment and potential, and to stimulate civic participation in the process of developing the local community (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). In other words, the municipality wishes to exploit and develop the untapped, localised potential of the local community in collaboration with local residents, and the strategic plan is meant as a working tool.

The strategic plan was developed through three open workshops facilitated by external consultants hired by Jammerbugt Municipality. All local residents and businesses were invited to join the meetings and around 45 people were present at each workshop. During the workshops, the overall theme for the plan was chosen to be the distinct natural qualities of the region, and four paths for nature-related development and local potential were identified: *Stunning Nature - calm and quiet nature experiences*, *Active Nature - outdoor, sports and activity*, *Neighbour to Nature - living close to nature and landscape*, and *Taste of Nature - local food production*. For each path, a vision and a set of recommendations for further action were developed. Figure 6 presents *the map of potential* which illustrates the four paths and the localised potential and resources of the area.



Figure 6: Map of potential (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a).

To complement the workshops, an anthropologist was hired to conduct interviews with farmers, business owners, local residents and tourists.

After the three workshops, an external consultancy company designed the physical edition of the strategic plan, which was launched at an inaugural meeting in 2017. About 25 locals joined the meeting, and a development association was established as well as one working group for each path in order to execute the plan and bring the ideas to life. Prospectively, the development association and the working groups are in charge of the further operation and realisation of the plan. Once a year, they meet with a municipal advisory group. The working groups are volunteer-based and each group operates individually. No municipal financial support was readily available at the time of the meeting, and the working groups were encouraged to raise money through funding. However, municipal counselling is available regarding funding applications and the like.

Critically relevant for this thesis is the path, *The Taste of Nature*. The vision of this path is “to promote conscious, local food production and develop distinct regional food products” (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). The aim is to execute the vision by creating a local food network. In the strategic plan and at the inaugural meeting, the working group in charge of this path was recommended to join forces with the corresponding local initiative, which is presented in the following (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a).

The local initiative

In 2016, along with another local entrepreneur, the gastronomic entrepreneur and chef from the holiday resort in Slettestrand, Kresten Kronborg, hosted an open meeting for everybody with an interest in local food in Jammerbugt Municipality. Around 50 people showed up: producers, supermarket managers, municipal employees, restaurant owners, and representatives from the local tourist association. Everyone requested cooperation and networking regarding local food. After the meeting, Kresten made a companionship with the board of the grocery store in Hjortdal and together they composed a business plan for JFN (Appendix 1) and applied for funding for the start-up of the project.

Firstly, the mission of the network is to make local food available in the local community. Secondly, the network should generate a new food identity for the region, which can brand Jammerbugt Municipality in regards to gastronomy and sustainability. Thirdly, the objective is to inspire and support entrepreneurs in creating new food businesses. Finally, the network serves to strengthen Hjortdal Grocery Store which has a fragile economy due to their dependence on financial support from the municipality and low sales during the winter season (Appendix 1; Appendix 9).

The project settles Kresten Kronborg as project manager in the initial phase and Hjortdal grocery store as the base of the network performing the daily operations. Accordingly, Hjortdal Grocery Store will be in charge of logistics and distribution as well as carry a wide selection of the local foods in the store. The plan is to distribute local food to restaurants and hotels in the area as well as supermarkets in the towns nearby. In the long term, a webshop and a box scheme will be developed. Furthermore, the network wishes to cooperate with the local institutions such as schools and kindergartens (Appendix 1).

According to Kresten Kronborg, Jammerbugt Municipality approves the idea of JFN but does not offer any financial support. However, consecutive counselling is available. Currently, the funding applications have resulted in a 250,000 kr. grant from LAG Jammerbugt-Vesthimmerland, but the payment requires co-financing corresponding to 375,000 kr. which, according to Kresten, is impossible

for the network to meet, as Hjortdal Grocery Store has earmarked only 35,000 kr. for the project. This budget alone is insufficient for the start-up, and consequently the project is currently on hold.

Hjortdal grocery store

Hjortdal grocery store was reopened in 2013 as a cooperative with more than 200 shareowners including local businesses and residents as well as tourists. At the same time, the store was certified as a socio-economic business with a twofold objective: to function as a grocery store, and to offer employment to mentally vulnerable people. (Hjortdal Grocery Store, 2018). The socio-economic project is a collaboration with Jammerbugt Municipality, which supports the project financially and directs citizens with the right needs for job positions in the store. Behind the cooperative is an association with a board. At the time of this research, the chairperson was Tine Bilgram, who was also one of the main actors in the execution of the socio-economic project. Today, a new chairperson, Henrik Beith, has taken over. The manager of the store, Henrik Rasmussen, takes care of sales and the daily activities.

The store prioritises carrying a wide selection of products including a variety of discount, organic and local products to meet the needs of the customers, who are both locals and tourists. Tourism in the area has a significant influence on business and according to Tine Bilgram, sales increase by 400 % in the summer, which is peak season for tourists.

A follow-up interview with the new chairperson of the board, Henrik Beith, reveals new possibilities for JFN. He claims that co-financing might be possible, partly by including work hours. He also introduces new visions for the network. Firstly, he wants the manager of the grocery store to also manage the network. Secondly, he sees big opportunities in tourism and the promotion of niche products. Finally, he has an idea of a food truck selling local food products at different spots in the municipality throughout the week. His focus for the network is to increase the volume of products and make the network profitable (cf. telephone interview with Henrik Beith).

8. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the empirical data is analysed and the theories and concepts presented in chapter 5 are applied to answer the problem statement. Before the analysis, the interviewees are introduced since their motivations, needs and views form the basis for answering the problem statement. After this, the analysis unfolds through four themes. These themes cover several categories found through the coding process. However, the themes and categories should not be seen as separate analytic dimensions but as interconnected aspects of the dynamics and processes in the empirical case. Thus, the themes and categories overlap now and then. Hopefully, this will add to the understanding of the complexity of the empirical data.

Theme one, *Actor motivations*, deals with the motivations of the interviewees towards participation in JFN. Theme two, *The social value of JFN*, discusses the social impacts of JFN in the local community and how the network can improve rural life. In theme three, *Organic versus conventional*, the discourses and values connected to organic and conventional farming and consumption are discussed, and it is analysed how these are connected to JFN. Theme four, *Network management*, concerns the human competence needed in the project management of JFN. In the last theme, *Local governance*, the local and the municipal initiative to build a local food network are discussed. The governance processes and approaches are discussed and compared, and the roles played by the enthusiasts and the municipality are analysed. Moreover, the two initiatives are analysed in the light of neo-endogenous development and their possible ability to create local, rural development.

Presentation of the interviewees

This section presents the interviewees who participated in the semi-structured interviews and the focus group.

Kresten Kronborg is the initiator and possible future project manager of JFN. He is a newcomer to the area, but he has lived here for some years. Kresten used to be the head chef at the holiday resort in Slettestrand which is owned by him and his family. However, today his activities are in the field of entrepreneurship and gastronomy as he is working with food experiences and gastronomic development in connection to the resort. Kresten is also the co-owner of a newly initiated business producing and selling meat products from local cattle of nature management programs.

Tine Bilgram was the chairperson of the board at Hjortdal Grocery Store since it was established four years ago until recently. She is one of the initiators of the idea of turning the grocery store into a socio-economic business, and she is the co-author of the business plan for the store. In her time as chairperson, Tine represented the store publicly and she put a lot of volunteer work into this. Tine has her own consultancy business and lives in Hjortdal.

Henrik Rasmussen is the manager at Hjortdal Grocery Store and has been in this position since 2016. Henrik is responsible for both the socio-economic part and the business part of the store. Henrik lives in Aalborg, 50 km from Hjortdal.

Pia Hjorth is a trained chef but works full time on her own organic farm in Tranum along with her husband. Pia produces a large variety of vegetables and potatoes and sells these through local supermarkets and at a roadside stall near her farm. Pia is a true entrepreneur with many ideas and connections. She plans to establish an industrial kitchen on the farm and start producing preserved products. She is a member of several organisations and networks concerning food and organic farming, and she often participates in local and national farming and cooking events.

Anders Brekling is a cattle farmer. His cattle graze on protected land and are part of the nature management of this land. His beef is certified organic and sold fresh, frozen or as salamis. He mainly sells through private channels and to the holiday resort in Slettestrand. He used to be a supplier of salamis to Hjortdal grocery store before the change of managers in 2016. He is a member of Jammerbugt Nature Management Network. Anders and Kresten Kronborg have collaborated on promoting and selling Anders' products through Superbrugsen in Fjerritslev.

Brian Thisted is the manager of the biggest supermarket in Fjerritslev, Superbrugsen, and has been in this position for 15 years. Superbrugsen is a part of Coop, but this store is independent, meaning that Brian is free to choose the assortment of products available. Brian is open to cooperation with local farmers. He often supports local initiatives and he participated in the open meetings regarding the development of Strategic Plan 2030.

The focus group consisted of five consumers from the local community:

Ida, who is 38 years old, has a husband and three children and works as a pedagogue assistant.

Anna Mette, who is 60 years old, lives with her husband and works as a pedagogue.

Bente, who is 67 years old and lives with her husband. She is a retired school teacher.

Lotte, who is 44 years old and lives with her partner and their four children. She is a self-employed psychotherapist.

Betina, who is 37 years old, has a husband and four children, and works as a veterinary clinic assistant.

Actor motivations

This section concerns the motivations of the interviewees towards participating in JFN. Most attention is given to the producers and the consumers whose participation is crucial for the founding and continuous existence of the network.

