

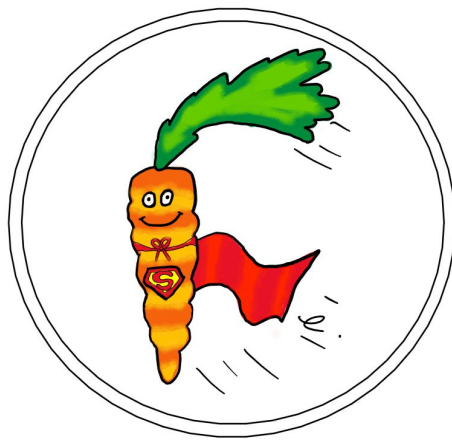
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**A CSA-Venture of alternative Distribution
Systems against the Regime**

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Abstract

Solidarity based food systems based on agroecological theory, such as community supported agriculture (CSA), are opposing the dominant industrial food production system. Applying a multi level perspective (MLP), CSA can be seen as an alternative niche to tackle the dominant long chained production systems shaped by capitalism. This study aims to take a closer look at the CSA phenomenon, it's organizational governance structure, and the distributional system to which it gives rise to. Thereby, the distribution of goods produced within a CSA will be analysed by creating a consumer profile, showing their motivational framework to be a CSA member. Furthermore, the members preferences in choosing a mode of transport to reach the farm or pick-up location will be analyzed to present a multi sided account of the CSAs distribution system. Going from theory to practice, four case studies will be analyzed and compared.

Keywords: Agroecology, MLP, CSA, Distribution System

1. Introduction

The consumers increasing desire to purchase natural foods has been fostering alternative food networks (AFN) such as community gardens, farmers markets or CSAs over the last decades (Britalan et al., 2020). This steady growth in popularity of a parallel channel that contrasts mainstream consumption is leading to an expansion of a alternative cultural and economic niche market (European CSA Research Group, 2016). The consumers growing interest in foods sources and origin brings up various opportunities from which short supply chains can rise, as Britalan points out that, “participation means more than just a single purchasing decision, it has a significant effect on every stage of the food consumption process” (2020, p.6).

The concept of CSA has a long tradition and and is known under many names. The first CSA movement started in Japan in the 1960's, called Teikei, whereby a group of citizens framed direkt relationships with agroecological farmers to distance themselves from the social and ecological side effects of industrial agriculture (Galt et al., 2019). Almost two decades later, ‘Les Jardins de Cocagne’ near Geneva, Switzerland, was founded in 1978, as the first CSA in Europe (Weckenbrock et al., 2016). To view the concept of CSA up close, collaborative research about the topic was conducted in cooperation with representatives of 22 countries within Europe who came up with the following definition, describing CSA as,

“(…) a direct partnership between a group of consumers and one or several producers whereby the risks, responsibilities and rewards of farming activities are shared, through long-term formal or informal shared agreement. Generally operating on small scale, CSAs aim at providing quality food produced in an agroecological way” (Róisín, 2016, p.8).

According to Henderson (2016, p.5) CSA is build upon the following six principles. The four case studies in this research have been selected in line with Henderson's principles, which proclaim 1) that solidarity and mutual assistance is guaranteed through the shared risk relationship between farmers and members, 2) that CSA is distancing itself from industrial agriculture by maintaining agroecological farming methods, 3) a garant for the refusal of genetically modified organisms to maintain biodiversity, 4) the aim to provide high quality food for a reasonable and fair price for producer and consumer, 5) the concerned with educational mission of CSA to give a realistic account of contemporary farming, and 6) the continuing improvement of the concept of CSA through experimentation in biodiversity and aiming to enlighten new ways for social inclusiveness (Henderson, 2016, p.5).

CSA is setting up alternative forms of consumption and production, and is thereby challenging the capitalist pressure on agriculture, its undeserving treatment of farmers, the disillusionment of the consumer and its more than questionable impact on the environment. Viewing four different case studies this research starts with the smallest unit, the consumer and connects it to macro unit, the governance structure. The relationship between the consumer and the CSAs governance structure is especially important because both shape each other reciprocally. By analyzing the distribution system and the forces that give rise to it and shape it, an account on the internal and external forces that structure the concept of CSA will be given. The distribution system is no theoretical value but an active structural component which can be viewed up close, and is therefore to be seen as a connecting unit mediating the relationship between consumers and the CSA's organizational governance structure.

The existing literature in the field of CSA research showed that additional routes travelled to pick up the CSA share from the pick-up location of farm can be a hindrance for the consumer, therefore the distribution system of four different case studies will be analyzed to understand how the consumers preferences are integrated within the pick-up process. This leads the way for the following main research question: 'To what kind of distribution system gives CSA rise to?', and four sub-questions through which the main research question will be answered in a structured manner, namely 1) 'What are the characteristics of this distribution system?', 2) 'How are they shaped by the organizational governance structure?', 3) 'How are they shaped by the motivations of consumers?', and 4) 'What are stabilizing and destabilizing factors?'

1.1 Empirical Context



Figure 1: Case Studies (Picture and Logo: URL 1-4)

With regard to the aforementioned research questions the following four case studies presented in Figure 1 will be viewed up close. The first case study is called ‘Pluk!’, located at the west corner of Amsterdam, which is part of the province North Holland in the Netherlands. The second case study, called ‘Radiesli’, is based in the small town Worb, in the canton Bern, Switzerland. The only case study outside of Europe is the ‘Rare Earth Farm’ in the small town Belgium, in the state of Wisconsin, USA, circa 60 km north from Milwaukee, at the west side of Lake Michigan. Last but not least, ‘Gemüsekoop’ represents the fourth case study, located in Cologne, which is part of the German federal state Nordrhein-Westfalen. The following table illustrates basic data about all four case studies such as general information about the farm and their the organisational structure. Especially notable is the lack of prominent umbrella organizations like the ‘Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft’ (Solawi) in the Netherlands and the USA. Besides Germany, Solawi is also present in Switzerland next to the ‘Fédération Romande d’Agriculture Contractuelle de Proximité’ (FRACP), and the ‘Verband für regionale Vertragslandwirtschaft’ (RVL).

	Pluk!	Radiesli	Rare Earth Farm	Gemüsekoop
Location	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	Worb, Switzerland	Belgium, USA	Cologne, Germany
Size	0,5 Ha	13 Ha	8 Ha	2,4 Ha
Founding Year	2017	2016	1990	2017
Members*	100	330 Families*** Bar, Restaurants other CSA	300 Families Up-Scale Restaurants	230 Families
Goods	Fruits Vegetables Herbs	Vegetable Chicken, Beef Eggs Grain, etc Teikei Coffee	Vegetables Eggs Honey Maple Syrup	Veggies
Season	May - November	Whole Year	June - October	March - February
Price	Small: 400-500€ Regular: 750-850€	Abonnements i.a. Eggs: 288 CHF Onion: 35 CHF Pumpkin: 25 CHF	Veggie: \$670.00 + more Abonnements (e.g. Eggs etc.)	Auction at the end of January
Pick-Up-Locations**	1	9	11	14
Division of Labour	Farmers Volunteers	Farm-Group Business-Group Volunteers	CEO Farmers (Volunteers)	Orga-Team Farming-Team Support-Team Working Groups
Business Model	Foundation	Limited Liability Company Association, Club	Sole Proprietor	Registered Association (e.V.)
National CSA Umbrella Organisation		Solawi FRACP RVL		Solawi

* Members = People who currently receive a share, i.e. "active" members.

** Including Farm itself

*** + Households with any amount of members

Table 1: Case Study Profile

2. Literature Review

To regard each case study individually as well as together, many aspects that formed the current discourse around farming have to be taken into account, so to say, the farm itself, can not just be understood in its discrete and bounded physical sense, but more as a process shaped by socio-ecological relations in which it is embedded, and again linked reciprocally to other places in a ‘sustaining and being sustained’-relationship (Harvey, 1996; Cederlöf, 2016). Clearing the picture of CSA’s positionality in the field, a closer look behind the surface of the issue itself is necessary, whereby the discourses in this field are hybrid, shaped by economic, environmental, political, or sociocultural streams, standing in a reciprocal relationship towards each other.

2.1 Discourses

The economic system aims to fulfill the needs of the consumer through collective producing and the exchange of goods and services, but even if the element of production and exchange is happening under fair, equal and sustainable circumstances the process still hardly transparent (Meissner & Salvini, 2020). In its statement on the state and the global climate in 2019 the World Meteorological Organization (WMO, 2020) stressed that the continued persuasion of unlimited economic growth will further foster future health and environmental crises such as loss in biodiversity and global warming. According to Gibson-Graham such rampant, “economic growth, with its uneven geography and voracious appetite for earth’s resources, is undermining the likelihood of a peaceful and sustainable future” (2014, p.147). On the background of this drastic outlook, Meissner and Salvini pointed out that, “it is high time not to save the economy but to transform it into a new economy” (2020, para. 3). So to speak, a striving economy that is not based and dependant on all encompassing and sheer limitless increase in growth. Amsterdam’s ‘circular 2020-2025’ strategy, released by the municipality of Amsterdam in early April 2020, could be a step into that direction, inspired by Raworth’s (2017) concept of doughnut economy (Salvini & de Kok, 2020). Gibson-Graham proposes to pursue, what he describes as, a “community economy”, whereby different actors with varying values, skills, aims and expectations come together to seek ethical independence by dismissing the structural mechanisms of a *capitalocentric* market economy (Gibson-Graham, 2006; 2014). This goes in line with the central ideal of CSA to present an alternative to the long chained, wasteful, and unjust capitalist production system.

2.1.1 Capitalist Agriculture versus Agroecology

The foundation of agroecological theory is build upon the basic dichotomy formed through, “an historic clash between two modes of farming, peasant agriculture versus agribusiness” (Cederlöf, 2016, p.773). The following three principles mark the agroecological value system. First and foremost,

it's the goal to farm within a equilibrium ecosystem. Secondly, it's aiming to mitigate climate change and to foster social justice that leads the agricultural economy to a "socially and environmentally sustainable steady state" (Cederlöf, 2016, p.772). Thirdly, the distribution and circulation of goods are designed in alternative forms, opposing capitalism and rejecting the introduction of elements of the donation system (Mittermaier, 2014). In contrast to the agriecological model, industrial agriculture needs a fair amount of imported energy to remain as functional as more ecological and less disturbed systems. This energy from the outside comes in forms of pesticides, synthetic fertilisers, genetically modified seeds, just to name a few. According to Cederlöf, the farm is getting more vulnerable by these influences, "as production comes to depend on the institutions that uphold the displaced flows of inputs" (2016, p.774).

