

I think I'll have myself a (local) beer

Brewing discourses of locality in the craft beer shed in Skåne,
Sweden

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Abstract

There is a consensus in circles of academia and policy that the term ‘local’ is used to differentiate food systems that are not of a global or national scale. While many have looked to define local in specific regional settings and contexts, little has been done to understand the different discourses of local in different sectors of the food & beverage (F&B) industry. This thesis investigates to explore this gap, asking the question *How is ‘local’ operationalized by producers and consumers in the craft beer industry?* To answer the question, interviews with craft beer brewers in Skåne, Sweden were conducted and analyzed using discourse analysis and a theoretical framework provided by Kloppenburg et al.’s *Coming in to the Foodshed* (1996). Using the narratives of geography, knowledge, and relationships as part of a foodshed analysis, this paper determines that there are major overlaps in the social dimensions of these narratives, with the environmental and economic dimensions of local in the craft beer sector and local food sector have wide cleavages. Rather than placing narratives of local of other F&B sectors into the narratives of local food, this thesis concludes that different sectors, in different regional and social contexts, have their narratives of local that are specific and unique to their sector. For the craft beer sector in Skåne, those narratives are ‘the craft’ and ‘engagement.’ Understanding that different F&B sectors have their own narratives of local can help policymakers better incorporate multiple F&B sectors into their local food communities and promote holistic rural economic development, social preservation, and environmentally sounds food & beverage systems.

Keywords: local, craft beer, discourse analysis, Sweden

Executive Summary

This thesis project aims to bring attention to different ways of conceptualizing the term 'local' and how it is researched. This sometimes vague or ambiguous term is often understood in the context of food systems as food that is close to home, be that a radius with a set distance or the confines of a particular geographical region. The term can also be conceptualized in terms of producer and consumer relationships or historical and/or traditional knowledge specific to a place. To a certain extent, there is no right or wrong answer to what local food is or means. The one part of local that is universally understood is that it is a counter force to global and more industrialized food systems which have lengthened supply chains, the distance between producer and final consumer, and have eroded traditions of food and agriculture in various parts of the world (Slow Food Movement 2015).

Despite the spatial and contextual necessity for defining local, local food systems are being implemented in national and international policy strategies to feed growing populations, stimulate rural economic development, and address the environmental concerns caused by increased industrialized agriculture production and poor management of land and soil (Chambers et al. 2007, 208; DeLind 2011, 273; Ostrom 2006, 69; Vermeulen et al. 2012), all without necessarily defining what local means. It is for these purposes that policymakers and consumers alike need to have a better understanding of local. To better understand local, we must spend less time and resources understanding *why* the term has become associated with seemingly countless meanings and instead focus on *how* it is being utilized empirically.

Lots of academic research has been devoted to understanding local in regional contexts, such as contextualizing place (Feagan 2007), defining proximity (Erikson 2013), or in creating identity (Beriss 2019). However, an important gap in research exists, which is understanding how local is understood and used in different **sectors** in the food & beverage (F&B) industry, in a specific region with a specific context. Part of the problem in defining local is that it is used across a variety of sectors, such as the dairy sector, meat & poultry, wine, spirits, and beer. The question is not whether these products deserve the label of local, but how does local function in specific industries that have specific ingredients or processes that may not lend themselves to more traditional or agricultural understandings of local.

Thus, this research project takes a sectoral approach with the aim to broaden how local can be understood. Using the craft beer sector in Skåne, Sweden, this thesis asks the research questions:

- 1. How is 'local' operationalized and understood by producers and consumers in the craft beer sector in Skåne, Sweden?*
- 2. How do producer & consumer discourses of local overlap? How do they diverge?*

To answer these research questions, this thesis starts with a literature review to better understand the history of local food movements and craft beer. The origin of local food systems can be drawn back to the beginning of agriculture and the domestication of seeds in ancient Mesopotamia, where the concept of a global food system was a non sequitur. However, as tribes interacted and began to trade, global agricultural systems were born. Tribes got bigger and trade became more frequent. Fast-forward past many years of colonization and industrialization, and you find a much more interconnected and globalized food supply system. Especially after World War 2 (WW2), with the advancements of agricultural chemicals, which created a surplus of food, advancements in refrigeration technology, and cheap and accessible transportation, Western supermarkets turned into destinations that knew no seasons nor different climatic zones. Bananas from Latin America sat happily next to avocados from Mexico. These long supply chains, while creating a virtually endless supply of seasonal favorites, also were a cause for

concern and a vector for disease. These concerns, along with emerging environmental and social movements, laid the foundation for the modern local food movement that is known in the U.S. today. Europe had a similar path, though the kick-off for the Slow Food Movement, one of Europe's most prominent local food movements, that also focuses on preservation of traditional recipes and agricultural practices, was set into motion by a young Italian activist by the name of Carlo Petrini, whose call to action was opening of a McDonald's in Rome's famed Piazza di Spagna, which was branded as the 'Americanization' of Italy and the 'degradation of Rome' (Suro 1986). This started a movement that spread across Europe, encouraging people to eat their local and traditional foods, and steer away from the 'fast life' that industries like McDonald's promoted. In the 21st century, there has been a steep rise in the number of farmers' markets and community sustained agriculture (CSA) programs in the United States and Europe.

Like agriculture, beer can trace its routes back to ancient Mesopotamia. It is the drink that infamously fueled the construction of the pyramids in ancient Egypt and many cultures have significant histories and traditions of beer drinking (Tucker 2011). Sea-faring Norse people, better known as Vikings, who lived in Sweden and across Scandinavia drank öl and mjöd, otherwise known as ale and mead, flavored with native fruits, herbs, and spices (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). Swedish brewing traditions disappeared with the introduction of hops to Sweden and the German-style of bottom-fermented beers. Beer also experienced an era of globalization after WW2, which led to the homogenization and consolidation of beer and breweries, leaving a very limited and bland beer market (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017, 1). After restrictions in the United States allowed for private citizens to buy brewing ingredients, the Craft Beer Revolution was born in the 1970s-80s, disseminating across the globe. Sweden was later to the craft beer game than its European counterparts, with many breweries less than two decades old (Norman 2017). With a federally-run alcohol retail monopoly, Systembolaget, breweries in Sweden face different restrictions and perks than breweries in other neighboring European countries.

This literature review serves as a basis for the discourse analysis that is used to understand how local is operationalized in the craft beer sector in Skåne. The data collected for the aforementioned discourse analysis came from interviews done with craft beer brewers in Skåne as well as a survey of local food consumers. The survey was not given to consumers of craft beer because their consumption offers no indication of their knowledge or commitment to local food systems. Instead, by turning the focus to local food consumers, of which some respondents indicated that they drank craft beer, we can better understand the consumer perspective of local narratives and use that as a basis to understand how craft beer producers and consumers' narratives of local connect and disconnect. The interviews were semi-structured, with some taking place via Zoom due to the Covid-19 pandemic and others were in-person at the breweries, following Swedish Covid-19 protocol. The survey included some questions about demographics, some open-ended questions, and a series of values of local food and local craft beer that were ranked on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being 'not at all important' and 5 being 'very important.' Names of the brewers have been withheld and the surveys were anonymous.

Using a foodshed analysis, which is based on the work of Kloppenburg et al. (1996), the local narratives of geography, knowledge, relationships were used to code the interviews and the responses to the surveys. Each narrative was analyzed by three dimensions of local food systems: environmental, social, and economic. These dimensions were added to better conceptualize and understand the narratives of local because they were so broad.

The results and discussion sections were grouped by narrative and each narrative was a chapter of this thesis. For geography narratives of local, consumers and producers both valued the original place of production, though the place of production for a craft beer brewer is different

than the place of production of local food, i.e. a farm. Another important distinction between the two sectors is that while producers thought that quality was a trade-off for locality, consumers of local food and craft beer thought that locality inherently meant higher quality.

For the knowledge narratives of local, consumers expressed their high valuation of historical and traditional knowledge from their local food producers. For the craft beer brewers, few brewers indicated that they had knowledge of beer and traditions specific to Sweden that predated the Craft Beer Revolution. Albeit not pursued in-depth, consumers also expressed their high valuation of sustainable production practices in local agriculture. These were not as highly valued in the craft beer sector, but this could be due to the lack of knowledge about the beer brewing process and what sustainable practices in this sector could look like.

Lastly, the relationships narrative, despite being vital to the prosperity of local food and goods systems, were prickly, in that there were some misconceptions between producers and consumers as to the kind of relationship they are looking for and what platforms these relationships are nurtured. Many brewers spoke of the importance of festivals, which consumers of craft beer did not find to be of much importance for the relationships to their brewers. There was no indication of how consumers wanted brewers to connect with them, due to the nature of the data collected, but perhaps festivals would mean more to the consumers if they had some sort of idea who the brewers were beforehand and went to engage with the brewers rather than meet them.

Different F&B sectors have claims of local that are their own and merit separate narratives that differ from those narratives used in agriculture. This thesis determined two new narratives specific to the craft beer sector in Skåne: 'the craft' and 'engagement.' The Craft looks beyond the place of production of craft beer and looks at ingredient sourcing, traditional knowledge of beer brewing in Sweden, and environmental awareness, and sustainable beer production. Engagement, while similar to the relationship narrative, focuses more on *how* craft beer brewers in Skåne start and continue their relationships with their customers. Without overhauling Systembolaget, two concrete policy recommendations can be made to highlight the narratives of 'the craft' and 'engagement' in the craft beer sector in Skåne.

'The craft' narrative needs to be addressed both socially and environmentally. The recommendations for brewers based on this finding is to encourage the use of traditional Swedish knowledge and take inspiration from traditional recipes, such as öl and mjöd, with the intention of promoting local ingredient sourcing from local agricultural producers. Brewers were focused on the place of beer production in their use of local, and forgoing the origin of their ingredients when thinking about what constitutes 'local' in the craft beer sector, thus the environmental recommendation asks brewers to step backward from production and to look at the sustainability and environmental impacts of the craft beer sector more holistically, starting with the ingredients and ending with packaging and containers. The second recommendation is focused on the engagement narrative, as brewers and consumers both struggled to identify what kind of relationship they want with each other and acknowledged that strong relationships are not just an important part of local agriculture, but to local as a concept. To facilitate engagement, Systembolaget should profile brewers in the brewer's local stores, with a photo and biography, so that consumers can engage in a more personal way with local craft beer brewers and get more 'facetime' without changing how Systembolaget functions.

While these results about narratives of local cannot be extrapolated due to the case-study nature of this research, the idea that different F&B sectors have varying narratives and concepts of local is important for academics and policymakers to remember in their pursuits to define and implement local.

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Abbreviations

ABV Alcohol by volume

CSA Community Sustained Agriculture

FAO Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations

F&B Food & Beverage

GIs Geographical Indications

PDO Protected designation of origin

PGI Protected geographical indication

SDGs Sustainable Development Goals

UN United Nations

USDA United States Department of Agriculture

1 Introduction

A food system “encompasses the entire range of actors and their interlinked value-adding activities involved in the production, aggregation, processing, distribution, consumption, and disposal of food products that originate from agriculture, forestry or fisheries, and parts of the broader economic, societal and natural environments in which they are embedded” (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations [FAO] 2018), or in more simplistic terms, the entire process of food production and consumption, starting with seeds and ending with leftovers. As our world has become more globalized, the number of actors and the distance traveled in between each of these steps has grown exorbitantly. Walking into a Western European and American grocery store, one would not be shocked to find bananas from Costa Rica, apples from New Zealand or avocados from Israel neatly stacked next to one another.

However, as globalized and industrialized food systems continue to get chastised for unsustainable agricultural practices and their adverse environmental impacts, consumers and policymakers are turning towards local food systems to mitigate their concerns and environmental impacts. Consumers in the United States, for example, since the 1980s, have an increased willingness to pay more for local foods (Darby et al. 2008) and the number of farmers’ markets has increased by over 100% from 1994 to 2004 (Darby et al. 2008, 476). The United Nations (UN) has highlighted local food systems and food system boundaries as significant action points in achieving sustainable food systems, which tackle the sustainable development goals (SDGs) of zero-hunger (SDG 2) and sustainable production and consumption (SDG 12) (Sustainable Development Goals Fund 2019; Rojjas & Veliz 2017). One project based in Ecuador, *Strengthening local food systems and capacity building aimed at improving the production and access to safe and healthy foods for families in the Imbabura province*, aims to “contribute to strengthening local food systems and access to healthy, nutritious and safe foods and the nutrition of families under their National Strategy (Ecuadorian Production Matrix)”¹ (Sustainable Development Goals Fund 2017, 7). In the context of this Imbabura project, there are mentions of traditional cultures and identities that were used to distinguish the different cities and areas where the project was being implemented, though these cities were selected for project implementation based on certain demographics, such as families with children under the age of five and growing families with children under the age of two (Sustainable Development Goals Fund 2017, 18). The aim of the project was to target communities most affected by lack of access to safe and healthy food. The outcome of the Imbabura project, which ended in 2016, included an increase in quinoa and lupin production for 100 families in the selected regions and 61% of families reported agricultural diversification (with 12 plant varieties or more) (Sustainable Development Goals Fund 2017, 63-64). Arguably, the lack of definition of local did not hinder the success of the project, but if this project were to be scaled to different regions of Ecuador, or even neighboring countries, would it have experienced the same success?

This rise in ‘local’, for both consumers and policymakers, begs the question: what exactly does ‘local’ mean? It is most often defined in terms of a distance, such as a mile or a kilometer radius (Martinez et al. 2010). Sometimes, it is in reference to a specific region or place (Mylla Mat n.d.). In other contexts, the term local can be defined as the use of specific knowledge, such as traditional or indigenous knowledge. Knowledge can be about growing techniques, special

¹ Translated from Spanish: Contribuir al fortalecimiento de los sistemas alimentarios locales, el acceso a alimentos sanos, nutritivos e inoocuos y la nutrición de las familias, en el marco de la Estrategia Nacional de cambio de la Matriz Productiva del Ecuador

varieties, but what is most important to note is that the knowledge is specific to a particular place. Some definitions of local are based on the relationships that are cultivated in localized food systems and how much distance is between producers and consumers.

The good news here is that local is a multifaceted term that encompasses a plurality of meanings across a variety of disciplines. The term lends itself to solving environmental, social, and economic problems, but I will draw your attention back to the first sentence of the last paragraph: what exactly does local mean?

One might assume that there is a desire to come up with a universally understood meaning of local, in the way that Fair Trade and Organic have cemented definitions by creating accountability through standards and third-party audits. It is important to note that the intent of this thesis project is not to reconcile a standard definition of 'local food' that could be universally recognized. In fact, because of the many dimensions that the word takes on, a single definition might not capture everything that local has come to mean.

Instead, the term local needs to be defined and understood in specific places and contexts. While research has mostly been focused on regional understandings of local as a specific place and context, research regarding how different food & beverage (F&B) sectors understand and utilize the term has yet to be undertaken. This research is imperative to better understanding the term local and being able to implement policies that promote local foods more effectively. This brings us to the problem definition

Problem Definition

The problem that this thesis looks to address is quite simple, which is the problem of expanding research on what local means beyond regional differences to differences of the use and understanding of the term in different sectors in the F&B industry.

This research project chose to look at just one F&B sector, analyzing how the Skånian craft beer sector in Sweden understands and uses the term local. The modern-day craft beer sector is a product of the American Craft Beer Revolution. Like the local food movement, the craft beer revolution was initiated as a response to the globalization, industrialization, and homogenization of the beer market which left beer drinkers with more excitable pallets thirsty for more. After repealing prohibition-era legislation that de-regulated the beer market and allowed home brewers access to hops, malt, and yeast (Philpott 2011), craft beer breweries exploded across the United States, and with the phenomenon reaching all corners of the world, starting re-igniting consumers' interest in craft beer across Europe and Asia.

Rather than cast the net broadly and shallowly, this project will examine how producers from one F&B sector understand local. Albeit one of many sectors in the F&B industry in Skåne, understanding how craft beer breweries operationalize the term local serves as the backbone and launch point for studies into other sectors in the F&B industry. This research project serves to address the problem of sectoral analysis of the term local. Its relevance is also lent to local-food movement proponents, food-related policymakers, and craft beer brewers themselves so that they can better understand how craft beer brewing fits into the fabric of local food systems and will help to bring more understanding to what 'local' means in practice. While focusing predominantly on producers, data to analyze both the producer and consumer side of local in the craft beer sector in Skåne will be gathered and analyzed to help those interested in how different sectors utilize local and what messages and interpretations of locals are being transmitted and which ones are being received.

Aim & Research Questions

To better understand why how local is operationalized in different F&B sectors in Skåne, Sweden, this thesis asks the question:

How is 'local' operationalized and understood by producers and consumers in the craft beer sector in Skåne, Sweden?

It is important to note that producers in the craft beer industry are craft beer brewers and that consumers are local food consumers, some of which drink craft beer. Consumers of craft beer were not the focus of this project, because their consumption of craft beer offers no indication of their knowledge or commitment to local food systems. By interviewing local food consumers, of which some drink craft beer, we can better understand the consumer perspective of local narratives, and use that as context to understand how craft beer producers and consumers' narratives of local compare, which leads to the second research question:

How do producer & consumer discourses of local overlap? How do they diverge?

The empirical data for these research questions will be found through discourse analysis, using a foodshed analytical framework, utilizing data within the region of Skåne, Sweden. The aims and contributions of this research project are to better understand the concept of local and local food systems through case-study research. Although unable to be extrapolated to larger populations, the findings from this thesis project help local food advocates, policymakers, academics, and consumers to garner a better understanding of how the meaning of 'local' varies from sector to sector in the F&B industry. While not aiming to create a concrete definition of local, this project does aim to identify the many facets and dimensions of the term local.

In clarifying the definition of local, this project does not aim to make local a more divisive or confusing term. This thesis project hopes to create bridges between different sectors that value local as a part of their business model and means of social and environmental consciousness. Through these connections between F&B sectors, the hope is to better understand the use of local in Skåne, and that connections can be made between producers and consumers of different types of foods & goods, based on shared values of local consumption.

Scope

This research project focuses on a single case study of the craft beer brewers and local food consumers of Skåne, Sweden. For data collection, this thesis project will be collecting and analyzing interview and survey responses from brewers and local food consumers respectively. Using the network of craft beer brewers from Skåne Dryckesproducenter, in English, Skåne Beverage Producers Association. The data collected and analyzed in this thesis came from n=12 interviews with craft beer brewers and n=18 respondents from the consumer survey distributed by Mylla Mat, a food & beverage distributor that promotes Skånian food and farmers and offers weekly produce bags to consumers in more suburban and urban areas on Skåne. The data used for analysis will all be collected within the timeframe of the thesis project, from February 2021 to May 2021, and the literature used for the literature review is for the most part, with a few exceptions, has been published in the 21st century. Figure 1-1 is a map of Sweden, with Skåne highlighted in red.



*Figure 1-1: Map of Skåne
(TUBS 2011)*

Audience

The intended audience of this project is for academics of local food systems who want a nuanced perspective of how local can be defined, for policymakers to understand how different producers and consumers of different F&B sectors conceptualize and implement local in their sector, and for local food advocates who want to create a more intersectional and wholistic local food movement. But most importantly, this project is intended for anyone who wants to get to know their food and drinks a little bit better.

Outline

This chapter (Chapter 1) presents the problem background and the problem definition for this thesis project. The chapter identifies the aims of this research project, the selected scope, limitations that come from time and pandemic-related constraints, ethical concerns relating to researcher integrity and bias, disclosure of any organizational affiliations, and intended audience for this thesis project.

Chapter 2 will present the methods and methodology that went into designing this research project and provide an overview of the format of the thesis project. This chapter will include sections about the materials used and collection methods for this research project, including a section that introduces the case study.

Chapter 3 will be a literature review, which will build on the research gap identified in the first chapter and provide a more thorough look at the origins of the modern local food movement, including its claims of being a more socially, economically, and environmentally friendly alternative to global food systems. The literature review will also cover the Craft Beer Revolution, the craft beer brewing process, and the craft beer sector in Sweden, including Sweden's alcohol retail monopoly, Systembolaget, as it a large part of the craft beer brewing sector in Skåne. Finally, this chapter will also introduce the theoretical framework that will be used to code the interviews and survey responses for analysis.

The first research question will be answered in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Chapter 4 will be used to explore and explain the narratives of Geography from both producers and consumers in the craft beer industry. Chapter 5 will examine Knowledge narratives, and Chapter 6 will examine the Relationship narratives of local. These chapters will use the data collected from interviews with craft beer brewers and the results of the consumer surveys.

Chapter 7 will answer the second research question, identifying where producer and consumer discourses of locality overlap and where they differ. This chapter will also present conclusions, avenues for further research, and recommendations for both policymakers and local food consumers.

2 Literature Review

Local Food, The Craft Beer Industry & Sweden

Western Agriculture: A Brief History

The cultivation and domestication of seeds was the beginning of agriculture, which has come to shape the structures and ways of life that we recognize today and has allowed for the proliferation of our species (Harari 2014, 83). There are competing origin theories of agriculture and how the domestication of seeds began: to support a growing population, a reaction to changing climatic conditions, etc. regardless of its origin, agriculture has defined political and social systems (Harari 2014, 101) for millennia.

