Unravelling participation in self-harvest Community Supported Agriculture

A Social Practice perspective

by

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Preface

My interest in food and food systems started when I was studying for my bachelor's degree in food & business at the HAN University of Applied Sciences. During that time, I increasingly learned more about the complexity of food and the many roles it plays in our lives. Food sustains us. It quite literately keeps us going. It is also cultural and expressive: we can show creativity through cooking, communicate values through what we choose to eat, and express love and care by preparing and sharing food with others. At that same time, I became more interested in climate change and sustainability. It was only a matter of time before these interests crossed. It motivated me to continue studying, starting with a pre-master's program in Environment and Society Studies at the Radboud University, and later the Master's program. Food-related questions followed me throughout these years, reappearing in one way or another, in different courses and discussions. Eventually they even formed the foundation of this thesis. During the pre-master's program, we went on a field trip as part of one of the courses. It was a fun way to get out of the classroom and into the real world. Many students chose to visit the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate in The Hague. Only a few of us decided to visit the self-harvest Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) garden on the edge of Nijmegen. This is where Adam, who later supervised my thesis, introduced me to a wonderful food initiative that immediately fascinated me. The garden and its surroundings were genuinely enchanting. We were weeding on our knees with our bare hands in the soil, hearing the birds singing, the sun beaming down, a breeze cooling our skin. It felt good in a way that surprised me. I left with a strong sense that this place was truly something special. However, I couldn't help but wonder why so few students were interested in this excursion. Why did CSA resonate with me so strongly, while others seemed uninterested? And more broadly: why is participation in CSAs still so low if they have ecological and social potential? These questions ultimately motivated me to write my thesis about CSA participation. I would like to thank my supervisor, Adam, for introducing me to this wonderful initiative and for his guidance through this whole year. Thank you for your patience, critical feedback, and support in helping me to find the right language to communicate my message about CSAs. I would also like to thank Fernande, my internship coordinator at the CSA, for her openness, support, and trust during my research internship at the CSA. A special thanks goes to all CSA members and volunteers who participated in the interviews and shared their experiences. Without an enthusiastic community, CSA would not exist. During the writing process, I spent many hours in the library with my fellow students and friends. I would like to thank them for their good company, the great conversations, their listening ears, and the laughter during our breaks. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their support during all my years of being a student and for always encouraging me to grow. I am also very grateful to my girlfriend, Robin, who has supported me throughout this entire journey. There were moments of doubt and uncertainty, but your confidence and positivity kept me going. Honestly, none of this would have been possible without you three.

Gilles Zuidwijk, Nijmegen, December 2025

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List of abbreviations

SPT	Social Practice Theory
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
PAE	Practice as Entity
PAP	Practice as Performance
M-C-M	Materials, Competences, and Meanings
TPB	Theory of Planned Behavior
NAM	Norm Activation Model
VBN	Value-Belief-Norm

Abstract

Despite having the potential to develop more sustainable food systems, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) initiatives remain niche, with limited and unstable participation. Current research has approached this gap by examining motivations and barriers regarding membership (joining, renewing, or leaving). This thesis presents a different perspective by viewing participation behavior as repeated, situated actions guided by *practices* rather than isolated choices. Drawing on Social Practice Theory (SPT), it conceptualizes participation in a self-harvest CSA as a chain of practices that takes food from farm to plate: growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating. The thesis asks: How do the practices of growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating explain participation in self-harvest CSAs? It answers this question by first analyzing how these practices are built up in terms of materials, competences, and meanings, and how they relate to each other through practice dynamics. This thesis presents a qualitative case study containing fifteen semi-structured interviews with participants involved in a self-harvest CSA (including members who harvest, volunteers, interns, and a farmer). According to my findings, members continue to participate in CSA not only because they want organic, locally grown vegetables, but also because they find the on-site activities of growing and harvesting meaningful. Members view farm work as an opportunity for collectively learning about farming, plants, and seasonality, socializing with others, as well as physical and mental self-care. While volunteering, members experience the vitality and complexity of nature and feel connected with the farm and the nature in and around it. They also view it as a practical way to contribute to more sustainable agriculture, based on principles such as avoiding the use of pesticides, herbicides, and fertilizers. While volunteers were working on the farm they used a range of materials, including biological materials, garden infrastructure, and simple hand tools. It was also found that certain farming skills were required for farm work, such as preparing planting beds, sowing and planting, and providing ongoing care for plants. The interviews also showed that self-harvesting is guided by navigational materials such as weekly harvest messages, maps, flags and crop signs, as well as simple tools for harvesting and storage. Competences such as planning, navigation, plant identification, ripeness evaluation and harvesting techniques were also mentioned to be involved. These meanings overlap with those of growing, but they also emphasize food values like health, taste, locality and reduced packaging. Practice dynamics show how shared location, rhythms and principles connect growing and harvesting; how elements travel between practices (e.g., plant knowledge aiding harvesting); and how participation can change cooking and eating towards seasonal meals, vegetable-centered meals, experimentation and increased vegetable intake. Overall, this thesis demonstrated that sustained CSA participation is less about a one-off choice to be a member and more about members aligning their behavior with the CSA practices. More practically, it showed that CSA is much more than an alternative way of buying food. It reshapes everyday practices around cooking and eating, reconnects people with the land and each other, and shows what agroecological food production can look and feel like.

Keywords: Community Supported Agriculture, Participation, Social Practice Study

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Introduction

Virtues and vices of our modern food system

Food has always been a vital part of human life. Long ago, humans and their predecessors relied on hunting animals and gathering plants, roots and fruits to be able to eat. Around 10,000 years ago, in the Neolithic Revolution, humans shifted their efforts from hunting and gathering to agriculture, setting in motion one of the most pivotal events in humanity's cultural history (Weisdorf, 2005). Since the Neolithic Revolution, agriculture has been the predominant way in which humans have obtained food. Since the first farmers ploughed their fields millennia ago, agriculture has changed significantly in terms of scale, practice, and significance.

Stone hoes, sickles, and grinding stones are long gone and have made room for a highly efficient agricultural system. One common approach in agriculture is to concentrate production on a single crop over large areas, a system called monoculture (Magdoff, 2015). This had the advantage that planting and harvesting could be standardized using machines. Such specialization in one crop typically goes hand in hand with high applications of fertilizers and pesticides to boost yields and control weeds. (Magdoff, 2015). Taken together, these strategies constitute the agricultural intensification: the movement of farmers to use their land as efficiently as possible to maximize output at the lowest cost (Matson et al., 1997). As agricultural productivity increased, farms required fewer workers, setting in motion a broad reallocation of labor from agriculture to other sectors (Herrendorf, 2014, p. 78). This shift resulted in the farms we know today, which are larger and more standardized, and a public that is largely labor-distant from food production (MacDonald et al., 2018; Clapp, 2015).