Availability

The main driver for the initiator of the private initiative, Kresten Kronborg, is the potential to increase the availability and use of local products in the area. In his view, the time is right as the market for local food is growing and local demand is increasing:

Many people, including me as a buyer, have found it difficult to get these foods. And that's exactly what you heard from everyone: from Superbrugsen in Fjerritslev, from the other hotels and restaurants, from campsites and so on. That they really didn't know where to get these local foods and how to get in contact with them [the producers]. And I've also spent a lot of time [on this]. As a head chef, I've searched and driven around to visit people and tried to find some [producers], and then it often runs aground because I have too much to do. Because as a head chef, I didn't have the time. When the season is on, I don't have the time to drive around to visit these small-scale producers and unfortunately, they're not always that good at promoting their products. (Appendix 10)

Kresten sees how a local food network can benefit both producers, retailers and food service businesses. The producers will become more visible on the market and the buyers will have easier access to the local products.

Availability is also a motivating factor for the consumers in the focus group. Overall, they are very positive towards the idea of a local food network based at Hjortdal Grocery Store. Greater availability of local products is mentioned as an advantage of the network that would make it easier for the participants to buy a wide selection of local foods at the same place. As it is now, the grocery store carries a smaller selection of local products: honey, jam, beef, flour, processed meat products, spirits and beer. Apart from honey, none of the consumers buy any of these products. The local foods available at the store are mostly seen as specialities and niche products meant for the tourists to buy as souvenirs. These products do not appeal to Betina, who argues: *"I think they have too many niche products. You think: What are we gonna use it for?"* (Appendix 11) The niche products are also criticised for occupying space in the store and thus affecting the selection of ordinary groceries in a negative way, which in turn, can motivate local residents to do their grocery shopping elsewhere. The convenience of getting all groceries at the same place is critical and reflected across the statements of the participants. Although the general assortment at the store has improved during the past years according to the consumers, it still cannot compete with the supermarkets' assortments. However, if the availability of local products increases remarkably, it might increase the consumers' visits to the store too. Betina usually shops for groceries at the supermarket, but greater availability of local food at the grocery store might change her habits:

I actually think I would go shopping there more often. Because that thing about driving around to get all the products... I'd rather go to the producer, but on the contrary - it's just a few things you can get. And if it was all at the same place, well, I just don't have the time. I'd never go to Husby [village with local sales] to buy fruit and vegetables no matter how nice they are. I don't have time for that. (Appendix 11)

The producer-consumer relationship

Pia is a passionate entrepreneur. She was recently a chef, but now she has her own organic vegetable farm. She is motivated by the close connection to the consumer, which is present when she sells her products locally:

I get the feedback by selling locally. Say I delivered all my vegetables to Coop Denmark. Well, firstly I would be locked into that. I don't like that. Secondly, well... who'd buy it? I'd never ever see those people. And I think that's important. Because it's also a passion, it's an obsession. (...) So I'd like to follow it all the way - as a chef, I'm used to that. You cook and immediately you get the feedback. (...) "It was great", "It wasn't that good", "It was amazing", or: "How did you make that?" The chat, you know. You shouldn't underestimate it, and it's such good fuel. (Appendix 12)

For her, the close relationship with the consumer is a way of sharing her passion with others. Additionally, it encourages her to do her very best, because selling locally is more personalised and implies a greater responsibility regarding product quality:

It's also about keeping a standard. And that you shouldn't deliver something that's not ok. You shouldn't do that. Because then you get slapped, because it's local. So it's committing. Off to Coop Denmark? You disappear, you are anonymous. Well, maybe those carrots weren't that good, but let's see [how it goes]. And nobody will notice, because they're just part of the batch, right? Here, it's Mrs. Jensen out shopping in Brugsen and looking at it [saying]: "Ahh..." (...) You get more direct feedback. And I like that. The short way. (Appendix 12)

The short way, as Pia denotes it, relates to transparency and the short distance between producer and consumer due to a minimum of links in the supply chain. These aspects are also motivating factors for the consumers in the focus group, who are generally positive towards local food. Their primary sources of local food are direct sales through friends, acquaintances or at the local farms. The consumers are motivated by supporting the local producers and the authentic experience of being face-to-face with the producer or buying at the place of production. This is illustrated in the discussion about the dairy in Åbybro, which is about 30 km away from Hjortdal and known for their ice cream called *Ryå Ice Cream*:

Ida: Well, if we want delicious ice cream, I always drive to Åbybro. If we're having a birthday party and we want delicious ice cream, I drive there. I don't buy the expensive stuff in Brugsen. Of course, I drive to Åbybro.

(...)

Anna Mette: Well, you can actually buy Ryå Ice Cream in Brugsen.

Bente: Yes, you can.

Ida: Yes, but then it's the thing about going inside [the shop] and getting it at the counter, and you want to support them. So, I actually feel like... Well, we're 30 in the family, it takes some litres of ice cream.

(Appendix 11)

The value of face-to-face contact with the producer and knowledge of the origin of food is reflected across the statements in the focus group. The close relationship between producer and consumer generates trust and a greater degree of transparency for the consumers. Moreover, the participants express how the close connection to the producer and the place of production come close to a feeling of participation. These values are illustrated in the conversation about the local producer, Jan's potatoes:

Lotte: It's really nice. You drive to Jan's, and when you're there [at the stall] getting the potatoes, Jan comes to say hello and you have a little chat. There's something about that really close contact - you can look right out at the field and see where they come from.

Bente: We watch him plant them.

Lotte: Yes, and when we go by, we can see that they're planting them and have covered them with plastic.

(Appendix 11)

These motivations reflect the social benefits of local food, which can drive JFN. However, the local consumers are used to getting the local food products directly at the producer's. They might prefer this instead of buying the local foods at the grocery store, as the social value of the face-to-face interaction and the authentic feeling might be lost when the foods are removed from their origin.

Loyalty and trust

The producer, Anders', main concern is to find trustworthy and stable sales channels, as he has experienced some uncertainties and a lack of loyalty in the local market. Anders delivers beef to the holiday resort in Slettestrand and has cooperated with Kresten on promoting his beef in Superbrugsen in Fjerritslev. However, their agreements are a little unclear to Anders, just like the other sales agreements he is involved in at the local market. Furthermore, Kresten has recently started a nature management company selling beef and salamis. Part of this beef is delivered by Anders. This adds to the confusion of who supplies whom, and Anders tries to explain these discrepancies:

Anna: Do you deliver to anyone else in this area? Hotels or restaurants?

Anders: No, but it's this thing again... I'd made a deal with Lise from Svinkløv [seaside hotel]. Well, [she said] we should get started, I was just gonna talk to her chef about it. And every time I came to the chefs, they'd just made a deal with Dagrofa or some other company. And the last time I came to them, they were making a deal with Kresten. And you have to be a little careful. I've delivered salamis to the local grocery store until Christmas. Then they had a new manager. When I came to the store, they only had six [salamis] left. Well, [the manager said that] he had plenty of local products. What he needed, he got from Rævhede [company selling processed meat products]. (...) Then I say: There must be something you've misunderstood. Well, now he couldn't take it in because now he'd made a deal with Kresten. (Appendix 13)

Anders is not keen on too much formality, however the oral agreements have mainly lead to confusion and conflict, and loss of sales. This illustrates the blurred rules and conditions of the local market and a lack of loyalty and trust among the local food business actors which could possibly be overcome through network cooperation (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). It also implies that some degree of formality in JFN might prevent internal conflicts (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). Finally, it illustrates the fragility of the local market, which is further explained by Anders:

Kresten and Peter, they are working on so many things in all directions. But we need to be careful not to compete internally, like when I was cleared out of the grocery store in connection to the change of manager and because Kresten has entered the scene, right? (Appendix 13)

In a small, local community it is important to find a balance between competition and cooperation, as Anders suggests. He feels slightly betrayed by Kresten. His attempts to promote his new company and, in his eyes, Kresten's behaviour, creates a sense of distrust and dishonesty. However, he acknowledges

Kresten's enthusiasm and efforts, he just calls for openness, honesty and sensitivity towards the local market conditions: *"Sometimes those who work hard will accidentally enter the market in a wrong way."* (Appendix 13).

Kresten is the entrepreneur who initiated JFN and also runs his own businesses. Entrepreneurs are crucial for network development, as they can break local conservatism and bring innovation and new perspectives (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2013). However, they can also create conflict as shown here. Hence, as a coordinating entrepreneur Kresten needs to be able to balance between his own needs and the needs of the network. In other words, he needs to be sensitive towards the differences and challenges in the network to overcome conflict and resistance (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

Pia did not experience any dishonesty or the like, but she is very clear about the importance of loyalty and trustworthiness, especially when acting in small, local markets:

When you enter these local arenas, and it's proximate (...) You should always keep your path clean and behave well. And there should be room for everyone. So, inclusiveness - you really need to perform that and take it with you to be able to be so close and not talk behind people's backs, and so on. You really should keep out of that. Good manners are very important. (Appendix 12)

Pia advocates for openness and respectful behaviour as a key element in local market relations and network cooperation. Open and ongoing communication is relevant in this regard, and this might be an area which has seen too little attention in the development of JFN until now. It has been two years since the open meeting held by Kresten and no follow-up meetings have been held. In the meantime, Anders has experienced a general lack of information: *"I don't know why, but I always hear about it from someone else. I never get any [information] directly."* (Appendix 13). The fact that JFN is on hold may be a barrier as other networks might take over the market. Pia, who likes to engage in networks, states: *"Nothing really happened. Then you get contacted by other [networks] or hear about others (...) well, other things [networks] are established, so we're actually in three groups now."* (Appendix 12).

Based on the above, it would be wise to focus on internal communication and keep the producers, retailers and other actors informed of the status of JFN to keep the momentum and avoid conflicts and misunderstandings.