The concept of local food is as old as the concept of agriculture itself. However, around 11,000 years ago, when the first traces of domesticated seeds have been recorded (Vasey 1992, 24), there was no need to distinguish between what we would now call local and non-local produce and goods. Supply chains were short, limiting the exchange of seeds and techniques to knowledge already within a community or surrounding communities (Harari 2014, 90-91). In a highly modernized and capitalistic terms, there were no non-local goods in the market to create competition with local ones (Harmon 2009).

Fast-forwarding thousands of years of migration, colonization, natural climatic change, and human evolution, food systems have been molded by various forces throughout human history. The Industrial Revolution is no exception and brought about significant changes to how we eat, but also to how food and agriculture were thought about. Advances in refrigeration technology, a surplus of produce resulting from the introduction of industrialized chemicals to agriculture (Aktar et al. 2009, 1), and the development of the interstate highway system, food & beverages were starting to travel further distances at a much faster pace without exorbitant transportation costs (Martinez et al. 2010, 1).

This created a new landscape in Western supermarkets, a landscape where distance and season were no longer concerning to consumers. Perishable and non-perishable goods were now available in all parts of the country and across continents, regardless of distance or season. One could find tomatoes from Mexico, grapes from Chile, lettuce from California, apples from New Zealand all stacked nicely and indiscriminately next to one another.

The mass transit of foods and food products gave consumers access to tropical products, such as papaya and bananas, which the United States does not have a hospitable climate for (Martinez et al. 2010, 1), as well as produce that were traditionally available during warmer months could be shipped warmer climates during the winter months (Martinez et al. 2010, 1). Some estimate that an average meal in the United States now travels between 1,300 (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 34) and 1,500 miles before reaching their destination (CUESA, 2020).

The distance that food travels, or 'food miles' (Saunders & Barber 2008, 73) remains one of the main environmental criticisms of the global and industrialized food systems because food that travels further uses more energy has a larger carbon footprint (Saunders & Barber 2008). This, per Kloppenburger et al. (1996), is the most "obvious problem" of global food systems (35), especially as the distance between producer and consumers increases, demanding more "energy required to move agricultural products from farm to table" (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 35). While not to be overlooked, food miles are a minute part of the total emissions

from agriculture. The increased use of mechanized agricultural, such as fertilization, irrigation, machinery, packaging, and refrigeration was facilitated by stable access to cheap fossil fuels (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 35). The introduction of high-yielding varieties made it much easier for farmers to grow more goods with better consistency. This meant more fertilizers and pesticides, which require non-renewable fossil fuels to create and distribute. Fossil fuels are not the only resource being depleted in the name of industrial agriculture. Water and topsoil are also being consumed at “unsustainable rates” (Horrigan et al. 2002, 445), causing “air and water pollution, soil depletion, diminishing biodiversity, and fish die-offs” (Horrigan et al. 2002, 445). There are extensive environmental costs attributed to higher energy inputs, surrounding the “recovery and combustion of fossil fuels [which are] regarded largely as externalities in conventional accounting” (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 35). In other words, the true cost of the industrialization and the extension of the boundaries of our food systems is seldom accounted for in environmental terms.

Global and industrialized food systems are just as harmful to the natural world as they are to “social communities” (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 34). What is eaten by the great majority of North Americans comes from a global everywhere, yet from nowhere that they know in particular. The distance from which their food comes represents their separation from the knowledge of how and by whom what they consume is produced, processed, and transported. If the production, processing, and transport of what they eat is destructive of the land and of human community -- as it very often is -- how can they understand the implications of their own participation in the global food system when those processes are located elsewhere and so are obscured from them? How can they act responsibly and effectively for change if they do not understand how the food system works and their own role within it?”

In response to negative environmental and social externalities perpetuated by industrialized and increasingly globalized food systems, local food movements in both the United States and Europe took a strong foothold in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Walsh 2011).

Local Food Movements: A Brief History

But to understand how the modern Western local food movement was born, we need to understand the industrialization and globalization of Western food systems. One prime example of the American industrialization of food systems from the beginning of the 20th century is the evolution of bread. The “impure, heterogeneous, home bake product in the early 1900s” (Blay-Palmer 2008, 23) was transformed into “the invention of sliced bread” (Blay-Palmer 2008, 23). Spurred by the fears of impurities and seen as an antithesis to progress and the ‘greater good’, white, sliced bread became a staple in American households. By 1930, “80% of Americans purchased their bread from consolidated bakeries- a system of food provision that was non-existent 30 years earlier” (Blay-Palmer 2008, 23).

Winning WW2 proved the importance of efficiency and industrialization as values that would move the United States towards the future, thus, these ideals of modernization through industrialization and efficiency were pursued vigorously, leading to the third Agricultural Revolution, otherwise known as the Green Revolution. The Green Revolution introduced several technology-forward initiatives that made crops more efficient to grow and required less manual labor and fewer laborers. This included modern or high-yielding crop varieties (Evenson & Gollin 2003, 758) and agricultural chemicals [agrochemicals], including fertilizers and pesticides to improve crop yield (Pimentel 1996, 86). Chemicals were not the only environmental concern elicited by the Green Revolution. As mentioned in the previous section

on the history of Western agriculture, there were also issues with land use, biodiversity loss, and water usage. Monocultures became the standard of industrialized agriculture and have “eroded biodiversity among both plants and animals” (Horrigan et al. 2002, 445) due to the nature of a single-species monoculture and the synthetic chemical fertilizers and pesticides necessary to grow many acres of a single crop (Kremen et al. 2012, 44). These synthetic chemical fertilizers and pesticides have also depleted soils of their “fertility and nutrients” (Horrigan et al. 2002, 445) as the single crops take up the nutrients and provide nothing to the soil in return. Industrialized agriculture also meant easier agriculture, which in turn, means more agriculture. More fields were required to plant more crops, more water, fertilizers, and pesticides were needed and produced to make the crops grow.

The omnipresence of pesticides in particular led to the writing and publication of Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* in 1962 which shed light on the adverse environmental impacts of these pesticides. Carson’s work brought environmental concerns about agriculture to the American public and inspired the environmental movement of the 1960s. This movement, amongst the many other counter-culture movements that came to define the decade, is one of two important social movements that helped set the stage for the modern Western local food movement. The environmental movement led to a “bio-regionalist orientation in which people were encouraged to consider the geographic dimensions of their food choices” (Guptill & Wilkins 2002, 39). The focus of the environmental movement at the time was more on organic agriculture and the reduction of pesticides, such as DDT, rather than on local agriculture. In Europe, the United Nations Environmental Program was established as a part of the Stockholm Conference in 1972, and in the same year, the Club of Rome published “Limits to Growth” talking about planetary boundaries and the links between the environment, energy use, and population growth (Meadows et al. 2018).

The second social movement integral to the modern Western local food movement, more specific to the United States was the community food-security movement, which “seeks to enhance access to safe, healthy and culturally appropriate food for all consumers” (Martinez et al. 2010, 2) and general challenges to the hegemony of large corporations. These movements had American consumers conscious of the environmental impacts of industrial food production and the increasingly global food systems that had been in place for decades and were continuing to grow.

However, the local food movement would not find its feet until the late 1980’s/early to mid-1990s in the United States as a response to increasing concerns about food safety and obesity (Walsh 2011). Once eradicated diseases, such as cholera, appeared in the United States due to “contaminated imported foods” (Jarvie 2014). Salmonella and E. Coli have also led to a “dramatic reappearance” of these once-eliminated diseases. Jarvie (2014) sights highly industrialized and globalized food systems as a potential cause, saying that “instead of a very clear path of meat from the farm to your fork, a complicated corporate, maze-like chain of supply gets the meat from the farm to your fork, so that now, in a one-pound package of burger, we could possibly be ingesting meat from more than 100 different cows, from multiple locations, possibly even other countries” (Jarvie 2014).

The European local food movement started with similar origins and concerns about the increasingly globalized food systems and shared similar concerns about the consequences relating to global food systems. The establishment of the European local food movement, via the Slow Food Movement, was arguably established more proactively than the American local food movement. The Slow Food Movement was founded in Italy in 1986 by Carlo Petrini (Slow Food Movement 2015). While Waters was already responding to what she saw as a food

system already globalized, Petrini was trying to stop the globalization of food systems dead in its tracks. Petrini was called to arms in 1983 as plans were announced to build a McDonald's at the foot of the iconic Spanish Steps in Rome (Suro 1986). Critics of the new McDonald's spoke about the hazards of fast food and proclaimed the “'degradation of Rome' and the 'Americanization' of Italian culture if McDonald's was allowed to continue doing business here” (Suro 1986).

While the golden arches of globalization took hold (Suro 1986), Petrini turned his efforts towards preserving Italian culture and heritage through promoting traditional cooking and local food, which turned into the Slow Food Movement. The movement gained traction and was ordained as an international food movement in 1989, with 15 countries signing the Slow Food Manifesto (Fontefrancesco & Corvo 2019). This movement encourages its followers to practice “traditional ways of growing, producing and preparing food” (Slow Food Movement 2015) as an alternative to the fast-food and accompanying fast life' that McDonald's had come to embody and promote (Slow Food 2015). The Slow Food Movement also promotes the traditional knowledge and social and cultural relevance and meaning of food, to preserve local food cultures and traditions that get eroded in the 'fast life' and to reengage people with what they eat (Slow Food Movement 2015).

Since the foundation of these movements, trends have been favorable towards local food movements in the United States and Europe. According to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), national direct-to-consumer food sales increased three-fold between 1992 and 2007, growing twice as fast as total agricultural sales (University of Iowa 2015). The number of farmers' markets listed in the USDA National Farmers Markets increased from 3,706 in 2004 to 8,268 in 2014 (University of Iowa 2015). There are also notable increases in community-supported agriculture (CSA) initiatives, but there is still no indication of what local means.

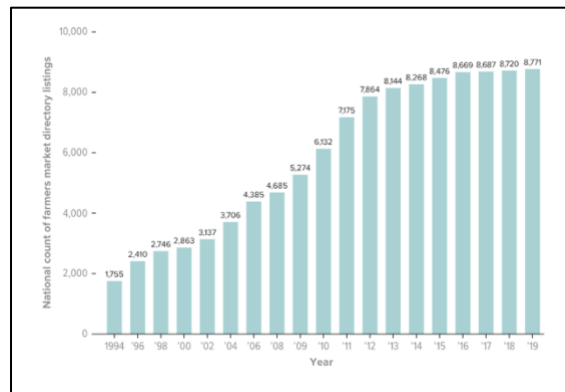


Figure 2-1: Increase in number of farmers' markets in the United States (USDA Agricultural Marketing Services [AMS] Division, 2020)

The USDA has published its definition of local agriculture in the 2008 Food, Conservation, and Energy Act, otherwise known as the 2008 U.S. Farm Bill. The USDA claimed that “the total distance that a product can be transported and still be considered a 'locally or regionally produced agricultural food product' is less than 400 miles from its origin, or within the state in which it is produced” (Martinez et al. 2010, III). Some larger U.S. states are much smaller than 400 miles, and food crossing state lines in regions with smaller states would not be

considered local. This is one of the reasons why this definition of local has yet to be formally recognized or accepted throughout the U.S.

In Europe, the Slow Food Movement has established national offices in Germany, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and have established their global headquarters in Italy. In addition to the expansion of the Slow Food Movement, some European countries saw an increase in the number of farmers' markets and sales value. Other efforts in Europe to understand and define local in have been undertaken by academics, such as Holloway et al. (2007), that explore the difference of European and North American 'alternative' food systems, and however, per their analysis, local is one of the many qualities that are embedded in rural development strategies (Holloway et al. 2007, 4).

In addition to the Slow Food Movement, the passage of the Protected designations of origin (PDOs) for foods (No 2081/92) in July 1992 was an important turning point for local food movements in Europe. Designation of origin is characterized by the name of a region, a special area, or eventually, a country, to designate products coming originally from the place mentioned, and therefore having a specific quality. While not an official definition of local, the PDOs do offer a European-wide consensus on "the concept of a 'localized food product'" (Amilien et al. 2007). It is also important to note that PDOs are often reserved for finished food products and not for raw agricultural products.

This brief overview looks at some of the origins of the modern Western local food movement, as a response to an environmentally and socially degrading industrialized and globalized food system that has been expanding

Local: So, what does it mean?

The previous section demonstrated the many events that occurred that made local food movements in the United States and Europe what they are today. But one thing that the previous section intentionally failed to do was to define what 'local' means in a local food movement or local food system. By directly supporting farmers & other food producers, supporters of local food movements are demonstrating their contempt for name-less and distant farmers that have resulted from globalized food systems and are expressing their support for deeper connections to the foods they eat and the people who grow them (Ilbery & Maye 2005). But still, that does not define what local is nor what it means in practice.

Policy advocates, food activists, and academics alike have their own perception of how far the 'local' umbrella should reach (Ahearn et al. 2018, 471). Apart from the USDA's definition that was mentioned earlier, Smith & MacKinnon (2007), authors of *The 100-mile diet*, have a more conservative 100-mile definition of local foods. Callicoon Farmers' Market is a "producer-only market' meaning all vendors either grow or produce their own goods and operate within 75 miles" (Callicoon Farmers' Market 2020). Academics have defined local not in terms of geography, but more so by social relationships. Arita et al. (2014) defined local foods as "foods grown nearby or supplied locally" (227). Ahearn et al. (2018) also cites the lack of cohesive definition but argues that "most would agree that food commodities sold directly to consumers (DTC) are considered local" (472). Peters et al. (2008) define "eating locally [as] minimizing the distance between production and consumption, especially concerning the modern mainstream food system" (2).

Despite the similar sentiments and intentions expressed by each of these definitions, there is no formal or unified definition of what 'local' is within the rest of the local food movement. Theoretically, a heterogenous definition of local means that more 'local' foods are being

consumed, which has “the potential to provide economic, environmental and social benefits in relation to sustainable consumption at the local level” (Chambers et al. 2007, 208). Per this logic, more consumption equals more benefits. Like most transitions from theory to reality, it is not quite that simple. The reality is that the lack of uniformity in what ‘local’ is or means can be problematic and potentially misleading to supporters of local food movements and consumers in pursuit of local goods (Feldmann & Hamm 2014, 155), and does not necessarily indicate the environmental or social benefits or harms of a particular food or food product.

Craft Beer

Beer: A Brief History

A few important things that are worth noting before starting this brief history of beer brewing. The first is that the history of beer brewing is far from a linear story; different civilizations at different points in time have been fermenting beverages made from cereals for thousands of years. Due to the selection of the case study, apart from its ancient roots, this overview of the history of beer brewing is focused on Northern Europe, as the tradition of beer brewing in this region as this narrative is most relevant for understanding narratives of local.

There are competing theories as to when beer was created. There is evidence of fermented gruel beverages from 13,000 years ago from the semi-nomadic Natufians (Borschel-Dan 2018), and even further evidence of fermented barley beverages from 3,500 BCE. But there is a consensus that beer was created around the time of the first Agricultural Revolution around 10,000 BCE (Mauk 2013; Meussdoerffer 2009).

Again, there are many competing origin theories about why civilization began to domesticate seeds, but they did, and the first permanent settlements started to emerge. Among the plants selected to breed were einkorn, wheat, and barley (Meussdoerffer 2009, 3), as these grains were a source of carbohydrates and proteins, were easy to manage, and could be stored over long periods (Meussdoerffer 2009, 3). We now know beer as a combination of water and barley, but beer could be made of any domesticated cereals and water, combining with wild yeasts in the air, that underwent spontaneous fermentation. There is evidence of fermented grain & water drinks, other than barely, coming from China as early as 7,000 BCE. “Chemical analyses of ancient organics absorbed into pottery jars from the early Neolithic village of Jiahu in Henan province revealed that a mixed fermented beverage of rice, honey and fruit was being produced” (McGovern et al. 2004, 17593).

This not-so ‘spontaneous fermentation’ proved to be an effective means of purifying drinking water, preserving the barley harvest, and providing a carbohydrate and protein-rich food source. Civilizations all over Eurasian and Northern Africa produced and drank beer. The Sumerians, from ancient Mesopotamia, had a patron goddess of brewing, Ninkasi. A Hymn to Ninkasi was written in her honor, which details how beer is crafted from barley via bread (Black 2006, 298). This is now known as “history’s oldest beer recipe” (Nurin 2015). In ancient Egypt, beer was one of the main foodstuffs. It had a low ABV of 3% (Eyres 2011) and was a form of payment for laborers who built the Great Pyramids of Giza, Egypt, where a day’s work was worth four to five liters of beer (Berger & Duboë-Laurence 1988). It is believed that the nutrition and the refreshment that the beer provided were essential to the pyramids’ completion (Tucker 2011). Though the men were the ones constructing the pyramids, it was the women who were responsible for brewing it.

Beer continued to be a popular drink throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, especially in Northern parts of Europe where grape cultivation was less feasible (Meussdoerffer 2009, 8-9). The Middle Ages is also when hops were introduced to brewers as a means of flavoring the beer. The first documentation of hops was written in 822 by Saint Adalhard of Corbie, France (Hornsey 2003; Nelson 2005, 107). Adding hops to flavor beer has been known since the 9th century but was adopted gradually due to difficulties of growing hops and determining the right proportion of hops to the wort, which is what brewers call the pre-fermented beer mixture. Unlike other flavor additives, such as herbs or fruits, hops have preservation properties that make them ideal for brewing beer. “For thousands of years, women brewed an unhoped liquid called ‘ale’, whose quick spoilage rate suited decentralized domestic production. Some entrepreneurial female brewsters (the feminine equivalent of the masculine ‘brewer’) produced more than their families needed and sold the surplus for pittance. But married women held no legal status, and unmarried women held little capital. Their predicament left them financially and politically vulnerable and unable to access the economic developments and technological advancements that transformed Europe from an agrarian society to a commercial one.” (Nurin 2015).

Pubs and monasteries began to brew beer at the end of the Middle Ages (14th-15th centuries) as the flavor and preservation of beer with hops made the beverage more prevalent and popular amongst the middle and lower classes (Nelson 2005, 110). Like agriculture, beer brewing became more efficient during the Industrial Revolution. There were several inventions and discoveries that made brewing more efficient, but also expanded what types of beers could be made. The thermometer and hydrometer helped brew more accurately and the discovery of pasteurization was used to eliminate unwanted microorganisms, which can spoil large batches of beer (Portno 1968). The drum roaster, which was invented by Daniel Wheeler in 1817, was also a crucial invention for the evolution of beer brewing and the development of more artisanal beers (Mosher 2017, 54). Wheeler got the idea from watching coffee beans being roasted and adapted a coffee roaster for malt. Before the drum roaster, malt was roasted in layers in kilns. This had many problems, such as uneven roasting and the smokey flavors that the malt picked up from the fire (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). The drum roaster allowed for better control over the temperature and time of the roast and prevented the smokey flavor from penetrating the malt. The flexibility of controlling the time and temperature created a slew of new malts that created new beer styles, including “various types of porter, stout, and pale ale on the British Isles, and märzen, Vienna, pilsner, Oktoberfest, and helles lagers” (Oliver & Colicchio 2011).

Beer brewing had shifted from a domestic activity into and commercial task, beer remained a locally produced product (Rogerson 2016). Each village or town had a brewpub, a place where beer is both brewed and sold directly to customers. These types of establishments were the center of village life and instilled a sense of local patriotism that was woven into the fabric and identity of a place (Rogerson 2016). Despite the advancements in barley roasting and pasteurization, beer was still very much a localized product. Although the quantity and quality of beer may have evolved due to these advancements in technology, beer brewing was an activity done on-sight or at least in the same village, putting the local barley and hops harvest to good use.

Globalization, on the other hand, played a significant role that led to a few important shifts within the beer industry. The first is that larger breweries would need to brew larger batches of beer. Larger breweries were needed to keep up with the demand for beer. Advancements in brewing technology required lots of up-front capital and greater economies of scale (Adams 2006), which small-scale or local breweries could not do (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017, 2).

Incumbent beer producers could ship their beer further, creating a larger and more globalized market of beer, creating quite several hurdles for smaller-scale entrants and making it impossible to compete. Many small-scale breweries were acquired, consolidated, sold, or simply went out of business up until the 1980s (Hoalst-Pullen et al. 2014). The second is that the quality of the beer was measured in consistency, rather than in diversity. The focus on consistent quality and high quantity created a homogenization of beer types and a consolidation in the number of breweries. These trends of production did not match the trends of consumption, which showed a rising number of consumers looking for more flavor and variety in their beer consumption (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017). This desire for better beer spurred the Craft Beer Revolution.

Craft Beer Revolution

The Craft Beer Revolution began, like the local food movement, as a response to the homogenization and globalization of beers and beer brewers on the market, starting in the 1980s (Esposti et al. 2017). At the peak of this period of consolidation in the 1980s, there were only 43 beer producers in the United States (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2018, 10). The consolidation period meant blander, less exciting flavors intended to please a larger audience (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017). Growing weary of less-than-flavorful beers, coupled with the repeal of federal taxes on homebrewing in the United States in 1978 (Murphy 2016), the Craft Beer Revolution gave birth to an explosion of craft beer breweries across the United States and Europe.