A productivist logic of prioritizing maximum output has often been treated as common sense in agriculture. Government policies that encourage high-yield farming have reinforced this orientation and have allowed the worldwide food production to skyrocket over a relatively short period (Abubakar & Attanda, 2013). For example, global food production roughly doubled from 1964-1999 (Tilman, 1999, p. 5995) and continued to grow after that. Industrial farming has unquestionably supercharged food production, which is a genuine achievement. While multiple forces reduced malnutrition, the increased food production, particularly from grains like wheat, rice and maize, played a significant part in that decline. However, the very practices that delivered this abundance of food are now putting pressure on the environment.

Agricultural emissions now account for at least 10% of the global human-driven emissions of greenhouse gases (Bellarby et al., 2008). Adding to that, this trend in food production has been associated with a sevenfold rise in nitrogen fertilizer use, a fourfold increase in phosphorus fertilization, and a 50% increase in irrigated land in the period 1964 to 1999 (Tilman, 1999, p. 5995). Furthermore, land conversion for crops and pastures remains a substantial driver of deforestation; much of the new agricultural land in the tropics came at the expense of forest clearing (Gibbs et al., 2010). These practices dramatically impact the diversity, composition, and functioning of the remaining natural ecosystems of the world, and their ability to provide a variety of essential ecosystem services (Tilman, 1999, p. 5995). Closer to home, agricultural intensification in the Netherlands has long been harmful to land biodiversity. During the last 50 years, monoculture-like agriculture has caused many wild plant and animal species to become extinct in certain regions or even nationally (Geiger et al., 2010).

Taken together, these environmental pressures do not only reflect how individual fields are managed, but also how today's food system is organized. Industrial agriculture sits at the beginning of a complex multi-stage supply chain. Food moves from farms through processors, packagers, transporters, and retailers before reaching our supermarkets. Thanks to global logistics, almost all imaginable food products are available year-round. But as the global food system expanded, the production of food became increasingly distant from consumers. It separated us, physically and

mentally, from the landscapes and people who produce our food (Clapp, 2015, p. 305). McMichael (2009, pp. 147-149) describes this as a 'food from nowhere' regime which normalizes 'placeless food', making the origin and the production practices largely invisible to eaters. For many consumers, this manifests as alienation from the food; a limited visibility into who produced their food and how it was produced.

Community Supported Agriculture and its participation struggle

With the environmental impact of our current food system being an undeniable threat to our planet's health, alternative food movements are attempting to reshape the way our food system is organized. As part of this movement, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) emerged in the 1980s (Kondoh, 2015). In this model, a direct seasonal-long partnership is formed between a local farm and a group of members. Members commit to a CSA farm by paying a yearly fee for a subscription. In return, members receive a regular share of the farm's harvest throughout the season (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 187). Depending on the CSA, shares are picked up as weekly boxes or via self-harvesting, where members can come to the farm and harvest the crops themselves (Nost, 2014, p. 155; Standal & Westskog, 2022, p. 8). Thus, the CSA's premise is not based on a conventional supermarket-buyer relationship, in which individual items are sold to consumers, but on yearly commitments from members of the community to one farm. In this relationship, the risks and rewards of farming are shared between the farmer and the members (Cone & Myhre, 2000). When, for example, the harvest is poor in a given year, all members receive fewer crops. On the flip side, when the harvest is abundant, all members receive more. In addition to reshaping producer-consumer relations, CSAs often set themselves apart through their farming practices. Many CSAs operate as small-scale, diversified farms that apply agroecological concepts to farming (Gliessman, 2018). This manifests itself in farming practices that focus on soil health, organic fertilization, avoiding pesticides to help maintain biodiversity on and around the farm, and focusing on the resilience off the land rather than just its profitability (Agroecology Europe, 2021). In short, these agroecological practices seek to align farming with natural systems rather than working against them.

CSAs rarely struggle to come up with innovative visions in sustainability, but unfortunately, their participation remains both limited and unstable (Galt et al., 2019). In the Netherlands, all local food communities combined, including CSAs, feed around 62.000 households (van Kampen, 2020, p. 8). The fact that fewer than 1% of the more than 8 million households in 2024 chose to be part of a CSA suggests that these models occupy a niche rather than representing the norm. Adding to this, sustained participation remains a challenge in CSAs. Research done by Galt et al. (2019) showed that CSAs in California struggled with just roughly three in five members (around 62%) renewing their CSA membership each year, and Pole and Gray (2013, p. 87) report that the levels of volunteering remain low. The problem is that when participation is unstable, the core mechanisms of CSA wobble: produce goes unharvested, the planning for the farmer becomes less reliable, and the shared-risk contract weakens. If CSA is to function as a viable lever in the transformation towards more sustainable food systems, participation in CSA must grow and remain stable, and achieving this requires a deep understanding of this participation.

But current research approaches the problem of participation from a misaligned angle. For example, most studies on CSA participation focus on what motivates people to join or what barriers prevent people from joining. People mention concern for the environment, a desire for fresh and organic food, wanting to support local food sources, and an interest in knowing how and where food is produced as reasons for joining a CSA (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 190). Other scholars focus on uncovering more practical barriers for CSA members: a limited diversity in the share, too much produce, and too much preparation time (Galt et al., 2019, p. 2; Galt & Christensen, 2014. P. 1-2). A different example is that research of Galt et al. (2019) showed that even the popular features of CSA, like the heavily customized shares, do not guarantee that members will stay with a CSA. While all of these perspectives provide

valuable insights into recruitment and retention of participation, they tend to view participation as a series of individual decisions or membership statuses. In this thesis, I argue that, to truly understand participation in CSA, we need to look beyond these single motivations, barriers, and conditions for making people leave or stay. Instead of viewing CSA participation as a single choice, we have to view it as a repeated behavior.

Navigating the behavioral maze

Seeing participation as a series of actions that people perform repeatedly changes the explanatory task. Rather than asking why people intend to act, or why they do not, we must consider how participation is sustained over time. This, in turn, raises the question of which theories of behavior can account for repeated action. These behavioral theories used for understanding behavior, however, are plural and widely contested. They each highlight different parts of a complex system, and even the well-developed theories and measurement approaches often only explain fractions of the actual behavior (Davis et al., 2015).

One approach is the knowledge-deficit perspective, which argues that a lack of environmental awareness leads to unsustainable behavior, and that closing this knowledge gap will lead to pro-environmental action (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). Other prominent theories often used are the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and, flowing from that, the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991). The TPB suggests that identifying attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control predicts a person's behavioral intentions; changes in these elements lead to changes in intentions. In turn, the behavioral intentions predict the actual behavior. Related models tie behavior to moral motivation: Schwartz's (1977) Norm Activation Model (NAM) follows that noticing the consequences of actions creates a sense of responsibility that activates one's personal norms and Stern's (2000) Value-Belief-Norm theory (VBN) builds on this by suggesting that behavior starts from basic, stable values, which feed into an environmental worldview, which in turn influences awareness of consequences. From the awareness of consequences flows a felt responsibility for actions. This then shapes someone's personal norm and behavior.