Network cooperation

Kresten experiences a general enthusiasm and openness for participating in JFN across businesses. About the local producers, he states: *"They've been really positive. No North Jutlandic scepticism. (laughing) Open arms all around. Really impressive. They just want to sell their products."* (Appendix 10). According to Jesper Zeihlund from Nordic Centre for Local Food, one of the greatest challenges for producers is their primary focus on production and lack of the same on sales, which points to the need for network cooperation (cf. telephone interview with Jesper Zeihlund). In line with this, Kresten characterises the producers as passionate about their products but lacking in marketing skills, self-confidence and financial stability. He argues that a strong network may break down these barriers through coordination, knowledge exchange and financial agreements. The economic cooperation regarding distribution, sales and marketing is emphasized. The expectation is that the network will generate inspiration and knowledge exchange among the members, e.g. through meetings, but the social aspect is only vaguely described by Kresten. This indicates that the network will be based on

economic relations and, to some degree, social relations. However, both are important for network success (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

The social value of JFN

This section analyses the social value of a local food network and how JFN can possibly have an impact on the social life in the local community.

Community and cohesiveness

The social value of JFN is emphasised throughout the interviews. The producer, Pia Hjorth, is greatly motivated to participate in JFN. Pia highlights the social aspect of network cooperation but also acknowledges that exchange and practical issues are important to her. She likes the thought of helping each other out rather than competing. She states: *"We're absolutely positive about it. I don't think that we should be on our own and feather our own nest in the way that this is only about us. It's not like that at all. It's the community which matters."* (Appendix 12). Pia sees networking as a way to create a sense of community, cohesion and a collective identity in the local area: *"The thing about standing together as - not as a region - but as a local community, it's about giving something to each other."* (Appendix 12). This is in line with the motivations of Tine Bilgram, the former chairperson of the board of Hjortdal Grocery Store. Both Tine and Pia suggest that cooperation and resource exchange among the local food actors will have a positive impact on the local community. Tine states: *"I believe that we're strengthening our local community by doing this. I like that we work across businesses, I think it's a huge strength that we aren't just one small unit."* (Appendix 9). Tine and Pia's statements describe how the local community will gain from standing together in the food network. This is further unfolded by the supermarket manager, Brian Thisted, who believes in the synergy effects of JFN and how networks and resource exchange can add to the community feeling and cohesion in the area:

I think we can be proud of being a part of the network and the local [community]. We aren't just a supermarket aiming to make as much money as possible, but we're part of the local community, and we want to support these things. (Appendix 14)

Conclusively, JFN can strengthen the cohesion, community feeling and collective identity in the local community, which add to the quality of life of the locals. Kresten gets the last word when describing how all actors are involved in the social interplay:

I think it strengthens in so many ways. Community. There's no bigger form of trust than eating (...) what someone has grown. (...) And I think it makes the producers proud to do what they do. And in that way, it contributes to the local community. It means a lot that the local manager of Brugsen is willing to pay his neighbours a good price for their products, and sell it in his store, and put it on the best shelves, and promote it. So, in that way, I think it makes sense all the way. (Appendix 10)

The reconnection of the rural people

A possible function of JFN as a kind of meeting place is described by Bente when she remembers Hjortdal in her childhood. She grew up in the area and has witnessed the agricultural developments and changes in the village over the years. From being a traditional rural area with several small farmers, the area is now dominated by a few large farms, and today very few places exist where the producer and consumer meet face-to-face. When discussing what difference JFN might do in the local community, Bente states:

I have an association to the dairy of my childhood, when milk was collected from all the farmers. (...) We used to have several meeting places out here, but the dairy was central because there were so many farms (...) and people were part of this community, because they delivered here to [the dairy]. And back then, we all went to the dairy to get what we needed. (...) I'm thinking, it could be like a replacement for that. For all the places that used to be meeting places. We had many places. Blacksmith and draper's shop and hairdresser and co-op and grocery store and everything. Many places have disappeared, right? (...) and THIS [JFN] would be like a mix of all of those. (Appendix 11)

What Bente describes is the possible function of JFN to reconnect people of the local community by offering something to share and meet about with a reference to *the good old days*. As Bente's quote illustrates, local meeting places create community, togetherness and social life, and if the meeting places disappear, community and social life decreases. Hjortdal has clearly lost several meeting places throughout the years, however, the grocery store still has this important function. As mentioned earlier, the grocery store is co-owned by local businesses and residents which illustrates a strong embeddedness in the local community. When the focus group was asked about which role the grocery store play in the local community, the social properties were in focus:

Bente: It's a kind of meeting place.

Lotte: Yes, I was just gonna say: the role it always had. I remember, when I was a child, all the men would go to the grocery store to sit in the back and have a beer. And well, it's kind of the same. You go there, you say hello, and then you see a notice from the housewives' association or the civic association. It's a meeting place. (Appendix 11)

Johansen, Hjalager & Hoff (2015) argue that vital local communities are founded on a combination of formal and informal meeting places. As the consumers agree, the grocery store is one such informal meeting place where people meet coincidentally. In this way, the grocery store can generate a feeling of local identity among the local residents, or *a sense of belonging* as van der Ploeg et al. (2008) describes it. The consumers greatly appreciate the grocery store and the activities and vitality it adds to village life. Lotte argues that the existence of the store means that the village is not "*a drive-through village*" (Appendix 11), and the focus group mentions the multiple functions of the grocery store, which together forms a picture of the store holding great social value. Tickets are sold for local events, money is collected for collective gifts when local residents celebrate weddings and similar events, locals can hang posters to promote local events, etc. The grocery store appears to be a place for internal communication and maintenance of community and social life. These properties of the store can be further reinforced by JFN and the potential of the network to be a symbolic meeting place, connecting people and improving rural life.

From the producer perspective, Pia also sees great opportunities for building social capital and supporting local development through JFN:

Settlement for instance. And that people interact more. And they need that. I really think so. (...) It's not like people don't wanna come, if there's an event. It's not like that. But you can never have too much [of that]. Never. (Appendix 12)

Improved opportunities for social interaction and a reason for meeting are thus emphasised as possible effects of JFN in the local community. In other words, JFN can add to the social life in the local community which can improve the quality of rural life (van der Ploeg et al., 2008).

Organic versus conventional

A prevailing theme throughout the empirical data is the dichotomy of conventional and organic production and consumption. This discussion clearly creates tension and conflict which are present in most interviews and in the focus group. Jammerbugt Municipality has a tradition for conventional agriculture, and, even if organic production is increasing, the conventional farmers are still dominating the area. The conventional/organic discussion is essentially a discussion of quality and people's meaning-making of food. Thus, the question of quality measures in JFN is highly relevant as these can be crucial for the success of the network as well as the impact the network might have on the local community.

Vision and the local market

Kresten is very clear about his vision and purpose for JFN. Fundamentally, he wishes that JFN is based on simplicity and quality produce instead of exclusively offering processed niche products:

We need to make a shift from... Right now, the local products available are like souvenirs, like gift baskets. Some honey, some aquavit, some herbal salt, some seethed salt and a nice hostess gift. But I want it to change into just being the food we eat. (Appendix 10)

Kresten thus argues that JFN should include everyday foods available to everyone in the local community. However, as a chef and gastronomic entrepreneur his interests lie within quality production:

My goal is (...) first of all to create a standard for these local products. It's not enough that they're local. They need to be of a certain quality and contain a certain history. It shouldn't be standard products from conventional farming. It doesn't really sell in the shops and in the tourism business which is also a part of it. And then, my goal - our goal - is that all the products that ARE PRODUCED [locally], will be sold locally, and that everybody who is already producing, gets the opportunity to produce some more. As much as they can handle. And that new producers will appear. We have a list of products that we need. We need organic eggs, we need free range pigs, we need poultry- organic poultry, we need fruit. (Appendix 10)

Accordingly, Kresten is concerned about adding certain quality measures to the products of JFN, e.g. organic or free range. This is a contested field and Kresten is aware of that. He knows that the region is home to many conventional farmers and he knows that it can create conflict and resistance if the network is purely organic. This is a point where Kresten wavers a little between his intentions of making local food accessible to everyone (including consumers who prefer conventional products) and the marketing potential and tourism aspect in local food products attributed with certain qualities like organic. However, Kresten is open towards including conventional farmers in the network on his own conditions:

I'd like to have some of the larger, conventional farmers join us, too. To gain as much strength as possible. But only if they choose to make niche products. (...) Our opinion is that conventional, Danish farming has no future - neither socially or economically or regarding climate, environment or animal welfare, or anything. Disease. (...) It doesn't fit into the story we want to tell. (Appendix 10)

There is a clear conflict in this divide between organic and conventional practices. The quote illustrates Kresten's strong feelings against conventional farming and suggests the possible difficulties in cooperating with these potential network members. In Kresten's case, as the initiator and possible project manager of JFN, his preconceptions and the strict quality criterias may be a barrier for creating a wide-reaching, inclusive network of a diverse set of actors. The network might experience resistance in the local community if conventional farming and products are excluded beforehand. On the other hand, no conventional farmers participated in the open meeting on local foods, and the interest thus seems to be non-existent. However, Kresten has previously talked to one conventional farmer who was interested in making a sub-business of nature management on a part of his land. This indicates that a small opening may exist after all, and that this opening can be enlarged by increased dialog and openness. This is supported by Jesper Zeihlund from Nordic Centre for Local Food, who argues that openness towards conventional farmers can potentially be beneficial for all parts. In a local food network, the conventional farmers might see opportunities for using their professional skills in new ways. They may be inspired to try out new crops or production methods and, in this way, combine or expand their business with some kind of alternative or niche production (cf. telephone interview with Jesper Zeihlund). In this way, the implicit innovative aspect in organic production can influence conventional production, which is what Kresten hopes for.

A relevant example of how to work with inclusiveness and openness in local food networks is the case of Lejre Organic Municipality. To carry out a political vision of creating an organic municipality, the municipality aims to be inclusive and make everybody (including conventional farmers) feel a part of the project. The Lejre case shows that alliances can be formed to ensure that opponents have a say and are included, and polarisation, resistance and conflict can be decreased (Hansen & Kristensen, 2015).