Craft beer breweries, as opposed to commercial beer breweries, are breweries “that ‘recently’ started brewing ‘different’ types of beer on a ‘small’ scale” (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017, 1). The terms ‘recently’, ‘different’ and ‘small’ are all relative to the industry. ‘Recently’ indicates a brewery that has opened in the last century, having successfully avoided the consolidation process that defined the beer industry in the 1900s (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017, 1). ‘Different’ can mean techniques that differ from traditional brewing methods or different ingredients (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017, 1). ‘Small’ is defined in relation to the size of the market, which varies from country to country. The United States, for example, has a much higher threshold of small craft breweries due to the size of the market (Garavaglia & Swinnen 2017, 2). In terms of size, it is important to note that there is a craft beer paradox, when craft beer brewers, such as Lagunitas Brewing Company, start as small craft beer breweries and grow so much in popularity, that they become a commercial beer brewer (Lagunitas 2017). Despite modest beginnings, these types of breweries can no longer be classified as craft beer breweries.

Beer Brewing Process

Part of understanding how the craft beer industry in Skåne operationalizes local means knowing the origins and history of beer brewing, both globally and locally. Beer is made from 4 essential ingredients: water, barley, hops, and yeast.

2.1.1.1 Water

Water is the largest ingredient by volume and makes up 95% of the finished beer. Mineral content in water can affect the beer’s overall taste, shaping some region’s beer styles. For example, “English-style pale ales, made famous at Burton-on-Trent in England, owe their unique hop bite to the high sulfate content of the region’s water” (Tapville Social, 2018).

2.1.1.2 Malted Barley

After establishing a water source, the beer brewing process starts with malting the barley. Malting is a process of partial germination, during which “enzymes in the aleurone layer [Figure 3] are released and new enzymes are created that break down the endosperm’s protein/carbohydrate matrix into smaller carbohydrates, amino acids, and lipids and open up the seed’s starch reserves” (Palmer 2006).

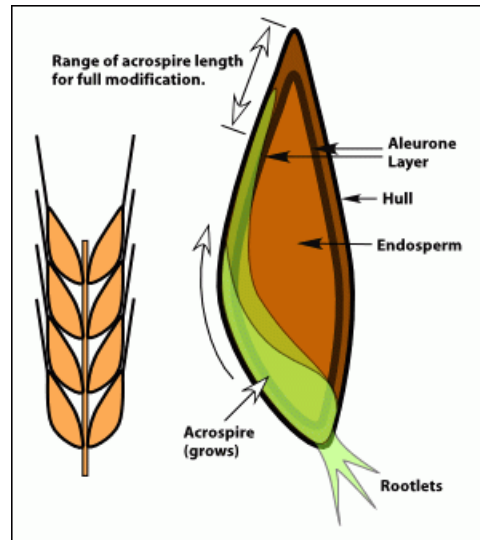


Figure 2-2: A simplified look at the malting process in a kernel of barley (Palmer 2006)

The germination is stopped, because if it were allowed to continue, a barley plant would grow and the sugars that the brewer needs to make beer would be used by the plant. Malting can be done to most grains, but barley is the preferred choice of brewers because few cereals can break the endosperm as easily as barley and turn those starches into sugars that are necessary for fermentation.

To start brewing beer, a brewer takes water and the malted barley and begins what is called a ‘mash’, which is a process that “hydrates the barley, activates the malt enzymes, and converts the grain starches into fermentable sugars” (Palmer 2006). The combination of malted barley and water creates wort, which is pre-fermented beer. The barley is then strained from the wort, and the wort is boiled, and hops are added at selected time intervals, depending on the desired hoppiness.

2.1.1.3 Hops

The first known account of hops being added to the beer brewing process was in the 9th century and became popularized in the 14-15th centuries (Meussdoerffer 2009). Hops are not essential to make beer but have become one of the essential ingredients in modern beer brewing (Quenqua 2018). The addition of hops created a division between what was considered beer and ale. Ales, unlike beers, do not use hops in the brewing process. We now know beer as being either a lager or an ale, but this distinction has to do with how the wort is fermented, which will be discussed later in this section.

A notable feature of hops is the patenting of hops varieties, which limits who can grow and sell certain hops varieties. In the United States, for example, whoever “invents or discovers and asexually reproduces any distinct and new variety of plant, including cultivated sports, mutants, hybrids, and newly found seedlings... may obtain a patent” (Foss 2020). For those who breed a new strain, hops growers can apply for patents that protect their work from the public domain for twenty years (Foss 2020). A patented hops variety can drive up the price for brewers who want to brew with particular varieties of hops, such as the popular Galaxy or Mosaic hops varieties. Patents can price brewers out of certain hops varieties and potentially limit access to other hops varieties.

2.1.1.4 Yeast

The wort is then cooled and transferred to a fermentation tank. This is when the yeast is added to the wort. Yeast converts sugar into alcohol and releases carbon dioxide as a byproduct. There are two main methods of fermentation: top and bottom fermentation. The top fermentation is done in a warm tank (17-25° Celsius) and the yeast remains on the top of the wort as it transforms from wort into uncarbonated beer (Palmer 2006). Bottom fermentation is done in a cold tank (5-10° Celsius) and the yeast sits on the bottom and ferments at a slower pace than top-fermented beers (Palmer 2006). These different techniques are the distinguishing factor in ales versus lagers. Ales are the result of top-fermentation and lagers the results of bottom-fermentation. Because the yeast has a slower pace of activity in bottom-fermentation, lager beers have longer shelf lives (Palmer 2006).

After a few weeks, the wort and yeast have been fermented into uncarbonated beer. There are many means by which beer is carbonated, and they depend on the vessel that container or vessel that the beer is going to be stored in. In the most simplistic of terms, carbonation is the liquid form of carbon dioxide. To maintain the carbon dioxide in liquid form, there needs to be pressure. In the case of beer brewing, this can come from a beer bottle and cap or sealed can (Palmer 2006). For home brewers, carbonation can be achieved by adding a little bit of sugar to feed the residual yeast in the beer and then sealed to create carbonation. For operations of any industrial size, there is a need for consistency in carbonation, which is challenging to achieve with a simple sugar solution. Thus, commercial brewers, i.e., anyone who brews beer that goes beyond personal consumption, carbonation can be forced into a sealed vat, such as a keg, and have carbon dioxide pumped into it and in the absence of oxygen can be absorbed by the beer.

Beer and the Local Food Movement

Both the craft beer industry and the modern local food movement are responses to disconnectedness from increasingly industrialized and globalized food systems. Both food and beverage industries use the term ‘local’ to designate their food and products from their larger & more globalized counterparts and indicated a certain environmental and social consciousness of a food or good. However, the term ‘local’ is defined and utilized differently in different industries, selecting certain values and narratives that have come to define the local food movement. Apart from the taste and quality differentiation that comes from craft beer brewers, consumers of craft beer are also drawn to other selling points that distinguish craft beer production from commercial beer production (Anderson et al. 2018).

Due to its scope and production practices, craft beer is viewed “as a more sustainable product [than conventional beer]” (Carniero 2020) and has consumers “increasingly looking for some background information on the beer, like its ingredients or history” (Carniero 2020). Unlike in

the agricultural sector, 'local' is not always used to delineate the origins of the ingredients (Reid & Gatrell 2017, 94). There are few hospitable regions for growing key brewing ingredients, such as hops, which affect a craft brewer's supply chain and force brewers to seek non-locally grown supplies (Reid & Gatrell 2017, 93), despite other ingredients, such as barley being sourced locally, or the beer being brewed locally.

The term local can also be found in the craft beer industry in the context of tourism. While wine production & wine tourism have "been recognized widely as a catalyst for local and regional development in many parts of the world", there is a burgeoning market for other beverages, such as bourbon, whiskey, and craft beer (Rogerson 2016, 228). Localities and regions "seek to market themselves while simultaneously protecting themselves from the homogenizing force of globalization" (Bell & Valentine 1997, 149). By using the term 'local', a craft brewer is simultaneously embedding itself in a socially created local/regional identity and establishing itself within one's community (Rogerson 2016, 229). The association of 'local' in the tourism industry, as opposed to the agriculture sector, is of a temporary event or experience that the consumer has rather than 'local' being associated with long-term resilience and creating community membership, which are values that the local food movement advocates for (Rogerson 2016, 230).

Swedish Agriculture and Beer

This section will take a brief look at the history of agriculture and beer production in Sweden and the larger Scandinavian region. The purpose of this section is to provide a better understanding of the historical knowledge and traditions of agriculture and beer brewing in Sweden and Skåne.

Agriculture

Agriculture has been a part of the Swedish landscape since the Stone Age, though there are not many English sources that offer lots of detail as to what the landscape looked like. One of the most important grains grown was barley, followed by wheat, millet, and flax (Rib Viking Center 2015a). Advancements of Christianity in the country gave impetus for the spread of agriculture with knowledge and technological developments being brought with the spread of Christianity from practicing nations in southern Europe. Some scholars believe that agriculture in Sweden predates the introduction of Christianity (Rohde Sloth et al. 2012, 1).

The Vikings, or sea-faring Norse people, that inhabited various parts of Scandinavia from the 8th to 11th centuries were agriculturalists, thanks to the invention of the mould-board plow (Andersen et al. 2016). The Vikings cultivated rye, barley, oat, and wheat, which were used to make porridges and come types of bread. These porridges were flavored with honey and other spices that were cultivated in gardens or collected from the land, such as thyme, juniper berry, bog myrtle, yarrow, juniper, and birch tree resin (McGovern et al. 2013). Vikings also collected and grew various fruits native to the region, such as rosehips, crab apples, cherries, elderberries, rowan, and hawthorn (Rohde Sloth et al. 2012, 3).

Jumping ahead a few centuries, Sweden established itself as a cereal-exporter to its neighboring European countries (Olsson & Svensson 2008, 9), despite having various periods of famine from the mid-17th century to the mid-19th century (Olsson & Svensson 2008, 8). In the early 18th century, as a result of the Great Northern War that spanned over two decades, Sweden lost their Baltic provinces, which were the primary cereal-producing provinces in Sweden (Olsson & Svensson 2008, 9). Despite this setback, "growth seems to

have taken place in European agriculture during the first half of the nineteenth century, and Swedish per capita growth among the best in Europe during this period” (Olsson & Svensson 2010, 297), and Sweden once again became a cereal-exporting nation by the beginning of the 19th century (Olsson & Svensson 2010, 284).

The industrialization of Swedish agriculture saw a shift towards dairy production and animal husbandry, steering Swedish agriculture towards the growth of cereals for animal feed, also known as fodder (Olsson & Svensson 2010, 302). Currently, one-third of Swedish exports are from cereal and cereal products, and “The rest is made up of beverages, processed food, dairy products, and eggs” (Jordbruksverket 2009, 5). Approximately 60 % of total arable land in Sweden is located in southern Sweden, and approximately 25 % of all food that is produced in Sweden is produced in Skåne (Jørgensen 2013). In 2006, cereals, sugar beets, rapeseed, and potatoes were the most common crops found in Skåne the three most common crops in Skåne (Fogelfors et al. 2009, 36). See Figure 2-5 below.

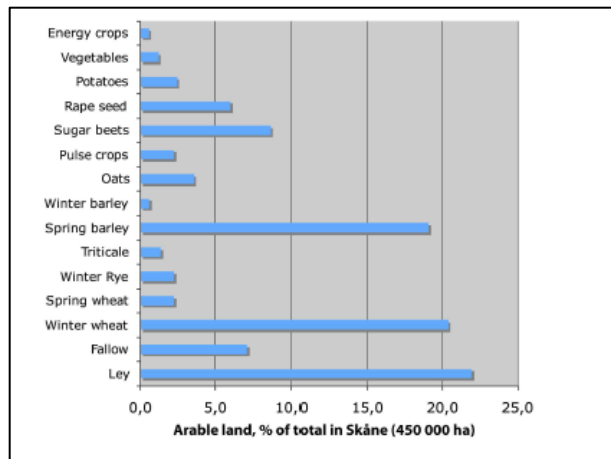


Figure 2-3: Crop distribution in Skåne (Fogelfors et al. 2009, 36)

Beer History

Beer in Sweden can be drawn back to the Vikings whose “beer was an indispensable prerequisite for their seaborne ventures and constituted a trading commodity that contributed much to their wealth. The beer of course had to be particularly nutritious and stable in order to suit the necessities of sea voyages” (Meussdoerffer 2009, 16). The beer drunk by Vikings was öl and mjöd, otherwise known as ale and mead. Before hops were brought to Sweden in the 13th century, Vikings used herbs and other plants to season and preserve beer, which is known as a gruit (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). While the term ‘gruit’ is reserved for beverages brewed in what is now the Netherlands, Belgium, and western Germany, the term has come to mean any beverage seasoned with herbs, such as yarrow, juniper berries, or caraway seeds (McGovern et al. 2013). Though there are traces of hops in Viking-era beverages, beers were not exclusively flavored or preserved with hops (Oliver & Colicchio 2011).

To become less reliant on hops imports, Kristofers landslag, otherwise known as The Law of Christopher, was passed in 1414 by the reigning king of Sweden, Christopher of Bavaria. This law mandated that each farmer was required to cultivate 40 poles of hops (Stresse et al. 2014, 232). This was then increased to 200 poles of hops in 1734 (Stresse et al. 2014, 232) to maintain domestic hops production with the increase in demand for beer. This mandate was

in place until 1860 when Sweden experienced a “serious temperance movement” (Stresse et al. 2014, 232), and the domestic production of hops was no longer necessary.

Two traditional styles of beer are svagdricka, which is top-fermented beer, and Gotlandsdricka, which is flavored with juniper berries (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). Svagdricka, which translates to ‘weak drink’, is a dark and sweet beer with very low alcohol content, around 2.5% ABV (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). Since the beginning of the 20th century, the popularity of this beer has significantly declined in Sweden (Oliver & Colicchio 2011).

Gotlandsdricka is the “only traditional homebrewed beer to survive the emergence of industrial brewing in Sweden” (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). It originates from the Swedish island of Gotland, located off the eastern coast of Sweden in the Baltic Sea. Gotlandsdricka is still made using the traditional techniques and methods; the wort is made with generous amounts of juniper berries and twigs (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). “Fermentation is typically by baker’s yeast, although brewer’s yeast is becoming more common even among traditional Gotlandic homebrewers” (Oliver & Colicchio 2011).

These two traditional styles of beer were the only ones that survived the industrialization and globalization of beer production in Sweden. Before the German bottom-fermented beers arrived in Sweden in the mid-19th century, most beers in Sweden were top-fermented (Oliver & Colicchio 2011). Bottom-fermented beers, such as lagers, were well received because of their crispness and flavor and quickly replaced the traditional Swedish brewing techniques and beer styles.

Sweden is part of the northern European vodka belt, and before the proliferation of bottom-fermented beers in Sweden, most alcohol consumption was spirits. This shifted, as the Swedish temperance movement took hold in Sweden (Liese et al. 1912) and great efforts were made to limit the number of spirits that Swedes could drink. Similar to global beer markets, Sweden experienced an increasingly homogenized beer market from the mid-19th-century until the 1980-the 1990s, when American craft beers started to make their way to Sweden. These more artisanal beers replaced some of the *storstark* beers, which is a term used to reference generic, industrially produced lagers, such as pilsners. The craft beer industry exploded at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, starting with approximately twenty breweries in 1990 in Sweden to more than 400 in 2018 (Sveriges Bryggerier 2019). Despite the increase in the number of craft beer breweries, two brewers are accountable for over 50% of the total volume of beer sold in Sweden. In 2016, Carlsberg Sverige had a 34% total volume share of the beer market and Sprendups Bryggeri, which also includes three subsidiaries, Spring Wine & Spirits, Gotlands Bryggeri, and Hellefors Bryggeri, account for 27% of total volume share (Flanders Investment Trade Agency & Lundgren 2018).

In Skåne, there are approximately 40 craft beer breweries, with most of them being less than a decade old (Ness 2017). They are spread throughout Skåne, with a large concentration of breweries located in Malmö, the most populous city in Skåne. The region hosts a “well-educated population [approx. 1.3 million people] and a hearty restaurants and tourism sector, which provide an ideal breeding place for a thriving craft beer scene” (Ness 2017). While Skåne is one of the most agriculturally productive regions of Sweden, there are few farms that grow barley and even fewer that produce hops. Beyond beer breweries, there are a few cideries, distilleries, and kombucha makers in the region, which are also a part of the Skånesdryckesproducenter and the fabric of the craft beer sector in Skåne.

Systembolaget

The current Systembolaget that can be found across Sweden today was established in 1955, as a government-owned, non-profit alcohol retail monopoly. However, Systembolaget, which translates to ‘the system company’, has had several iterations. The origins of Systembolaget can be drawn back to the start of the 18th century when King Gustav III decided that all schnapps production and sale. However, this monopoly model was unsuccessful and only lasted a handful of years (Systembolaget 2019). Alcohol production continues at the domestic level, and high levels of alcohol intake become a nationwide concern (Nowakowski 2021). In response, a temperance movement emerged in Sweden at the beginning of the 19th century (Systembolaget 2019). In 1850, the first alcohol retail monopoly was established, “founded by mine owners in Falun who sought permission for a monopoly on retail sales of alcohol in order to reduce interruptions to work caused by accidents. The revenues from sales would go to the improvement of social conditions amongst the mineworkers” (Systembolaget 2019, 13). The trend of controlled alcohol retailers began to permeate. In 1865, the national government took control of all the bars in Gothenburg, Sweden, and introduced a minimum drinking age of eighteen years old (Systembolaget 2019, 13).

Developments continued in the state-run alcohol retailer with a nationwide spirit-rationing program that was rolled out in 1919 after a five-year trial in Stockholm (Systembolaget 2019, 13). This was called the Bratt System, named after Ivan Bratt, a doctor and politician (Franberg 1987). Citizens, men specifically, carried a *motbok*, which was needed to purchase wine and spirits from local, state-control alcohol retailers (Franberg 1987). Wine and beer were included in the local ‘systems’ but were not rationed the way spirits were, as wine and beer were considered less of a threat to alcoholism (Nycander 1998, 21), especially because beer with an ABV of 3.6% or higher was banned outright and only light beer was allowed (Nycander 1998, 19). Households were given *motboken*, not individuals, which meant that alcohol consumption was rationed for a household, but there was no way of indicating if one household member drank more than another (Nycander 1998, 19).

It is argued that the Bratt System saved Sweden from blanket prohibition legislation and substantially reduced alcohol consumption in Sweden, as this system was adopted in 1922 after a failed prohibition attempt, with a turnout of 51% against prohibition and 49% in favor of it (Nycander 1998, 19). However, it was far from a perfect system. There were different rations for men and women (Nycander 1998, 19), and was overall unpopular amongst Swedes (Frankberg 1985, 54).

The Bratt System was in place, despite the opposition for almost forty years. In 1955, all the regional ‘systems’ were amalgamated under the nationally-run Systembolaget alcohol retail monopoly that is known in Sweden today. Systembolaget is used as a means of monitoring alcohol consumption, but without rationing (Box 2017).

This section has mostly focused on the consumer side of Systembolaget, but it is important to understand how producers get their beverages in Systembolaget. Most of this information came initially from brewers and was then verified with the limited English resources about this topic. Thus, this background is relevant to small-scale producers and does not necessarily hold for larger breweries or other alcohol or spirit suppliers.

For small breweries or alcohol makers, Systembolaget will automatically give you a spot on their shelf for one product at the Systembolaget closest to the site of production. This allows for brewers just getting started to have some exposure. Every year, Systembolaget evaluates how the beer sold and will change the range, i.e. the number of stores that a producer can

supply to and the number of beer types the producer gets to put on the shelf. The TSLS range, with stands for *Lokalt & Småskaligt*, or local and small scale, limits producers to ten Systembolaget stores within a 150-kilometer radius of the production site (Systembolaget n.d.). TS, the *Tillfälligt Sortiment* or temporary range, does not limit how many stores a beer can go to, but there might be a limit on how long it is stocked for, based on the beer's performance (Systembolaget n.d.). The FS or *Fast sortiment* is a fixed range, that releases beers nationwide, though may vary depending on consumer interest (Systembolaget n.d.). To be a part of the FS, a brewer must win what is called a tender, or a call for a certain beer style or flavor. Many brewers, from Sweden and abroad, can submit applications (i.e. beers) to win tenders that are chosen by a Systembolaget selection committee. Tenders are released quarterly for the FS and weekly for the TS (Systembolaget n.d.).

It is not necessary to go into or understand the finer details of Systembolaget's beverage procurement processes, and this brief explanation of Systembolaget should give readers a better understanding of the context in which craft beer brewers in Skåne are working and how this type of system might influence discourses and uses of locality.

Theoretical Framework

Integral to the geography narratives of local is the concept of a foodshed. Analogous to the watershed, foodsheds are used to describe how food flows through a particular region from producer to consumer, including all stages of production, transport, distribution up until the food or food product reaches the final consumer. Food sheds are “counterposed to the global food system” (Kloppenborg et al. 1996, 34) that serves as a “self-reliant, locally or regionally based food systems comprised of diversified farms using sustainable practices to supply fresher, more nutritious foodstuffs to small-scale processors or consumers to whom producers are linked by the bonds of community as well as economy” (Kloppenborg et al. 1996, 34). Thus, the foodshed embodies more than just a geographic space; it includes the “socio-geographic space human activity embedded in the natural integument of a particular place” (Kloppenborg et al. 1996, 37), and could be used as a method for analysis. A foodshed analysis intertwines knowledge of particular regions and the relationships between food producers and consumers within those regional parameters. This type of analysis is imperative to understanding different narratives of locality, and this analysis will use Kloppenborg et al.’s narratives of **geography**, **knowledge**, and **relationships** for the analysis. The foodshed analysis is a limited in what elements of local it chooses to address, but offers a general basis to determine what narratives of local are specific to the craft beer sector in Skåne, Sweden.