Capitalism, as the base and motivator of industrial agriculture, integrates several socially destructive features into the agricultural system. For this reason 1) labour is being exploited, 2) capital is being concentrated and centralized, 3) social relations are hidden, 4) overproduction and overconsumption has become normality, and 5) natural disasters are accepted in oblivion (Willyard, 2015). What Marx (1867) already described as *commodity fetishism* centuries ago is still strikingly relevant today, since social relations within the production process are still hidden by capitalism. Through commodity fetishism people mostly focus on the price, the *economic relations*, through the laws of competition, thereby the exploitation of labour and its *social relations* within the capitalist society are rarely acknowledge. In this capitalist cycle the consumer is focused on price not social relations, and whole communities lose touch to what are the means of subsistence (Willyard, 2015; Marx, 1867). CSA presents an alternative to commodity fetishism by recharging the value of such social relations within the scope of the earth's natural environmental limitations. However, figuratively speaking, CSA's ambitions to distance themselves from the capitalocentric marked can be described as a mammoth task, considering Webers (1905) point of view that material rationality opposing the marked's tractive power is sheer impossible to achieve. The individuals immersion in commercial culture imposes the norms of the, "reconstruction of the domestic economy" on every consumption decision (Le Velly, 2006, p. 329).

The consumers choice to purchase local food is frequently portrayed as a form of food activism based on a counter-hegemonic ethical concept standing against globally integrated, capitalist agro-food systems (Papaoikonomou et al., 2017; Seyfang, 2006). Some scholars argue that this view is based on the romanticized narrative of the consumers and producers reunited, opposing the industrial agricultures identities, as Varul (2008) criticizes, stressing that the local food consumption and its "romantic commodification" can't fulfill its expectations of morality and transformative potential (Papaoikonomou et al., 2017; Selfa & Qazi, 2005; Murdoch, 2000). Moreover, powerful food

companies reacted to the increasing demand of ecological food by mimicking agroecological aspects, hence, more marked channels appeared disguised as industrial organic, copying parts of the agroecological framework, without being social embedded (Galt et al, 2019; Lockie et al., 2006). Many companies joined in, seeing the potential for high profit rates on the local organic food market, such as American food delivery services like Blue Apron or Amazon Fresh, promising a fast delivery of fresh and local products (Galt et al, 2019). It is to be questioned if the consumers choice is really free regarding all the discourses that shape the consumers vision of sovereignty and marked choice (Cederlöf, 2016). The late sixties slogan ‘the private is political’ could be a possible strategy to cope with the consumers personal political experience of powerlessness (Dohmen, 2017). Therefore, the moralization of the market is a new stage of the capitalist market development, focusing on the consumers power instead of the government. The basic idea to force the consumer to make the right buying decision through rising personal responsibility through social pressure is promising to some degree, however, the power to change something through consumers decisions is unequally distributed. The goal has to be realistic, otherwise the consumer distances themselves from the personal ethical consumption choices, justifying its impossibility (Dohmen, 2017). The CSA model presents a realistic alternative to the capitalist market through transparency and their rejection of the dominant norms and social trends.

2.1.1.1 Consumer Profile

	CSA-People	Norms and Social Trends
Seasonality	Consuming what is locally in season	Availability all year long due to imports
Choice	Limited Choice	Ideology of consumerism: More choice → More satisfaction
Eating Environment	Additional work to prepare ingredients at home a) Increases household labour b) Kitchen equipment required c) Social downgrading of kitchen work	a) Go out to eat b) Eating more processed foods
Labour	a) Additional trips b) Extra time c) Extra transportation access	Less available time for household work because of more work outside the household (multiple jobs)
Payment	Mostly payment upfront	Pre-Pay money is often not available

Table 2: CSA-People against the norm. Adapted from (Galt, 2019, p.181-182).

Table 2 illustrates and compares two perspectives Galt et al. (2019) pointed out in his latest study, the consumer profile of what he called “CSA-People” on the one side and the dominant norms and social trends on the other side. Beginning with the seasonality, CSA-People are always consuming what is in season whereas the general trend within the society goes towards consuming every good all year long. Moreover, in contrast to the wide variety of choices embedded in the consumerist society, CSA-members have a limited choice range depending on what is grown on the farm. Instead of the over the years stronger growing trend of going out to eat and the increasing popularity in processed foods, members of a CSA have to invest additional labour to cook whole foods, which moreover, requires the right kitchen equipment to process the food. Another interesting factor is that the society's view of kitchen work such as chopping is often downgrading such kind a labour. Furthermore, to pick up the CSA-share the members have to spend additional time and financial resources, such as paying public transport or paying for gasoline, to pick up the food if it is not delivered to their home. For some people with multiple jobs and long hours this would be too much of an effort. Regarding the payment, many CSA's demand up front payment at the beginning of the season from their members, which requires a certain amount of savings from the members side. Such financial liquidity is not given to all people to prepay a larger amount of money at once (Galt et al., 2019). Some CSAs acknowledged this problem by offering a payment in installments (White et al., 2018).

The dichotomy between CSA-People and the prominent social norms and trends, illustrated in the table above, can be used as a framework to better understand consumers behaviour, not just with regard to CSA, but the society as a whole. To view the ordering mechanisms of societies up close ‘mechanisms of social normalisation’, coined by Foucault (2009) can be of great use for that. Normalisation is embedded in spatial as well as in social relations, producing and reproducing forms of behaviour that strengthen and shape the “taxonomy of the necessary social roles” (Stavrides, 2015, p.9). Stavrides presents two targets of policies that have the most significant influence shaping normalization, whereby the characteristics of the consumer are almost equalized with those of a *homo economicus* (Pareto, 1906). First of all, the consumer is treated as an economic subject to be, “analysed, channelled, predicted and, ultimately, controlled by the use of economic parameters and measures alone” (Stavrides, 2015, p.9). Secondly, people are continuously encouraged to act and dream as long as it is not interfering with the creation of more profit. Any form of connection with others that does not foster this goal is therefore stamped as not normal. These targets aim to shape the contemporary metropolis in a hegemonic way, to control the society's delusive urban balance as long as the people are continuously put in the position of a selfish and obedient acting individual (Stavrides, 2015). Keeping these targets in mind, the CSA phenomenon can be viewed as an act against social norms and trends, hence social normalization, therefore, being a CSA member and buying food

produced at a CSA farm can be regarded as more than just a mere economic transaction. In the following chapters, the consumers actions against social normalization, such as motivations for choosing to receive a CSA share and their reasons to choose a certain modes of transport to pick-up this share will be analyzed to underline and critically assess this conclusion.

2.1.2 The Commons

“ (...) the common is not ‘a particular kind of thing’ but ‘an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood” (Harvey, 2012, p.73).

Ostrom (2003) strongly criticized the political and economic orthodoxy that is prevailing within the society. She “questioned long-held assumptions that human self-interest was both universal and innately destructive, and that, as a result, resource systems would always require top-down, rule-based governance” (Flaherty, 2014, p.658). By creating a new angle on governance, "the commons fills a theoretical void by explaining how significant value can be created and sustained outside of the market system” (Bollier, 2011, p.29). Willis (2012) describes the 'language of the commons' as resonating with public relations practice as well as the origination of a new way of thinking to balance out the society's needs and the markets requirements. On the basis of this point of view Goldman (1989) stresses, that the concepts of the commons has exceeded the sheer meaning of just resource management. The concept has not just became a allegory for ecological politics but has become a central part in environmental, academic and political discourses with its cultural, social and scientific character (Goldmann, 1989).

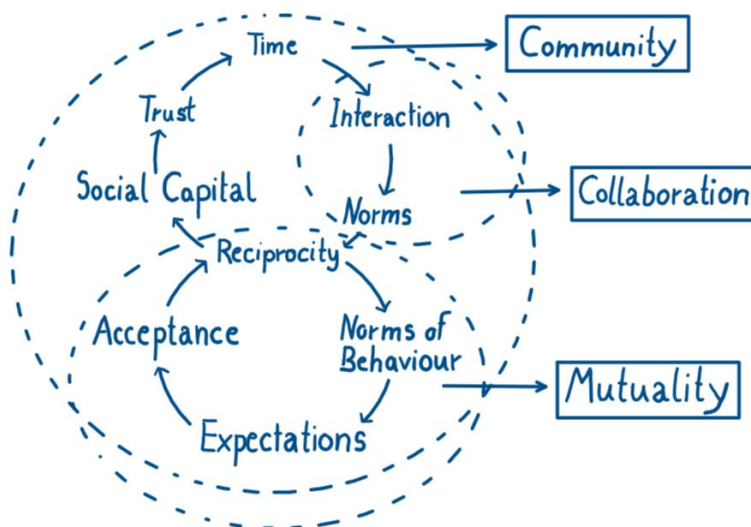


Figure 2: Circular Flow of Commoning.

Figure 2 illustrates the different aspects that are inherent in the concept of the commons. It needs a substantial period of time as well as interaction, such as face-to-face-communication to generate shared norms and reciprocity to foster the development of social capital (Willis, 2012). Social capital unites people and thereby forms norms of trust, reciprocity as well as reputation on the basis of this relationship. The term *social capital* can be laid back to Bourdieu's (1985) conceptualization of capital, for whom the term was more than just a mere economic phenomenon. He proposed a broader description of the term to reveal power relations within the society. Accumulated labour time forms the basis of capital which again can be distinguished in four elementary guises: economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. The most dominant form of capital is the *economic capital* which can directly be converted into money. A person can gain *cultural capital* through the belonging to a cultural group. Social capital can be formed through relationships and the effort one shows in a social group to achieve this bond to establish a certain status, whereby such a form of prestige appears with *symbolic capital*. Knowledge and acknowledgement within a community gives people different kinds of credit and it has to be acknowledged that each form of capital can directly be transferred to symbolic capital. Moreover, different fields, resulting through national and cultural different contexts, give unique meaning and value to the different forms of capital (Ren, 2011). Ostrom (2003) points out that the communication, illustrated as interaction in the figure above, is especially important since it is linking trust, reciprocity and reputation. Furthermore, she argues that social capital is building on the three factors mutuality, collaboration and community in order to influence to norms of behaviour. Such norms of behaviour that shape the individuals expectations, again determining what forms of behaviour are socially acceptable. Through the individuals observation of others in the group following the same strategy patterns of reciprocity are generated.

CSA presents the perfect environment for co-operation allowing space for face-to face communication in local settings over a long time period, creating the best conditions for any kind of problem solving in the community. The “progressive social commons analogy for public relations” is most applicable on the strategic mindset of CSA, looking at its ambitions to build up and engage in a dialogue with the local community, therefore, its concept can be considered as a practice of commoning. Even though each CSA has its individual organizational structure through different local, regional and national contextual settings and significance, regarding CSA as commoning practice becomes legitimate, considering Turners (1974) concept of ‘*communitas*’, an community whereby each members is considered as a constantly participating commoner so the whole construct is always-in-the-making (Stavrides, 2016).