Another important aspect of the organic-conventional discussion is that the conventional farmers can add volume to the production capacity of the network, which is otherwise a challenge because of the many small-scale producers (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). The manager of Superbrugsen, Brian Thisted, further emphasises the mentality of the local farmers and the influence, tourism has on the local market:

In the summerhouses, some live here eight months a year and four months in the city. And canbe that's good for us. Out here in the countryside, sometimes we are... It takes a while before organic turns into organic out here in the West, where some of the farmers say: "Well, we are used to growing like this, why should we care about organic farming?" So it takes a while for the transition to happen out here. But the tourists and the outsiders make it happen a little faster. (Appendix 14)

Brian argues that the market for organic products is growing, and as the manager of the largest supermarket in the area, his job is to follow the consumer trends. In his eyes, the openness and inclusiveness goes both ways, and he suggests that the local, conventional farmers take advantage of the organic market trend:

I had some customers who wrote to me because they think we care too much about organic products. And that's the traditional farmers out here, they've been a little grumpy. They think that our marketing has been focused on organic products. And I understand them. But they also have to understand that if the organic market is growing, we also have to follow. (...) So maybe they're the ones who should reflect and convert in time. Somebody has been a little grumpy lately and I think it's because they're a little behind in the transition. Because now, there's suddenly a lack of organic milk and meat. (Appendix 14)

Despite the need for more organic farmers, the market for conventional products is still dominating. Naturally, Brian is aware of the differences in consumer preferences, and his clear recommendation is that the products of JFN be both organic and conventional.

Consumer perspectives

As implied by Brian, the consumer perspective is highly relevant in the discussion of organic and conventional farming, and, according to Winter (2003), there is a potential market for conventional, local produce which is easily overseen. He argues that: *"It may not always be the case that farmers have to convert to organic farming or find some very specialist niche market in order to respond to latent demand for local produce."* (Winter, 2003). Winter refers to the consumer demand for conventional, local produce, which is discussed in this section.

The manager at Hjortdal Grocery Store, Henrik Rasmussen, divides the customers into two overall segments: the organic-oriented and the price-oriented segment. According to the former chairperson of the board, Tine Bilgram, this segmentation corresponds more or less to a divide between organic/quality and conventional/discount. If JFN is going to be a local success and a profitable business for the grocery store, the consumer segments should be taken into account. Tine reflects on this:

Tine: It's also clear that there are some competition issues. Some issues that I can't really get a grasp of. I just sometimes hear some comments when we talk about it. We'd like to have everyone on board, you know. We'd like people to think that this is a good idea.

Anna: Who could be against it?

Tine: Maybe the ones who are not the distribution channel. Maybe the ones who feel that these products are not their products. We've talked a lot about that because Kresten really argues for organic [products]. But I know that some [people] also prefer the conventional [products]. Are they in [or] are they out?

(Appendix 9)

Tine is concerned about targeting the two customer groups for economic and social reasons. She is concerned about the survival of the store and trying to include everybody in the local community in JFN. Thus, she is more open towards including conventional products in JFN despite the original vision of focusing primarily on organic products at the store. Tine's arguments are more socially oriented, whereas, Kresten is more visionary in his argumentation. However, Kresten is aware of the many local consumers who prefer conventional products and the challenges it creates:

It's like there's a clear divide: If it's locally produced, many people want it and that's great. And it can also be niche products and nature management [products]. But the red "Ø" [organic] label - then a lot of people get scared. (Appendix 10)

Kresten's experiences show how organic products clearly split the consumers. However, local products attract consumers across the organic-conventional divide indicating that local beats organic. The preference for local products is also reflected in the focus group when the participants talk about *Jan's local potatoes*:

Anna: How about organic, animal welfare, environmental issues. Do they matter when it's local foods? (...)

Anna Mette: It matters. But I don't know whether it's organic that Jan sells in those stalls. I'm not sure it is.

Bente: I don't think so either. (...) However, I buy them too. But otherwise it actually means a lot to me that the foods I buy are organic.

(Appendix, 11)

Kresten's statement and the case of Jan's potatoes show how the qualities associated with local products make these attract all consumer groups. As discussed further above, it has to do with the close producer-consumer relationship, trust, and the authenticity and transparency of local food.

Consequently, Kresten's vision to obtain an organic standard for JFN and the aim of making local food available to everybody is a challenging combination. Kresten is aware of the challenge, and he describes the local, conventional consumerism as "*very firmly set*" (Appendix 10). Hence, he recommends that the quality criteria of JFN are equal to the organic standard but not necessarily certified organic, as this will keep some consumers from buying the products. However, this still excludes the conventional farmers from participating in JFN and possibly a considerable part of the conventional- and price-oriented consumers as the organic products are more likely to be more expensive than similar, conventional products.

To be inclusive and to fulfill the objective of providing everyday foods for the locals as stated by Kresten Kronborg and in the business plan, JFN needs to target various consumer groups and offer local foods available to everybody no matter their beliefs. This may demand openness to including conventional farmers and conventional products in JFN.

Network management

This section deals with the management of JFN and how key actors might affect the development of JFN.

The business plan for JFN was developed by Kresten Kronborg and Tine Bilgram. The plan settles Hjortdal Grocery Store as the base for the network and Kresten as the project manager. However, the change of chairperson of the board has caused some changes to the plans. The new chairperson, Henrik Beith, believes that the store manager should be the project manager of JFN, as the network should be organised and managed internally in the organisation. Henrik demonstrates new perspectives on JFN which do not correlate to Kresten's vision, and it appears that he does not intend to cooperate with Kresten. His proposals indicate a new direction of JFN towards a more souvenir- and tourism-oriented profile (cf. telephone interview with Henrik Beith). The change of chairperson and the new business concept demonstrate critical disagreements in the vision of JFN and brings into question how JFN should be managed and which abilities are needed from the key persons.

The chairperson is an outsider in that his only connection to the local community is his position on the board of the grocery store. The same can be said about the store manager. This may be a barrier to the development of JFN, as outsiders need to be integrated in the local community to avoid conflicts and resistance (Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). According to the consumers, the store manager is not integrated, and this affects the social interaction in the store:

Ida: I was at a meeting last night. And then I just went [to the grocery store] this morning at half past seven. Lars [local employee] is there: "Well Ida, did you go to the meeting last night?" "Yes, I did." And then we just talked for seven minutes, right. I don't do that with the manager, 'cause I don't even know his name.

Anna Mette: No, that's true. He's from Aalborg.

(Appendix 11)

The fact that the manager is not local indicates a lack of legitimacy. Furthermore, he demonstrates very little knowledge, and possibly interest, in the local foods during the interview. When asked about which local foods are sold at the grocery store, he only mentions three products and finds it difficult to remember the brand names. Moreover, Anders Brekling, who produces organic beef, describes how the manager did not know about his products even though they are produced only 1 km from Hjortdal and used to be sold at the grocery store:

In the fridge there's some non-organic beef, nature management beef from limousine cattle in Himmerland. And then I tell him [the manager]: "What the heck, why don't you get some organic beef?" "Well, we can't get it in this area," he says. "Nobody makes it. But now we'll soon get some from Rævhede." (Appendix 13)

This lack of local knowledge and interest suggests that the manager may not be able to build strong relations in the local community, which is the foundation for network success and local development (Tanvig, 2012; Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016).

This is distinctly opposite to Kresten's awareness. He is very passionate and knowledgeable about the local community and the local food production. Kresten is a newcomer, but he lived in the area for many years and is integrated in the community. Moreover, Kresten has built a solid foundation for JFN through his proactive approach and by building numerous connections in the local food industry and in the local community. According to Tanvig (2012), these networking competencies are crucial in the development process.

Besides the local, internal connections, external community relationships are important. These horizontal and vertical networks are crucial in a neo-endogen development process, meaning that JFN needs to gain strength from both the local resources and the interaction with outside actors such as the municipality, economic investors or knowledge institutions (Tanvig, 2012). As a businessman who used to work in food service, the chairperson might have connections to extralocal businesses and be able to create some form of vertical network.

As discussed above, Tanvig (2012) stresses the importance of local participation in the management of local community development projects. However, the management also needs to be professional to attract extralocal resources and create vertical networks, otherwise the project might close after a

period of time. This is important to consider in the further development of JFN to ensure resilience. Naturally, this is partly a question of professional competence and partly a financial issue that should be dealt with through funding or by extensive support from Jammerbugt Municipality. The participation of Jammerbugt Municipality in the strategic management of the network is further discussed in the following section.

Local governance: the municipal versus the local initiative

In this section, the analysis concerns the two initiatives to create a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality. These were presented in chapter 7, *Introduction to the field*. The vision, approaches and processes of the two initiatives are discussed with the aim of identifying the potential of the initiatives to realise the idea of developing a local food network and the implicit possibilities for rural development.

The municipal initiative: Strategic Plan 2030

Strategic Plan 2030 was created as a municipal-initiated strategy for rural development in the local community around Hjortdal. This area was chosen because: *“The area holds engagement and potential which the municipality wishes to develop in cooperation with local forces.”* (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). Local, place-bound resources and human engagement are emphasized throughout the plan, reflecting Jammerbugt Municipality’s vision of co-creation and mobilisation of human competencies in local community development (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017b). As a way of mobilising the local residents, three open workshops were held in which the resources of the area were mapped and discussed among the participating citizens. The workshops were supervised by external consultants hired by the municipality to facilitate the process. After the workshops, the strategy was formulated by the consultants and published. The development process illustrates how a top-down initiative taken by Jammerbugt Municipality is combined with a bottom-up approach during the workshops.

The bottom-up approach of the workshops, emphasises citizen involvement and co-creation, and illustrates how the municipality wishes the local residents to be a part of the decision-making in their own local community and reflects a governance perspective in which the public and the civil society are integrated. It also suggests a greater responsibility to be taken by the local residents as they are invited to take part in the formulation of a strategy of their local community, and especially since they are also put in charge of the execution. According to the strategic plan, the strategies should be executed by *“local residents and actors who will act across interests and professions.”* (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a). The quote implies that the municipality will withdraw from the future work once their duty of facilitating the strategic development is done. This relinquishing of future responsibility reflects how blurred boundaries between the public and the private can generate a laissez-faire political approach.