In addition to the narratives of local, this analysis will use three dimensions of locality that essential to the discourses of locality. The three dimensions are integral elements of not only the known narratives of locality in local food systems but can help determine how understandings and uses of local in the craft beer sector in Skåne compare to narratives of local in the Skånian foodshed. These dimensions of locality are **environmental**, **social**, and **economic** values that have been associated with local food systems (e.g. DeLind 2011; Ahearn et al. 2018; Arita 2014; Boys & Blank 2016; Brain 2012). By fleshing out these narratives into multiple dimensions, it will be easier to pinpoint areas of overlap and dissonance between different narratives of local.

Geography

Geography or geographic narratives of local are discourses that involve and define proximity and spatial relations. The geography narrative is one of the most used narratives in local food, especially in agriculture. Geographic narratives of local foods often talk about how far food or goods have traveled to get from the producer to the consumer, such as definitions from the USDA, Smith & MacKinnon (2007), and The Callicoon Farmers’ Market which were mentioned earlier in the literature review. Despite the different geographical radii, all three of these definitions are part of the geographic narratives of local. These discourses are numerical and quantify distance from the producer to the consumer in kilometers or miles.

Other narratives of geography are related to other spatial features, such as regional boundaries or national borders. These narratives of local are more commonly found in Europe with geographical indications (GIs), which are “traditional products produced according to traditional methods in a particular place” (Technical Center for Agriculture and Rural Cooperation 2005, 3). They were adopted by the EU in 1992 as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was shifting its focus to quality rather than quantity. While GIs primarily serve as quality protection schemes, they also “increase production, create local jobs and reduce rural exodus” (Technical Center for Agriculture and Rural Cooperation 2005, 3). Two prominent GI schemes in Europe are the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). The PDO designation is reserved for foodstuffs that have been

entirely manufactured [prepared and produced] within a certain region while the PGI is used to designate a product that has at least partially manufactured in a certain region that gives the product its unique properties (European Commission n.d.)

Knowledge

Local knowledge is the “knowledge that people in a given community have developed over time and have continued to develop” (FAO). Local knowledge is based on experience, tested over centuries of use, adapted to the local culture and environment, embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships, and rituals, held by individuals or communities, and is dynamic and continuously evolving (FAO). Local knowledge is not just held by rural communities. Urban communities also possess their own local knowledge. Knowledge can also be held by nomadic communities as well as settled ones. In other words, the type of community does not prohibit local knowledge from being developed.

Local knowledge can also include traditional and indigenous knowledge. According to the FAO, traditional knowledge “implies that people living in rural areas are isolated from the rest of the world and that their knowledge systems are static and do not interact with other knowledge systems” (FAO 2004). Indigenous knowledge is “often associated with indigenous people [and] thus rather limiting for policies, projects, and programs seeking to work with rural farmers in general” (FAO 2004). Traditional and indigenous knowledge are not part and parcel of local knowledge, as local knowledge is susceptible to external influences, such as knowledge transfers from neighboring communities or colonizers.

In terms of local food narratives, knowledge has become more salient, because “there is an emerging recognition that farmers’ and local knowledge is a valuable resource that can reorient modern agriculture towards more sustainable and resilient paths of development.” (Šūmane et al. 2018, 233). GIs are one of the means by which traditional knowledge is preserved and oriented towards rural economic & social development and sustainable production practices.

Relationships

The last narrative of local that will be used in this analysis is that of relations and relationships in a local food system. Relationships are imperative to every food system, regardless of how many links are in the chain. Producers, processors, and transporters must work collaboratively before their produce or products reach consumers. And the more links in the chain, the less connected the food system becomes and the fewer consumers know about the food they are consuming. Kloppenburg et al. (1996) argue that the “distance from which [one’s] food comes represents their separation from the knowledge of how and by who what they consume is produced, processed and transported” (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 34). They continue that “if the production, processing, and transport of what they eat is destructive of the land and of human community- as it very often is- how can they understand the implications of their own participation in the global food system when those processes are located elsewhere and so are obscured from them?” (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 34). While it cannot be said definitively whether local food systems are better for the land and the community based on the locality alone (Born & Purcell 2005), Kloppenburg et al. make an interesting point: how can one expect consumers to “act responsibly and effectively for change if they do not understand how the food system works and their own role within it” (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 34)?

Reintroducing consumers into their roles in food systems has been essential to “rebuilding the link between producers and consumers” (Fonte 2008, 202). Since the establishment of the

modern local food movement, there has been a push to “reappropriate food at the local level” (Fonte 2008, 202). This includes CSA schemes, an increase of farmers' markets, local food-buying groups, and direct farm-to-consumer selling (Fonte 2008, 202). All these initiatives offer opportunities for consumers to either interact directly with their food producers or through a single intermediary- a food buying group. A supply chain with fewer links between producer and consumer can create better relationships between the two resulting in more investment in local producers and an overall more resilient local food system.

Dimensions of local

Local does not only exist in narratives of a foodshed; there are other factors that construct discourses of local. These facets can be used to understand different narratives of local in different F&B sectors. The analysis will use these dimensions of local to better flesh out the narratives used in the craft beer industry and to better understand the producer and consumer discourses of local.

Environmental

The promise of fewer food miles is one of the most cited environmental arguments for local food movements. Others claim that buying locally produced foods preserves small farms and farmland which have better environmental practices than large-scale, industrial farms. The scale does not inherently mean that something is more sustainable, though Martinez et al. (2010), claim that farmers who have more facetime with consumers are more likely to use environmentally friendly production practices, such as the reduction of energy-intensive, synthetic chemicals (Martinez et al. 2010, 4). However, “life-cycle assessments—complete analyses of energy use at all stages of the food system including consumption and disposal—suggest that localization can but does not necessarily reduce energy use or greenhouse gas emissions” (Martinez et al. 2010, V). The assumption that local food systems are inherently more environmentally friendly is what Born & Purcell (2006) call the ‘local food trap’, which is a fallacy that scale indicates a certain ethos of farmers.

Social

Per Brain (2012), local food systems have social benefits such as “gaining insight into [a] food’s story through talking with the people who grew and/or made it, the ability to talk with producers when purchasing food allows [consumers] to ask questions about pesticides, herbicides, growth hormones, animal treatment, fertilizers, and any other queries you may have about how your food was produced and getting to know your local producers gives you a stronger sense of place, relationships, trust, and pride within your community” (Brian 2012, 2).

Local can also be used to talk about certain traditions, cultures, and heritages that belong to a specific place or people. According to the FAO, local knowledge is the knowledge that “people in a given community have developed over time and continue to develop” (FAO 2004, 1) and is essential to a “gradually changing environment” (FAO 2004, 3). Local knowledge is not just rooted in agriculture, but also in animal husbandry, natural resources management, health care, and poverty alleviation (FAO 2004, 4). Local knowledge about agriculture covers topics such as “crop selection, intercropping, planting times” (FAO 2004, 4).

Economic

The last dimension of local to be discussed is the economic dimension. One of the main economic benefits is more direct dollars to farmers, who “retain a greater portion of the value-added costs typically captured by large firms, middlemen, further down the supply chain” (Brain 2012, 2). Farmers receiving more money for their produce “helps preserve small farms and sustain rural communities” (Gale 1997). “It is estimated that buying local keeps approximately 65% of your dollar within the community, whereas shopping at large chain stores keeps only 40%” (Brain 2012, 2) and that buying local increases national food security in the event of international conflict” (Brain 2012, 2), or a pandemic.

3 Methodology

Research Design

The research problem that has been presented in the introduction chapter is that there is a research gap in how different sectors in the F&B industry use and define local.

This research project takes an inductive logic of inquiry to describe how local is operationalized in the craft beer industry. Following this logic on inquiry, data was collected from brewers and consumers of local food from Skåne, adhering to the principles of case-study design. A case study research design was chosen for this thesis project because it focuses on answering questions that ask 'how', where the researcher is simply an observer and has little control of the events that are happening at present (Yin 2009). This, according to Yin, does not dismiss the need for a logical design, pre-described data collection techniques, and a pre-determined data-analysis method (Yin 2009), which will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

To analyze the data collected, this thesis project used discourse analysis to uncover how local is being operationalized in the craft beer sector and the agricultural sector. The analysis will be a discourse analysis examining the uses of local in the craft beer sector will use a coding scheme developed from Kloppenburg et al.'s *Coming into the Foodshed* (1996), which explores the concept of the foodshed, which is used to "facilitate critical thought about where our food is coming from and how it is getting to us" (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 33). Analogous to the watershed, the "replacement of 'water' with 'food' does something very important: it connects the cultural ('food') with the natural (...shed)". The term 'foodshed' thus becomes a unifying and organizing metaphor for conceptual development that starts from a premise of the unity of place and people, of nature and society" (Kloppenburger et al. 1996, 34). The foodshed analysis was used as a basis for understanding the uses of local in the craft beer shed, showing how certain discourses in specific contexts aligned with the narratives of local and where there were gaps between discourses of local in the craft beer sector and the agricultural sector in Skåne, Sweden. The discourse analysis will be done alongside the discussion and will be presented by narrative, as outlined by Kloppenburg et al. (1996)

Skåne, Sweden: A Case Study

The case study of the craft beer sector in Skåne, Sweden was selected for a few reasons. Skåne is also one of the most agriculturally productive regions of Sweden and has a pre-established local food scene, which offers a basis in which to compare operationalizations of local. The craft beer sector in the region was selected partially because of the number of breweries in Skåne, which meant more potential interview participants, and because of Barry Ness, who studies local and sustainable beer in Skåne and works at Lund University. He will be discussed in the next section.

The majority of interview participants were Swedish. Only three brewers that were interviewed were not born in Sweden, though these brewers had been living in Skåne for at least five years. The brewers had various levels of brewing experience, both in Skåne and abroad, with most brewers beginning as homebrewers before scaling up their operations.

The participants are customers of Mylla Mat, a distributor of foods and goods from local farmers and producers in Skåne. Demographics of the participants can be found in the Material Collected section. Mylla May offers a weekly CSA, which can include vegetables, fruits, poultry, and meat products to consumers around Skåne. This organization was chosen because 'local

foods & goods' are the only service that this organization offers, meaning that the patrons of Mulla Mat have engagement with local food systems in Skåne.

Another important factor of a Swedish-based case study is the added component of Systembolaget. Systembolaget is the only authorized seller of beverages with an alcohol content of 3.5% or higher (Systembolaget 2020). With most craft beers averaging 5.9% ABV (alcohol by volume) (McMillan 2015), Systembolaget has an important role in how craft beer brewers conceptualize and implement different narratives of local in their breweries and brewing practices.

And lastly, and most determinately, Skåne was selected because of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic that has greatly reduced and restricted international travel, so using the surrounding community as a case study was based on data availability.

Methods used to collect data

To collect the best data to understand how the craft beer industry operationalizes local, this thesis project starts at the source: craft beer breweries. This data was collected through in-person and Zoom semi-structured interviews, which were recorded upon participant consent. Interviews regardless of their structure, are used to gather qualitative information through “verbal interchanges where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person” (Dunn 2005, 79). Semi-structured interviews, while still aiming to gather information, allow for the interviewee to help guide the conversation with the interviewer. Inherently, semi-structured interviews are more “conversational and informal in tone” (Longhurst 2003, 105), because albeit a prepared list of questions, this type of interview gives “participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important” (Longhurst 2003, 102), which, for the purposes of this research project, is of the utmost importance. To determine how local is operationalized in the craft beer industry, craft beer brewers must be given the space to let their stories be told and bring up issues that are important to them when it comes to the locality of their products.

The in-person interviews were offered for those who felt comfortable with an in-person meeting, maintaining social distancing protocols due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, and internet-based interviews were offered as well, as to not make participation in this thesis project dependent on an in-person interaction.

The interview participants were procured through two sources. The first was with an introduction from Barry Ness, who is an associate professor at Lund University Center for Sustainability Studies (LUCSUS) and whose outreach effort “focuses on how to improve the sustainability of craft beer production and consumption systems in southern Sweden, SustBeerLab, via experimentation with hydroponic hop growing and craft beer sustainability principles creation” (von Arnold 2020). Ness has worked with various craft beer breweries throughout Skåne addressing issues of sustainability in the craft beer industry. Specifically, Ness is looking at local production of beer ingredients within Skåne and within Sweden and trying to incorporate locally grown ingredients into locally produced beer. The breweries that Ness is familiar with or collaborated with in the past were contacted via the email addresses listed on their websites or Facebook pages or through the ‘contact’ page on some of the breweries’ websites.

The second means of contacting potential interview participants was through the help of the Skåne Dryckesproducenter network. In a Facebook group with all of their members, a

representative from the organization published a post asking for those interested in participating in this research project to contact me via email. The post was published on 9 February 2021, and a week after the post was published, I gathered the email addresses of the rest of the members of the Skåne Dryckesproducenter network and sent them follow-up emails regarding interest and availability in participating in this project. 12 brewers participated in interviews.

The survey participants were procured through the Mylla Mat network. The survey was posted on the Mylla Mat Facebook page. The survey link was published on 22 April 2021 and received $n=18$ responses. This survey had a combination of open-ended, rating-scale, and Likert scale questions and can be viewed in the appendices of this project. In the same vein as the semi-structured interviews, survey respondents had the space to include their thoughts of local and lead the conversation as much as possible given the format. The sampling is a single-stage non-probability sample, which was selected for this research design because this is a case-study design and there is less importance placed on the generalizability to a population. A single-stage non-probability sample allows for targeting of a certain population, which in this case, is a population that already consumes local goods, which would have been harder to find in a probability sampling method and would not have allowed for the use of Mylla Mat as a survey distributor, which has been essential to the completion of this research project.

It is important to note that this survey is looking to better understand what local food consumers value about local foods & goods, and not necessarily what craft beer consumers think about the locality of craft beer. While the craft beer consumers' conception of local is important, it is worth reiterating that this thesis project aims to better understand how local is utilized and defined in different sectors. Therefore, understanding how established local food consumers understand the term local in comparison and in addition to how craft beer producers are defining and incorporating local better addresses the questions asked in this research project.

COVID-19 pandemic

The methods for gathering data and the design of this research project have been affected by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, which has restricted travel and limited the number of people that one should come into contact with. This project was designed amidst the pandemic and took Swedish restrictions and protocols into account when designing a plan for data collection.

Materials collected

The materials collected to address the research problem and answer the research questions are mostly qualitative. Articles, books, and documentaries were collected for the literature review, semi-structured interviews with craft beer brewers that have been collected and transcribed, and survey responses from local food consumers.

The information for the literature review came was gathered from a variety of sources. Google Scholar and Lund University's online library database served as the primary sources for academic articles related to local food movements, the history of beer brewing, the Craft Beer Revolution, place-making, and sources of local knowledge. A few books that have been essential to this research project include *Civic Agriculture: Reconnecting farm, food, and community* by Thomas A. Lyson, *Untapped: Exploring the cultural dimensions of the Craft Beer Revolution*, by

Nathaniel G. Chapman, J. Slade Lellock, and Cameron D. Lippard (2017) and *Liquid Bread: beer and brewing in a cross-cultural perspective* edited by Wulf Schiefenhövel and Helen Macbeth.

The interviews were collected face-to-face, over the phone, or via the video-conferencing application Zoom, and the survey was conducted online as well. This data has been stored on an external hard drive for protection. Table 1 gives some context to who these brewers are.

Table 1: Craft beer brewer interviewee demographics

Brewer	Started brewing	What type of brewer	What do they brew	Where in Skåne are they located	Interview format
Brewer A	2011	Commercial Beer Brewer and Distiller	Beer, Schnapps, Aquavit and Gin	Helsingborg, Skåne	In-person
Brewer B	2011	Commercial Beer and Kombucha Brewer	Beer & Kombucha	Malmö, Skåne	In-person
Brewer C	2014	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Eslöv, Skåne	Online, via Zoom
Brewer D	2016	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Eslöv, Skåne	In-person
Brewer E	2011	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Lund, Skåne	Online, via Zoom
Brewer F	2012	Commercial Beer Brewer and Distiller	Beer & Gin	Landskrona, Skåne	In-person
Brewer G	2018	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Malmö, Skåne; Brewery located in eastern Skåne	In-person
Brewer H	2014	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Landskrona, Skåne	Online, via Zoom
Brewer I	2016	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Limhamn, Skåne	Telephone Interview

Brewer J	2019	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Landskrona, Skåne	Online, via Zoom
Brewer K	2010	Commercial Beer Brewer	Beer	Malmö, Skåne	Online, via Zoom
Brewer L	2015	Homebrewer	Beer	Malmö, Skåne	Online, via Zoom

N=18 respondents answered the survey, with n=12 respondents answering the section about craft beer. All of the respondents live in Skåne, and 14 respondents identified themselves as Swedish. The respondents held a variety of jobs, including “CEO”, “butcher”, “designer”, “preschool teacher”, and “student”. While the number of participants would be insufficient to be representative of the total population, some conclusions can be drawn about what discourses and values of local are important to consumers of craft beer and local food in Skåne.

Participants were presented with a series of values associated with the perceived environmental, social, and economic benefits of local food and local beers. Each participant ranked the values, with 1 being “not that important” and 5 being “very important.” Participants were also asked to answer the question: *In a few words, describe what local food means to you.* Fourteen respondents answered this question and their answers will be included in the analysis. Albeit qualitative data, graphs were to depict the important values and discourses. While not traditional in presenting qualitative data, discourses are not only made from the loudest voices, and these graphs demonstrate that not all discourses and values were not unanimously agreed upon and serve as a way to see the variation in valuations.

Respondents varied slightly in age, with the majority of respondents aged between 35-44 years old. Almost 80% of participants said that their nationality was Swedish, with one additional participant identifying as Danish and Swedish. Almost 75% of the respondents were female. Most of the respondents eat at least one home-cooked meal per day, with 16.7% reporting that they ate 18-21 homecooked meals a week, i.e. all of their meals were homecooked.

Table 2: Age of survey participants

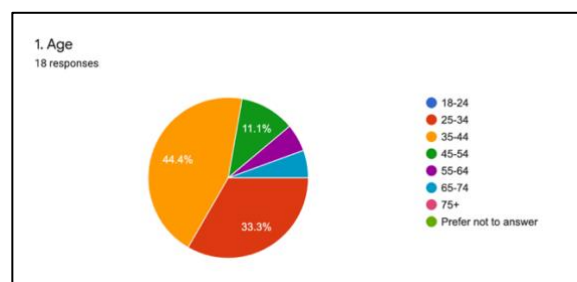


Table 3: Nationality of survey respondents

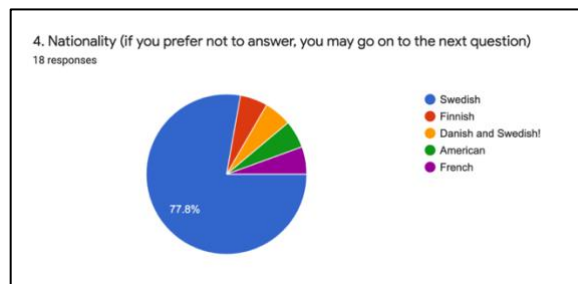


Table 4: Gender of survey respondents

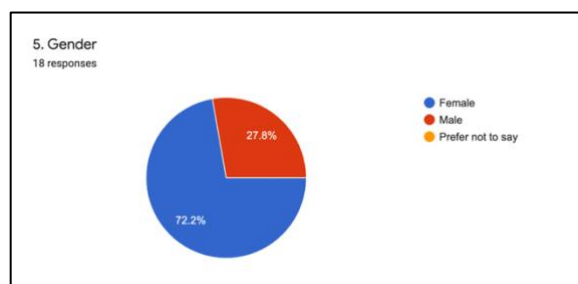
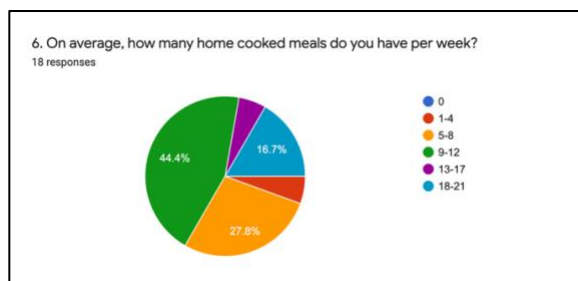


Table 5: Number of home cooked meals eaten per week by survey respondents



The survey broke down values of local food into three main motifs: social values, economic values, and environmental values. Each participant was asked to rank these values, again, with 1 being ‘not that important’ and 5 being ‘very important.’