2.2 Relevance in the Field

Regarding the concepts introduced earlier in this chapter some points will be highlighted that determine the purpose of this research as relevant in the field. A research gap becomes visible which will be viewed up close to make an attempt to gather the necessary information to construct a way to fill this void. To get a holistic account of each case studies distribution system, pickup processes are of great importance for this research. Many factors are to be taken into consideration to grasp the ways of consumer behaviour when it comes to a CSA membership. Many scholars have suggested further research about the problematic relationship between CSA-members and the necessary travel routes to reach the pick-up location (Birtalan et al., 2020; Galt et al., 2019; White et al., 2018; Caspi et al., 2012). In their study about the role of spousal influence on CSA, within the framework of AFN, Britalan et al. (2020) pointed out the potential of pick-up processes as a future research topic by stressing that their research, “was only a first step to explore spousal influence in AFNs and should be complemented with other qualitative data collections such as observations of pick-up processes” (p.7). In their study about the travelling distances of food Grebitus et al. (2013) found out that the consumers willingness to pay is declining in distance travelled. That fact alone gives the CSA model an advantage against the regular supermarkets and its exported products. Despite the willingness to pay, the variety of products and the distance to the pick-up location are the most crucial purchasing attributes consumers take into consideration (Zhao et al., 2020). Next to Galt’s et al. (2019) concept of CSA-People, which also points out the problematic consumer-travel-labour relationship when it comes to the ways of transport in a CSA system, White (2018) did a trail with North American low-income households with children in corporation with the initiative Farm Fresh Foods for Healthy Kids (F3HK) and further stressed transportation challenges and described “poor organization at the pick-up site as barriers to access” (White et al., 2018, p.2872).

3. Theoretical Framework

Bryman (2012) suggests that the purpose of exploring the existing literature should be to identify the following six characteristics of the area of study, including the existing knowledge, relevant concepts and theories, methods and research strategies, significant controversies, inconsistencies in findings, and unanswered research questions. His guideline were helpful to find a niche-topic during the literature research and to update those with the following frameworks, theories and models presented in this chapter. Ostrom (2005) describes these as follows. *Frameworks* are specifying the variables, and the relationships that they have to each other, that are of interest or the researcher. *Theories* on the other hand allow the researcher to make hypothesis about how variables interact in a framework. They add structure to the framework which allows to make assumptions. More specific than theories are

models, since the researcher can make even more precise predictions and assumptions by only using a small set of variables. Thereby, models are used to predict outcomes as precise as possible and eventually to test hypotheses.

3.1 Multi Level Perspective

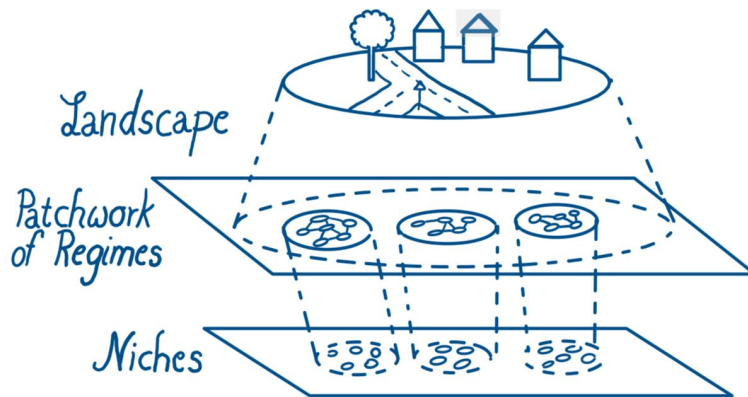


Figure 3: Multiple levels of nested hierarchy (adapted from Geels, 2002, p.1261).

Applying the MLP to CSA is an important step to understand the social foundation and the environmental streams in which the phenomenon is embedded. The MLP can be seen as a holistic framework to capture “multi-dimensional interactions between industry, technology, markets, policy, culture and civil society” (Geels, 2012, p.471). This implication can be helpful to organize the interrelated patterns of spaces and paradigms. It is crucial to understand the relationship between the physical landscape, the ideological regime and the alternative as well as controversial niche before regarding the organizational aspects of CSA such as the distribution of goods. Each level features a causal dependency to one another, always shaping the landscape. Regarding CSA, the regime can be seen as the dominant industrial agriculture, and the niche as agroecological agriculture. This umbrella term includes AFN’s such as CSA’s, proclaiming alternative direct selling systems and short distribution channels. For this research the MLP forms an all-encompassing framework that incorporates all CSAs regardless of their regional and national context. In that way the four case studies can be unitely illustrated within the niche structure, facing and challenging the dominant regime to foster counter-capitalistic transition.

3.2 Consumers Choice

The SDT stresses the importance of autonomy, competence and relatedness as innate psychological needs, “essential for ongoing psychological growth, integrity, and well-being” (Deci & Ryan, 2000, p. 229). If these needs important for the healthy development are ignored repeatedly, the individuals mental

health and can be battered. These innate psychological needs “drive our motivations and therefore our pursuit of goals, directing our actions, and ultimately, our behaviors” (Zepeda et al., 2013, p. 607).

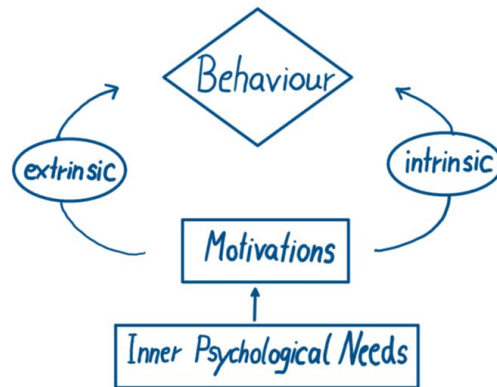


Figure 4: Model of Behaviour

According to Deci and Ryan, the SDT can be used as a tool to explain individuals motivations, which can unconsciously be driven by the desire to fulfill basic psychological needs. These motivations can be *extrinsic*, when external forces drive the behaviour, or *intrinsic*, developed from oneself. Autonomy can implicitly be threatened if external forces fully gain the upper hand, so called *external extrinsic* motivation. Another extreme is formed by *integrated extrinsic* motivations, when external forces are being internalized so the individual actively identifies with the action and, thereby willingly performs the action, and for this reason meets the psychological needs similar as intrinsic motivations. Still, it is important to consider that intrinsic motivation emerges spontaneously within the individual, whereas integrated external motivations still originate externally. The repeated act of certain behaviour, such as intense participation, is more likely to occur if the individuals sense of self-determination is high. Regarding CSA, this connection can be of importance to the organisational structure of the farm, since the participatory tasks of a CSA-membership can require additional time and effort (Zepeda et al., 2013).

Next to the SDT, Galt’s et al. (2019) three-part typology to categorize CSA-members decision making process can be used as an additional tool to understand consumers choices. He originally distinguished between completely exogenous, mostly exogenous and endogenous reasons of why former CSA-members left a CSA. In this research this typology will be applied to get a broader understanding of the members decision making progress when they are confronted with challenges. Moreover it can be applied to their membership and mode of transport decisions. Consumers *completely exogenous* motives are mostly unrelated to the CSA’s organizational structure, such as spatial factors in the environment in which the farm is located. Some members for instance mostly choose the car to reach the pick-up location simply because of the absence of public transport in the region. *Mostly exogenous*

motives are more related to the consumers personal issues like household circumstances, such as the consumers personal financial situation that determines their decision making. *Endogenous* choices are related to the members satisfaction or dissatisfaction, such as members who have various options but choose to ride the bike because they like to.

3.3 General Equilibrium Theory of Contracts

The direct marketing strategy of CSA, whereby consumers purchase a contract share, is a great form of risk management for the farmers, providing working capital throughout the growing season (Sproul et al., 2015). Such a contractual arrangement can be divided into two periods. In the first period the consumer and the farmer engage in a contract on the basis of the expected price and yield of the second period to come where the yield of the contract is realized. General equilibrium in both periods is the basis of this assumption (Sproul et al., 2015). According to Sproul et al. (2015) this kind of engagement promises members a specific proportion, “of the farm’s output (total yield), the exact amount (weight) of each product to be received is not specified in advance in the contract, as the amount depends on the farm’s actual production of the product(s) under contract” (p.1346). Furthermore, Sproul et al. distinguishes between four different kinds of contractual agreements. In a *yield contract*, the combined price and yield production risk, so to say the revenue risk of the farm, is collectively held by the members and the farm. A *weight contract* can be compared to a regular forward contract whereby the farm commits to sell a predetermined quantity at a predetermined price. The weight or quantity is fixed for all goods which removes the price risk for producer and consumer, “but the farm bears the full burden of the yield risk without the benefit of price risk as a natural hedge” (2015, p.1346). A *debit contract* is based on a pre-pay principle, whereby the farm’s working capital is guaranteed but the members are not actively engaged with the farm’s risks. Members can receive products all over the season until the amount of money invested at the beginning of the season is spent. *You-pick contracts* provide most flexibility for members because they can choose between a variety of products similar in value. This contractual form resembles the debit-contract since all product choices are calculated in regard to the market value (Sproul et al., 2015).

3.4 Collaborative Governance

Ostrom’s (1990) common pool resources, Axelrod’s (1984) prisoner’s dilemma, Dawes (1977) game theory, Olsen’s (1965) logic of collective action and Bentley’s (1949) group theory, all shaped the concept of collaborative governance. For the sake of this research Emerson’s et al. (2012) definition of

collaborative governance was used and confronted to Ansel and Gash's (2008) definition, to highlight its distinctive features. Emerson et al. describes collaborative governance as,

(...) the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished (2012, p.2).

Different than Ansell and Gash, Emerson et al.'s definition is able to incorporate cross-boundary governance in its full range and in all of its emergent forms, thereby enlightening not just the conventional range of the public, its managers and formal sectors (Emerson et al, 2012). In contrast to Emerson et al., Ansell and Gash describe collaborative governance as,

(...) a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets (2008, 544).

Emerson et al.'s definition doesn't narrow collaborative governance down to only engagements, "between government and nongovernment stakeholders" and, "to only formal, state initiated agreements" (Emerson et al, 2012, p.2). To the contrary, it is capable to encompass, "multipartner governance", therefore various partnerships between the public, private and social sector are possible (Agrawal & Lemos, 2007). Their integrative framework for collaborative governance can be used as a tool to visualize the CSA's governance structure of the four CSA case studies in this research.