As described earlier, a development association and four volunteering working groups are in charge of carrying out the strategic plan. Prospectively, Jammerbugt Municipality plays a minor role: as counsellor and by meeting with the development association once a year. According to Denters (2011), the local government (Jammerbugt Municipality) is an important actor in local governance networks like the development association and the working groups, and prospectively the food network. Thus, the municipality needs to act more supportive in the future developmental work. Accordingly, the success of the strategic plan depends on the continuous interaction and cooperation between local

actors (the development association and the working groups) and public, exogeneous actors (Jammerbugt Municipality) (Tanvig, 2012).

The municipal tasks are described by Stoker (1998) as identification of stakeholders and creation of relationships among them, exactly as it happened through the workshops. However, Stoker further argues how these relationships should be steered and influenced by the municipality to ensure action happens (Stoker, 1998). To fulfill this task and ensure progress, one yearly meeting with the development association is not enough. Much greater effort by the municipality is needed to execute the ambitious objectives of the strategic plan, and it needs to be continuously involved in the execution. As argued above, successful local development is highly dependent on both horizontal networks of local actors and vertical networks, including public institutions, correlating to the interaction of endogenous and exogenous resources and actors. It is crucial that Jammerbugt Municipality takes long-term responsibility by providing the necessary support to increase the possibility of a successful outcome in the form of a resilient local food network and local development. This might very well include both counselling, finances and possibly project management. As Tanvig (2012) argues, building of local *and* professional strategic management is crucial for the success of local development projects. If the municipality takes back the responsibility by providing professional management, the municipal vision of co-creation and support of enthusiasts will reach a much higher and more tangible level. As Jammerbugt Municipality states in their rural strategy, rural development derives from fostering partnerships between the municipality and the local communities (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2016).

According to the strategic plan, the local food network should be initiated immediately. It is acknowledged that a similar locally initiated project exists and suggested that the two projects merge and one or more key persons be put in charge. At the inaugural meeting, a working group was created to develop the food network, but only one person from the working group was present and no plans were made for how to proceed. Moreover, no key person was selected. From the observations of the meeting, it seems that the motivation and engagement from the workshops was not transferred to the meeting. It is also clear that very few of the citizens who developed *Taste of Nature* during the workshops were present at the meeting. This may be caused by the strategic plan being a top-down initiative as opposed to a bottom-up initiative taken by dedicated enthusiasts. During the workshops, the bottom-up approach was used to mobilise the locals, however, it appears that the process failed to create lasting engagement and ownership, which would have encouraged people to show up for the inaugural meeting and volunteer for the working group.

At the end of this research, the working group had not make any progress. The lack of action in this phase of the project further suggests that the working group lacks engagement, enthusiasts to take the lead, and that municipal support and facilitation is needed.

Overall, the development process of the strategic plan and the initiative *Taste of Nature*, suggests that the project failed in the mobilisation phase, which is the first phase in neo-endogenous development (Tanvig, 2012). The top-down influence finishes at the end of the workshops, and at the same time, the bottom-up activity fades out, meaning that the vertical network disappears and the horizontal network lacks the strength needed for further action.

The local initiative: Jammerbugt Food Network

The other initiative for a food network was taken by local enthusiasts who wished to increase the availability of local foods in the local area and brand the area through food. With the local grocery store as a food hub administering aggregation, storage, distribution and sales of the local products, the purpose of the network is further to strengthen the financial foundation of the store to ensure its survival. Thus, the project has a twofold objective and targets local community development through local food production and network cooperation by involving a local business with great importance for the local community. This is a good basis for the project, as the alliance with the grocery store will aid in the embedding of the project in the local community (Tanvig, 2012).

The idea was initially developed and discussed at an open meeting held by one of the initiators, Kresten Kronborg. At the meeting, 50 participating people from various food-related businesses, associations and organisations discussed and developed the idea of JFN. Small scale producers, processing companies, municipal representatives, hotels, restaurants, tourism organisations, retailers and local residents were present. Thus, the idea was developed based on common interests and needs of the civil society, local businesses and public institutions, illustrating an integration of the state, the market and the civil society in the development process. In this way, horizontal actor networks were created across interests in the local area, indicating a strong basis for further development (Tanvig, 2012). However, no future arrangements were made, and as touched upon earlier in this chapter, the timeframe might cause the motivation to decrease among otherwise engaged actors, as explained by the manager of Superbrugsen, Brian Thisted:

The challenge is that some might be discouraged. And that the process is too slow. Because we do agree on a lot of things when we're at the meetings, but then a long time passes before anything happens. (...) When you're at the meetings, you get quite excited and you're actually ready to get going right away. And it just doesn't happen that fast. (Appendix 14)

Brian's statement suggests that follow-up meetings or delegation of assignments and responsibilities is needed to maintain the engagement of all actors.

After the meeting, the idea was further concretised, then transformed into a business plan and funding application by Kresten, in collaboration with the former chairperson of the board at Hjortdal grocery store, Tine Bilgram. The business plan (Appendix 1) describes the overall aims and visions of the network, the organisational structure, and the activities needed in the developmental and operational phases. The social value of Hjortdal grocery store is a key element in the business plan. The socio-economic business aspect and the function of the store as a connecting link in the local community is emphasised, and the store is seen as a powerful resource in maintaining an active and engaged local community.

The idea of JFN is a bottom-up initiative driven by the vision and engagement of local enthusiasts. Kresten is the main enthusiast who is driven by his passion. He has invested his time in the project because he believes that it will make a difference in the local area. Kresten is a newcomer to the area and an entrepreneur, characteristics often connected to enthusiasts involved in local development (Tanvig, 2012; Eriksen & Sundbo, 2016). As enthusiast, Kresten is dedicated to the project, and Christensen (2013) argues that this enthusiast engagement can be crucial in local development projects. This is supported by Hulgård (1995), who describes the enthusiast as a great communicator

who operates well in networks and has a talent for facilitating cooperation among actors. Kresten personally collected signatures from various actors in the local community as proof of the great interest in network cooperation. Supermarkets, a green grocer, restaurants, hotels, campsites, schools and kindergartens all agreed to be part of JFN. Moreover, Kresten is in contact with higher educational institutions in Aalborg regarding some sort of cooperation. This illustrates how he is capable of building both horizontal and vertical networks. However, as argued earlier in this chapter, Kresten has also been involved in conflicts due to lack of communication and coordination between actors. Kresten may have the profile and competence needed to act as coordinating entrepreneur in JFN, but he needs to be aware of the importance of building trust-based networks.

As a bottom-up initiative driven by local enthusiasts, JFN is exactly what Jammerbugt Municipality calls for in their rural development policy, in which local enthusiasts are central in local development, and the municipality plays a supporting role. In the rural strategy, it is stated that: “... *it’s the ambition of Jammerbugt Municipality to offer proper conditions for the citizens, the enthusiasts, and the associations - and the possibility to create local development.*” (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2016). However, the municipality did not improve any conditions regarding the development of JFN and provided minimal support for the initiative. Three representatives from the municipality participated in the open meeting, and according to Kresten, the municipality has great interest in the project but are unable to support it financially. Moreover, as the municipal financial support of the socio-economic business of Hjortdal Grocery Store has decreased during the past years, Kresten misses substantial municipal support for his project and a stronger connection between municipal vision and action:

It’s really depressing to watch how they, on the one side, say that they want to support these things, the local food network through Hjortdal Grocery Store, and then, an employee from another department closes the cash box completely. (Appendix 10)

The lack of municipal participation and support indicates that Kresten and his project are on their own in the development process. It can be argued that the municipality is not true to its own politics, since the rural strategy, as stated above, seeks to create ideal framework conditions for enthusiasts and their projects to promote local development. Moreover, the rural strategy points to co-creation and obligating local-municipal partnerships as the basis for local development (Jammerbugt Municipality, 2016), but no such initiatives are taken despite the municipality’s interest in the project. Again, it can be argued that the blurred boundaries between the municipality and the local citizens cause Jammerbugt Municipality to place the responsibility for development on the enthusiasts instead of sharing it with them by taking active part in the project.

Conclusively, the process of developing JFN is in the mobilisation phase of neo-endogen development (Tanvig, 2012). Kresten has succeeded in building horizontal networks and mobilising the local community, but needs to maintain the engagement to keep the process going. Small steps are also taken towards the next phase in which the global, or the extralocal, plays a crucial role (Tanvig, 2012). Vertical networks are created and funding applications have been made, but substantial participation and support from the outside, e.g. the municipality, is needed.