Data Analysis

For this project a discourse analysis will be performed to better understand “the language-in-use” and to “investigate what language is used *for* [emphasis added]” (Brown 1995, 2) and in the context of different F&B sectors in Skåne, Sweden. Discourse analysis is the study of language that is used between people, both written and oral. “Sometimes ‘discourse’ is treated simply as a word for language in use; at other times a ‘discourse’ is theorized as a linguistic object that can be counted and described. Sometimes discourse analysis is further specified as continental or critical” (Potter et al. 2004, 607). In discourse analysis, it is not just the words that are being said, but the context that they are spoken in. This context can be broad, such as a social or cultural framework, as is used in this project, or can be more specific, such as the location in which the person was speaking, to whom they were speaking with, and the tone in

which they spoke (Nordquist 2020). Discourse analysis is used to pull apart text from the subtext, to differentiate between what is spoken and what is meant. It is “the study of real language use, by real speakers in real situations,” (van Dijk 1985). To perform the discourse analysis, I used the three narratives from Kloppenburg et al.’s *foodshed: geography, knowledge, and relationships*. Brewers were not asked specifically about the geographic understanding of local, but using the coding scheme, I was able to pull out phrases and quotes that built the discourses of local in the craft beer industry.

Research Limitations

Due to the regional and temporal delimitations of this research project, there are some methodological implications. The first is that this is a predominantly qualitative research project, with some quantitative data gathered from the consumer surveys. The nature of a qualitative research project means that the results of this project cannot be extrapolated to larger populations, because they are not representative samples. However, that does not mean that other communities that want to create more cohesive local food movements cannot learn, think, and reflect on their ideas of local and the many ways that they are manifested in their communities.

By choosing to focus on one sector in one region in one country, this project will exclude many lines of inquiry, such as other F&B sectors’ operationalization of local in their industry, what local means to different regions around Sweden, and how local fits into a larger national and international food systems and policy. The small scope, however, is part of the essence of this project, which is to better understand the many uses and definitions of local and can be best understood in specific places and contexts. Another limitation of the regional delimitation is the potential number of interview and survey participants that are eligible to take place in this project.

There are also several practical reasons for the delimitations of this project. One important reason was time available, and that a well-researched qualitative survey that included more than one region of Sweden would have been challenging to accomplish in the time allotted. This was an anticipated factor that led to the narrower scope and was a large factor from the initial design of this research project. Another equally important reason is the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic which has restricted travel and opportunities to connect with participants and purveyors of local in regions other than Skåne. While this factor was unexpected, it also helped form the regional delimitation.

Ethical Considerations

This research has been reviewed against the criteria for research requiring an ethics board review at Lund University and has been found to not require a statement from the ethics committee.

Research ethics and personal integrity

This project is being done independently of any craft beer company or brewing organization. This project was partly sponsored by Central European University Foundation of Budapest (CEUBPF). The theses explained herein represent the ideas of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of CEUBPF.

There has been no one in a position to influence the analysis and subsequent conclusions. On that note, two organizations have collaborated in procuring the interviews and survey respondents for this thesis project. The Skåne Dryckesproducenter, whose purpose is to promote the Scanian beverage industry has assisted in procuring interviewees for data collection. Mylla Mat, whose mission is to create “a local food revolution together with like-minded people... making it easier for people to eat more locally produced food and recreate the relationship between those who eat the food and those who produce it” (Mylla Mat n.d.), has assisted in procuring responses for the consumer survey.

Consent, Confidentiality, and Courtesy.

The purpose of the informed consent is to let participants know about key elements of this project and how their participation will be included in the project. Participation in this thesis project was completely voluntary and had the opportunity to opt-out of the project at any point during the interview and after the interview is over. Each interview participant was read a statement of consent before starting the interview and gave verbal consent to record the interviews before starting. Each survey participant has to read and confirm that they have read a state of consent before starting the survey.

In terms of confidentiality, there are a few measures that will be taken to ensure the comfort of the participants. However, that cannot be guaranteed, thus some insurance measures need to be taken, thus, names will not be collected in the consumer survey. This is to protect the identities of the participants in the consumer survey. While there is no intention to hurt or damage the reputations of any participants to this survey, the names of the breweries and the brewers will be omitted from the analysis and the interview transcriptions. It is important that participants feel that their involvement is appreciated and does not have any effect on their reputation.

Research outcomes

This is an exploratory research project, and the outcomes of this research project should not be harmful to the reputation, dignity, and privacy of any subjects. The previous section discusses the steps taken to avoid any potential problems with the research outcomes.

Storing, handling, and data accessibility

The empirical data collected will be stored safely and securely on an external hard drive. The file names for the interviews will not have the name of the brewery or the brewer, and there will be no names for the consumer surveys, but that does not mean that the safety and security of this data are any less important.

4 Geography

This chapter analyzes narratives of geography in the craft beer and local food sectors in Skåne. By delving into the environmental, social, and economic dimensions of geography narratives, one can better understand how they are used in the craft beer industry and set the foundation of knowledge and relationship narratives.

This chapter argues that the concerns of distribution were less important than the ingredients for the craft beer sector, and most of the chapter is focused on the environmental, social, and economic dimensions of ingredients as a part of the geography narrative

The environmental dimension of the geography narrative was the least salient for craft beer brewers, though this is where the biggest gaps between the craft beer and agriculture sector in Skåne occurred. Despite both sectors placing a valuation on 'local production', the biggest distinction between these two industries lies in where something is grown and where it is produced. Most brewers felt that their beer was local because it was produced in Skåne, despite having ingredients flown in from all corners of the world. An increase in 'ingredient miles', which though a minute part of agricultural-related emissions, is still important to note because they incur extra emissions before the brewing process has even begun. Despite valuing fewer food miles in the agricultural sector, consumers did not place a high valuation on the use of local ingredients in local craft beer.

For brewers, the social dimensions of the geography narratives included some interactions with local growers, collaborations with other local producers, and even using local historical knowledge to brew beer that are more 'historical' (Brewer L). This was one of the harder dimensions to explore because social dimensions of geography are overshadowed by the relationship narrative of local. Only a few brewers sell their beer on-site, despite the relative importance of consumers in community building. A site in which people can gather and be together is an important part of setting up a physical space for a geographically based community.

The economic dimensions of geography predominantly revolved around the question of quality. For agricultural consumers, the quality of local food was perceived to be better than its non-local counterpart. For craft beer, the final beer product was better if it was brewed locally, but the origin of the ingredients was less important to beer brewers than the quality of the end product.

Environment

The most salient gap in the environmental dimension of geography narratives is the distinction between food miles and product miles. The place of production seems to be the starting point for calculating food miles for both industries, despite the ingredients that must travel to the point of production in the craft beer industry. And in the same vein of production, no data collection or analysis was done on energy use for brewing in local versus industrial breweries, which would add more heft to the environmental dimension of geography narratives of local and should be considered for further research.

Some craft beer brewers were quick to conflate local production with organic production. While it is possible to be both local and organic, they are not interchangeable. This claim will be discussed further in the environmental section of the Knowledge chapter.

Ingredients

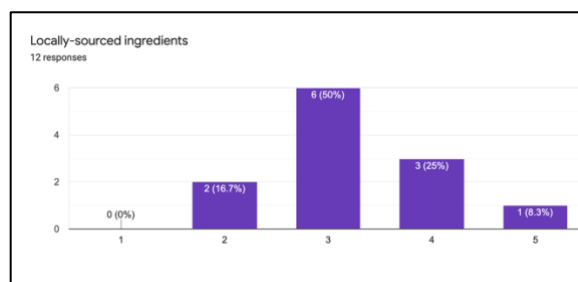
Brewer I felt that brewing beer locally had an important environmental impact, and asked rhetorically “why should we ship a lot of water from the U.S. to Sweden?” Brewer L had similar sentiments and said that “looking at the water tap in my kitchen” was part of their inspiration for brewing their own beer. This brewer said, “I thought ‘why am I paying so much money to have beer, which is 95% water, be shipped to me from all around the world when I could make my own beer from this water and reduce my carbon footprint’ (Brewer L).

While not synonymous with local, Brewer E said that their barley, which was grown in collaboration with a farmer in Skåne was organic. This brewer also indicated that the hops will also be organic, which makes all “the beers that we are going to brew now [eligible] for organic branding. We will be very local” (Brewer E).

Hops are mostly grown outside of Sweden, as Brewer A indicated, but hops, despite “adding a lot of flavor”, are a “very minute” ingredient in the brewing, accounting for “less than 1%” of the finished product (Brewer B). Similarly, Brewer B also commented on the availability of certain hops varieties, such as the hops used to brew IPAs: “[hops] are really only grown in Washington State [United States]. You can get some from New Zealand, and some from Australia, but a vast majority come from Oregon and Washington” (Brewer A). Brewer K buys hops “from all over the world” but is growing two hops plants. Brewer K stated that “I know that hops is the variable [in beer brewing] that needs the longest transportation in the production line, so I’ve also been experimenting using different seasonings. By foraging and growing “berries, fruits, sage, rosemary, thyme, and basil” in their local allotment, this brewer likes not only “having control over the whole [production] line, and while acknowledging the important role of hops, thinks that the “view of beer seasonings” needs to be reinvented.

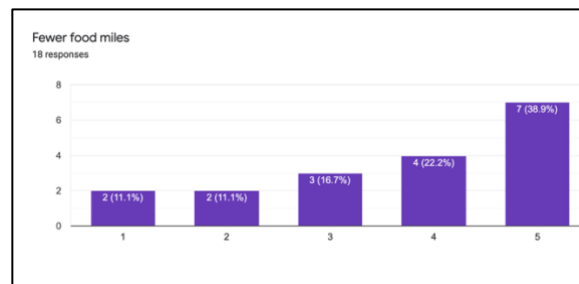
And why should brewers care about the environmental impact of their ingredients if there is little consumer demand or awareness for locally sourced ingredients in a locally brewed beer? 50 % of respondents were neutral when asked if they valued locally sourced ingredients from their local craft beer brewers.

Table 6: *Locally-sourced ingredients in the craft beer sector*



From consumers who purchased local food, fewer food miles were also ‘very important’ or at least ‘somewhat important’ to more than 50% of respondents.

Table 7: Fewer food miles in the agricultural sector



While craft beer discourses place mild importance on how far food travels, craft beer consumers place importance not on where their beer ingredients come from, but where the beer itself comes from. This sentiment, of where something is brewed, not where it is grown, in the craft beer industry is reiterated by Brewer A:

“We’re not a ‘cool’ brewery. We are a local brewery. We are for the common people—the people who are proud to be from [city name] and are proud to buy our beer... they’re [the consumers] are proud that the beer is produced locally and or sure, we are proud that we have a good taste.”

Brewer A then went on to say that the ingredients used to brew their beers were “from all around the world” (Brewer A). The hops were being shipped from New Zealand, Australia, North America, and the United Kingdom and some of the malted barley was imported from Germany. This is one of the main discourse gaps between local food and craft beer discourses in Skåne, Sweden.

Distribution

For a few brewers, the environmental dimension of geography also included distribution and how far beer was traveling before final consumption. Brewer C said that they think that Systembolaget is “going to turn more and more to local beer, because it makes more sense for us to sell in Skåne, where we have our market, instead of selling our [Skånian] beer in Dalarna [Sweden], for example, and Dalarna selling their beer here. It does not make sense, so they are working on changing their system to distribute more regionally” (Brewer C). This is related to food miles, as beer ingredients need to be transported as does the final product, which is not something the agricultural sector has to consider. This is a gap between the two discourses.

Though Brewer C’s example was confined to Sweden, other brewers said that they exported their beer to other countries, greatly increasing the number of food miles, but indicated that some special beers cannot be brewed just anywhere. Brewer A has done some exports of their beer to other countries, such as Norway and the United Kingdom. Regarding exports, Brewer A said, “if someone wants to buy it, we sell it to them, but we don’t see it as a mission to export [our beer]” (Brewer A). Brewer A also said that the “craft beer sector is really good for the local market”, and that when this brewer “goes to the UK, for example, I would like to try locally-produced UK beers, not my own beer, unless it’s a specialty craft beer... but if you do a standard lager, as we do, there are a lot of good standard lagers produced locally in the UK or Denmark. So for me, there is no reason for us to sell our lager in Denmark and for the same reason, I think it is wrong to import the Danish lager to sell here locally” (Brewer A).

Social

Most of the social dimensions of the geography narrative are found in the Relationship chapter, but there are still two interesting takeaways of the social dimensions of the geography narrative. The first is that the social element of geography narratives for brewers was not necessarily locally based. While not in the majority, two brewers mentioned relationships with suppliers in other countries, and other brewers talked fondly of their relationships with other brewers in the region, and not necessarily about their customers. The second is that there was limited interest in having a geographic space for community building from the consumer side and this matched the number of brewers who sell their beer out of their brewery.

Ingredients

Brewers have special relationships with some of their growers, even if the growers are not local. Brewer K, for example, tried different sources from malt, from Sweden and Germany, before deciding to stick to their German maltster. This brewer said that they became friends with the family that owns the malting operation. While also important to the relationship narratives of local, it is worth noting that not all relationships have to be geographically confined, in other words, you can partake in a global supply chain and still have a social element to the interaction.

The brewery belonging to Brewer C is located on a farm, but “we don’t grow our own barley and we don’t grow hops” (Brewer C, email correspondence). Instead, this brewer found other “farmers in our neighborhood, that are committed to growing [barley] and let them do their part” (Brewer C, email correspondence). Some brewers, such as Brewer E have taken this route, and have started to work with a farmer in Skåne to grow and malt barley for brewing. The barley was grown organically less than fifteen kilometers away from the brewery. Brewer E was one of the only brewers who used kilometers to describe what they felt was local. Brewer E said that they used Skånian barley before “but not as local as [the barley from fifteen kilometers away]” (Brewer E).

Brewer I also distinguished between more generic malted barley, which can be used for pilsners and lagers, from other “exclusive malt types” (Brewer I) that could be used to make specialty beers. The more exclusive malts are coming from German maltsters. The “main barley” is purchased from a “cooperation of farmers in the middle of Skåne” (Brewer I). This brewer lauded the “local connections” that manifested when they “started buying malt from a local maltster” (Brewer I).

Brewer D said that grains, in particular, are difficult to source locally because “most Swedish barley is sent to Finland or ends up as feedstock for animals. When you do find [Swedish malted barley] it’s very specialized and kind of blows the price out of the water for the main market” (Brewer D). This brewer also said that “beer is kind of difficult to produce purely based on local ingredients” (Brewer D), due to the nature of the ingredients.

This account of ingredient sourcing local contradicts the information found in the literature review, that shows Sweden’s rich history of hops and barley cultivation. This begs the question of why in this century is it “difficult” to produce a beer based on local ingredients and have more of these collaborations with local growers, strengthening the social fabric of a community. There is always the argument of scale, in that these craft beer brewers are brewing much larger volumes than more traditional breweries, but there is a history and tradition of these ingredients being grown locally. Some brewers use locally grown hops, such as Brewer

C, whose hops are grown in Skåne, though at a different farm from the one where their barley is grown. Brewer G also indicated that they use local hops from a farm in the same town as Brewer C. Brewer E sources hops from two different growers in Skåne, one that they approximate is “50 kilometers away, and the other 13 kilometers away” (Brewer E). Based on the location of Brewery E, it can be assumed that these three brewers have the same source of local hops, given that there is only one hops producer in the town that all three brewers referenced.

For beer flavoring, Brewer A said that they used coffee from a local coffee roaster for one of their coffee stouts and teamed up with a local licorice producer to create a discontinued licorice beer. Brewer I also said that they did a licorice stout with a local licorice manufacturer.

As a minute part of the beer brewing process, local yeast sourcing was not a salient concern of beer brewers in Skåne. Brewer B talked about growing their own yeast cultures. For this brewer, growing their own yeast cultures was more related to a commitment to sustainability than it was to local. The technique is called “rolling over”, where you brewed a batch of beer and use that beer to create a yeast culture to be used in the next batch. The initial yeast that was used by this brewer was purchased from another brewer in Belgium and was extracted through one of the Belgian brewer’s beers. Again, this proves that global supply chains do not have to be anti-social or anonymous.

Only one brewer, Brewer K, mentioned flavoring beers with locally-grown products and researching traditional beer flavors. This brewer is trying to explore other types of beer flavoring and mentioned berries and herbs that could be used as flavor additives in addition to our instead of hops. Brewer K wanted to explore other flavor additives is because they started focusing on the “cultural history behind beer and beer making” (Brewer K). In their own research, this brewer realized that hops were initially imported to Sweden, but that beer brewing in Sweden pre-dated this import. This brewer said that they “do not actively try to make old school, historical beers”, but said that looking at historical brewing styles can help brewers “think about what can be used as local ingredients” (Brewer K).

This section demonstrates the many ways in which brewers conceptualized the social aspects of the geography narratives. One of the most interesting was that the social dimension did not necessarily mean social in a local context. While most brewers talked about their social engagement in a local context, other brewers mentioned relationships with other brewers or growers, despite the long-distance relationship. It appears as if the ‘what’ in the relationship is more important than the ‘where.’

Distribution

Only Brewer A, Brewer F, and Brewer K sell their beer at their brewery site. It is important to note that Brewer A sold their beer at their brewery before the Covid-19 pandemic and has an on-site restaurant and event space. Brewer F began selling beer that was below 3.5% ABV from their brewery after the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. According to Brewer F, this was because of a large percentage of international business that was lost at the start of and throughout the pandemic. This will be discussed further in the international trade section. Brewer K’s brewery is a brewpub operation, meaning that most of the beer that they brew is sold on-site. The brewpub has 42 taps, and this brewer brew different beers for 14 of those taps. The other taps are for guest beers and ciders.

The responses from the interviews somewhat overlap with the findings from the survey. Community building is both part of geography and relationship narratives, and part of building a community is having a space to do so. Community building, in both the craft beer and agricultural sector, was somewhat important or neutral. It is in line with the consumer discourses that only a few brewers have pursued distributing beer to their communities via their breweries.

Table 8: Community building in the craft beer sector

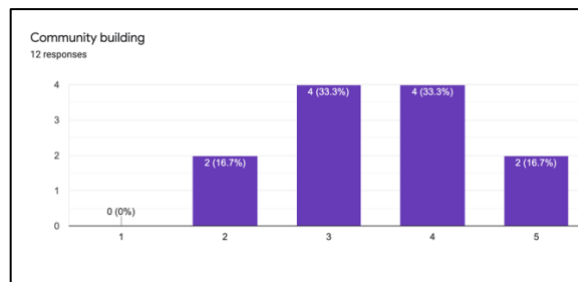
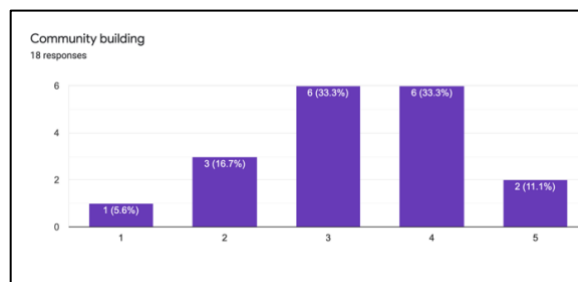


Table 9: Community building in the agricultural sector



Economic

Quality was the most important value to come out of this dimension. Quality beer and food were important to consumers. However, for consumers, higher quality food was *part* of being local, while for brewers, there was a tradeoff between quality and locality, in which many opted for higher quality over the locality. In the craft beer sector, higher local employment and resilience of local economies were neutral values, while in the agricultural sector, these values were more dissonant: there was a stronger value of local employment in this sector, without the same valuation of resilient local economies. This could be attributed to how the value was phrased or could indicate a knowledge gap in the agricultural sector.

Ingredients

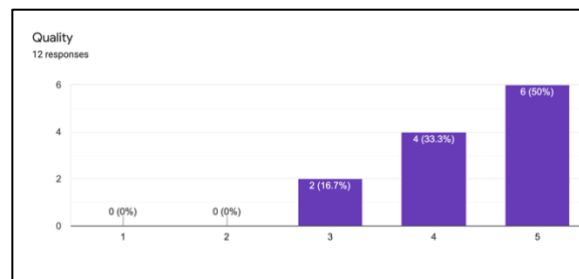
Brewer E, per their knowledge, said that other breweries in Skåne get their water from Småland, which is another region directly north of Skåne, but that Brewer E gets their water from Skåne. It was not indicated whether or not water from Småland was cheaper or of higher quality but is an important economic factor of the geography narrative because a.) one cannot assume unsuspecting ingredients, such as water, to be local and b.) as the largest ingredient by volume, procuring and transporting water could be a large expense, depending on the distance.

For a few brewers, they said that while sourcing locally was an important part of their decision-making process, high-quality malts were more important than low-quality ones, even if the low-quality ones were locally grown. Brewer A said it was both important and unimportant, saying “when we started, our mission was to have everything locally sourced. But then we woke up to the reality of [the difficulties] of a completely local beer. The most important thing is that we have a really tasty beer. So we changed up our ingredients. Beer should be locally produced, but we use the best ingredients. If the best ingredients are grown in Australia, it does not matter, because the final product will not be from Australia.” (Brewer A).

We see this argument reiterate by Brewer B, who said that when they started their brewery, the only malted barley that was grown and roasted in Sweden was from a company called Viking Malt, which is located in the Swedish province of Halland, just north of Skåne. Brewer B said that for a new craft beer brewery, buying from malted barley from Viking Malt was challenging, as they only sold malted barley in bulk, which requires adequate storage space and some up-front capital to invest in Swedish grown and roasted barley malt. Brewer B said that barley could be purchased in sacks, but that in their experience, that malted barley came from Finland. Instead, this brewer started to source malted barley from Denmark, because they were high-quality barleys and had cheaper transportation costs than malted barleys from Germany.