When it comes to behavior that deals with deep social and environmental contexts and repeated behavior over a longer period of time, these theories fall short to capture the rich context in which participation is enacted; individuals don't live in a social vacuum, according to Hargreaves (2011) and Stern (2000). Social Practice Theory (SPT) addresses this gap by defining behavior as the outcome of socially shared practices, rather than as a result of an individual choice. Cultural sociologist Andreas Reckwitz describes a practice as a routinized type of behavior involving bodily and mental activities, material artefacts, know-how, emotions, and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz, 2002). Rather than focusing on personal choice, SPT examines how routines are organized and situated socially, and why certain ways of doing endure while others fade away. The analytical focus is therefore on the practice itself, the structured and collective sustained pattern of behavior.

Authors like Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012) argue that practices are composed of three interlinked elements. First, the materials dimension puts forward that there are certain things, technologies, tools, or other 'stuff' that are necessary to carry out the practice (e.g., a ball and a field to play football). Secondly, there are also certain competences, skills, or know-how that are needed to involve in a practice (e.g., knowing the rules and techniques of football). Thirdly, the meanings are the ideas and values that give the practice its purpose and significance (e.g. seeing football as a fun game to play with friends). This theory proposes that a practice can emerge and stabilize when links are made between these three elements (Shove et al., 2012).

With this specification in place, Shove et al. (2012) distinguish between two complementary perspectives on any given practice: the practice-as-entity (PAE) and practice-as-performance (PAP). The PAE refers to the relatively stable configuration of materials, competences, and meanings that make up

a practice as an abstract social pattern. The PAP refers to the moments when people carry out a practice in a specific situation. Because the PAE is an idea or a pattern that exists 'out there', it cannot be observed directly (e.g., the idea of playing football). But what we can observe are the moments when the practices are performed and where materials, competences, and meanings are brought together in concrete actions in real life. Therefore, understanding practices requires examining how they are carried out in everyday situations.

Reframing participation

While, as we have seen, overall participation in CSA remains modest, it is not zero. Some CSAs, such as the self-harvest CSA examined in this thesis, show sustained participation: members commit for a season and regularly visit the farm to harvest produce and volunteer. This successful case offers a valuable opportunity to examine how ongoing participation is formed and maintained. Accordingly, this thesis uses SPT as its guiding framework to explain participation in this CSA. Participation is operationalized as a chain of practices (the 'practice chain') that captures the full process from food cultivation to consumption. This chain consists of four sequential practices: growing, self-harvesting, cooking and eating. Studying these interconnected practices and examining their relationships helps us understand participation in CSAs.

The objective of this thesis is to: (1) describe each practice in terms of materials, competences, and meanings, and (2) analyze how these practices relate to each other. I therefore ask: How do the practices of growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating explain participation in self-harvest CSAs? To answer this question, the following research questions are addressed: (SQ1) How are these practices built up in terms of meanings, materials, and skills? (SQ2) How do these practices relate to each other through practice dynamics?

As shown before, current research tries to explain participation in CSA from a misaligned angle. Most studies focus on uncovering motivations to join, barriers to join, what makes people stay, or what makes people leave. While these studies emphasize the benefits and challenges of CSA participation, they lack an understanding of the mechanisms that make participation stick. Scientifically, this thesis will contribute by reframing CSA participation through a practice lens, shifting the analysis from individual motivations to practices, and thereby offering a theoretical shift in participation research.

When it comes to the use of theory, this thesis shows how SPT can be used in scientific research to study behavior. Firstly, it uses the three-element model from Shove et al. (2012) to identify participation practices in a CSA setting. This has previously been done by Standal and Westkog (2022), who used SPT to show how joining a CSA can change eating practices and how this opened up opportunities for more sustainable lifestyles. This thesis takes a slightly different approach, considering participation itself, rather than changes in downstream consumption, as the object of explanation. Secondly, this thesis arranges these practices in a practice chain (growing → self-harvesting → cooking → eating), translating Schatzki's (1996) idea that practices rarely stand alone, but usually form networks (nexus-thinking), into a conceptual model ready for analysis. Together with the third, which shows practice dynamics, this conceptual lens helps us to see how a practice relates to and influences other practices.

The ecological and social potential of CSA hinges on a stable and sustained participation. However, participation remains a niche, retention is fragile and on-farm volunteering is low. This thesis reframes participation as a chain of linked practices and shows how materials, competences, and meanings can be reconfigured to facilitate ongoing participation. In doing so, it addresses the 'thin legitimacy' of CSAs in a wider society (Montenegro de Wit & Iles, 2016) by demonstrating how repeated participation can generate benefits for members, farms, and their communities. For CSA farms, the results of the study help us understand why people take part in CSA farms. It also shows how participation is valued by its members, and this offers CSA farmers strong promotional material to boost

memberships and participation in volunteering. For potential new members, the practice lens shows what participation actually entails (e.g., what materials are used, what skills are developed, what meanings are connected to it). This makes it easier for people to get involved and reduces reluctance about joining.

Having established the stakes of this thesis, the next step is to show how this study will address the issue. The next chapter starts with a literature review that dives into the literature on CSAs and participation, and behavioral models, like TPB and SPT. How theories are used in this research is explained in the theoretical framework. This is visualized in the conceptual framework, and later it shows how key concepts are operationalized. The chapter that follows lays out the methodology for this thesis. It starts with the research approach and philosophical positioning. The data collection, analysis-method, and design rationale are discussed after that. The results chapter presents the results of the thesis and is structured in three subsections. In section one and two, the practice elements of the on-site practices (growing and self-harvesting) are showcased (PAE), and the practice dynamics are shown in subsection three. The last chapter concludes with a discussion and interpretation of the findings and ends with recommendations for further research.

Theoretical framework

This chapter explores the existing relevant theories for this thesis by first reviewing the relevant literature. It then shows how theories from the literature are going to be used in the conceptual framework and shows how these theories are going to be operationalized in the last section. This first review of literature is divided in a thematic manner: first exploring existing research on CSAs and describing what participation in CSA entails, creating the context for the research. Then it turns the attention to different behavioral models to reflect on which is best suited for this research.

The CSA movement and its participation

Most people agree that the roots of CSA lie in the Teikei movement, which emerged in the 1960s-1970s in Japan. This movement, similarly to CSA, emerged in response to concerns about the effects of intensive agriculture on the environment (Kondoh, 2015). Around the same time, in the 1980s, similar initiatives arose in Germany and Switzerland stemming from the same concerns. American Jan Vander Tuin learned about CSAs there, decided it was a better way of farming, and took the idea back to the USA, where he later started the first CSA (Cooley & Lass, 1998).