The local versus the municipal initiative

The municipal and the enthusiast initiative and their respective approaches have led to two distinct processes of local mobilisation. Jammerbugt Municipality is the initiator of Strategic Plan 2030, but the action proposals described in the plan are developed by local residents in a co-creation process. The local initiative is exclusively based on the work of local citizens. Tine and Kresten, who developed the business plan of JFN, are sceptical about the effects of the developmental process and whether the strategic plan will generate any action and results. First of all, Kresten criticises the process of being one step behind:

I talked to them a few times, but... well, we've come much further. At the same time as we're applying for funding and have the business plan ready and are in contact with the whole business, they have agreed on this being an area to focus on in the future. (Appendix 10)

Tine, who participated in some of the workshops, agrees with Kresten:

It turns into nothing. And we were doing so much already. We're running full speed, you know. All this... oh, I really can't handle it. I think it's wrong. I don't think it's the way to get people up and running. We were running already. (Appendix 9)

As enthusiasts and entrepreneurs, Kresten and Tine are used to implementing their own ideas quickly, and the process of developing the strategic plan is far from their spontaneous, practical and action-based working style. In the statements above, Kresten and Tine argue against the way in which the workshops were organised and carried out. The overall top-down approach manifested by the way in which the workshops were steered by the municipality and the external consultants, is a contrast to the bottom-up initiative of the two enthusiasts. The differences in the governance processes are demonstrated one the one hand with the pre-designed process of developing the strategic plan, and on the other hand with the unplanned process of developing the local initiative. Even if the municipal workshops involved co-creation and citizen involvement, they were still executed in a controlled manner with a certain outcome in view. Tine continues: *"I participated in a few meetings, but it was run by these external consultants. I really wasn't impressed. (...) Things like that - it's a huge process, and then nothing happens."* (Appendix 9). Tine refers to the consultants as outsiders, insinuating their lack of legitimacy in the local community. This suggests that having external consultants run the workshops might have been a barrier for creating ownership among the participating citizens. Tine also implies that the strategic plan might never be executed despite the great efforts put into it. This critique of missing action and outcome is shared by Kresten:

Their focus is to hand in this strategic plan and that's it. I really don't bother spending my time on things like that. I'm too much of a chef and businessman. (...) I don't want to sit and talk for years. And if we don't receive any funding, we'll just do it ourselves, we'll just get started. (Appendix 10)

The above statements by Tine and Kresten indicate a lack of trust in the municipal project delivering actual results. In their eyes, it demonstrates a focus on process instead of action. They see the strategic plan like a trophy, a way for the municipality to prove that it cares for the local community, but without turning the strategies into actual development. In contrast is their own initiative which has come much further as they have local collaboration agreements, a business plan and have applied for funding.

As Kresten and Tine insinuate above, time, effort and money might have been wasted on developing the path, *Taste of Nature*, in the strategic plan, since an identical initiative already existed. Why did the two projects not merge? It appears that the strategic plan could have gained a lot from the local initiative and the pre-work done by Tine and Kresten. The open meeting held by Kresten attracted around 50 people with relation to the local food business, indicating a great interest in a local food network. Together, these people represent valuable knowledge and resources that could take the strategic plan and *Taste of Nature* much further, particularly in regards to resource exchange, network building and creation of ownership. Unfortunately, my research does not show how many of these people participated in the workshops. However, none of them were present at the inaugural meeting for the strategic plan in which the working groups were established.

Christensen (2013) advocates for municipal openness to including enthusiasts in local development projects, and as discussed throughout the analysis, local development depends on these engaged citizens. However, it appears that Jammerbugt Municipality was not open to including the enthusiast initiative in the strategic plan. As Jammerbugt Municipality was represented at Kresten's meeting, the municipality could easily make use of the successful mobilisation of the bottom-up initiative and facilitate further development by ensuring coordination and cooperation between the two projects. In this way, the municipality would be more true to their own vision and policies and actually let the *enthusiasts make a difference*. However, the lack of cooperation and resource exchange suggests inflexibility in the municipal system making the municipality unable to perform the tasks of the local government in modern governance processes.

9. CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the findings of the analysis in which the empirical data were analysed in the light of the theoretical framework.

The problem statement was as follows:

What are the possibilities for building a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality, and how can this network contribute to rural development in the local community?

A general interest to participate in JFN is found among the local actors, indicating a strong foundation for the network. The consumers are motivated by the opportunity to gain access to a wide selection of local foods at Hjortdal Grocery Store, and the store is found to be a suitable basis for JFN, as it is considered a local meeting place. However, the consumers primarily value local food because of the authentic experience at the place of production and the social interaction with the producer, and this may cause the consumers to prefer direct sales when buying local foods. The producers are motivated by the prospect of knowledge exchange, stable and trustworthy sales channels, and the social aspect of cooperation. Moreover, selling local is valued because of the close connection to the consumer and the short, transparent supply chain.

A major challenge for JFN is to navigate the local market in which conventional farmers dominate, and where organic and conventional products divide the consumers. Local products are preferred regardless of their status as conventional or organic, and the conclusion is that including conventional products in JFN can target a wider consumer group. Moreover, the inclusion of conventional farmers can minimise resistance and conflicts and add to the production volume. Other barriers in the development of JFN is the lack of ongoing internal communication as well as the slow progress which might cause a loss of motivation among the implicated actors.

Regarding the two different initiatives to create a local food network, the municipal initiative failed in the mobilisation phase and no progress is seen towards actual development of the food network. The local initiative is one step further in the development process, and conclusively, this initiative has a better chance of bringing JFN to life. However, Jammerbugt Municipality needs to intensify its participation in the development of JFN in order to build a resilient network. The municipality must create good framework conditions for the enthusiasts and provide far greater support in the form of counselling, finances and, possibly, project management. If the municipality takes on this responsibility, and remains open towards including enthusiasts and other local actors in the process, JFN can come to life and bring the local community one step further towards neo-endogen development.

Hjortdal Grocery Store and JFN can reinforce each other. That is, JFN can help ensure the survival of the store through increased sales, and the store can add to the success of JFN by increasing the availability and sales of local products. Moreover, the social value of the grocery store can be strengthened through JFN. The social value of JFN is that it can strengthen the cohesion, community feeling and collective identity in the local community through the cooperative aspect of standing together across

businesses and as a community. This can create a sense of belonging among the locals. Furthermore, JFN can improve the opportunities for social interaction and reconnect the local people by its function as a symbolic meeting place. In sum, JFN can add to the social life in the local community and support the good life in the countryside.

10. DISCUSSION

This section presents critical reflections on the methods, theories and findings of this thesis. The discussion centres around strengths and weaknesses in the research design and the theoretical framework as well as implications and recommendations for future research.

Theoretical reflections

The governance perspective provided a useful frame to analyse the municipal policies and operations as well as the development process of the strategic plan. Moreover, the perspective has proved helpful to understand the relationship between the municipality and the civil society plus how the shared responsibility between the two can easily lead to governance failure and a lack of action in development processes. Applying the notion of enthusiasts, added details to the understanding of the governance process and the approach of the municipal policies. However, the enthusiast perspective could be explored more thoroughly. Hulgård (1995) introduces certain characteristics of the enthusiast which could serve as an analytic tool for a more in-depth exploration of the local initiative and Kresten and Tine's function in the development process. Finally, the governance perspective could be supplemented by theories of co-creation, social innovation and citizen participation in policy-making to strengthen the analysis of the development processes and the relationship between the municipality and the local citizens (see e.g. Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers, 2015).

In continuation of the governance perspective, neo-endogenous development was introduced as a model for rural development in local communities. By applying the phases developed by Tanvig (2012), it was possible to determine the progress and status of the municipal and the local initiative in a neo-endogenous development perspective. Furthermore, it was possible to analyse which resources, competencies and network relations are currently and prospectively needed in the development of JFN. However, it can be discussed whether the development of JFN needs to follow the three phases to reach success. The last phase of the model is undoubtedly desired for local communities; however, it takes considerable effort to achieve this phase, both from the local community itself and from external partners, and it can be a long process. The findings of this thesis suggest that the local food network can add to the social aspect of the quality of life in the local community. This outcome is expected regardless of reaching phase three, meaning that a project like this can have small but positive effects even if it cannot be labeled as neo-endogenous development.

The drivers and barriers to food network development provided a somewhat undefined frame for analysing the possibilities of developing JFN, as the framework included theories from three different fields: local food networks, experience economy, and entrepreneurial networks. To qualify the analysis and reach more explicit results, the drivers and barriers of entrepreneurial networks could be selected instead of applying the broad perspective of Eriksen and Sundbo's (2016) study. The concept of entrepreneurial networks fits well with the notion of enthusiasts, as the entrepreneur and the enthusiast share certain characteristics. The notion of the community entrepreneur could be especially useful in a rural development perspective, since this type of entrepreneur aims at inspiring new start-ups and creating community development (Spilling, 2011).

Methodological reflections

The qualitative approach of this study has provided me with in-depth knowledge of the motivations, visions and views of implicated actors whose participation is crucial for the foundation of JFN. The interviews and the focus group were suitable methods to gain insights in the field of local food in Jammerbugt Municipality from the perspectives of producers, consumers, retailers and project initiators. In this way, the qualitative approach was useful to explore the context of JFN.

In this study, a quantitative approach would be useful in the way that data could be collected from a large number of respondents. It was considered to use questionnaires to investigate the consumer and the producer motivations. This method could show more general patterns in the motivations of the local consumers and producers. However, the qualitative approach was chosen because I wanted the views of individuals to count and because my objective was to gain a deep understanding of the underlying values, cultures and opinions of each person's motivations. By choosing the qualitative approach, I was able to remain open towards new perspectives from the interviewees and pursue central issues.

Two groups of actors were thoroughly considered to be included in the research: conventional farmers and tourists, as both can be crucial for the development and survival of JFN. However, due to the scope of the thesis, I chose to focus my research on the local consumers since I wanted the local community perspective on JFN. A recommendation from Kresten was part of the reason for selecting the organic producers; another was that I wanted to include producers who had already shown an interest in JFN. Obviously, this choice affects the findings as these would be somewhat different if the research had involved conventional farmers and tourists.

My research was conducted in several steps and, it could be argued, continuously throughout the study, from defining the research question to writing these final words. Telephone interviews, local newspaper articles, a chat with a neighbour, a Facebook post from Jammerbugt Municipality or a visit to Hjortdal Grocery Store - the research seemed like a continuous and never-ending process. Due to my resettlement in the area around Hjortdal halfway through the study, I got a chance to use myself even more in the research as I suddenly found myself right in the middle of the place, I was studying.