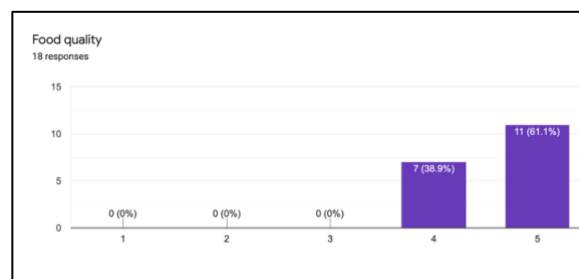
The valuation of quality over locality was also shared by consumers. 50% of survey respondents said that the quality of local craft beer was ‘very important’ to them, despite the overall neutral valuation of locally sourced ingredients in their beer.

Table 10: Quality in the craft beer sector



Likewise, food quality was very important or somewhat important to all local food consumers.

Table 11: Food quality in the agricultural sector



Perhaps it cannot be assumed that the quality of a beer, from the consumers’ perspective, is in the ingredients, but that the quality that is valued in the craft beer sector can come from the taste or presentation of the finished product. Due to how this data was collected, there was no follow-up question regarding how quality was defined.

Considering that consumers did not feel strongly about locally-sourced ingredients, it fits the discourse that consumers felt neutral about the resilience of local economies and higher levels of local employment because locally-sourced ingredients rely on other local businesses to provide said ingredients, which means that there is more spending inside the craft beer shed.

Table 12: Resilience of local economies in the craft beer sector

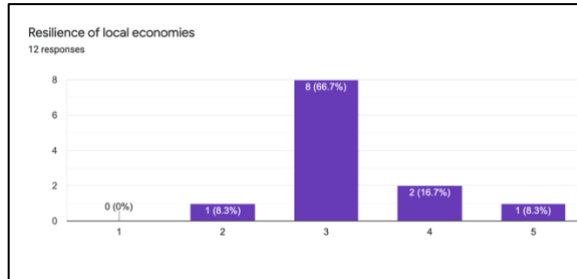
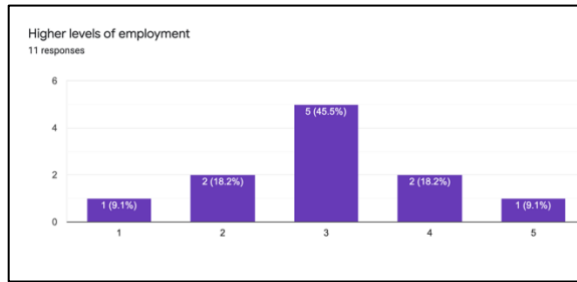
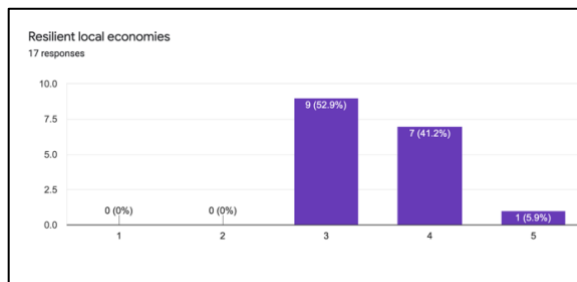


Table 13: Higher levels of employment in the craft beer sector



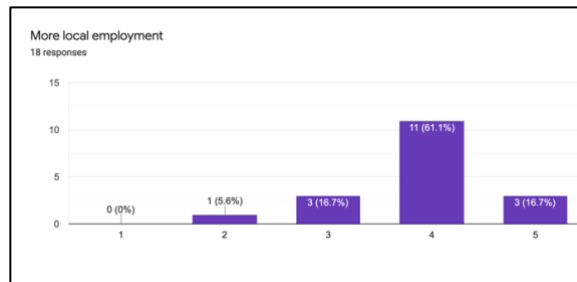
For agriculture consumers, there were similar discourses about the resilience of local economies, most respondents did not feel strongly about that.

Table 14: Resilient local economies in the agricultural sector



But local food consumers did feel that higher levels of local employment in the agriculture sector were somewhat important.

Table 15: More local employment in the agricultural sector



Craft beer consumers also did not have strong values placed on the sourcing of local ingredients, and thus, there was little weight placed on the resilience of local economies and increase levels of local employment. In understanding the uses of ‘local’ in the craft beer industry in Skåne, it is surprising that there was a disconnect between how these things work in local agriculture versus how they work in other local food & good markets. Despite having an overall neutral attitude to resilient local economies in the agricultural sector, the majority of respondents said that higher levels of local employment in the agricultural sector were somewhat important to their understanding of ‘local’ in the agricultural sector. A resilient local economy is part and parcel of higher levels of local employment. Local employment prevents the fallout of local economies from external economic shocks, such as a pandemic. This gap in understanding potentially demonstrates a lack of knowledge in local food consumers in how different aspects of locality are interlinked. This is a notable gap not just between the geography narratives of local in the craft beer and agriculture sectors, but some cognitive dissonance within the geography narrative of local food in Skåne.

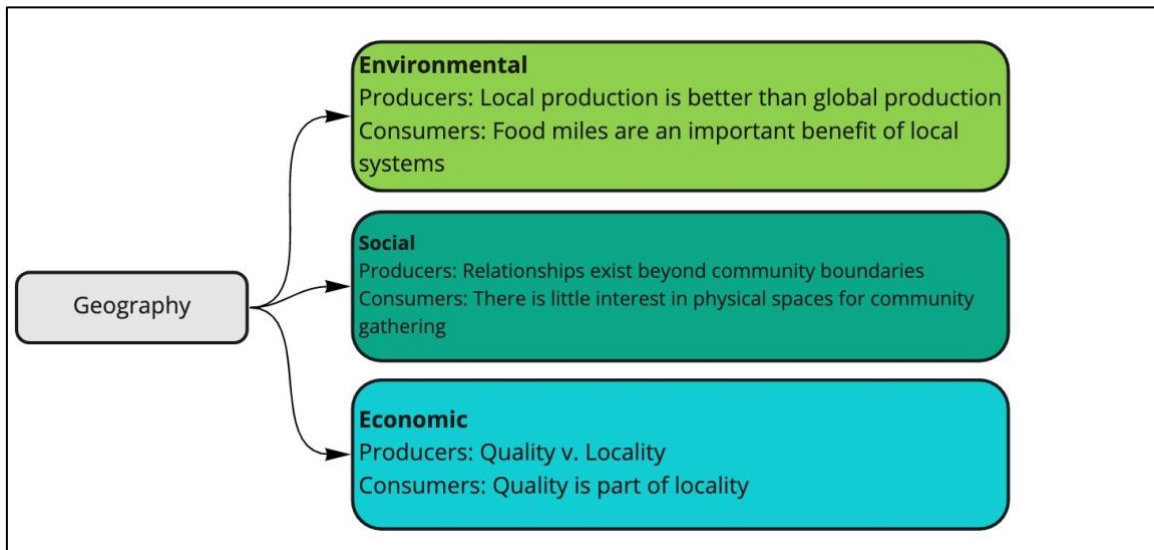
Distribution

Bars and restaurants are one of the best ways to in which to implement geographic discourses of local because of their proximity to the production site, however, brewers said that getting into restaurants and bars is quite challenging. “Locally produced beers are a bit more expensive for restaurants to buy” (Brewer A). The other challenge, according to Brewer A is that larger breweries can offer restaurants start-up loans in exchange for contracts that dictate what kind of beer that restaurant or bar can sell. This provides incumbents and larger breweries with an advantage that is hard for small craft brewers to compete with. Brewer D reiterated the point that Brewer A made about restaurants being locked into contracts with larger breweries, meaning “you cannot get into them” (Brewer D).

Brewer A sells beer with a 3.5% ABV or lower to the ICA Supermarkets in their town, though this brewer indicated that they would like to discontinue the relationship because they feel ICA is too focused on price. Brewer B supplies low alcohol beer to over fifteen ICAs in the area surrounding their brewery as well as kombucha, which this brewer also produces.

The local options for distribution do not seem to incentivize brewers to sell locally. One brewer, Brewer F, said that they only started focusing on local markets after the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. Before that, Brewer F was exporting 40% of their beer, meaning “that we did not focus that much on local sales. We have always tried to use local malts, fruits, and berries- to buy locally, to buy Swedish produced ingredients, but selling to the local market did not really start until last year” (Brewer F). After the pandemic started, Brewer F said that they had to turn their attention to local markets because much of their international trade was halted. Table 16 is a visual representation of the results from this chapter.

Table 16: Geography narrative of the craft beer sector



5 Knowledge

The chapter demonstrates that there is a much richer and deeper beer knowledge that needs to be explored and researched and is not completely present in discourses of local in the craft beer sector in Skåne for producers and consumers.

Brewers in Skåne seldom mentioned environmental practices, though these were the most important values for the local food consumers. This does not necessarily mean that the environmental impacts of local craft beer are unimportant to consumers. How beer is brewed is an esoteric topic for the average beer consumer and local food consumers are less likely to know how beer can be produced more sustainably. Research into the production practices of craft beer was not undertaken for this thesis project, though they are important for a fuller understanding of local in the craft beer sector. The environmental knowledge of beer brewers matched the expectations of craft beer consumers, who were not particularly concerned with sustainable beer brewing practices or levels of energy consumption.

In the social dimension of knowledge narratives brewers often referred to the 4th wave of beer knowledge, while the literature review demonstrated that there are many more waves and histories of beer than those of the last fifty years. Brewers in Skåne could connect more with the other waves of beer knowledge, especially those relevant to Sweden. For local food consumers, preserving rural livelihoods and knowledge and local history was very important. This is a large gap between the craft beer sector and local food narratives of local

The economic dimension of knowledge narratives is not particularly profound, though there were a few brewers who talked about the transition from home-brewing to commercial brewing and starting a brewery and the new knowledge and learning curve that came from these related, but inherently different, types of brewing.

Environmental

There environmental dimension of knowledge means knowing about the land in which one is growing or producing on and how to care for it in an ecologically conscious and friendly manner. Local food consumers had far more concerns about knowledge about environmental concerns, including sustainable production practices, better farmland maintenance, and chemical usage.

Table 17: Sustainable production practices in the agricultural sector

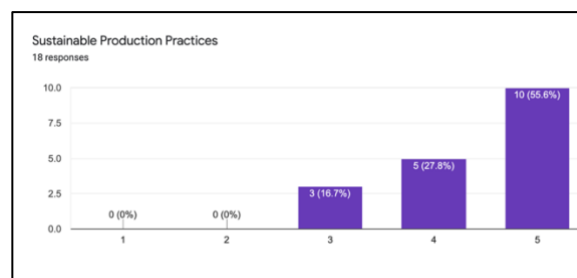


Table 18: Better farmland maintenance in the agricultural sector

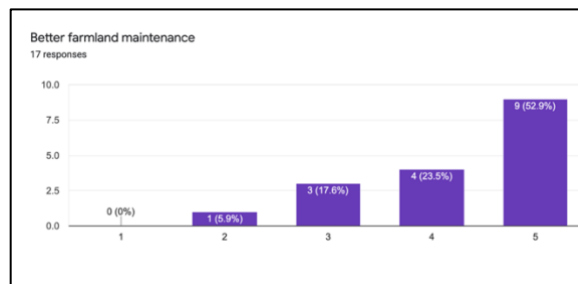
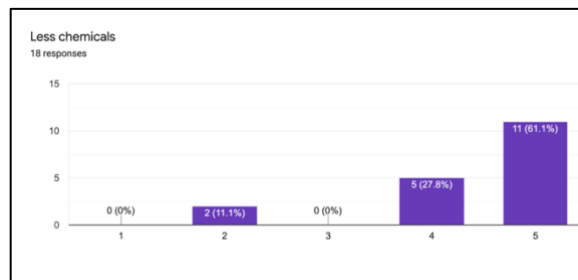
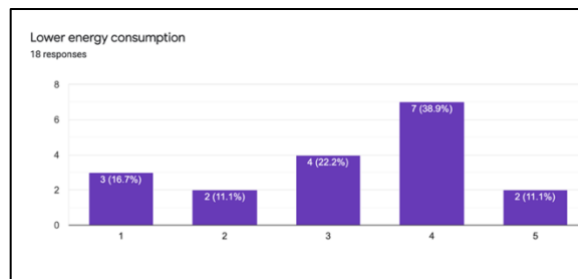


Table 19: Less chemicals in the agricultural sector



Lower energy consumption still had a somewhat high valuation, but not as strong as the other environmental practices.

Table 20: Lower energy consumption in the agricultural sector



In addition to these high valuations, in response to the open-ended question about what local food means to them, many respondents said that local food was a combination of location and environmental practices:

“National self-sufficiency and environmentally better produce”

“fresh, more environmentally friendly, and supporting local communities. It often tastes better, regardless of where one is, local produce is always the best”

“Produced nearby (within my region) and sustainable”

“Local [organically] produced and process food”

“Happy animals, organic, and better vibes”

Local food systems are not more environmentally sound *because* they are local; The farming methods and principles used to determine these methods are more indicative of the environmental impacts of an agricultural system than locality. However, this is a misconception that was found frequently in both the craft beer and local food sectors in Skåne.

Beer brewers were skimp on the environmental knowledge of beer production, though some brewers talked about how their sanitation regime was based on boiling water rather than chemicals. Albeit less harmful to the water supply, there is still a sizable amount of energy used to boil water for cleaning (Brewer B). For craft beer consumers, sustainable production practices were not as important as they were to local food consumers, and this is also true for energy consumption. This is a gap between the two discourses, perhaps attributable to the lack of knowledge about what sustainable production practices are in the craft beer sector and a better understanding of energy consumption.

Table 21: Sustainable production practices in the craft beer sector

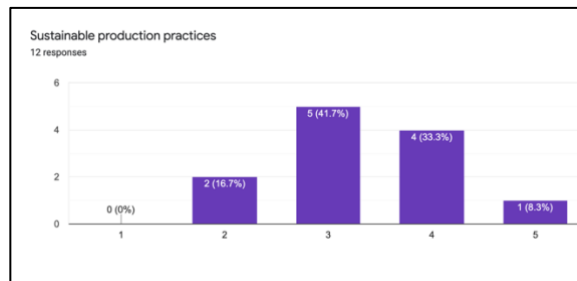
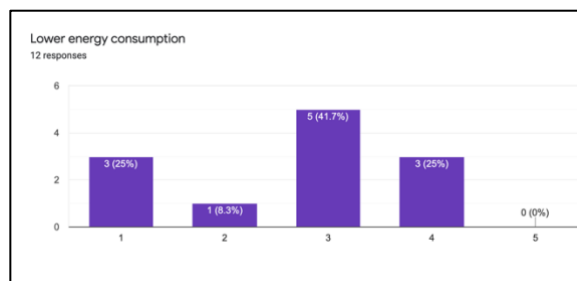


Table 22: Lower energy consumption in the craft beer sector



Social

The social dimensions of knowledge include knowledge of a specific place, including the traditions or histories that get passed between generations. Only a few brewers mentioned traditional beer knowledge from Sweden, and only one brewer, Brewer L, talked about it in depth. The other brewers talked about the other communities and professions that they came from, and how those helped to build a knowledge of craft beer. Many brewers have culinary backgrounds or hired other people with culinary backgrounds. Many said they were self-taught or learned from other brewers in the region. While not traditional knowledge, these interactions can be considered modern knowledge in a specific context or setting.

Many of the brewers said that they had a culinary background or were self-taught. Some of the brewers said that they had attended classes or workshops taught by other brewers in the region.

Other brewers interviewed said that they did not brew the beer themselves but had hired brewers or chemists who had completed formal brewing education programs.

However, the literature review indicated that there is knowledge of brewing that spans back hundreds and thousands of years before the craft beer revolution. Before the craft beer revolution, knowledge of beer was about its discovery in ancient civilizations where wild yeasts spontaneously fermented wet barley. This shall be called the first wave of beer knowledge. The proliferation of ales and meads in Northern Europe and the addition of hops in the 9th century, that differentiated beers from ales, can be considered the second wave. The industrialization of craft beer brewing can be considered the third wave, and the small-batch, craft-style beer knowledge will be considered fourth-wave beer knowledge.

Table 23: Waves of beer knowledge

1st wave	Ancient, Neolithic knowledge (global)
2nd wave	9 th century knowledge (Europe)
3rd wave	19 th & early 20 th century industrialized knowledge (Europe)
4th wave	Late 20 th & early 21 st century craft beer knowledge (the United States and Europe)

There are many other waves of beer knowledge, that are culturally or regionally specific. They are important to the total knowledge narratives of beer and beer brewing, and for this analysis, only these four waves will be labeled and included.

Brewers in Skåne relied on their fourth-wave beer knowledge as their connection to the craft and knowledge specific to Sweden. Most brewers did not address other knowledge traditions of beer brewing from any of the other waves nor did they have much region-specific knowledge. Brewer B started brewing beer with a homebrew kit that they bought from a brewing supply store in Stockholm but had been brewing kombucha at home for “many years” before they started brewing beer.

Only three brewers interviewed mentioned knowledge that can be classified in one of the other waves of beer knowledge, Brewer C also prefers to take a “more traditional approach” to beer brewing. In their terms, this means “staying more low profile, more adult” and avoiding the “more hipster” type beers, such as sour or fruit beers. This can be considered third wave beer knowledge, referencing the beers that used the four basic ingredients (water, malt, hops, and yeast) and are a result of developments in technology and capacity of brewers during the industrial revolution. However, ‘traditional’ was not qualified to a place or a specific tradition but was used to differentiate this brewer’s beers from the more avant-garde beers that have emerged since the Craft Beer Revolution.

Brewer D had lots of knowledge about brewing in Sweden and was the brewer who brought up the mandate that all Swedish farmers grow hops and also referenced the temperance movement that established the Systembolaget system. This knowledge can be classified as 3rd

wave knowledge, as it is mostly knowledge from industrial times, though the Law of Christopher pre-dates the Industrial Revolution.

Brewer L referenced all four waves of beer knowledge. This brewer was the only one to mention the role of women in the history of beer, saying “[Women] always been here [in the craft beer industry]”, which can be considered first, second and third wave beer knowledge, because, according to Brewer L:

“After the guild started, more and more men got in control, but the women were still working on the floor, even in the 1800 & 1900s there were a lot of brewery workers that were female, but they were never present in the pictures. If somebody came and took a picture of the people working, they would have the bosses with the tall hats and jackets [in the photo], so the women were always placed aside; they weren't that important. So, I think that showing these pictures of the woman on the floor also shows that there are many women in the industry, they just get don't get access to representation.”

This brewer also talked about the importation of hops to Sweden and the implications of the Industrial Revolution on beer knowledge:

“The last years, I've been focusing on the cultural history behind beer and beer making. And I got in touch with the archaeobotanical podcast that you have at Lund University, and they talked about how hops were introduced to Sweden and the Swedish hops market in the King Hans period. And that's when I realized that hops were imported. But we have been brewing beer for so many thousands of years [before hops were imported], so maybe I can try and replicate those kinds of beer styles. Not that I actively have to do old-school historical beers, but maybe think about what can we use as local ingredients? In order to - I wouldn't say replace hops, I think they're important, but kind of reinvent the view of beer seasonings.”

For consumers of craft beer, the waves of beer knowledge were not that important, as can be seen by the valuations of preservation of rural livelihoods & knowledge and regional history.

Table 24: Preservation of rural livelihoods & knowledge in the craft beer sector

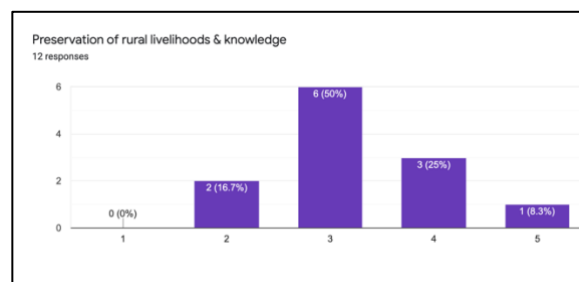
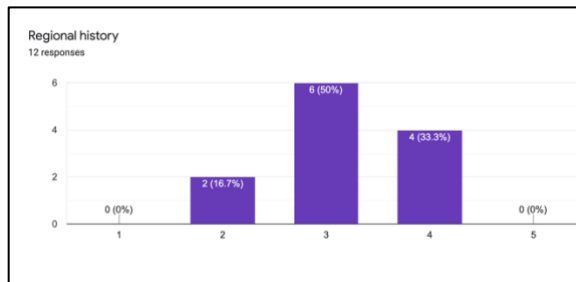


Table 25: Regional history in the craft beer sector



For local food consumers, however, these parts of the knowledge discourses of local were much more important.