At the most basic level, a CSA is an agreement between a farm and a group of CSA members. Members pay a fee up front to support production at the farm and, in return, receive a share of the harvest throughout the season (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 187). A CSA operates on a membership basis, with weekly harvests rather than per-item purchasing. If the harvest is abundant, everyone receives more produce; if it is poor, everyone receives less. This means that the risk of farming is shared between the farmer and the members, rather than being solely the responsibility of the farmer (Cone & Myhre, 2000). Henderson and En (2007, p. 3) provide a clear description of the essence of the relationship between farmer and member: “The farm feeds the people, the people support the farm and share the inherent risk and potential bounty.” The model thus supports producers and consumers: farmers gain financial stability and can prioritize sustainable agricultural practices without relying heavily on external markets, while members enjoy fresh, locally grown food and develop a stronger connection to the source of their food (Cooley & Lass, 1998; Macdiarmid, 2014). CSA farms usually revolve around organic vegetables, but depending on the initiative, other products such as meat, poultry, dairy products, honey and flowers are sometimes also offered (Cone & Myhre, 2000). Today, the CSA model encompasses a variety of initiatives, ranging from box schemes to self-harvest formats, and even hybrids. Members can pick up their share of the harvest at regular intervals; some farms offer weekly or multiple weekly collections, while others offer collection once every couple of weeks. There are also farms, like this case study, that allow the members to harvest the crops themselves; self-harvest CSAs (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 187). In other cases, farmers or volunteers harvest the produce, and members can collect their share at the farm or from collection points (Nost, 2014, p. 155; Standal & Westskog, 2022, p. 8).

Participation in CSA varies from farm to farm, but there is a stable core: members commit to a CSA for a whole season to receive a share of the farm’s harvest, typically by paying in advance and accepting shared variability in volume and type of produce (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 187). These shares are usually mixed vegetable boxes, though some farms also offer fruits, eggs, flowers, grains, or meat (Galt et al., 2011, p.17). As most production occurs outdoors, and not in greenhouses, the contents of the shares fluctuate with the season: one week’s share may contain kale, while the next may contain peas or beans. In the model of CSA examined in this thesis, members are responsible for harvesting their own produce (a self-harvest CSA). Information on what can be harvested and in what quantities is provided in newsletters and on-farm signs. During opening hours, members come to the farm, locate the vegetables they want, judge their ripeness and quality, harvest them, portion them up and pack them. But participation in CSA continues at home: members sort, wash, preserve and store produce, plan meals

around seasonal availability, and learn to cook with new vegetables. In the most basic sense, participation, therefore, means being a member and engaging in the harvesting activities on the farm. But participation can also expand beyond this core to volunteering activities. Many CSAs try to integrate their members into the community by organizing events and activities, and encouraging them to volunteer (Pole & Gray, 2013, p. 87). Due to limited mechanization, strip cultivation, and avoidance of herbicides, CSAs often rely on manual labour, to such an extent, that labour costs sometimes account for half the variable production expenses of a CSA (Endres & Armstrong, 2013, p. 7). Many CSAs therefore, encourage members to actively assist the farmers in various tasks on the farm, such as planting, weeding, or other on-farm activities (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 187).

Most empirical studies approach participation by examining the motivations and barriers to engage in CSA. Reasons commonly reported for joining include: a desire for fresh and organic food, concern for a healthy environment, supporting local farmers and food sources, and a general interest in how and where food is produced (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 190). However, other studies complicate this picture by showing that factors which are often presumed to influence joining decisions may have a limited impact. For instance, Pole and Gray (2013, p. 95) argue that joining for the 'community' is sometimes more symbolic when it comes to enrolment. Galt et al. (2019) identified logistics and the CSA share design as important barriers, giving examples such as having too much or unfamiliar produce and limited choice. They also showed that even the highly customisable shares in CSA do not improve retention for memberships at CSA farms. Other studies in CSA participation have modelled who participates and under what conditions. The findings highlight that members differ substantially. Despite this, demographic characteristics, like income and education, seem to significantly impact the probability of a consumer becoming a CSA member in the future. Additionally, lifestyles, such as vegetarianism, pro-environmental perceptions of CSAs, and recycling behavior, also increase the likelihood of future participation (Vassalos et al., 2017, p. 13).

Taken together, existing studies offer valuable explanations of who participates in CSA and why people join or leave. However, several important aspects of participation remain underspecified. Firstly, much of the literature treats participation as a series of individual decisions (joining, renewing, leaving). This decision-centric approach frames participation as merely a sustainable food delivery to a group of consumers. It risks overlooking the fact that CSA participation is a dense activity full of hands-on experiences during volunteering and harvesting. Making these activities visible could clarify how and why participation sticks with members. In addition, there is limited analysis of the material arrangements that structure action during participation. For example, some studies acknowledge that travel time to a CSA (i.e., relating to distance and infrastructure) could constrain participation (Standal & Westskog, 2022, p. 19). Few discuss how material arrangements used in the field itself influence participation. For example, which tools facilitate participation? Research also rarely examines how competence is developed, what prior knowledge is required for self-harvesting, how skills are learned through volunteering and self-harvesting, and which learning moments matter most to members. Bringing these two together, there is a lack of accounts of how this use of materials and competence development co-produces meanings for participation.

Behavior predicting models

Having outlined what participation in CSA involves and the areas where existing literature is lacking, it is necessary to consider which behavioral models can explain participation in CSA. The behavioral theories remain plural and widely contested. Each highlights different parts of a complex system, and even the well-developed theories and measurement approaches often only explain fractions of the actual behavior (Davis et al., 2015).

To give an example, the Theory of Reasoned Action, and the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) from Ajzen (1991) derived from it, suggests that we can predict a person's behavioral intentions by identifying their attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. According to the theory, these intentions could lead to action. The TPB has been widely used to explain local and alternative food-buying behavior. For instance, Holt et al. (2018) demonstrated in their article that TPB could be used to predict consumers' intention to buy locally grown blueberries. Despite its contributions, the theory also has its flaws. Intention-behavior gaps persist (Sheeran & Webb, 2016); as we know, people do not always act in accordance with their intentions. While the TPB can highlight useful individual determinants for behavior, it has its limitations. However, in Schwartz's (1977) Norm Activation Model (NAM), personal norms are the core foundation of behavior (Onwezen et al., 2013). The NAM (Schwartz, 1977) argues that the awareness of the consequences of an action fosters feelings of responsibility. This felt responsibility activates one's personal norms to act or behave in an environmentally friendly way. Just like TPB, the NAM can be adjusted to include different variables that could predict behavior. Academics such as Onwezen et al. (2013), have explored how anticipated pride and guilt relate to these theories. The Value-Belief-Norm (VBN) theory from Stern (2000) builds on this by suggesting that behavior starts from basic and stable values. These values feed into an environmental worldview, influencing awareness of consequences and a felt responsibility. These then determine the personal norm and the behavior. Although the TPB, NAM and VBN could be used for understanding key aspects of CSA participation, such as why people intend to join and how values and responsibility motivate action, they are not suitable for answering the research question, because they frame participation as individual, one-of decisions. As a result, they struggle to explain the intention-behavior gap and say little about the context and situatedness of actions in participation. What is needed is a lens through which to view repeated, situated, and collectively organized activity.