As argued in the methodology section, my local affiliation may affect certain presumptions to influence the way in which I approach the field and my methodological choices. However, this is part of being a qualitative researcher and in this study, it has been a significant strength to possess local knowledge. First of all, it provided me with a considerable amount of background knowledge on the local food industry, relevant actors and the local community. Secondly, it increased my legitimacy in the local community, which was an advantage in the collection of data. Finally, it has influenced my interest and engagement in the studied problem in a positive way to be part of the local community in which JFN will be based. On the other hand, my commitment may have some partiality towards Kresten's initiative since I sympathise with his vision and since a strategic focus on food, in my belief, is needed in Jammerbugt Municipality. Moreover, my presumptions may have affected the collection of relevant data, because I may have been biased when recruiting participants, during the interviews or in the analytic process.

The in-depth knowledge provided by the data of this thesis can serve as the basis for further studies. These may be qualitative or quantitative. Please find specific recommendations in this regard in the last section of this chapter.

Implications of findings

The findings indicate a need for more coordinated efforts regarding rural development in Jammerbugt Municipality as there appears to be a gap between the municipal vision and policies and the enactment of these. To fill in the void between strategy and action and to build coherence between the municipal vision and rural policy on one side and the local communities, enthusiasts and bottom-up initiatives on the other side, municipal coordination and support are needed. This may require the employment of a professional coordinator who possesses a local knowledge, competencies in network creation and has an integrated approach to problem-solving. In the short term, an extra employee is an expensive solution, but in the long term, resources and work hours can be saved when projects are linked. Moreover, coordinated efforts and more holistic views on rural development are expected to have a more significant outcome. As a soon-to-be Master of Integrated Food Studies, I see great opportunities for working in this field of governance, networks and local development. The interdisciplinary approach of the program has provided competencies in how to handle complex problems, create creative solutions and operate in a diversity of fields and networks. Moreover, the program has provided comprehensive knowledge in food systems and supply chains which settles a solid base for working in the field of local food and rural development.

Recommendations for further research

The findings of this thesis can serve as the basis for further research in the field of local food networks and their potential as catalysts of rural development. However, specific areas of the study need more attention to get a deeper understanding of the possibilities to create a local food network in Jammerbugt Municipality and the impacts it may have on the local community. The empirical data point to several critical issues which did not make it into the analysis due to the scope of the thesis. This section discusses some of these issues.

A recurrent theme throughout the thesis centres around organic and conventional practices. In conclusion, openness towards including conventional products in JFN is required despite the vision to create an organic network. In this regard, further research is needed on how to include the conventional farmers in JFN. What are their motivations and possibilities to participate? Many conventional farmers are large-scale producers locked into certain sales agreements and export and may not be able to deliver products to JFN. On the other side, the conventional farmers may be inspired by the small-scale producers of JFN to venture down new ways or start up small sub-businesses in order to deliver products locally, as suggested by Jesper Zeihlund from the Danish Center for Local Foods.

The consumer perspective also needs further research. The findings show that the local consumers value local food no matter its status as organic or conventional, and that direct sales are much appreciated. Moreover, aspects like price, availability, and convenience influence food choice and shopping habits. This indicates a need for further research as regards the consumers' willingness to

buy the products of JFN at Hjortdal Grocery Store as well as their willingness to pay extra for local products.

As stated in the introduction, the attention to the potential of regional branding through local food is insufficient (Johansen, Hjalager & Hoff, 2015). Moreover, in his dissertation on marketing in strategic food networks, Boesen (2015) argues that the economic aspect of marketing in local food networks is often downsized in favor of other elements and therefore, the potential of the networks to affect economic growth and job creation is not fully exploited. Together this points towards a need for research on how to strategically promote JFN to make it an economic success. The commercial aspect is significantly relevant in a local development perspective and is one of the three points needed in the creation and maintaining of the quality of rural life (van der Ploeg et al., 2008). Hence, research in this area can add to the understanding of how JFN can drive local development and contribute to the good life in the countryside.

The marketing perspective is tightly connected to tourism. It is of high relevance to explore how to join JFN with tourism, as Jammerbugt Municipality in general and the area around Hjortdal and Slettestrand in particular, are excellent tourist destinations. Kresten is aware of the untapped potential in linking tourism and local food: *"We have tourism in Jammerbugt. Tourism makes the largest profit, and the tourists want authentic stories and good quality food. So it's crazy not to use that."* (Appendix 10) The buying power of tourists and the demand for authenticity, storytelling and experiences make for a great market potential for JFN. Hence, research is required on how to target the tourists in the branding of JFN.

REFERENCES

- Bevir, M., 2011. Governance as Theory, Practice, and Dilemma. In: Bevir, M. (ed.). *The SAGE Handbook of Governance*. SAGE Publications.
- Bjerg, O., 2015. Metoder og erkendelsesteori. In: Vallgård, S. & Koch, L. (eds.). *Forskningsmetoder i folkesundhedsvidenskab*. Munksgaard.
- Bjørner, T., 2015a. Research design. In: Bjørner, T. (ed.). *Qualitative Methods for Consumer Research*. Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Bjørner, T., 2015b. Data collection. In: Bjørner, T. (ed.). *Qualitative Methods for Consumer Research*. Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Boesen, M., 2015. *Markedsføring i strategiske fødevarer-netværk: i spændingsfeltet mellem en pluralisme af handlingslogikker*. Ph. D., Roskilde: Roskilde University.
- Boesen, M., Sundbo, D. & Sundbo, J., 2017. Local Food and Tourism: an Entrepreneurial Network Approach. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 17 (1), pp. 76-91.
- Born, B. & Purcell, M., 2006. Avoiding the Local Trap: Scale and Food Systems in Planning Research. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 26 (2), pp. 195-207.
- Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S., 2015. *Interviews. Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 3rd ed., SAGE Publications.
- Charmaz, K., 2014). *Constructing Grounded Theory*. 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications.
- Christensen, S. M., 2013. Stedbundne ressourcer. In: Moltesen, P. & Møller, L. F. (eds.). *Planlægning og provinsbyer*. Ministry of Environment & Danish Architecture Centre.
- Clarke, A., Friese, C. & Washburn, R. S., 2018: *Situational Analysis. Grounded Theory After the Interpretive Turn*. 2nd ed., Sage Publications.
- Dahlager, L. & Fredslund, H., 2015. Hermeneutisk analyse - forståelse og forforståelse. In: Vallgård, S. & Koch, L., 2015. *Forskningsmetoder i Folkesundhedsvidenskab*. Munksgaard. Ch. 7.
- Denters, B., 2011. Local Governance. In: Bevir, M. (ed.). *The SAGE Handbook of Governance*. SAGE Publications.
- DuPuis, M. & Goodman, D., 2005. Should We Go Home to Eat?: Toward a Reflexive Politics of Localism. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 21, pp. 359-371.
- Danish Centre for Rural Research, 2015. *Vandkantsdanmark vinder frem*. [online] Available at: https://www.sdu.dk/da/om_sdu/institutter_centre/c_clf_centerlanddistriktsforskning/nyheder_fra_clf/vandkantsdanmark [Accessed January 31 2018]

Eriksen, S. N., 2013: Defining Local Food: Constructing a New Taxonomy – Three Domains of Proximity. *Acta Agriculturae Scandinavica, Section B – Soil & Plant Science*. 63 (1).

Eriksen, S. N. & Sundbo, J., 2016. Drivers and Barriers to the Development of Local Food Networks in Rural Denmark. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23 (4), pp. 750-764.

Feldmann, C. & Hamm, U., 2015. Consumers' Perceptions and Preferences for Local Food: A Review. *Food Quality and Preference*, 40, pp. 152-164.

Goodman, D., 2003. The Quality 'Turn' and Alternative Food Practices: Reflections and Agenda. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 19 (1), pp. 1-7.

Hinrichs, C., 2003. The Practice and Politics of Food System Localization. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 19 (1), pp. 33-45.

Halkier, B., 2016. *Fokusgrupper*. 3rd ed. Samfundslitteratur.

Hansen, M. W. & Kristensen, N. H., 2015. Lejre Økologiske Kommune - en case. In: Jespersen, L. M. (ed.). *Økologiens bidrag til samfundsgoder*. Vidensyntese 2015. ICROFS.

Hansen, C. J., Laursen, L. L. H. & Møller, J., 2014. *Erhvervs-mæssige muligheder og stedbundne regionale styrkepositioner*. Center for fysisk planlægning, Aalborg Universitet.

Hjalager, A., Boisen, T. & Leth, G. L., 2016. *Vilkår og udviklingsmuligheder for småskala fødevarerhverv i de danske landdistrikter*. Holstebro: Videncenter for fødevarerudvikling.

Hjordtal Grocery Store, 2018: *Socialøkonomi*. [online] Available at: <http://hjortdalkobmand.dk/projektet/en-samfundsgavnlig-koebmand/> [Accessed January 22 2018]

Hulgård, L., 1995. *Den lokale ildsjæl og det polycentrerede samfund*. *Politica*, 27 (1), pp. 38-52.

Jammerbugt Municipality, 2014. *Tal og fakta*. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.ft.dk/samling/20141/almdel/ul%C3%B8/bilag/22/1417314.pdf> [Accessed January 23 2018]

Jammerbugt Municipality, 2016. *Ildsjæle gør forskellen*. [pdf] Available at: <https://www.jammerbugt.dk/media/3495946/ildsjaele-goer-forskellen.pdf> [Accessed March 18 2018]

Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017a. *Strategiplan 2030 for området ved Fjerritslev, Slettestrand og Svinkløv i Jammerbugt Kommune*. Version 3. [pdf] Available at: http://www.jammerbugt.dk/media/3495504/strategiplan_2030.pdf [Accessed March 30 2017]

Jammerbugt Municipality, 2017b. *Forslag til helhedsplan 2017-2029*. [pdf] Available at: http://helhedsplan17.jammerbugt.dk/download/2017/Forslag_til_hhp2017.pdf [Accessed January 8 2018]

Johansen, P. H., Hjalager, A. & Hoff, H., 2015. Økologi og landdistriktsudvikling. In: Jespersen, L. M. (ed.). *Økologiens bidrag til samfundsgoder*. Vidensyntese 2015. ICROFS.