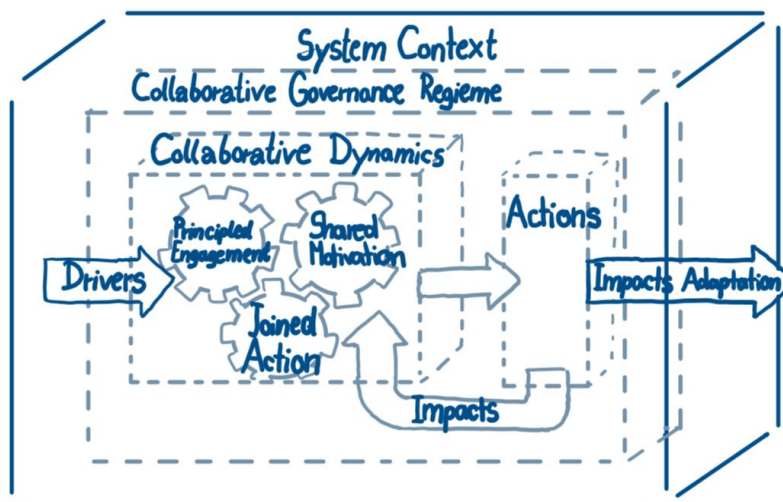


Figure 5: Integrative Framework of Collaborative Governance (adapted from: Emerson et al, 2012, p.6)

The context in which collaborative governance evolves is multilayered, including environmental, political, socioeconomic, and legal, just to name a few (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). Emerson’s attempt to illustrate all this contributing aspects are peaked in their integrative framework for collaborative governance illustrated in Figure 5. To begin with, the most outer layer at the outset *system context* can influence the *collaboration dynamics* over time. It’s hosting influences of environmental, legal, political and socioeconomic nature, that stand in a reciprocal relationship towards the *collaborative governance regime* (CGR). Rising up through system thinking, the *drivers* in the model demonstrate uncertainty, consequential incentives, leadership and independence, to aid the initiation for the CGR's path. The *CGR* is described as an instance for public decision making through collaboration on a cross-boundary basis revealing behavioural and activity patterns. The range and quality of the CGR is determined by the *collaborative dynamics* and *actions*. The three interactive and reciprocal components of *collaborative dynamics* are described by Emerson et al. as the capacity for joined action, principal engagement and shared motivation, illustrated as rack-wheels in the figure above. To incorporate the CGR's shared purpose, *collaborative actions* are described as the steps that have to be taken in order to achieve this. The resultus on this ground are portrayed as the *impacts*, and the transformation of a diverse controversy or certain matter is illustrates as the *adaptation* in this framework.

3.5 Conceptual Model

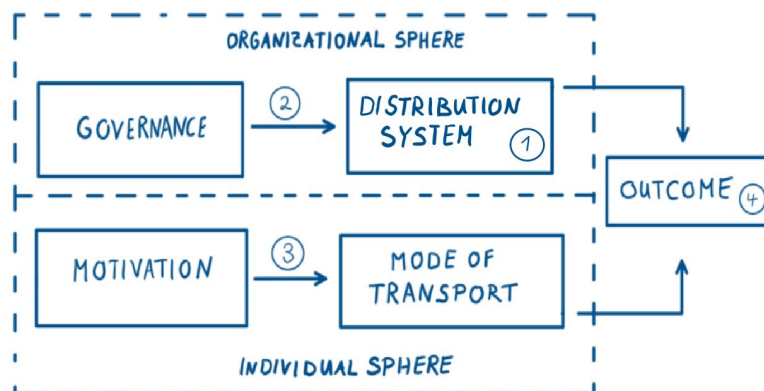


Figure 6: Conceptual Model

The conceptual model in Figure 6 illustrates the process of reasoning to answer the research question. In order to answer the main research question each sub-questions, a fragment of this process, has to be taken into account, whereas each number in the model refers to one sub-question. The model can be divided into the upper and the lower component that mark two individual strings that unite in the end. In the rest of the chapter the five main fragments of the concept will be viewed up close.

Governance

The positionality of the field identified through the MLP forms the basis for the farms organizational governance structure. Interviews with the owner and organizational staff of the farm have been conducted to disclose the individual governance structure of each case study.

Distribution System

By taking the governance structure of the CSA into account the distribution system of each case study can be analyzed. Through the information gathered through interviews with the owner and organizational staff, characteristics of this system will be identified. The contractual mode within the governance structure further shapes the distribution system.

Motivation

On the background of the SDT, the CSA's motivational framework, regarding their members motivation to chooses and maintain to be a CSA member, distinctive categories can be seen through the information gained in the online questionnaire that was send to the members..

Mode of Transport

The mode of transport is closely connected to the consumers motivations to participate in a CSA. As well as in the aforementioned fragment, this information will be gained through the data gathered in the online questionnaire, too.

Outcome

The outcome, a crucial fragment in the process of reasoning to answer the main research question, unites two spheres, the organizational sphere and the individual sphere, whereby the organisational plan meets the individual expectations, experiences and capabilities of the consumer. Challenges that arise through the consumers relationship with the CSA's distribution system will be highlighted here.

4. Methodology

Following Robert-Demontrond's (2017) anthropological research approach this research can be positioned at the crossing from 'performative ontological' design, whereby knowledge only has to be articulated to produce actions, to 'descriptive epistemological' design, aimed to generate knowledge

(Gibson-Graham, 2008; Spicer et al., 2009). Through a data triangulation of multiple research techniques the research field can be explored from various of angles, through the different advantages from each method (Patton, 2002).

Method	Case Study	Position	Person	Date	Time
Interview	All	Farmer	A. Doherty	05.03.10	3 pm
		CEO	S. Young	29.02.20	1 am
		Business-Group	M. Bock	01.03.20	11am
		i.a. Orga-Team	L. Gehrke	10.03.20	8:30am
Participant Observation	Pluk!	Members Farmers	Anonym Ann Doherty	05.03.20	1 pm - 4 pm
Online Survey	All	Members	anonym members	29.02.20 - 17.04.20	24/7

Table 3: Overview of Research Methods

4.1 Operationalization

Regarding the expectation of the content, Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 230) distinguished between 4 types of cases: Extreme deviant cases, maximum variation cases, critical cases and paradigmatic cases. For this research maximum variation cases have been chosen to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case processes and outcomes (e.g. cases united on one dimension but different in size, form of organization, location). Four CSA farms have agreed to participate in this research, i.e. besides agreeing to a personal interview, a online questionnaire was mediated to the members. The gathered data was analyzed by using an interpretive qualitative approach to make an attempt towards interpreting and understanding the subjective reality of each case studies distribution system (Patton, 2002). The textual data was analyzed based on principles of coding marked by “interpretative deduction” by Paillé and Mucchielli, whereby categories where conceptualized on the basis of their thematic content. Moreover, an interactive abductive approach consisting of a constant reciprocal shift of information between the interpreted and compared content of the literature and the analysis of the research data was used (Paillé & Mucchielli 2008, p.248).

4.1.1 Hermeneutical Approach

The use of hermeneutical framework can be used as a tool to comprehend the observation in a meaningful way, and also enmantel the hidden structure behind certain behaviours. According to Thompson et al. (1994), a holistic understanding of the data gathered during the fieldwork process can

only be developed over time through constant reinterpreting to grasp the, “developing sense of the whole” (p. 433). The broader system context of cultural knowledge, assumptions and socialization, always have to be taken into account to get a more extensive understanding of personal narratives. Mayring (2010) distinguishes between four dimensions on the basis of the conceptualization of Cohet’s (1969) hermeneutical understanding. To generate valuable knowledge the four dimensions are of great importance for the analysis of the gathered data. The first dimension, the *horizontal structure*, is being interpreted on the basis of every object displayed on the structure behind. Regarding CSA the structure behind could be the constant struggle between niche and regime structure displayed within the MLP. The second dimension shows a *circular structure* forming the preconditions for the deeper recognition of the own understanding, aiming to open up for the object of interpretation. This way of understanding can be positioned within the dialectic of pre-understanding and factual-understanding in a process both progressive and spirally (Coreth, 1969). The *dialog structure* is always imprinted in the third dimension, whereby understanding is expressed in the material to be interpreted, in comprehension between interpreter and originator. Within the fourth dimension, the *comprehension structure*, the process of understanding becomes visible as the interpreter aims to get closer to the object of interest addresses in the material (Mayring, 2010). Hereby, the researcher should aim to open up to a certain extent, to reach a position that comes as close as possible to the impossible goal of objectivity. Internalizing all four dimensions enables the generation of new knowledge that is more transparent and multilateral.

4.2 Interviews

The use of interviews within the data gathering process can be conducted in diverse ways. It’s an important tool to grasp how the person or group under study makes sense of the world (Bryman, 2011). Before recording and transcribing, the interviews were structured in a semi-structured and structured manner. The interviews have been conducted with persons concerned with the organisation of the CSA farm such as the owners or the organisational staff. The questions were formed quite specific regarding the distribution structure. Thereby, the following information was acquired:

1. Specifications about the general distribution structure
2. Reasons for choosing this kind of distribution system
3. Criteria for choosing the location of a depot
4. Problems and challenges regarding the distribution
5. Possible improvements and future plans

Case	Person	Position	Type of Interview	Time Frame
Pluk!	A. Doherty	Farmer	Face-to-face	05.03.20, 2pm 35min
Radiesli	M. Bock	Betriebsgruppe	Skype Video Call	01.03.20, 11am 42min
Rare Earth Farm	S. Young	CEO	Line Call	29.02.20 1 am (GMT+1) 28.02.10 6pm (GMT-6) 30min
Gemüsekoop	L. Gehrke	Member Orga-Team Member Managing-Committee	Skype Video Call	10.03.20, 8:30 pm 23min

Table 3: Interview Data

4.2.1 Online Questionnaire

The online questionnaires (see Appendix A,B) was created and operated via the platform *umfrageonline.com*. After farms gave their consent a link to the questionnaire was send via the farms online newsletter or directly to members mail account as a separate message. When the member accessed the link they found a questionnaire with 10 questions, calculated to be conducted within 10 to 15 minutes, to gain data about the members personal information, their opinion about the distribution system and their motives to participate in a CSA.

	Pluk!	Radiesli	Rare Earth Farm	Gemüsekoop
Nr. of Participants	20	57	64	97
Amount of Members	100	330	300	230
Respondent Rate	20%	17,3%	21,3%	42,1%
Time Frame	05.03.20-19.03.20	07.03.20-21.03.20	29.02.20-14.03.20	03.04.20 - 17.04.20

Table 4: Online Questionnaire Data

4.3 Participant Observation

Due to the rather short volunteering experiences at Pluk!, Handwerker's (2001) approach to a quick ethnography comes in handy if the researcher only participates in activities for a short time period. To

get a holistic account of the CSA's organisational structure the etic and the emic perspective will be combined to generate knowledge from the overlapping sphere to come as close to 'reality' as possible. A thick description was used as a tool to grasp the farm environment. Geertz pointed out that,

doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of "construct a reading of") a manuscript—foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations and tendentious commentaries, but not written in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour (1973, p.10).

Doing ethnography through participant observation, as the main tool of quick ethnography, is a rather direct method not depending in the person or groups retrospective narratives (Sapsford & Jupp, 2006). Turner's et al. (2011) concept of 'anthropology of experience' is grounded on the main idea that the researcher must totally dive in the environment of those being studied to fully exist inside the experience, so the researcher's personal reflective awareness can be a central part of the fieldwork process, thereby, the performance and experience during participant observation can become "a journey through fields" (p.226). Denzin defines participant observation as "a field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection" (1989, pp.157). An issue that was relatable to during the volunteering has been pointed out by Spradley (1980) who stressed that one major concern in conducting this method is the selection of the observational situation in which the subject under study is central. It was problematic that most people tend to act differently when they are aware of being part of an observed situation.