Some authors turn their attention away from individual behavior and focus on analyzing practices. In Social Practice Theory (SPT), a practice is not an individual attitude or a one-off decision, but rather a routine way of doing and saying things that people carry out over time (Reckwitz, 2002). The foundational ideas around SPT revolve around the structuration theory of human activity from Giddens (1984). According to this theory, behavior is shaped and enabled by structures of rules and meanings, and these structures are reproduced in human actions (Shove et al., 2012). SPT is also often associated with the concept of 'habitus' as defined by Bourdieu. Habitus is a system of habits formed through past experiences that determine how people act. Therefore, someone's habitus will determine how they act and think about the world (Shove et al., 2012).

Reckwitz (2002, p. 249) defines a practice as "a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge." To him, seeing the body in a different light forms the centre of practice theory. Practices are routinzed bodily activities, and they are thus the product of training the body in a certain way to perform a certain action (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 251). He adds to this that these bodily activities also include routinzed mental and emotional activities. Practices are therefore also "certain routinzed ways of understanding the world, desiring something, of knowing how to do something" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 251). He also emphasizes that things and their uses have an irreplacable role in practices. Performing a practice usually involves using or engaging with an object (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 252). He illustrates this by showing that in order to play football, we need a ball and goals as essential materials to perform this practice. Absence of these materials means that the practice cannot be enacted. He further mentions that practices draw on know-how acquired through training, imitation, or repetition (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 254), such as passing the ball to your teammates or shooting the goal on target. Theodore Schatzki adds a time and space dimension to practice theory by defining a practice as a "temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 1996). Like

Reckwitz, he identifies practical and general understandings, emotions, and material arrangements as essential elements of a practice.

In their pursuit to find ways to operationalize practices for analysis, Shove, Pantzar and Watson put forward a model of three elements based on others practice-scholars: (1) things/materials, encompassing objects, infrastructure, tools, and the body itself; (2) know-how/competence, comprising forms of understanding and practical knowledge; and (3) meanings, comprising the social and symbolic meanings people attribute to the practice (Shove et al., 2012). They argue that practices consist of these interdependent elements (materials, competences, and meanings) and that their existence depends on the making and breaking of the connections between these elements (Shove et al., 2012).

Shove et al. (2012) also describe how these elements influence each other greatly. They illustrate this with an example, showing how interconnected elements can influence each other and how a practice can evolve over time. Consider, for example, driving a car. Cars have been riding on the Earth's surface for some time now, but when roads transformed from one-lane to multiple-lane (a change in material dimension), a change in competences was necessary. Drivers were required not just to look ahead, but also behind and to the sides in order to switch lanes safely. This demonstrates how a change in the material dimension can influence the required skills for a practice, a concept referred to as practice dynamics.

Shove et al. (2012) also popularized the distinction between practice-as-entity (PAE) and practice-as-performance (PAP). The PAE refers to the idea or structure of a practice: the elements competences, meanings, and materials that guide behavior. It is the abstract stable 'thing' that exists across time and space (e.g., playing football or eating breakfast). But they also mention that practices can differ across time and space (Shove et al., 2012). For example, the practice of eating breakfast differs between countries. A UK breakfast might involve materials, such as eggs, bacon and beans, which are prepared in multiple pans; the associated skills could include parallel cooking and baking perfect bacon; and the meaning could relate to tradition or the idea of a 'hearty start' of the day. In contrast, a breakfast in the Netherlands might consist of bread, butter, and cheese, and the skills could be oriented around quick assembly. The meanings might emphasize simplicity and efficiency. Thus, while the entity (eating breakfast) persists, its performance differs as links among materials, competences and meanings are made in the context.

The PAE is an abstract idea or pattern; one can't pick it up and touch it. Studying these intangible ideas requires a different approach. However, the PAP can be researched. These performances are the moments when the elements (materials, competences, and meanings) come together in concrete action in real life. To understand practices better, they should be observed while they are performed in real life.

Having defined practices as a relatively stable configuration of materials, competences, and meanings, it's important to note that practice scholars, like Schatzki, are very clear in that practices usually don't float around as isolated ideas; the elements themselves influence each other independently. They cluster together, interlock, and change each other. The nexus of practices framework from Schatzki shows how elements in one practice could carry over to other practices and how some elements are shared between practices. In this way, practices usually create a dense web of connected practices (Shove et al., 2012).

Conceptualizing participation as a practice chain

Now that we have outlined the context of the research, we can see that participation in the CSA scheme in this thesis has two aspects: the most basic form of participation is becoming a member, and harvesting produce from the field, but some members also volunteer by helping with farm activities such as weeding and planting. However, as previously mentioned, participation also continues at home: members have to sort, wash, preserve and store the produce they harvest themselves. They also have to plan meals around seasonal availability and learn to cook with new vegetables.

But participation in CSA continues at home: members sort, wash, preserve and store produce, plan meals around seasonal availability, and learn to cook with new vegetables. To organize and analyze these activities, a conceptual framework (see fig. 1) is set out that is based on three principles of SPT: (1) practices can be viewed as a configuration of three interlinked elements: materials, competences, and meanings (Shove et al., 2012), (2) Practices are connected to other practices, forming bundles or complexes (Schatzki, 1996), and (3) Practice dynamics exist between the practices (Shove et al., 2012).

Firstly, this thesis uses SPT as its leading theory. Therefore, the unit of analysis for this thesis is not the individual choices members make, but the structured, collectively sustained pattern of the practice of participation over time. To study this, the three-element model from Shove et al. (2012) is followed to identify and understand the practices. They propose that a practice is composed of three interlinked elements: (1) the materials are the things, technologies, and tools necessary to carry out the practice, (2) the competences are the skills that are needed to involve in a practice, and (3) the meanings are the ideas that are related to a particular practice (Shove et al., 2012; Standal & Westkog, 2022).

Secondly, this thesis places participation in CSA as a behavior within a chain of practices. This practice chain is a sequence of activities that captures the full process from food cultivation to consumption. The practice chain to be studied in this case study contains four related practices: (1) the practice of growing food (growing), (2) the practice of self-harvesting (collecting), (3) the practice of cooking (preparing), and (4) the practice of eating (consuming) (see fig. 1). As CSA-participation in this case only encompasses the volunteering (practice 1) and self-harvesting (practice 2), a distinction is therefore made between on-site practices and off-site practices. On-site practices form the core of this study and are the practices that are performed at the CSA: growing food and self-harvesting. The off-site practices are the practices that are performed at home or somewhere else: cooking and eating. These fall outside direct CSA participation but are still connected with the other practices in the chain.

Thirdly, these practices are connected with each other through practice dynamics. The elements of a practice (i.e., materials, competences, and meanings) can change and can be shared between practices. Alternations to one element can change the practice itself or related practices. This thesis examines these dynamics over time and across the practice chain.