Kjeldsen, C., Deleuran, L. C. & Noe, E., 2013. The Quality Turn in the Danish Food Scape: New Food Chains Emerging New Territorial Impacts? *Acta Agriculturae Scandinavica, Section B – Soil & Plant Science*, 63(1), pp. 19-28.

Kneafsey, M., Venn, L., Schmutz, U., Trenchard, L., Eyden-Woods, T., Bos, E., Sutton, G. & Blackett, M., 2013. *Short Food Supply Chains and Local Food Systems in the EU. A State of Play of their Socio-Economic Characteristics*. Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, Joint Research Centre, European Commission.

Kristensen, N. H., Dal, J. K. & Wolf, M. R., 2017. *Lokale fødevarer-netværk og -strategier i Danmark. En kortlægning for Realdania, 2017*. Aalborg University Copenhagen, Realdania & The Danish Society of Engineers.

LandboNord, 2016: *Vendsyssel Fødevarer*. [online] Available at: <https://www.landbonord.dk/forening/nyheder-1/vendsyssel-foedevarer?Action=1&M=NewsV2&PID=154> [Accessed January 25 2018]

Lang, T., Barling, D. & Caraher, M., 2009. The Supply Chain. In: Lang, T., Barling, D. & Caraher, M. *Food Policy. Integrating Health, Environment & Society*. Oxford University Press.

Local Government Denmark, 2014. *Danmark i forandring - Udvikling i lokal balance*. Local Government Denmark.

Madkulturen, 2015. *Tal om mad. Madindeks 2015*. Roskilde: Madkulturen.

Marsden, T., Banks, J. & Bristow, G., 2000. Food Supply Chain Approaches: Exploring their Role in Rural Development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40 (4), pp. 424-438.

Marsden, T. & Smith, E., 2005. Ecological Entrepreneurship: Sustainable Development in Local Communities Through Quality Food Production and Local Branding. *Geoforum*, 36, pp. 440-451.

Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, 2014. *Noget tyder på... Vision for landdistrikter 2030*. Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs.

Ministry of Environment and Food, 2017a. *EUs fødevarerpolitik*. [online] Available at: <http://mfvm.dk/foedevarer/eus-foedevarerpolitik/> [Accessed March 20th 2018]

Ministry of Environment and Food, 2017b. *Statistik over økologiske jordbrugsbedrifter 2016*. [pdf] Available at: http://lbst.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/NaturErhverv/Filer/Virksomheder/Oekologi/Statistik_oekologiske_jordbrugsbedrifter_2016.pdf [Accessed January 23 2018]

Ministry of Environment and Food, 2018. *Landdistriktsprogrammet 2014-2020*. [online] Available at: <http://lbst.dk/tvaergaende/eu-reformer/landbrugsreformen-2014-2020/landdistriktsprogrammet-2014-2020/#c32780> [Accessed May 8 2018]

Mount, P., 2012. Growing Local Food: Scale and Local Food systems Governance. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 29 (1), pp.107-121.

Mundler, P. & Laughrea, S., 2016. The Contributions of Short Food Supply Chains to Territorial Development: A study of Three Quebec Territories. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 45, pp. 218-229.

Murdoch, J. & Miele, M., 1999. 'Back to Nature': Changing 'Worlds of Production' in the Food Sector. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 39 (4), pp. 465-483.

Nordisk Brænderi, 2018. *Håndværket*. [online] Available at: <http://www.nordiskbraenderi.dk/destilleriet/haandvaerket.aspx> [Accessed February 5 2018]

North Denmark Region, 2009. *Zoom - vækst i Nordjylland. 2*. [online] Available at: <http://publikationer.rn.dk/rn/23/html5/> [Accessed April 16 2018]

Naturkød Jammerbugt, 2018. *Profil*. [online] Available at: http://naturkodjammerbugt.dk/?page_id=17 [Accessed February 5 2018]

OECD, 2006. *The New Rural Paradigm. Policies and Governance*. Paris: OECD.

Organic Denmark, 2017. *The world leading organic nation*. [online] Available at: <http://organicdenmark.com/organics-in-denmark/facts-and-figures> [Accessed February 19 2018]

Papaoikonomou, E. & Ginieis, M., 2017. Putting the Farmer's Face on Food: Governance and the Producer-Consumer Relationship in Local Food Systems. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 34, pp. 53-67.

Pearson, D., Henryks, J., Trott, A., Jones, P., Parker, G., Dumaresq, D. & Dyball, R. 2011. Local Food: Understanding Consumer Motivations in Innovative Retail Formats. *British Food Journal*, 113 (7), pp.886-899.

Realdania, Local Government Denmark & the Danish Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs, 2018. *Om kampagnen*. [online] Available at: <https://www.paaforkant.dk/om-kampagnen> [Accessed January 23 2018]

Regional Madkultur Thy-Mors, 2018. *Om foreningen*. [online] Available at: <http://www.madkulturthymors.dk/regional-madkultur-thy-mors/om-foreningen/> [Accessed January 25 2018]

Renting, H., Marsden, T. K. & Banks, J., 2003. Understanding Alternative Food Networks: Exploring the Role of Short Food Supply Chains in Rural Development. *Environment and Planning A*. 35, pp. 393-411.

Roland (ed.), 2016. *Danskernes madvaner 2016*. [pdf] Coop Analyse. Available at: <https://om.coop.dk/Upload/om.coop.dk/Publikationer/analyser/Danskernes%20Madvaner%202016%20Coop%20Analyse.pdf> [Accessed March 7 2018]

Schönhart, M., Penker, M. & Schmid, E., 2009. Sustainable Local food Production and Consumption: Challenges for Implementation and Research. *Outlook on Agriculture*, 38 (2), pp. 175-182.

Selfa, T. & Qazi, J., 2005. Place, Taste, or Face-to-Face? Understanding Producer-Consumer Networks in "Local" Food Systems in Washington State. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 22, pp. 451-464.

- Spilling, O. R., 2011. Mobilising the Entrepreneurial Potential in Local Community Development. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 23 (1-2), pp. 23-35.
- Sonnino, R., 2013. Local Foodscapes: Place and Power in the Agri-Food System. *Acta Agriculturae Scandinavica, Section B - Soil & Plant Science*. 63 (1), pp. 2-7.
- Stamer, N. B., Jakobsen, G. S. & Thorsen, G. N., 2016. *Tal om mad. Madindeks 2016*. Roskilde: Madkulturen.
- Stoker, G., 1998. Governance as Theory: Five Propositions. *International Social Science Journal*, 50 (1), pp. 17-28.
- Sundbo, D. I. C., 2013. Local Food: The Social Construction of a Concept. *Acta Agriculturae Scandinavica, Section B - Soil & Plant Science*. 63 (1), pp. 66-77.
- Tanvig, H. W., 2012. *Projekter og lokal udvikling i yderområder? En analyse af ti projekter med succes*. Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs.
- Tanvig, H. W. & Jankovic, 2017. *Dansk landdistriktspolitik i nyere tid: en længere historie kort fortalt*. Department of Geosciences and Natural Resource Management, University of Copenhagen.
- van der Ploeg, J. D., Renting, H., Brunori, G., Knickel, K., Mannion, J., Marsden, T., de Roest, K., Sevilla-Guzmán, E. & Ventura, F., 2000. Rural Development: From Practices and Policies towards Theory. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40 (4), pp. 391-408.
- van der Ploeg, J. D., van Broekhuizen, R., Brunori, G., Sonnino, R., Knickel, K., Tisenkopfs, T. & Oostindie, H., 2008. Towards a New Theoretical Framework for Understanding Regional Rural Development. In: van der Ploeg, J. D. & Marsden, T. (eds.). *Unfolding Webs: The Dynamics of Regional Rural Development*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum.
- Voorberg, W. H., Bekkers, V. J. J. M. & Tummers, L. G., 2015. A Systematic Review of Co-Creation and Co-Production: Embarking on the social innovation journey. *Public Management Review*, 17 (9), pp. 1333-1357.
- Vækstforum Nordjylland, 2011. *Den nordjyske fødevarerklunge, Spis Nord*. [pdf] Available at: http://www.rn.dk/regional-udvikling/vækstforum/initiativer/evalueringer/midtvejsevalueringer/-/media/Rn_dk/Regional-Udvikling/Regional-Udvikling-sektion/V%C3%A6kstforum/Projekter/Projekterevalueringer/Midtvejsevalueringer/SpisNord_midtvejsevaluering_COWI.ashx [Accessed January 25 2018]
- Winter, M., 2003. Embeddedness, the New Food Economy and Defensive Localism. *Journal of Rural Studies*. 19 (1), pp. 23-32.
- Winther, M. B. & Svendsen, G. L. H., 2012. 'The Rotten Banana' Fires Back: The Story of a Danish Discourse of Inclusive Rurality in the Making. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 28, pp. 466-477.
- Witt, P., 2004. Entrepreneurs' Networks and the Success of Start-ups. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 16 (5), pp. 391-412.

LIST OF APPENDICES

- Appendix 1: Business plan for Jammerbugt Food Network
- Appendix 2: Interview guide Kresten Kronborg
- Appendix 3: Interview guide Tine Bilgram and Henrik Rasmussen
- Appendix 4: Interview guide Brian Thisted
- Appendix 5: Interview guide Pia Hjort and Anders Brekling
- Appendix 6: Moderator guide
- Appendix 7: Focus group introduction
- Appendix 8: Transcription guide
- Appendix 9: Transcription of interview with Tine Bilgram
- Appendix 10: Transcription of interview with Kresten Kronborg
- Appendix 11: Transcription of focus group
- Appendix 12: Transcription of interview with Pia Hjorth
- Appendix 13: Transcription of interview with Anders Brekling
- Appendix 14: Transcription of interview with Brian Thisted
- Appendix 15: Transcription of interview with Henrik Rasmussen