4.3 GIS

Through GIS spatial patterns and specialities can be illustrated through cartographical practice using statistical data (Kitchin et al.,2013). The use of ArcMap has been a useful tool, illustrating the spatial qualities of the research data. Aspects such as the location of the farm and the pick up locations, local specialities of the area as well as the cartographic division into post-code or district areas are of great importance to present a multi layered account of the consumer travel profile and the CSA's general distribution system. First, a world topographic basemap has been used for all case studies, followed by a layer of postcode areas that have been joined with specific excel tables, entailing the frequency of members who lived in certain postcode areas. Afterwards, qualities using color to show value by determining the graduate colors according to this frequency to each area were drawn. An orange color ramp was chosen as it seemed neutral but still stood out. Layout wise, a 'Landscape Modern Insert', as it allows to integrate informative material in a separated sidebar without shadowing the focus of the

main map, was chosen. Next to the main map and a short description of the main purpose of the map a small map shows the location of interest from a more distant perspective to present the location in a more global context.

5. Findings

In this chapter the data gathered will be analyzed to give an multi sided account of the four case studies realities. To begin with, the respondents profile will be illustrated, followed by a detailed conceptualization of the respondents motivational background regarding their CSA membership and their preferred mode of transport.

5.1 Respondents Profile

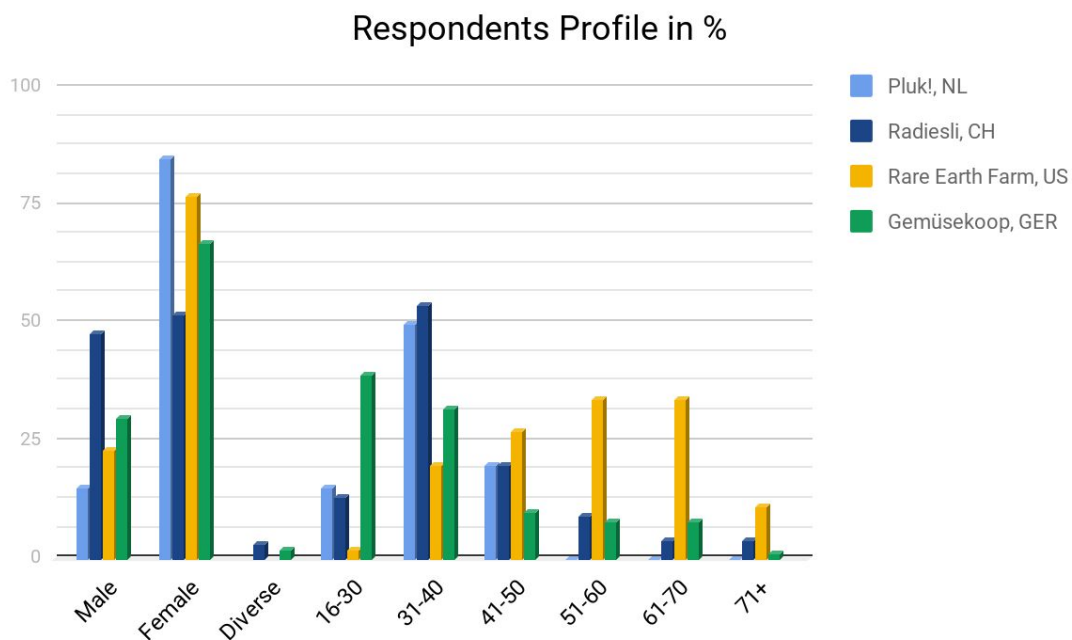


Figure 7 : Respondents Profile

The table above statistically unites the gathered data of the CSA-members personal data. Gender as well as age differences of all four case studies are illustrates in this bar chart. Overall it can be seen that the majority of members in all case studies, except Radiesli where it is more balanced out, female members are dominating the chart. Age wise, Pluk!’s amount of younger members is the biggest followed by Radiesli. Against the trend in this chart Rare Earth Farm members age average is growing older.

5.2 Farm Profile

The following four GIS maps illustrate the frequency of members in the areas of the four case studies. Moreover, the farm and the pick-up locations are highlighted in each map.

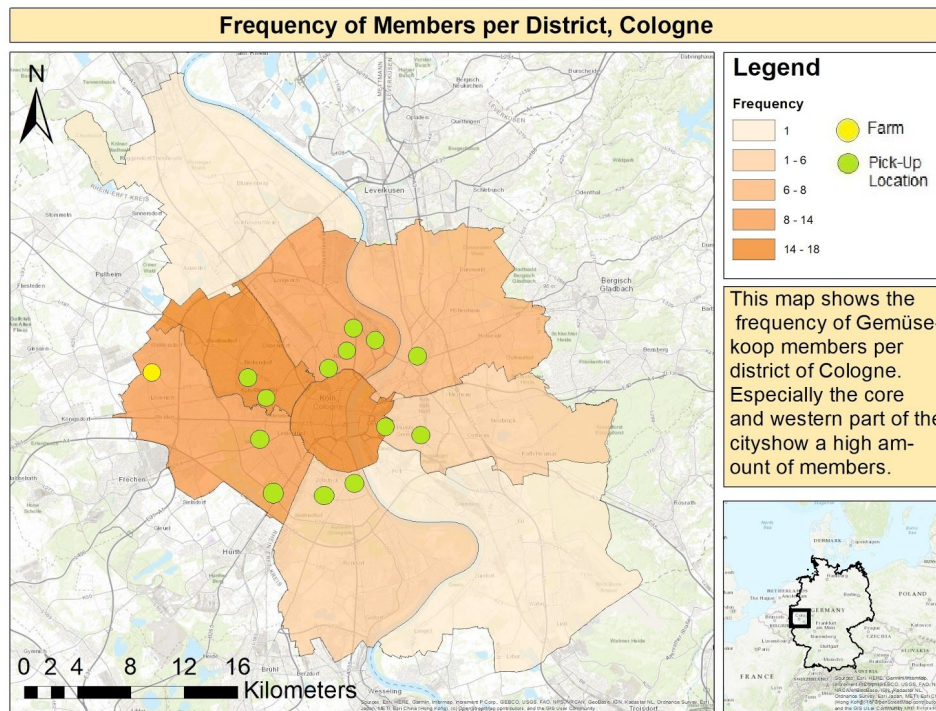


Figure 8: GIS Map of Gemüseekoop

With 14 pick-up locations, including the farm itself, Gemüseekoop offers the most options for their members to pick up their share of food. The farm's organizational structure is divided into four fragments, the 'farming-team', organized on a semi-voluntary basis, including all paid skilled agricultural workers, the 'support-team', which manages the work in logistics, bookkeeping, member administration, and the organization of the voluntary work, the 'orga-team' which organizes get-togethers between all teams at least every two weeks, and the 'working-groups', which are small groups working on special subjects such as baking-workshops or permacultural cropping. The management and organization of the pick-up locations belongs to the members' tasks who are choosing the location for each establishing depot themselves, which can be bars, spots on members' personal property such as gardens or garages, or cultural centers for youth and art (Gehrke, L. Personal Interview, May 10, 2020). Such an open and transparent distribution structure does bring some problems with it, stressed Gehrke (2020), orga-team members and person in charge for the member administration. The first issue is concerning the opening hours of the different depots which are at times not compatible with some members' schedules. Second, through the member self-organized

pick-up process, mix ups can occur when people pick up the wrong bag entailing the share of food. Third, the open accessibility of some depots unfortunately enables theft of CSA-shares from the depots by unauthorized persons. Fourth, problems also occur at the farm before the food even reaches the pick-up location. Mistakes can be made through the wrong weighting of food or boxes that have been delivered to the depot containing the wrong amount of vegetables. “These mistakes can happen in a solidary community”, so Gehrke, “but the mistake will be comprised by everyone” (Personal Interview, May 10, 2020). Another issue regards seasons with a overwhelming amount of food harvested that would be too much for the boxes. Such surplus will then be donated or directly gave away at the shop for a free donation.

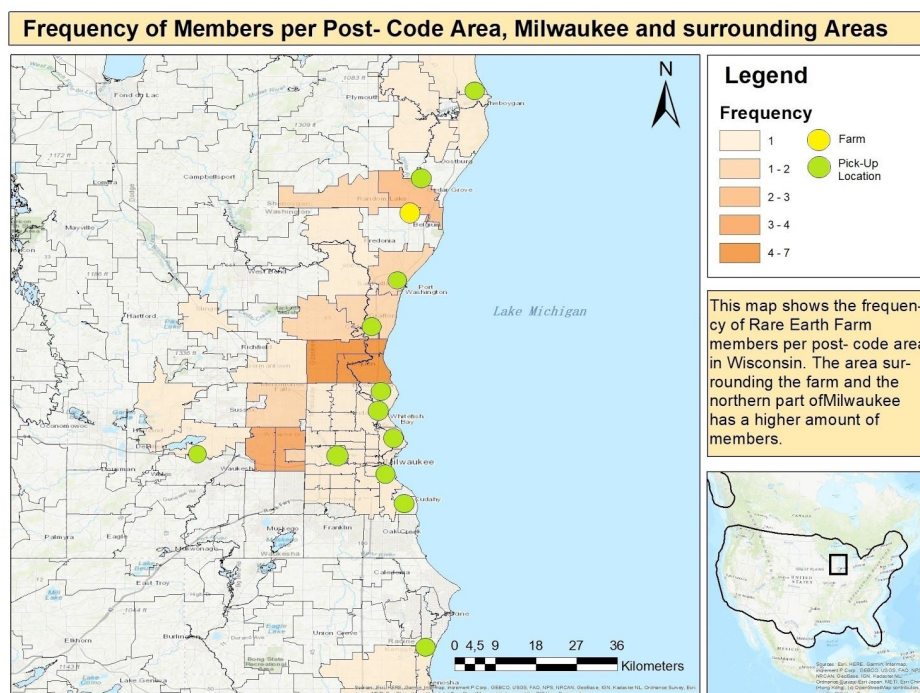


Figure 9: GIS Map of Rare Earth Farm

The oldest of all four case studies, founded in 1990, and also the only one not located in Europe, is the Rare Earth Farm. With 11 pick-up depots it has the second largest amount of depots after the Gemüsekoop. Next to normal CSA members it also counts up-scale-restaurants, who want to receive local quality food for their business, to their membership. Different than at the other case studies, their farms organizational structure is not based and dependent on members volunteering. The organization is mostly done by the founder and owner who has a fixed staff of qualified farm workers and hires on call Hmong workers by demand. This was one of the first of its kind in North America and many CSAs followed over the next decades. Founder Young pointed out that nowadays the amount of CSAs are declining again because a variety of new options for buying ecological food have been established

on the market. The price for organic food has gone down because, “bigger farms are the farms that are doing more volume, that are the ones that are setting the price on the market and smaller farms have to basically follow suit”, stressed Young (Personal Interview, February 28, 2020). The increasing market pressure influenced the farms distribution system in several ways. He stressed, “this year I actually started doing home deliveries for people, give them the option to have me deliver it to their house. They have to pay extra for it. But honestly I think that's where everybody's going today” (Personal Interview, February 28, 2020). Furthermore, the farms share which has been a standard share of identical foods that were in season for the week, has been changed through the use of the Harvie software, first introduced at the farm in the season of 2020. Through Harvie each member can now individualize their weekly share by deciding online about the variety of products to be received. On the Harvie website they promote their software with the slogan, “Harvie connects you directly with trusted local farms who deliver shares of farm fresh products customized to your personal preferences” (URL 5, retrieved at 08.04.20). This new increase in flexibility for the consumer on the one side leads to more work for the producer on the other side. Considering the changing market Young pointed out that,

“it seems like the primary consumers today that are younger are looking for that type of a service. The old traditional means of CSA has changed, the interest in it has dropped considerably with the new consumers that are just wanting to buy what they want” (Personal Interview, February 28, 2020).