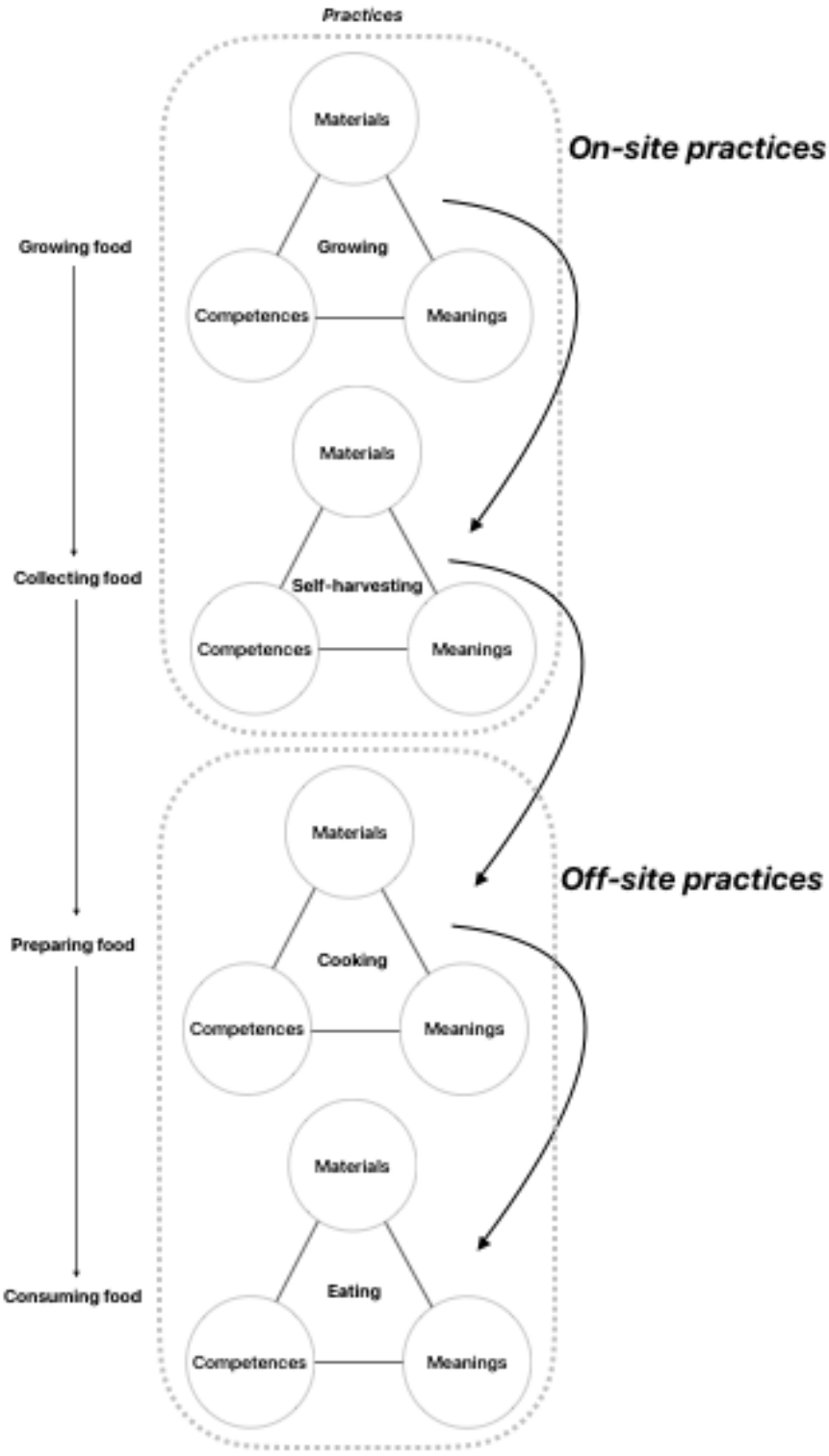

Figure 1. The practice chain of self-harvest CSA Participation
Conceptual framework for this thesis

Operationalization of theory

In this chapter, two objectives will be discussed. First, it defines the unit of analysis, the practice, by specifying what a practice is and clarifying what is meant by the practices of growing, self-harvesting, cooking and eating. Second, it outlines how these practices are studied in this thesis.

Following SPT, behavior is examined as routinized, socially organized activity, not as a series of isolated choices (Reckwitz, 2002). This study focuses on a practice chain through which CSA produce moves from field to plate: (1) growing (on-site), (2) self-harvesting (on-site), (3) cooking (off-site), and (4) eating (off-site). The on-site practices of participation constitute the important empirical part; off-site practices are analyzed insofar as they shape and are affected by on-site participation. But when thinking about an abstract idea like a practice, we might ask ourselves what that activity actually encompasses: what counts as a practice, and what does not? The practice of growing, for example, contains many different activities: weeding, composting, planting, and so on. Why not consider these activities as different practices? While this is a valid point, ultimately, it is the end goal that matters in deciding the boundaries of a practice. For instance, the practice of growing aims to produce food, and the practice of self-harvesting aims to collect food (just as the practice of doing groceries also aims to collect food). All the micro-activities, like weeding, composting and planting, contribute to an end goal: growing food. A practice is therefore treated as a constellation of doings and sayings that is oriented towards a certain end goal. Take driving a car as an example. When visualizing 'driving a car', you can think about turning the steering wheel to take a corner, braking at a red traffic light, or using the mirrors to change lanes safely. Although these activities can be seen as individual, they all serve the same purpose: to drive a car from point A to point B. It therefore also makes sense to define the practices in the practice chain for this thesis in terms of their end goal.

Practice	Goal	Example
Growing	To cultivating edible plants for members' shares.	Sowing, watering, weeding, staking, composting.
Self-harvesting	To collect field produce	Planning what to harvest, navigating the field, assessing ripeness, cutting and pulling, storing crops.
Cooking	To make harvested produce ready for consumption	Sorting and washing, cutting up vegetables, cooking techniques (e.g., making soups, traybakes, stir-frying).
Eating	To consume and share prepared food	Serving, sharing meals, leftover management.

Table 1. Practices and their goals

Having established that the examined practices can be understood from their goal, this analysis uses the three-element model from Shove et al. (2012) to operationalize practices. In this framework, practices are made up of materials, competences, and meanings. In order to identify the materials used in a given practice, it is necessary to consider which physical objects are used by the practitioners. For instance, one could ask: Which materials are used by CSA members when growing food at the CSA farm? Indicators of these materials might be physical items, such as shovels or wheelbarrows, or spatial layouts, such as the distinction between planting beds and a pathway. To identify the competences related to a certain practice, it is necessary to consider the practical know-how required to perform the practice. For example, one could ask: what do you need to be able to do to grow food at a self-harvest CSA? Indicators of these competences might include specific techniques, such as using a rake the correct way or rules of thumb for planting, like estimating the distance between plants by eye to determine the appropriate spacing.

When identifying the meanings related to a particular practice, we can ask: what significance is attributed to the practice itself? For example, which values does this practice connect to? Is it done because it makes people feel better about themselves? Or do people have certain expectations of themselves regarding the things they have to do in life? For instance, engaging in the practice of growing food could help someone feel connected to the food they are eating, or someone might say that they enjoy physical activity and that working on a farm helps them do that.