Table 26: Preserving rural livelihoods & knowledge in the agricultural sector

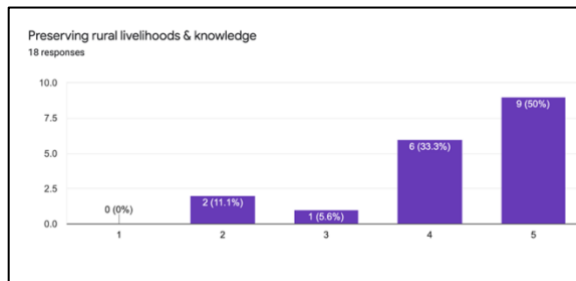
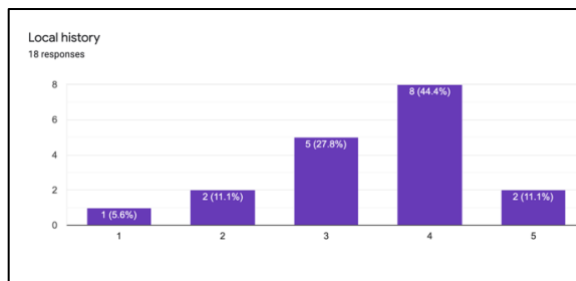


Table 27: Local history in the agricultural sector



Apart from the three aforementioned brewers, the rest of the brewers had knowledge backgrounds in the 4th wave of beer knowledge. Brewer B is trained professionally as a chef and spent many decades in restaurants and catering companies before opening their brewery in 2011. Brewer C never got to brew the beer themselves, because their brewery scaled up at such a rapid pace that a brewer had to be hired in mid-2014 before the brewery was officially opened in 2015. Brewer C got interested in brewing beer because “I wanted to learn more about beer, how to make beer.” This idea came from a family member who took this brewer to a brewery on a family vacation for a tour. “They showed us around and we saw the facilities and I just thought this is something for me,” Brewer C said. To better learn the craft, Brewer C “visited other breweries and read about it on the internet”, but Brewer C learned the most from the brewer that they hired when the brewery was being set up. The brewer that Brewer C hired was an “experienced homebrewer” and was trained as a chef.

Brewer F began to brew in 2012, inspired by their brother, who was studying food chemistry. The brother is now the primary brewer and Brewer F handles the finances because “of my

background with knowledge of the [Swedish alcohol] system. Brewer G learned from “YouTube videos and through lots of trial and error” and continually tweaks the recipes, as this brewer started homebrewing three years ago, and transitioned to a commercial brewing space in the summer of 2019.

Brewer H is not the brewer at their brewery but started homebrewing in college in 2009 with the other co-founders. The head brewer of this brewery “started brewing when he was in high school” and brought his knowledge of beer brewing with him. The brewery started as a “fictitious business plan for a class in economics” and became a commercial brewery in late 2013/early 2014 after the co-founders had completed their studies. Brewer H and their fellow co-founders do not have a “background in food processing, biochemistry or anything like that”, but hired “a chemist that has a masters’ in brewing and distilling”, but Brewer H said that “initially, we did not have that knowledge [that the chemist brought to the brewery].” Brewer I started brewing in 2016 as a commercial brewer and started brewing in their own brewery in 2017. This brewer was “in the game for many years” before starting their own brewery and was “heavily involved with another brewhouse. I even designed some beers for them.” Brewer J had been a “homebrewer since the 90’s” before transitioning to a commercial brewery in 2019.

Brewer K started homebrewing in 2006 before joining a commercial brewery in 2010. This brewer is a trained chef and “working with food and beverages is something I have been interested in for a long time.” This brewer had three to four-hour commutes and took that time to learn about learned “homebrewing, organic chemistry and microbiology because I found them very interesting.” After starting to learn about homebrewing, this brewer began to “homebrew like crazy” and started a “podcast and YouTube channel about home brewing and interviewed brewers from around the world.” The podcast and YouTube series were very important “because there were not a lot of resources [about homebrewing] in Sweden at the time.” By doing the podcast and YouTube series in Swedish this brewer was appealing to the population of “homebrewers at the time, who were a bit older, and were not that fluent in English. So, a lot of them did not want to listen to homebrewing podcasts in English. So that’s one of the things that I took upon myself: trying to translate some of the things that were happening overseas, because the United States was so far ahead when it came to home brewing, home brewing techniques and ingredients, and this whole kind of community created by sharing information, recipes, and all that. I wanted to add to the community and add information” (Brewer K).

The brewers spoke as if brewing in Sweden did not exist before the Craft Beer Revolution, and I assumed that having a culinary background would have made brewers more aware of the origins of where their food was coming from, not just geographically but historically as well.

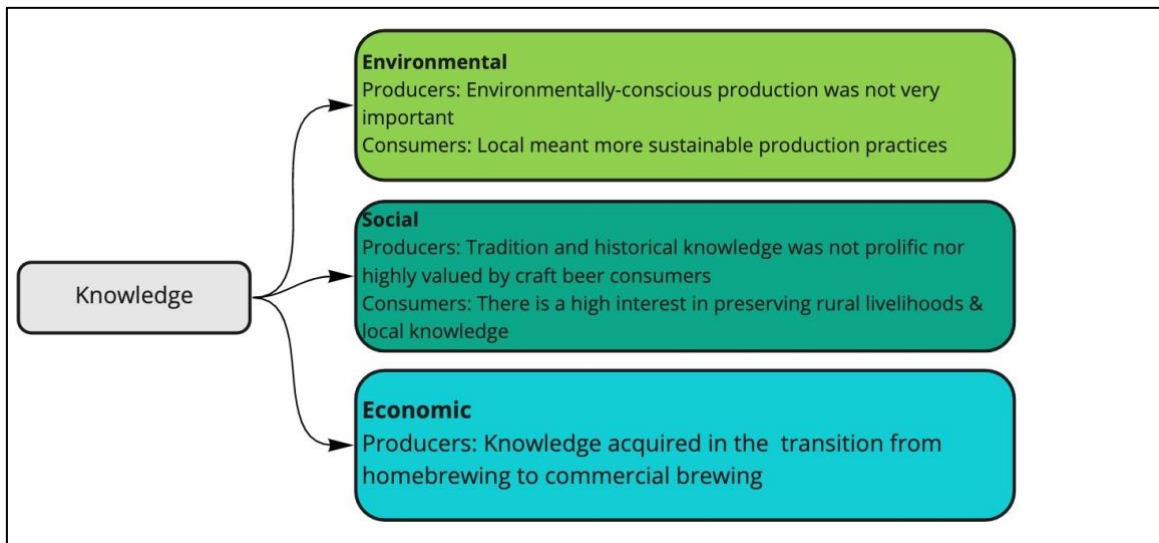
Economic

There are limited economic dimensions to this narrative of local, but there were a few brewers that said that they turned to brewing as a part of a career change, after having built up knowledge of homebrewing over time. Brewer D had been homebrewing for about twenty years before becoming a commercial brewer in 2016. When looking for a change in career path, this brewer wanted to “do something in the food industry [because] I have a food background- I grew up on a farm” (Brewer D). Brewer E also turned to commercial brewing in 2012 because of a change in career paths. Like Brewer D, Brewer E has been homebrewing “since the end of the last century, a whole millennium ago!” or for more than twenty years. When this brewer started homebrewing “it was hard to find good information about to succeed

in brewing your own beer” and found that joining the Swedish Home Brewer’s Association “gave me a lot of opportunities and contacts in the brewing business” (Brewer E). “My first brew I poured down the drain, but then I found a book [written in Swedish, by Swedish people], and I read that book [to learn more about beer brewing.”

Many brewers talked about a significant learning curve when transitioning from homebrewing to commercial brewing and the knowledge that comes with certain aspects of commercial brewing, such as sanitation, bottling, and shelf life. Table 28 is a visual representation of the results from this chapter and the previous chapter.

Table 28: Knowledge narratives of the craft beer sector



6 Relationships

There are all types of relationships across a craft beer shed, and this chapter focuses on the relationships between brewers and various players across the supply chain. Most of this chapter is focused on the social dimension of the relationship narratives of local.

The interviews showed that Systembolaget was a moderating variable, that made some brewers feel closer to their consumers and made others feel further away. Due to strict regulations about who can serve and sell alcohol, a few brewers mentioned that opportunities such as festivals were an integral part of feeling a connection to their consumers.

This chapter demonstrates the weakness of the environmental dimension of the relationship narrative. That is not to say that no brewer talked about their relationship to the environment and how that relationship was operationalized in their brewing production, but few mentioned this part explicitly.

For the social dimension, local food and craft beer consumers want stronger relationships with their producers, but there are some discrepancies on how that is achieved. While many brewers talked about the importance of festivals, this was not particularly valuable for consumers. Systembolaget was a point of contention, as some brewers found that it aided their relationship with the local community, and others found it stifling, limiting the amount of consumer to producer interaction and moderating the local craft beer market and culture. Sweden's relationship with alcohol consumption is long and complicated, and as a visitor or an outsider, I cannot say if Systembolaget's model works or does not. What I can say is that Systembolaget is an important factor in the social dimension of the relationship narrative of local in the craft beer sector in Skåne.

The economic dimension, like the environmental dimensions, was not a prolific as the social dimension, but it is worth mentioning how quickly one brewer turned to their local community to make up for lost export sales after the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. This proves the necessity of local relationships in both certain and uncertain times and having a relationship with local consumers and a local economy should not be a backup plan (Ewing Chow 2020).

Environment

Though mentioned already in the Geography section, it is worth mention that Brewer E felt that their commitment to locally grown ingredients was also part of their commitment to the environment. In reducing how far their ingredients were traveling, this brewer claimed, "we are very local" which speaks to their relationship to their community and local businesses, but also their environmental impact.

Apart from this brewer, there were a few mentions of practices that were more sustainable, such as rolling over the yeast (Brewer B), but definitive commitments to the environment in terms of energy reduction, better resource use, etc. From my research of the craft beer sector in Skåne, I know that Brewer H is experimenting with locally grown hydroponic hops, but this is an ongoing research project. This project is also looking at other principles of sustainability, including energy and water use (von Arnold 2020).

Social

The social dimension of the relationship narrative of local is the most profound and multi-faceted. As mentioned in the literature review, Skåne has a young and growing craft beer sector, with many brewers and few sources of Skånian-grown barley and hops.

To Consumers

The brewers listed the many different reasons and ways to have a relationship with their end consumer. Some brewers felt that a local brewery was a place for people of a certain place to gather and take pride in their place. Brewer A, for example, said brewer said “we are more for the common people- that common people that are proud to be in [the city] and buy our beer. They [the customers] are not buying it because it is a cool beer, that is not the mission for our customers They’re proud that the beer is produced locally for sure, and we are proud that we have a good taste” (Brewer A). This brewer interview was done in person, and upon arriving at the brewery, the display of hometown pride was evident. Flags bearing the name of the city and the brewery flew outside the brewery’s gates, and the city name was spray-painted on the back of one of the brewery’s buildings.

Other brewers said that consumers have not always had this mindset. Brewer C says that “the mindset of consumers has changed a lot since we started, and a lot more consumers are aware of microbreweries: what they are and what they can expect.” Brewer F mirrored this sentiment and said that “the craft beer scene much bigger now than when we started, and people have started to be pickier and have a better sense of the quality of the breweries.” Brewer I said that about a decade ago, “lots of people loved American craft beer, but there were no or few local alternatives, so as the [local Swedish] beer gets better and better, I think a lot of people prefer to buy the local- they have that mentality.”

Some brewers talked about their ‘ideal’ consumers, such as Brewer G, who said that they like to brew for people “like us, people who like music, are into politics” and found that they could reach that consumer demographic at festivals, which is where this brewer primarily sells their beer.

To Community/Skåne

Many brewers talked about ways to connect with large swaths of like-minded consumers, i.e. communities. Brewers mentioned many ways that they connect with Skåne and the surrounding community. Some talked about festivals, others talked about how the name of their brewery reflects their commitment to the community. Systembolaget took away the ‘face-time between producers and their communities, so brewers have found other ways to connect.

Brewer B is the founder and organizer of a brewing festival in Skåne with the purpose of “creating awareness to the craft beer market in Sweden” In 2019, the festival had “10 bands, 8 food trucks, 24 breweries, 150 beers on tap, 8,000 festival-goers and 30,000 beers served.” Brewer B said that they hope that when the customers learn about local beers, they start asking for them at bars and restaurants, encouraging bars and restaurants to start carrying local beer. This brewer said that when they first started the festival, there was a very limited demographic that would come to the festival, mostly “hipster beer guys,” but as the festival expanded to include more breweries, more restaurants, food trucks, and other local establishments, this brewer saw that different demographics were coming to the festival, with a large increase in the number of women festival attendees. Brewer B’s interview was in-person, and the brewing

facilities had memorabilia from festivals past but was not set up to host tour groups or avid fans of this brewer's beer. Instead, this brewer wanted to reach out to the community rather than have the community come to them.

Brewer F found festivals to be a good opportunity to engage with the Skånian craft beer scene. At festivals “it was easy to see what other companies were brewing, to see what's trending with the consumers.” Brewer F said that pre-Covid-19 pandemic, they were attending festivals “almost every weekend.” Since the start of the [Covid-19] pandemic, we now must go to Systembolaget to find new things taste it, and if we like it, try to brew something similar.” This interview was in-person, and after the start of the Covid-19 pandemic, started selling beer from their brewery. There is not a storefront, but customers ring the doorbell, and the doors open straight into the brewery where they can see the large wooden barrels of beer and large silver vats for boiling and cooling.

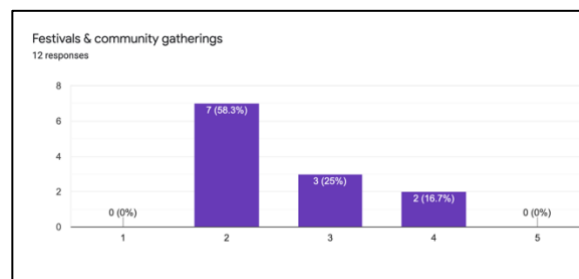
Brewer G is focused on bars and festivals in Skåne. All the festivals that this brewery has participated in have been in Skåne. “There is a great energy you get at festivals” that Brewer G loves.

For one brewer, Systembolaget did not take away from their relationships with their communities and found that selling their beer in local Systembolaget stores was an essential part of their relationship with their community and Skåne. Brewer I said that “due to the way and possibilities to see your beer via Systembolaget, you are limited to local. And to be honest, you attract a lot of people in the neighborhood. For all of us [craft beer brewers], that is a very important part: getting people from the neighborhood and getting the community involved.”

But that to generate that community interest, Brewer I said that “every year, there is a neighborhood where we have a festival, a local festival, and there are 16 breweries that want to be a part of that, and though that you get to know a lot of people and they get to know you.” This brewer said that there are “some local restaurants and food makers to make the food... and there was some music and it felt like south German village festival.”

Despite the importance that these brewers placed on festivals in terms of community connection, most consumers of craft beer felt that ‘festivals and community gatherings’ were of ‘low importance,’ but also indicated that ‘community building’ was something that 50% of participants at least found ‘somewhat important.’

Table 29: Festivals and community gatherings in the craft beer sector



This puts brewers in an odd position because brewers indicated that they felt that festivals and community gatherings were one of the main sources of community building, especially for many brewers who cannot or do not sell their beer onsite. There seems to be some dissonance amongst the craft beer consumers surveyed as to how brewers should develop relationships

with their communities, as it was somewhat important to craft beer consumers, and quite important to almost all local food consumers. This is a notable gap between the two discourses of local, but not as drastic of a gap as some of the others that have been pinpointed.

Table 30: Stronger relationships between producers and consumers in the craft beer sector

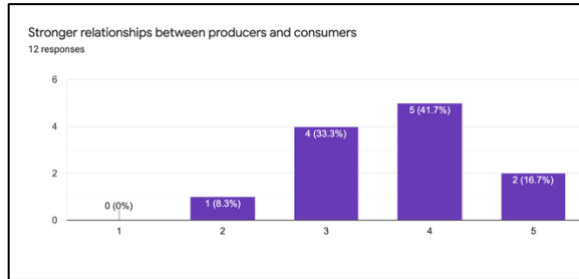
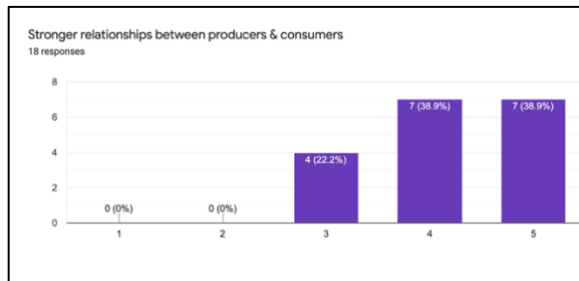


Table 31: Stronger relationships between producers and consumers in the agricultural sector



And this dissonance is related to how consumers valued the regional identities of local food. Local food consumers, who had a stronger valuation of relationships between producers and consumers also felt stronger about the role of local food in creating a regional identity. Having a strong relationship between producers and consumers means that both parties are invested in what local food is and how it represents where they come from, and by extension, who they are.

Table 32: Regional identity in the agricultural sector

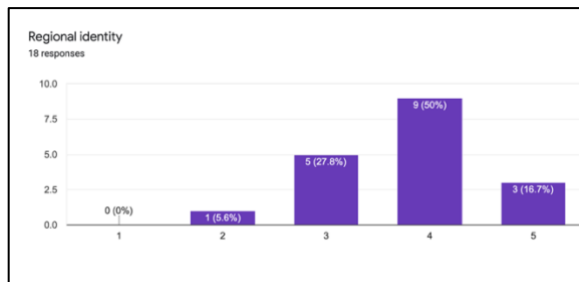
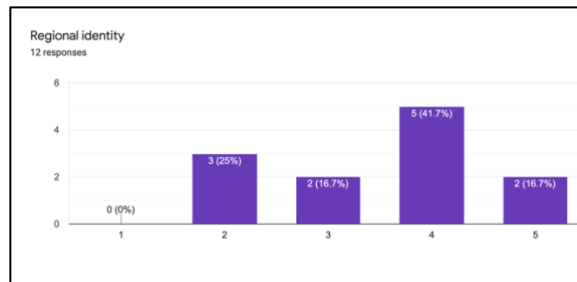


Table 33: Regional identity in the craft beer sector



For Brewer K, developing a relationship with a community was not festival-based. This brewer said that “I think that one important thing if you are labeling yourself as a local brewery, is that you take care of your community: the physical people that like your label, that come to your taproom, that buy your beers, and are really loyal to your brand. So, in terms of that, I would say there's a human aspect to it, that I think defines the word local word. But the idea of being local is working with the community and getting engaged with different crossover projects with local artists, local venues.” This sentiment is mirrored in the value of community building for local food and craft beer consumers, which was addressed in the Geography chapter.

Table 34: Community building in the agricultural sector

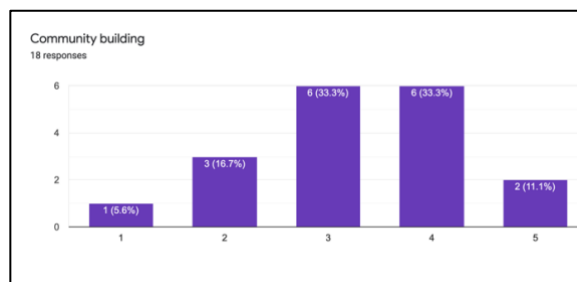
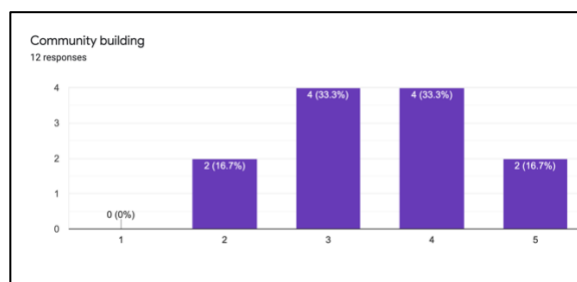


Table 35: Community building in the craft beer sector



As for the open-ended question about what local food means to them, some respondents said that for them, local food means “friendship and business between farmer and distributor” and that local food or goods that were locally produced had the “feeling of being local- it’s a local emotional attachment.” How this local attachment is achieved is unclear, but for craft beer brewers to connect to their consumers, they need to look beyond annual or occasional festivals and find new ways to habitually engage with their existing customers and reach out to new ones.

To other brewers and parts of the supply chain

The craft beer brewers, overall, said that they had good relationships with other brewers in Skåne and their suppliers.

Brewer D said that they find connections with other producers in the community. “When you particularly put in the effort with spent grains and sending them to local farmers, the setting up of the brewery and even any sort of work that needs to be done, all those things are in the local economy so the principle of keeping as much of your business as local as you can” is imperative to a local brewery. Brewer E talked about their activity in the Swedish Home Brewers Association and said that “a lot of us have known each other for many years, and we stay in contact because it’s a very good network to have and a lot of people have learned tremendous amounts over the years, so they are very important connections and contacts to have.” In addition to Brewer’s E relationships with other brewers in the region, this brewer has talked about their relationships with their malt supplier, who is located less than fifteen kilometers away from Brewer E’s brewery.

Brewer G felt that the community of brewers was “really open-hearted, welcoming and supportive”, saying that they “impressed with how open some of [the other brewers] were with their knowledge, help, everything.” Brewer G said that they got offers to use another brewer’s brewery before finding a place of their own and that another brewer “welcomed us to do some industrial espionage. [This brewer] showed us around and said, ‘here’s the brewery, here I do this, here I do that.’” After acquiring their own brew space, Brewer G said that the owner of the brewery had the previous brewer who worked there come in and show Brewer G how to use the brewery “because it wasn’t a regular brewery, it’s an older Finnish brewery from 1999.” The previous brewer stayed with Brewer G “for two days, and the first day, [the older brewer] went through the whole process. We had only brewed in a 30-liter thing, and all of a sudden, we have 250-liter vats, with all these pumps and things. So [the old brewer] went through it all with us, took pictures, made signs and everything. [The old brewer] showed us everything we needed to know.”