To acknowledge this developing trend the farm introduced new options for people who can't afford to pay the whole season share fee upfront at the beginning of the season. It gives people the opportunity to break down the whole amount into smaller payments during the course of the season. Receiving all money at the beginning of the season certainly brings more stability to the farms budget calculations. By changing this the farm allows potential members with low or irregular income to receive a share, but has to deal with potential loss in stability of their planning structure. “Personally, I know it's gonna work out for the members” so Young” but I wonder if that's gonna work out for me” (Personal Interview, February 28, 2020).

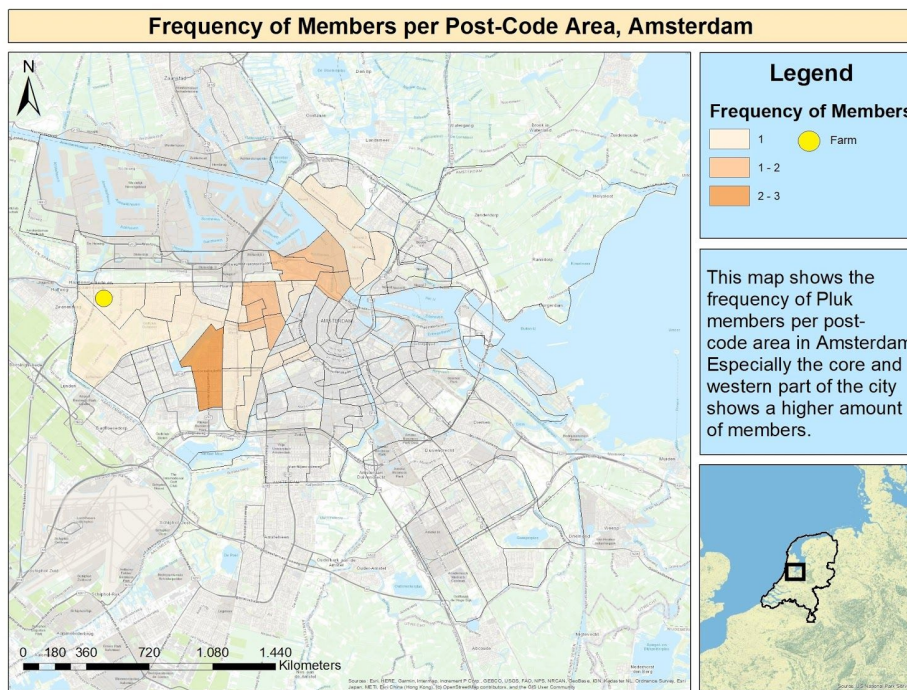


Figure 10: GIS Map of Pluk

With a farm size of 0,5 ha and only 100 members Pluk! is the smallest case study in this research. Pluk! is renting the land from Fruition van West, whereas they are part of the bigger Tuinen van West. All farmers are freelancers hired by Stichting City Plot, which is the non profit part of City Plot. Most outstanding in contrast to the other three case studies who all run on a yield contract, is that Pluk! runs a you-pick contract, thereby disclaiming any other pick-up locations but the farm itself. Instead of offering different pick-up locations in the city, all member visit the farm directly to harvest the food themselves. The smaller size of the farm and the you-pick contract is both connected to the vision of the farm. Doherty, a farmer of Pluk since the beginning in 2017, pointed out that a farm with more than 100 members on, the farm loses, “the community feeling and people start not to know each other” (Personal Interview, March 3, 2020). Furthermore, she stressed that “we wanted it to be productive but also educational to some extent and also keep the social aspect which is the most fun part I think. When you deliver in the city you lose a lot of that” (Personal Interview, March 3, 2020). The farm's educational character is mirrored in the you-pick contract, whereby all members have to learn how to harvest the vegetables and herbs properly in a fun way through social interaction, therefore starting to feel ownership for the land through the continuous work and interaction.

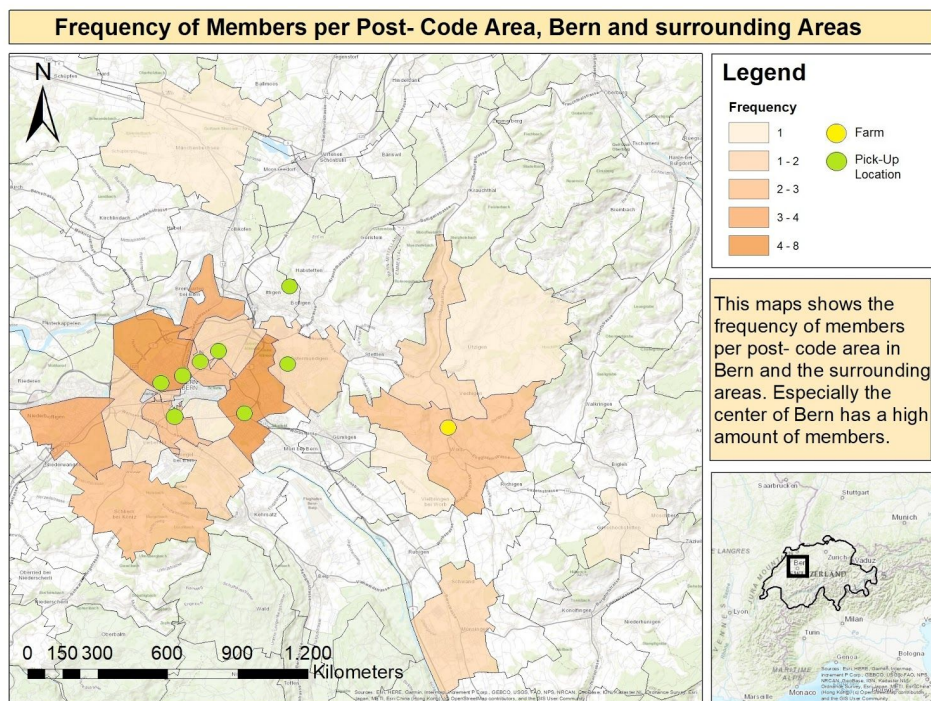


Figure 11: GIS Map of Radiesli

“Organic, biological, dynamic” is the motto of the biggest CSA in this research, which its 13 ha of land and 330 members. Next to their members and some bars and restaurants Radiesli also delivers a share to another CSA in the Bern region called ‘soliTerre’ who doesn’t produce all goods they distribute on their own land. Similar as in Pluk! and Gemüsekoop, the social and educational character of the farm is a central part in their organizational structure. It was the credo from the beginning, so Bock, member of the farms ‘business-group’, “that everyone has to help so they learn how the farm is running, so everyone gains the same amount of trust in the project” (Personal Interview. March 1, 2020). Different than the Rare Earth Farm every member receives the same amount of vegetables every week. Radiesli is organized between the ‘farm-group’, out of qualified agricultural workers, and the ‘business-group’, who does the book keeping and delegates the third group, containing out of volunteering members. Tasks such as weighting and packing up the food, and the delivery of the boxes to the pick-up locations are organized in working duties to be carried out through voluntary work of the members. Bock pointed out that the farm is working through the input of each individual and stressed that, “it’s always our goal to raise the people towards personal responsibility and participation, so that there is as less work for the project as a whole, and more work for the individual. It’s a constant training” (Personal Interview, March 3, 2020). Community-building in combination with a sustainable lifestyle are the basic values the farm is build upon. Even though most of the transportation ways from the farm to the pick-up locations are carried out by the farm’s bus, they

further introduced the ‘solidary cargo bike’, which is owned by the farm but can be used not just by their members. The project is also part of the bigger project ‘Transition Bern’, aiming to combine sufficient, fossil free transition with joined community action.

5.3 Motivation

The consumers motivational categories for choosing a CSA membership, *trust, sustainability, convenience, education, community, personal ethics, fun, health and support local business*, will be viewed up close in this subchapter. Furthermore, the connection between the time travelled and the motivational framework for choosing a mode of transport will be illustrated.

5.3.1 CSA Membership

The following ten categories shown in Table 5, present the motivational framework for a CSA membership. Each category entails several motives and is furthermore illustrated by some quotes. The data for this table was gathered through the online survey in which the CSA members were asked for their primary motivation to become a member and be part of a CSA. The motives have been gained through the coding of the gathered questionnaire material which was then coded and categorized, resulting in the following ten categories. It has to be taken into account that most of the time one member can be assigned to just one category. Motivations are hybrid and reciprocal, and so is this categorisation. There is an inherent interlinking connection between all categories and motives that can be seen as a stream of shifting variables. One Radiesli member pointed out that having “healthy food on the table was the initial motivation, but over the time different motivations came upon this” (Male, 45, CH).

Category	Motive	Example
<i>Trust</i>	Long-term customer Good Quality Friendship	“It is my 30th year, he does a great job at production, we are friends” (Male, 69, US) “I personally know some of the initiators and trust them and I know that they are organized very good and that their work is ethically impeccable” (Male, 42, GER).
<i>Sustainability</i>	Seasonal Ecological Local No Monoculture Less Waste	“Environmentally friendly, regional and seasonal vegetables paired with good labour conditions” (Female, 32, GER). “Locally grown food without herbicides/pesticides in a way that supports local biodiversity using methods that limit outside inputs” (Male, 29, NL).
<i>Convenience</i>	Location Price Competition	“The price was good, and we liked that there was a pickup near our home” (Male, 34, US). “Buying from the farm through CSA is easy and less costly than farmer markets and grocery stores” (Female, 59, US).
<i>Education</i>	Teach Children Learn how its grown Break Habits Experimental Approach	“I found myself learning - and trying - new things each week” (Female, 60, US). “I like that my daughter sees how food is produced instead of just going to the grocery store” (Female, 46, NL).
<i>Community</i>	Friendship Socializing	”To gain social contacts with like-minded people” (Male, 69, GER). “Gives you large doses of “Vitamin Nature” and “Vitamin Community”” (Female, 26, NL)
Personal Ethics	Responsibility Support AFN Ideology Refuse of Capitalist Market	.It bring me closer to functioning in coherence with my personal ethics, while still being able to live in a city. (Female, 39, NL). “To be part of a small utopian form of life” (Female, 56, CH).
<i>Transparency</i>	Participation Joined Decision-Making Knowledge	”The solidarity principle of participation and joined decision-making” (Female, 30, GER) “It matters that I know the farmer, that I know and accept his growing methods” (Female, 60, US).
<i>Fun</i>	Passion Joy	“I like the “surprise-effect”, that you don’t know what’s coming next. It’s so much fun to try out new ” (Male, 31, GER). “It makes me happy” (Male, 16, CH).
<i>Health</i>	Quality Variety	To have healthy food on the table was the initial motivation” (Male, 45, CH). “I make personal profit through healthy food” (Female, 57, GER).
<i>Support Local Business</i>	Political Interest Shared Risk Strengthen local Economy	“Supporting local economies so less wealth gets syphoned away to the already wealthy leaving the local economies in poorer states” (Male, 29, NL). “It matters to me how the food I eat supports my region” (Female, 60, US).