Practice elements	**Operational definition**	**Indicator**	**Typical codes**
Materials	What objects are necessary?	Physical items, spatial layout, artefacts, etc.	Planting beds, rakes, shovels, mobile phones
Competences	What practical know-how is necessary?	Specific techniques, rules-of-thumb, etc.	Identifying plants, handling plants carefully
Meanings	What significance is attributed?	Values, norms, etc.	Ideas about nature, social dimension

Table 2. Operationalization of practices

Methodology

This chapter shows how this study was designed by first outlining the methodological approach. It then explains how data was collected and handled (data collection methods) and how the analysis was carried out (analysis method). The section that follows elaborates on the choices made in the research methods (design rationale).

Methodological approach

The aim of this study is to explore the prominent practices that members engage in at a self-harvest CSA. To answer the sub-questions posed in the introduction, primary data on the elements of practices, materials, competences, and meanings were gathered. This thesis uses SPT as a guiding theory for analyzing behavior. It therefore takes on a practice-perspective: a certain behavior is seen as a constellation of materials, competences, and meanings that are carried out by practitioners of the practice. Because practices are socially 'made', a social constructivist theoretical perspective, in which "meaning making of reality is an activity of the individual mind" best fits the research aim (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 1169). Because practices take shape through human activity, they are not 'out there' as physical elements ready to be explored. PAE, the unit to be studied, exist only as ideas in people's mind and come to life when they are performed. Building on this idea, relativism is the most suitable ontological position for the research aim, because it assumes that "realities exist as multiple, intangible mental constructions". (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 1169). The reality of a practice is formed by the mind. For that reason, it can't be pinned down. In this research, knowledge about the object (the practice) is created by the subject (the practitioner of the practice) in a dialogue with the researcher (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p. 1169). Therefore, a constructivist epistemology best fits the research aim.

Data collection methods

Over a period of five months, a qualitative case study of the practices at a CSA was performed, built up of semi-structured interviews. A total of 15 participants were interviewed for the data collection (see table 3 for an overview). The sample included seven volunteers, of whom six were also CSA members, and one was not; four members who only participated in harvesting, one farmer, and two were interns. Interview participants were recruited through the researcher's existing network at the CSA. Purposive sampling was used to ensure adequate data coverage of each practice. All participants were Dutch-speaking.

N	Respondent	Role
1	Respondent A (R-A)	Member
2	Respondent B (R-B)	Member
3	Respondent C (R-C)	Volunteer and member
4	Respondent D (R-D)	Volunteer and member
5	Respondent E (R-E)	Volunteer
6	Respondent F (R-F)	Volunteer and member
7	Respondent G (R-G)	Volunteer and member
8	Respondent H (R-H)	Volunteer and member
9	Respondent I (R-I)	Volunteer and member
10	Respondent J (R-J)	Intern
11	Respondent K (R-K)	Volunteer and member
12	Respondent L (R-L)	Intern
13	Respondent M (R-M)	Member
14	Respondent N (R-N)	Farmer
15	Respondent O (R-O)	Member

Table 3. Overview respondents

Interviews were done one-on-one and in Dutch, since all participants were Dutch-speaking. Most interviews were done on the farm (one was done online) and ranged in duration from around 30 to 75 minutes. The participants were informed about the purpose of the research beforehand and were reminded they could end the interview at any time. All respondents were anonymized in this thesis and given respondent codes (Respondent A = R-A). The interviews had a semi-structured nature and were adjusted based on the practices that the participants were engaging in. For example, interviews with members focused exclusively on harvesting, whereas interviews with volunteers were also about the farmwork done by them.

Analysis method

The recordings were transcribed into textual documents, and the transcripts formed the input files for the analysis using the software program Atlas.ti. The analysis followed an abductive coding process. The existing theoretical concepts from the literature functioned as the basis of the analysis (deductive). The practices were divided into a material dimension, a competence dimension, and a meaning dimension. From this point, an inductive coding process was used by letting themes emerge from the data (see figure 2).

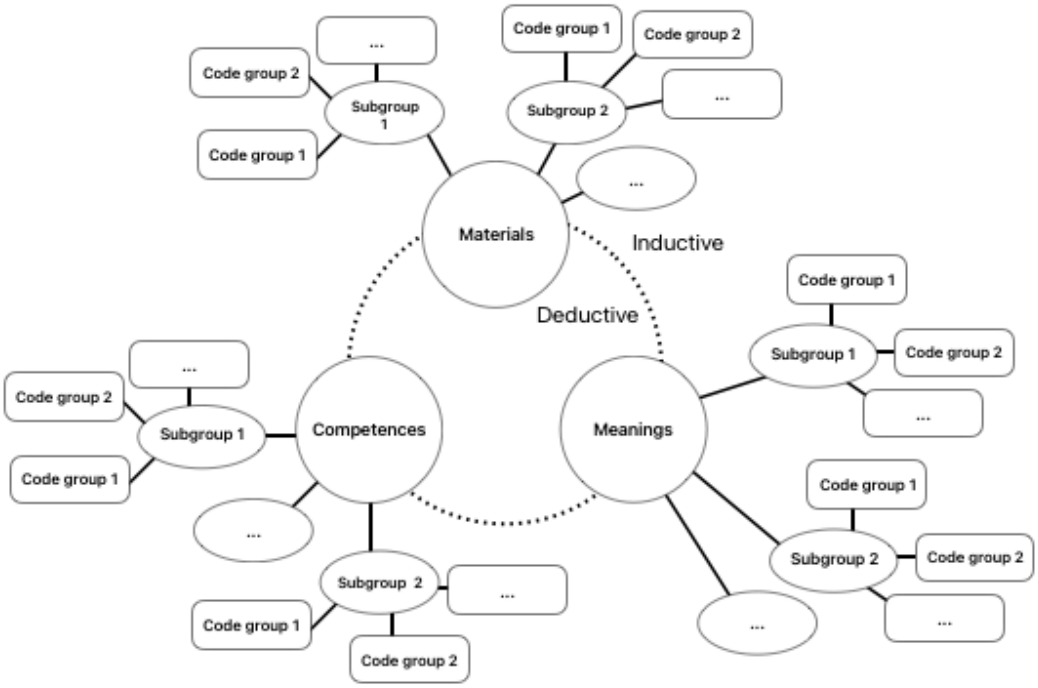

Figure 2. Coding process for practices

Design rationale

A qualitative case study with semi-structured interviews was chosen because the objects of research, practices, are relational and situated in the location of the CSA. SPT conceptualizes practices as materials, competences, and meanings, and researching these requires specific and detailed explanations rather than variable measures. Conducting interviews at the CSA helped the respondents to recall and relate to the practices they were engaging in. A quantitative approach would encounter difficulty in capturing the integration between elements of a practice.

Following the criteria from Lincoln & Guba (1985), trustworthiness is addressed through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility was established by “prolonged

engagement"; the researcher first got acquainted with practices themselves by participating in them with the members, trying not to be a "stranger in a strange land" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 302). The source triangulation added to the credibility by an iterative coding process and by confirming patterns in practices by interviewing multiple members about the same practice. Transferability was established by a "thick description" of the context of the practices (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 316). A thorough codebook and memos were made in Atlas.ti established dependability and confirmability.