Brewer H says that “in the craft beer community, we do try and help each other out, though it is not really that formalized.” Brewer H said that “For our part, we try to help out as much as we can.” One of the ways in which they do that is by buying equipment on behalf of other brewers because “we’ve managed to get good rates for a lot of equipment, and we sell it to [the other brewers] cheaper than they can buy directly from a producer.” But before they were able to help others, Brewer H had the help of other brewers and took a home brewing course taught by another brewer in Skåne in 2010-2011. Brewer I “started buying malt from a local maltster, and I like these local connections. We have a licorice stout, and we buy the licorice from a local licorice manufacturer. The local bakeries use the remains from our brews in some breads... I hope we can do a little bit more of that [connecting with other local businesses] in the future.” Brewer K said that in creating their brewpub, “one of the ideas was to bring in [other brewer’s] beers so they could bring their clients or friends to a place where they can sit down and showcase their products.” This brewer also mentioned the relationship that they have with their maltster in Germany, highlighting that it was “family operated business” and liked how this maltster “gives so much to their community- they work closely with farmers and offer farmers if they need advice or support.”

Brewer J was the only brewer that said that the Skåne brewing community was “very quiet, and I don’t know if it is due to the pandemic that we have now, but I have not heard much from other brewers. It might be that I’m still new to it, but the connections I have made are because I reached out myself.”

To Systembolaget

Brewers talked about their relationship to Systembolaget in two distinct ways. The first was their relationship to Systembolaget and their own experiences with the organization. The second way was with how Systembolaget mediated the brewer's relationship with their consumers. Not all brewers commented on both facets of the relationship.

Brewer A said that Systembolaget was a “marvelous way to get out to the markets, especially when you have this local segment of Systembolagets because without that, we would have to be in competition with all our friends in the craft beer industry.” Brewer A also found that Systembolaget was “an easy way for us to get in contact with our customers.” As a reminder, Brewer A sells beer at their brewery and said that Systembolaget was a good resource “because I do not think there will be a lot of people who come just to buy the beer because it is easier to buy at Systembolaget. And if you would like to have three different locally produced beers, then you must go to three different shops, and in the long term, this is unsustainable, and people will go back to Systembolaget.”

Brewer B said that “we love Systembolaget; they sell our beers and all I have to do is get my orders out on time.” Brewer B's relationship with Systembolaget is a favorable one, because “when we started, it was very easy [to enter Systembolaget] and they helped you out a lot because there were hardly any small breweries and Systembolaget really wanted to buy from small brewers. We had a couple of people there that were very eager to have our products on their shelves and really liked [our products], so they helped us out a lot. But now, it's quite difficult.” Brewer B says that it is a lot harder to enter Systembolaget since the craft beer industry in Skåne and Sweden has grown enormously over the past fifteen years.

In terms of Brewer C's relationship to Systembolaget, “I had my opinion about Systembolaget when I started, but it really changed since I got to work closely with them, They are really, very strict, and they have their set rules, but it's about trading everyone equally. You can't talk your way into something- they always open the rulebook and go by that. They're very professional, you always get paid in time.” Brewer C gives some credit to Systembolaget in the increase of “5 to around 450 breweries [in Sweden] in just a 10-year period or so. We would not have had the rapid development that we had without Systembolaget... they have really helped the Swedish brewing community get started. Now [Systembolaget] is a bit worried because there are too many [breweries] and they have difficulties.

Brewer D finds Systembolaget very “restrictive.” They said, “In one way it is completely killing the market, but in another way, it's kind of acting almost like a market hindrance, in that, there's probably an awful lot of craft breweries that would not survive if they did not get access straightaway to a few shelves in a few [Systembolagets]... Systembolaget is an equalizer for the bottom level and a hindrance on the top.”

Brewer G felt that Systembolaget was restrictive as well, but for different reasons. “Systembolaget's censorship of beer labels and strict guidelines” discouraged Brewer G from attempting to put their beers in any Systembolagets. Brewer J said that “it's very easy for small breweries like me to enter the market and have a steady flow of product going into the market [because of Systembolaget.” Brewer J said that they found the process to be “very smooth”, and acknowledge that “there are a lot of papers that were needed, but when after that is in place, it's quite easy... As soon as you have an agreement with Systembolaget, they buy.”

Generally, older breweries, with the word ‘older’ being relative, had more favorable relationships with Systembolaget, citing the assistance they got in getting their beers on shelves

in the early 2010s. But because of the proliferation of breweries not just in Skåne, but all across Sweden, Systembolaget has a different reputation and relationship with newer breweries, who say that they do not get any guidance or assistance in getting their beer into more Systembolaget stores.

Shifts in relationships due to the Covid-19 pandemic

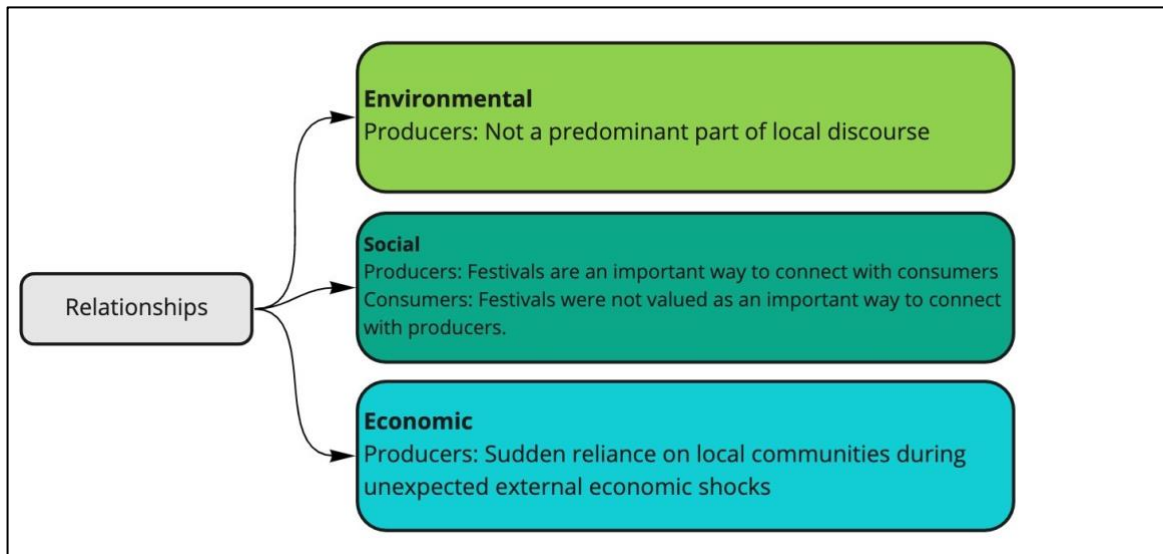
The ongoing Covid-19 pandemic was mentioned by a few brewers during these interviews and how the pandemic has impacted brewer's relationships with their consumers and community.

Brewer F said that “before the pandemic, we didn't focus that much on local sales...but for our own local market, it did not start until last year.” The transition towards local markets was a result of export loss after the pandemic started. Brewer F said that post-pandemic, they plan to continue in “both the international and local markets.” This brewer said “because of the pandemic, we feel like we have better local markets, both in Skåne and all over Sweden. The goal is to maintain both sides.” It is worth noting how quickly this brewer had to start relying on their local community to make up for the revenue lost from exports, and despite not having had a strong relationship with the surrounding community before, was still able to turn to them in uncertain times. This proves the importance of local communities and their resilience in the face of economic shocks and uncertainty. The brewer presents this as a favor to their local community, though this brewer would not be in business if it were not for local consumers.

Economic

Brewer H said that their idea consumer is someone “who is interested in high-quality food and drinks, but who is more prone to developing favorites and is buying over and over again. We still need the craft beer enthusiasts because they steer the market and point the other guys [the other consumers] ...we brew our beers in a way that we want to get repeat customers.” This sentiment was reiterated by several other brewers, including Brewer C and Brewer F, which is the notion that while it is important to have more traditional craft beer consumers, sometimes dubbed ‘craft beer aficionados’, that these consumers tend to be in pursuit of the newest brew, and “they do not mind a bottle costs between 70-80 krona [approximately 7-8 EUR], they will buy one and try it. But they aren't loyal customers.” The ideal customer, like for most businesses is that one that will come back and “buy beer again and again” (Brewer H). A producer's relationship to their consumer is dynamic and, as exemplified by these brewers, is more than an exchange of supply and demand.

Table 36: Relationships narrative of local in the craft beer sector



Reflection on the results of this project

The decisions made about the means of data gathering and how it was analyzed have affected the results of this project. I would not change how the data was collected from the craft beer brewers, though I do wish that more had agreed to participate. I would change how information was collected from the consumers, as this was a qualitative research project that had to rely on a survey for data collection due to the Covid-19 pandemic. If I could, I would have liked to do focus groups with local food consumers to better understand their values and understanding of local. A focus group would have allowed me to engage more with the consumers and ask follow-up questions about some of their responses.

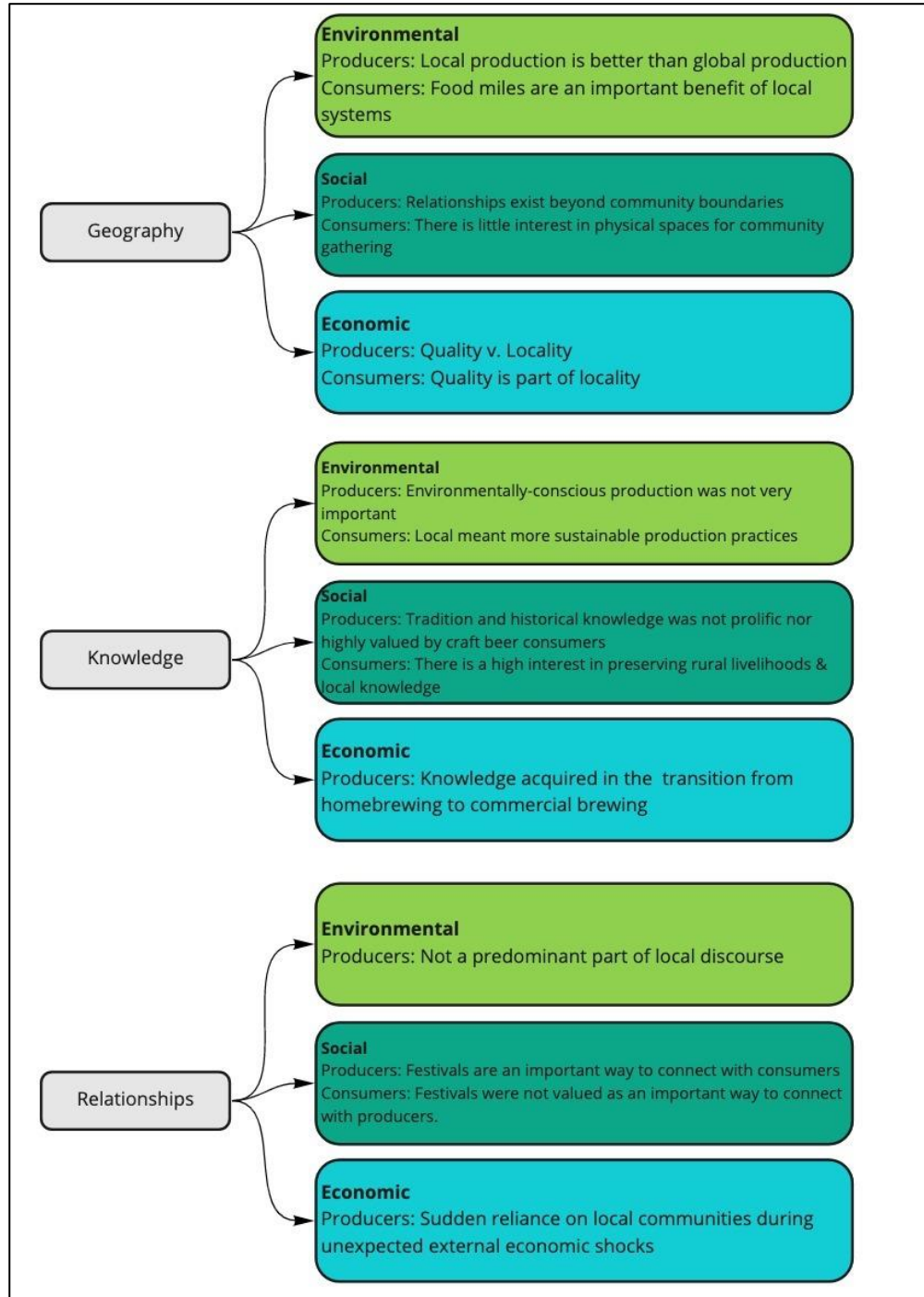
As for the foodshed analysis, I think that it was the best option for this project, though it is worth noting that the narratives of geography, knowledge, and relationships are not the only narratives found in local food and perhaps were limiting into understanding the whole breadth of local food. Perhaps with more data from brewers and more in-depth data from consumers different or more narratives would have been selected for analysis.

Due to the case-study nature of this research, as well as the content, the empirical findings are not generalizable; they are relevant in the place and context of the Skånian craft beer and local food sectors only. However, the theoretical conclusions that will be drawn are important for anyone interested in what 'local food' means.

7 Conclusion

As the first research question demonstrated, 'local' is operationalized and understood by producers and consumers in specific ways that do not always align with one another.

Table 37: Producer and consumer operationalizations of local in the craft beer sector in Skåne, Sweden



The answer to the first research question help to answer the second research question, *how do producer & consumer discourses of local overlap? How do they diverge?*

There are a few notable cleavages between producers and consumers, which manifest into differences in narratives between the craft beer and agricultural sector. Geography narratives for consumers and producers both originated at the place of production, though the place of production for a craft beer brewer is different than the place of production of local food, i.e. a farm. And while producers thought that quality was a trade-off for locality, consumers thought that locality inherently meant higher quality. While there was a lot of desire for historical and traditional knowledge on the consumer side, the interviews with the brewers indicated a limited knowledge of beer and traditions specific to Sweden that pre-dated the Craft Beer Revolution. Albeit not pursued in-depth, consumers also expressed their high valuation of sustainable production practices in local agriculture but were not as highly valued in the craft beer sector. This could be due to the lack of knowledge about the beer brewing process and what sustainable practices in this sector could look like.

Relationships are vital to the prosperity of local food and goods systems, but producers and consumers must have a consensus on what kind of relationship they are looking for and what platforms these relationships are introduced and nurtured. Many brewers talked about the importance of festivals, which consumers of craft beer did not find festivals to be of much importance for the relationships to their brewers. There was no indication of how consumers wanted brewers to connect with them, due to the nature of the data collected, but perhaps festivals would mean more to the consumers if they were less sporadic, though this could be due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Or perhaps, a festival would mean more to consumers if they had some sort of idea who the brewers were before going to the festivals, or if they were going with the intention of meeting a brewer whose beer they liked.

At their core, producer and consumer discourses of local overlap in the fundamental environmental, social and economic dimensions, in that, both producers and consumers are aware of the positive impacts of local food systems in these dimensions, though the specific values between the two differ greatly. Consumers value the environmental impacts of local food, the strong relationships between producers and consumers, and the more direct dollars to farmers while producers are concerned with where their beer is being sold, the importance of connecting through community events, such as festivals, the quality of their product, and are focused on the environmental aspects of production, rather than across the entire production line.

But what the real conclusion that needs to be made, and the whole intent of this thesis project, is to draw attention to the fact that local is a complex and multifaceted term, whose meaning changes from sector to sector. Not all narratives of craft beer perfectly fit into those narratives outlined by the foodshed analysis, and that is really the point: local is not universal nor lendable. It means its own thing and has its own narratives in different places, contexts, and different sectors. So instead of trying to fit the craft beer sector into the narratives of local food in Skåne, we need to let the craft beer sector tell *us* what local means to them. Thus, the two narratives that I have ascertained to be important to the craft beer shed in Skåne, Sweden are the narratives of ‘The Craft’ and ‘Engagement’.

Table 38: New narratives of local in the craft beer shed in Skåne, Sweden



The Craft narrative allows for beer to be seen as part of a more holistic agricultural system that is not just about the place or scale of production but looks at the sourcing, knowledge, and sustainability of the craft beer sector as connected parts. Normatively, this means addressing the entire supply chain, especially from an environmental lens. The Engagement narrative acknowledges some of the struggles that craft beer brewers in Skåne have due to Systembolaget and how alcohol retail is legislated in Sweden. While not trying to overhaul or rework Systembolaget for the sake of the craft beer sector in Skåne, I want to draw attention to how Systembolaget can be an agent for engagement, encouraging producers to connect with their consumers through the pre-established distributions system and network.

This is not to say that the use of 'local' should be limited or regulated, but that having a better understanding of the term, not just from a regional perspective but a sectoral one is important to understand how it can be utilized in creating sustainable food systems. Knowing how local is operationalized in different sectors means that it can be used better to tackle the issues that have been caused by industrialized and globalized food systems.

Practical Implications and recommendations

While allowing the different uses and narratives of local to belong to their own sectors, recommendations can be made to highlight the narratives of local in the craft beer sector and tap into the values that make local the preferred choice to an industrialized and globalized food & beer industry.

For starters, craft beer brewers need to engage with their craft both socially and environmentally. There is a lot to be learned about the specific historic and regional knowledge of beer brewing. One way this could be operationalized is by incorporating more regionally grown flavors, as was suggested by Brewer L, and to use traditional recipes for beer, such as öl

and mjöd, to connect both producers and consumers to specific regional history and knowledge. This not only brings attention to the strong history of beer brewing in the region, but also highlights the agricultural history of growing hops and barley in Sweden. By choosing to brew with traditional recipes, brewers are signaling to farmers and other agricultural producers the demand and need for locally produced grains and hops. By incorporating regional recipes and creating a larger demand for regionally grown ingredients, brewers are weaving themselves into a richer community that keeps more dollars local.

In terms of the environmental values of local, producers of craft beer were more conscious of where the beer was produced, not necessarily thinking about where the ingredients are coming from, and how this plays into how 'local' a local craft beer really is. Consumers very much valued low food miles, while some brewers were claiming their beer was local with hops from the United States and vanilla from Madagascar. This use of local is being deployed in the slip shot fashion that creates a confusion about what local means and makes the environmental impacts of local questionable. The use of local in the craft beer sector to take about the place of production rather than address the entire line of production conceals the broader scale implications of a still globalized food system, despite the local points of production and distribution. Thus, the environmental recommendation for the craft is to expand the perception of what local craft beer is and engage in sustainable brewing practices from ingredient procurement to can and bottle recycling. This is not just the sole responsibility of the brewers, however. According to Ness (2018), "little scholarly attention has been devoted to craft beer sustainability where the research that does exist has mainly focused on efficiency improvements in the brewing process" (2). Just as the new narrative of "The Craft" looks to incorporate all parts of the craft beer process, research into sustainable beer production and implementation needs to go beyond the physical production and look at ingredients, containers and packaging, spent grain reuse, energy use, and water conservation (Ness 2018, 4).

In terms of engagement, brewers and consumers need to find new means of interaction that are highly valued and are meaningful for both brewers and consumers. The challenge to this is the mitigating factor of Systembolaget, which have been equally instrumental and detrimental to the craft beer industry in Skåne. To increase engagement with producers and consumers, Systembolaget could profile and display pictures of brewers could be posted in Systembolaget stores and websites so that consumers can get that 'facetime' with their producers. While not as glamorous or perhaps as fun as festivals and other community gatherings, this intervention is an easy way to increase engagement with craft beer consumers and lay the foundations for stronger community engagement.

Recommendations for further research

This research project set out to explore how 'local' is understood beyond regional divides. By exploring how different F&B sectors understand and use the word 'local', we can better utilize it to promote sustainable food systems with more specificity and understanding. While these results cannot be extrapolated to other sectors or larger food systems, it is important to recognize the many shapes and forms that local takes on, whether it wants to or not. Some uses of local really do promote more socially and environmentally resilient local food & beverage systems, while other uses of local mask broader environmental impacts while choosing to focus on one part of a supply chain. These meanings and definitions have broader implications in utilizing 'local' food systems as a solution for emissions-heavy, unsustainable global food systems. While we do not necessarily need a universal definition of what local is, defining local, no matter how tedious, is important not just for different regions, but for different F&B sectors.

Further research should explore the operationalization of local in other F&B sectors and different regions with specific contexts. Reevaluating the operationalization of 'local' in the craft beer industry in Skåne in a decade or fifteen years could explore how the craft beer shed in Skåne has evolved independently and related to the Skånian foodshed.

Related to this specific research project, the environmental dimension of local narratives was one of the more dissonant dimensions and showed the biggest gaps between the agricultural and craft beer sector. First, further research should be done regarding the environmental practices of the agricultural sector in Skåne to determine whether consumer's perceptions of environmental aspects of local food systems in Skåne are true. Secondly, more and continued research should be done about sustainable production practices in the craft beer industry, such as water and energy use, ingredient sourcing, and the end-of-life product cycle. These developments do not need to start with academia or research; they start with taking off the blinders that focus only on production and start treating the supply chain, from seed to Systembolaget, as a whole.

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