Table 5: Motivational Framework for CSA Membership

1. *Trust*

The motives that are attending this category are friendship, and a general long-term producer-consumer relationship, ensuring the consumer good quality of food. “The team is very sympathetic, professional and always in a good mood. They make trustworthy impression” (Female, 30, GER). Trust, as a important aspect of the circular flow of commoning, is crucial for any producer and consumer relationship, and differentiates the CSA model from the alienated capitalist market.

2. *Sustainability*

A major motivational category to become a CSA member is to act sustainable accompanied by the motives to consume seasonal, ecological, and local from sources without monoculture with an aversion to food waste. A Gemüsekoop member pointed out that CSA is the, “only real sustainable business model in agriculture in contrast to the regular precarious business models in agriculture. They know how to treat their soil” (Male, 29, GER).

3. *Convenience*

A Gemüsekoop member states that they choose to be a member because “the proximity to my home plus the farms easy accessibility” (Female, 55, GER). Even a trivial fact such as convenience has a huge impact since it has the biggest impact on the individual's daily routine, thereby the price of food and the location of the farm are arbitrativ.

4. *Education*

The members eagerness to learn something new and to teach their children, thereby breaking habits and following a experimental approach is regarded in this category. A member of the Rare Earth Farm describes his personal lifestyle change by stressing that, “it forces you to break your usual eating and cooking patterns and it definitely meant we ate more veggies overall” (Male, 34, US). A Gemüsekoop member positively noticed that her newly gained knowledge about a health eating cycle helped here “getting more sensible about seasonality again” (Female, 30, GER).

5. *Community*

A Radiesli member pointed out that ze* wanted, “to be part of a community that is concerned with a diet that is balanced out in regard to sustainability and resilience” (Nongendered, 25, CH). Meeting like-minded people, sharing the same values, and the ambition to establish new friendships within a community are prominent motives within this category.

*ze/hir = gender neutral pronouns

6. Personal Ethics

Many members are convinced by the CSA model because they want to support AFN since they want to take responsibility to live up to a certain ideology, refusing to support the capitalist market. A Radiesli member working as a mobility expert stressing that, “I know about the insanity of the global transport of food. CSA provides a better solution” (Male, 32, CH). Another member pointed out that his main issue is the “refusal to be dependent of the market economy” (Male, 40, CH).

7. Transparency

CSA members value transparency and the possibility to access a new knowledge channel. A Radiesli member stressed that, “I don’t have to waste any thoughts and energy anymore to find out where the vegetables are coming from and if they are in season. It always annoyed me to see all that food in the supermarket that’s being sold out of season” (Nongendered, 53, CH).

8. Fun

An existential components in this motivational framework are passion and joy. A Gemüsekoop member states that, “it’s just so much fun to cook vegetables that you wouldn’t have at home under other circumstances” (Male, 28, GER). Moreover, a high sense in self-determination also leads to psychological well-being, which can be connected to happiness and fun.

9. Health

The quality and variety of food the members receive makes them appreciate the positive health implications a CSA membership brings along with it. A member of the Rare Earth Farm elaborated on her membership’s positive impact on her diet by saying “the weekly share of fresh vegetables makes it so much easier to eat healthy” (Female, 36, US).

10. Support Local Business

A member of the Rare Earth Farm described the good relationship between her as a member and consumer and the farmer by pointing out that “we like supporting him because the money he makes supports so much more within our community than if I purchase food from a nameless, faceless, entity” (Female, 60, US). Political interest and the countenance of the local shared risk concept belongs in this category.

5.3.2 Mode of Transport

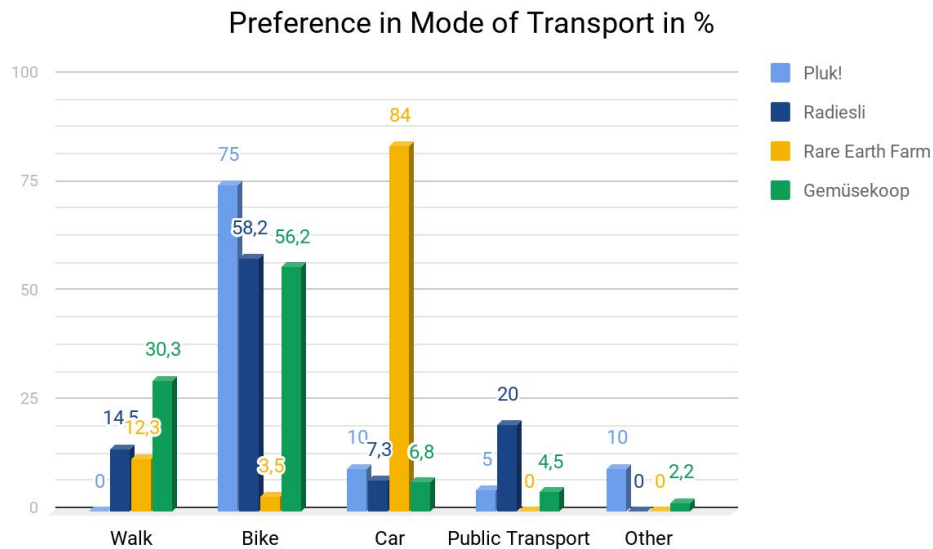


Figure 12: Preference in Mode of Transport

The gathered data regarding the members preferred mode of transport is illustrated in the table above. In average, biking is the most chosen option to reach the CSA farm or other pick-up location, which the highest percentage of Pluk! members. One exceptional case is the Rare Earth Farm with the lowest amount of bikers and an remarkable amount of persons who choose the car as their preferred mode of transport. However, this has less to do with their dislike of biking, but long distances and a lack of bike lanes in the local traffic system. Moreover, the absence of public transport options in the area doesn't even present the option to choose public transport. The category 'Other' unites marginal transport options such as carpooling and the use of electric rental cars.

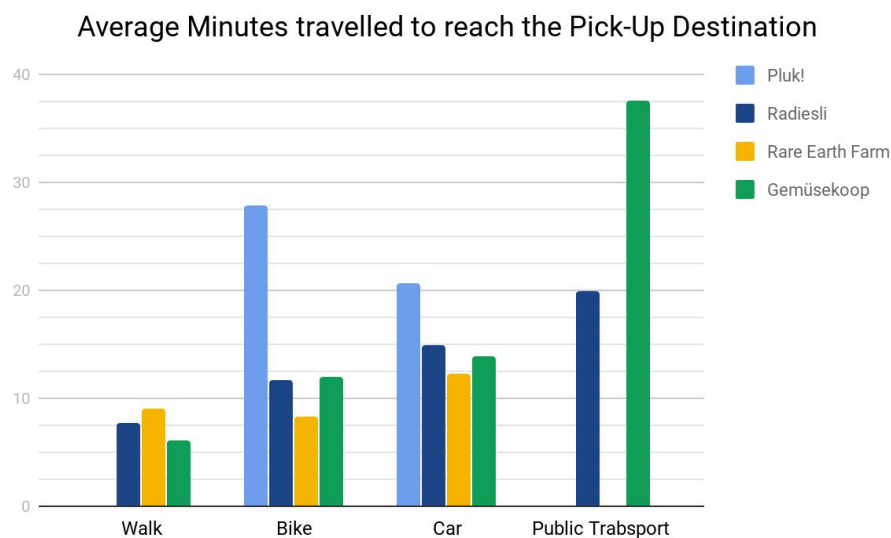


Figure 13: Average Minutes Travelled

Another component that has to be taken into account regarding the members decision making process to choose a mode of transport is the time travelled. Figure 13 illustrated the average minutes travelled for the most prominent ways to travel in the bar diagram above. It can be seen that the average Gemüsekoop member spends the biggest amount of time, up to almost 40 minutes, using public transport. Moreover, the car drivers need more time to reach their destination than the bikers and walking people. One exception is the Pluk! farm, whose members spend more time biking than driving the car. This can be explained due to the long travel distance to the city center and the absence of other pick-up locations beside the farm, since their you-pick orientation. Furthermore, the city of Amsterdam does not offer any good public transport option to that area, and walking would simply take too long, which explains the absence of light blue bars in both categories.

Similar to the table in the previous subchapter, Table 6 shows the motivational framework for choosing the preferred mode of transport. The online questionnaire asked for the most frequent mode of transport but it has to be taken into consideration that some people use multiple transportation options in one trip to reach their destination, such as one respondent from Cologne stressed that, “I don’t own a car so I usually take my bike into the train and bike from there. If I would only bike it would take me an hour” (Female, 29, GER). The following five categories are again based on different motives and represented with illustrating quotes. Furthermore, some members state that even though they have a preferred mode of transport their decisions changes depending on weather conditions or the personal schedule, as stated by a Rare Earth Farm Member who pointed out that “I Almost always pick up by bike, but if driving in the neighborhood I will just swing by” (Male, 44, US).

Category	Motive	Exempel
<i>Walk</i>	Location Convenience	“The depot is easy accessible for me and I enjoy the walk to the site“ (Male, 33 ,GER). “We don’t own a car” (Female, 64, US).
<i>Bike</i>	Convenience Personal Values & Ideology Opportunity to exercise Healthy Sustainability Routine Save Money Fun	“I want to pick up my food in a ecological way, plus its fun” (Female, 56, CH). “I bike everywhere. It's my preferred method of travel. If it's bikeable, I do it!” (Female, 40, NL).
<i>Car</i>	Convenience Habit No safe walk/bike lane Time Schedule Speed Safety Comfort	“I only use my car one day a week and bunch all tasks on that day”(Female, 78, US). “Sometimes it rains and after a day of volunteering (hard work) it is just so comfortable” (Female, 51, NL).
<i>Public Transport</i>	Convenience Distance Personal Values Abonnement	“I don’t have a car so I take the bike into the train and ride from there. It's the fastest“ (Female, 29, GER). “It’s more ecological than driving the car”(Female, 25, CH)
<i>Car Pool</i>	Convenience Save Money Environment	“Instead of two cars going to the job site we only have one car” (Male, 59, US).

Table 6: Motivational Framework for Mode of Transport

1. *Walk*

People who choose to walk to the pick up location are often motivated through the proximity of the location. A member from the Rare Earth Farm stated that she chooses to walk, “because the pick-up point is close enough to our home. Better for me and for our community”(Female, 70, US).

2. *Bike*

The motives in this category a wide spreaded. For most people this mode of transport fits to their lifestyle and is in their range of personal values, still convenience and routine are playing a big role in

the decision making process, as a Radiesli member pointed out, “It depends on the weather and my other daily responsibilities but priority always has the most CO₂ neutral option” (Female, 51, CH).

3. *Car*

The motivational background for choosing the car to pick up the CSA share varies from person to person. However, there are certain trends differing from farm to farm because of the lack of alternatives as one Rare Earth Farm member pointed out that, “This is a small town so there is not public transportation and the farm is outside of town” (Female, 38, US). Sometimes even a busy time schedules determines the choice to drive the car as one Pluk! member stated. She stressed that, “It's the easiest. I wish it would be closer but with a child and three full bags of vegetables I just can't make the time to go by bike” (Female, 46, NL). Only one probant stated to rent a electric car on an hour basis to reach the pick-up location. Renting a electric car such as Car2Go is a good alternative for people who don't need a own car that frequently or can't afford it. The impact on the environment is greatly reduced in comparison with fossil powered cars, depending on the source of electricity.

4. *Public Transport*

This category is strongly minted by it's convenience regarding long distances and potential reduction in price through abonnements. Also personal values such as the wish to reduce fossils play a high role. A Radiesli member describes her motivation as determined by convenience by stating that, “it's the easiest since I don't have a car and I live close to the train station” (Female, 49, CH).

5. *Car Pool*

Using a car pool is a great way to save money for people who use it as their preferred mode of transport. One member also stated that it's quite convenient since the drive to the pick up location is one of only a few occasions in which he would use a car. Moreover, it's a good way to reduce fossil fuels to rent a car only if really needed comparison to owning a private car.

6. Conclusion

To finally answer the main research question, to what kind of distribution system CSA gives rise to, this chapter will briefly reflect on the four sub-questions to give an holistic account on the findings in the previous chapters.

What are the characteristics of this distribution system?

The general equilibrium theory of contracts has been a helpful tool to categorize the case studies on the basis of their distribution system. For instance is the you-pick contract of the Pluk! a major characteristic of their distribution system. In contrast to the dutch case study in this research, the other three case studies offer weight contracts and deliver their produced goods to pick up locations, or even offer home deliveries as in the case of the Rare Earth Farm, weather all Pluk! members go to the farm to harvest themselves. A major aspect of the distribution system are the consumers decisions regarding the used mode of transport to reach the pick-up location or farm, since the farms organizational structure depends on the additional routes travelled by the consumer as part of the system.

How are they shaped by the organizational governance structure?

The CSA's organizational governance structure of each case study is determining the distribution system. As in the case of the swizz CSA, it's the members task to keep the delivery of the food from the farm to the pick-up location up and running, whereas their business-group is only delegating the process. The CSA depends on all members to keep the system running, thereby the values of commoning: community, collaboration and mutuality, are distinctively present in their governance structure. An exceptional case in this research is the Rare Earth Farm at which the running of the farm does not depend on the voluntary participation of its members. The framework of collaborative governance is illustrating the CSA structure in a multi sided way, placing the CGR within the frames of the system context, which again is embedded in the MLP.

What are stabilizing and destabilizing factors?

Three kinds of challenges CSA members have to face can be identified, based on completely exogenous, mostly exogenous, and endogenous reasons. The consumers travel route to reach the pick-up location can be problematic for completely exogenous reasons, such as the lack of alternatives for choosing a mode of transport, as in the Rare Earth Farm and Pluk! cases where the members didn't have the option to choose public transport. Mostly exogenous challenges arise through the members increasing desire for even more flexible pick up times through the busy routine of the many employed people and their inability to integrate the additional route travelled in their normal travel routine

pattern. Therefore, members often depend on friends or family members during busy schedules when they are unable to pick up the share themselves. Endogenous challenges can be identified as the members' personal tastes and desires. The CSA share the consumer receives, mostly on a weekly basis, can for instance contain a certain item that people don't like to consume. The case studies in this research acknowledged this in different ways, the Rare Earth Farm for instance, took a big step by introducing the new share customization software Harvie.

How are they shaped by the motivations of consumers?

Apart from these challenges many people choose to become and maintain a CSA member because of the many good things they receive in return such as community feeling, sustainable produced goods and the other motivational categories laid out in the motivational framework of CSA membership in chapter five. Despite all these positive aspects, for most people being a CSA member is certainly more time consuming than buying vegetables at the next supermarket around the corner. The high amount of time some CSA members repeatedly invest in farm activities, such as Pluk! members harvesting their food, or Radiesli members volunteering at the farm, could be an indicator for a high individual sense of self-determination.

CSA gives rise to a distribution system that unites the organizational and the individual sphere illustrated in the conceptual model in chapter three, thereby opposing the dominant normalized social norms and trends of the regime structure. It unites values of agroecological agriculture with the practice of commoning, forming a transparent, sustainable, social, local, and fair alternative to long chained agroindustrial production and distribution.

7. Reflection

The research showed that even though each farm has its individual governance structure and distribution system, certain trends can be recognized that unite all cases. Each farm's uniqueness is shaped by the ambitions and values of the organizers and members. Furthermore, each farm is embedded in a regional and cultural setting, which again has a huge impact on the consumers' motivation to become and maintain a CSA member and to consume the goods that have been produced at those farms. Still, regarding the underlying values and ideology as well as the motivational framework of the consumer a trend towards a more sustainable lifestyle among the members can be identified.

7.1 Limitations and Future Prospects

This research is build upon the gathered data of a small and non-random sample, hence it can't be deduced to the whole CSA phenomenon all over the world. The four case studies varied highly from each other and are greatly dependent on their regional and national context. Furthermore, the respondents rate of members who participated in the online survey is quite erratic, apparent in the contrast to the highest percentage in the response at Gemüsekoop in Cologne with 42%, and the lowest with 17,3% at Radiesli in Worb.

Despite the aim to present a holistic account of the CSA field some demographic issues have not been taken into account in this research, for instance as stressed by Cone and Myhre (2000) who pointed out that CSA members are immoderately white and and middle to high income. Bradley and Galt (2014) conclude that the CSA model is remaining inaccessible for a bigger amount of the population, such as people with low income and people of colour. Future research in this area could be made with regard to the CSA's distribution system. Another interesting angle to view CSA from would be to connect the consumers motivational categories for choosing and maintaining to be a member to their age profile.

This research has been conducted during the global COVID-19 crisis, also known as SARS-CoV-2. Whereas most data, such as the members perspective of Radiesli, Pluck!, and Rare Earth Farm was conducted at a time before the government proposed any measures that influenced the individual life, the Gemüsekoop members filled out the online survey during the beginning of the lock down period which might have influence their point of view regarding safety issues. However, this is the case study with the highest response rate so the timing could have been pivotal since people spend more time at home, hence had more time to do activities such as reading online newsletters and participating in online surveys. Addressing the current global pandemic situation Salvini and Meissner (2020) pointed out that our economy is currently "ill-fitted to meet our needs in times of crisis. It is ill-fitted not because it isn't big enough, but because it's directed towards growth instead of needs – and because it doesn't care about justice". The CSA model on the other hand values the consumers needs bigger than economic growth and presents a promising alternative to the norms of social normalization proclaiming in the dominant regime structure.

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Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Case Studies. (Picture and Logo: URL 1-4)

Figure 2: Circular Flow of commoning.

Figure 3: Multiple levels of nested hierarchy (by Geels, 2002, p.1261).

Figure 4: Model of Behaviour

Figure 5: Integrative Framework for Collaborative Governance (retrieved at: Emerson et al, 2012, p.6)

Figure 6: Conceptual Model

Figure 7: Respondents Profile

Figure 8: GIS Map of Gemüsekoop

Figure 09: GIS Map of Rare Earth Farm

Figure 10: GIS Map of Pluk

Figure 11: GIS Map of Radiesli

Figure 12: Preference in Mode of Transport

Figure 13: Average Minutes Travelled

Table 1: Case Study Profile

Table 2: CSA people against the norm. Source: Adapted from (Galt, 2019, p.181-182).

Table 3: Interview Data

Table 4: Online Questionnaire Data

Table 5 : Motivational Framework for CSA Membership

Table 6: Motivational Framework for Mode of Transport

Web Sources

URL 1: <http://www.rareearthfarm.com>

URL 2: <http://www.radiesli.org>

URL 3: <http://www.plukcsa.nl>

URL 4: <http://www.gemuesekoop.de>

URL 5: <https://www.harvie.farm>

PLUK! - Survey

Page 1

My name is Liza and I'm studying Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Amsterdam. Currently I'm writing my master thesis about Community Supported Agriculture with a focus on the distribution of food.

This survey will take around 10 minutes. Thank you for sharing your experiences with Pluk! Groenten van West in this survey. All data is anonymous and will only be used for my thesis.

If you are interested in the results or want to read my final thesis feel free to contact me!

liz.cornils@student.uva.nl

Thank you for your participation!



University of Amsterdam

Page 2

Please fill in your personal information *

Gender

Age

Postcode (ZIP-Code)

Including you, number of people in your household

Page 3

How long does it take to reach the farm from your home? *

Minutes

Which mode of transport are you using to reach the farm? *

Own private Car, Carpool (Ride-Sharing), Public Bus, Bike, Walking, etc.

Why do you use this mode of transport? *

Page 4

Is it challenging for you to do the journey to pick up the food from the farm? *

Yes

No

Sometimes

What makes it challenging for you?

Page 5

How long does it take you to harvest your share of food?

Minutes

Page 6

Why do you choose to get your food from Pluk! Groenten van West? *

» Umleitung auf Schlusseite von Umfrage Online

Rare Earth Farm - Survey

Page 1

My name is Liza and I'm studying Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Amsterdam. Currently I'm writing my master thesis about Community Supported Agriculture with a focus on the distribution of food.

This survey will take around 10 minutes. Thank you for sharing your experiences with the Rare Earth Farm in this survey! All data is anonymous and will only be used for my thesis.

If you are interested in the results or want to read my final thesis feel free to contact me!

liz.cornils@student.uva.nl

Thank you for your participation!



University of Amsterdam



Page 2

Please fill in your personal information *

Gender

Age

Postcode (ZIP-Code)

Including you, number of people in your household

Page 3

Where do you pick up your box of food? *

Choose your pick-up site

- Bayview, 2402 E. Oklahoma Ave.
- Belgium, WI, 6806 County Road KW
- Grafton, WI, 1351 Bobolink Ave.
- Milwaukee, East Side, Plymouth Church UCC
- Milwaukee, North Side, Cardinal Stritch University 6801 Yates Rd.
- Port Washington, WI, 925 S. Spring St.
- Fox Point, 8466 Fox Croft La.
- Wauwatosa, 1938 N. 86th St.
- Waukesha, 2703 New Castle Ct.
- Kenosha, 7408 Pershing Blvd.
- Sheboygan, 1917 N. 3rd St.
-

Page 4

How long does it take to reach the pick-up location? *

from your home to the pick-up location

Minutes

Which mode of transport are you using to pick up the food? *

Own private Car, Carpool (Ride-Sharing), Public Bus, Bike, Walking, etc.

Why do you use this mode of transport? *

Page 5

Is it challenging for you to pick up the food? *

Yes

No

Sometimes

What makes it challenging for you to pick up the food?

Page 6

What would be your suggestion to improve the current distribution of food?

Page 7

Why did you choose to participate in a CSA?

Community Supported Agriculture

Why do you choose to get your food from the Rare Earth Farm in particular?

» [Umleitung auf Schlusseite von Umfrage Online](#)