During my internship at the CSA, I became a member and regularly participated in volunteering and self-harvesting. This meant that I was not only a researcher, but also a participant in a self-harvest CSA that moved through the entire practice chain; being involved in growing the food → harvesting the crops myself → cooking the food → and eating the food. The purpose of this involvement was to gain an embodied, situated understanding of how these practices of participation unfold. This involvement was not intended as a formal participant observation. I did not take systematic field notes for analysis and did not treat my own experiences in the practices as data. Instead, I used my own experiences to understand the effects of being an 'outsider' and to familiarize myself with the elements of SPT. These real-life experiences made me, as a researcher, become more aware and confident during interviews and the coding process (for example, letting themes emerge). All findings reported in the results, however, are derived from coded interview transcripts.

Results

In this chapter, the results of this thesis will be discussed. The first and second parts of this chapter describe the practices for participation as an entity (PAE), setting out its materials, competences, and meanings. The third part showcases the practice dynamics by exploring how the practices in the chain relate to each other.

Practice of growing

Because the CSA's primary purpose is producing food, the practice chain begins with the practice of growing. This practice refers to all the work carried out before harvesting begins, such as preparing planting beds, sowing, planting, and the ongoing care and maintenance of the plants, with the end goal of producing vegetables. The following section addresses, respectively, the material, competence, and meaning dimensions of growing food at the studied CSA. Table 4 provides an overview of these practice elements and their subgroups.

Practice elements	Subgroups
Materials	Biological materials
	Garden infrastructure
	Farming tools and equipment
	Body and physical gear
Competences	Preparing planting beds
	Sowing and planting
	Care and maintenance
	Meta skills
Meanings	Learning and awareness dimension
	Social dimension
	Physicality
	Mental dimension
	Nature immersion
	Agricultural transformation ideas

Table 4. Practice elements with subgroups for growing

Materials

The material dimension of this practice contains the physical things or objects that make growing food possible at a self-harvest CSA. Respondents describe four distinct groups of materials that are important: biological materials, garden infrastructure, farming tools and equipment, and body and physical gear (see table 4).

The essence of the growing process is to grow an edible plant from a seed. Soil and compost provide the foundation on which plants grow. Respondents consistently name compost as one of the central elements in growing a plant: "The gold of the earth…" (R-D, 227). Alongside seeds, life in the soil, such as insects and worms and water and sun are also seen as fundamental to the growing process. Taken together, these 'biological materials' are the living or physical matter that plants need to be able to grow and are therefore essential for growing food.

Alongside these biological materials, the gardens' infrastructure gives the practice of growing its situatedness in the landscape. Planting beds indicate where cultivation takes place and ensure that crops are organized, often with one or more crop species per bed. Pathways between the beds allow members to move around without damaging plants and to move compost and tools to the right spots. In short, the 'garden infrastructure' shapes the location of the practice of growing; where growing happens and where it does not.

Although all planting could in theory be done by hand, hand tools are often used to make the work easier. A wide variety of tools is used for different tasks; the wheelbarrow and shovel are ideal for transporting compost along the paths, while rakes, forks, and spades are used for digging, loosening,

and leveling soil. Buckets are useful for carrying smaller amounts of weeds or compost, and small knee pads make long periods of weeding more comfortable (R-H, 470). Overall, the growing process involves a wide range of 'farming tools and equipment' and personal preferences vary between respondents.

Respondents report that their bodies are a vital part of the growing process because the work is manual and doesn't rely on machines. Their legs are used to walk around the garden and their hands to weed and plant: "Your hands are truly indispensable." (R-J, 337). Some members like to wear protective gardening gloves for manual work, but others say they prefer not to wear gloves when weeding, because they like the feel of the soil on their bare hands (R-K, 24). In the end, the 'body' is the ultimate driving force of a practice: it enables the practitioner to perform the practice.

Competences

The competences are the practical know-how through which people carry out the work on the farm. These are the things volunteers need to be able to do to perform the act of growing food in a self-harvest CSA. They are grouped in four general phases: preparing planting beds, sowing and planting, care and maintenance, and meta-skills (see table 4).

First, planting beds are marked out with lines and pegs. These planting beds are usually about one meter wide and 20-30 meters long. They indicate where the plants will be grown. As vegetable plants need space to grow, beds overgrown with weeds are cleared by weeding. This is a core and time-intensive task that must be learned: "I spent almost the entire day weeding that planting bed" (R-J, 164). Volunteers must be flexible and able to work in kneeling or squatting positions for extended periods of time. Several respondents noted that this can be straining on the knees and back, making it difficult for some to perform these tasks for a long period of time (R-E, 581). Depending on the type of crop that is grown, trellises may also be built for climbing plants, like tomatoes or beans. Some volunteers find this too physically demanding, and, for a few, it isn't feasible due to height or strength limitations: "Those poles in the ground… I tried last year. I can't do that at all." (R-H, 262). Large piles of compost are usually kept at the edge of the garden. Using a shovel, the compost is loaded into a wheelbarrow and transported to the planting beds. Most respondents also mention that this work is physically taxing and technique-intensive: "The first time I used a wheelbarrow, I could only fill it halfway… I don't think it has improved because I have gotten stronger, but more because you learn how to maneuver it better." (R-C, 204). Taken together, these activities, as the skills required, constitute the 'preparing planting bed' phase.

Once the planting beds have been marked, weeded, and provided with compost, the seeds or plants can be planted. The spacing and depth required for each crop type is a learned skill, and many newcomers struggle at first: "The first few times I was here, I couldn't manage to plant those plants 30 centimeters apart." (R-J, 243). However, they improve their planting skills with practice. Volunteers must also learn how to plant without damaging the little plants: "being able to plant those delicate, tiny newly sown seedlings. You can't be rough with them, because they are just too fragile." (R-J, 158). In short, members must learn 'sowing and planting' as an essential skill in the practice of growing.

Once the fields have been weeded and the plants are put in the ground, it's Mother Nature's turn to do the work. As time passes by, the vegetable plants grow, and at the same time, weeds, insects, and snails appear. These are generally considered to be unwanted guests. Weeds compete with the crops for nutrients, water, and sunlight and snails and other insects feed directly on the plants. Farmers, therefore, monitor the beds, and volunteers have to learn how to regularly remove weeds and pests, an ongoing time-intensive task (R-C, 114). These are reported to be the most important skills needed in the 'care and maintenance' phase.

Beyond these task-specific skills, some more general skills that cut across the whole practice are noteworthy; these skills are called 'meta skills'. For example, one of the most important skills is the ability to identify and distinguish plants. This means telling crops from weeds and recognizing flowers

or other leftover plants from last year. Many volunteers thought this was challenging at first: “Couch grass, ordinary grass, even herbs. I didn’t know half of them. Marigold, nasturtium… They were all completely new to me.” (R-K, 284). When removing weeds, this precision is important: “When a bed is full of weeds, you also have to be very careful not to just pull out the crop itself.” (R-L, 80). Another overarching skill concerns the sustainable use of your body. Because the farm work is physically demanding, practicing safe load management, paying attention to good posture, and learning when to alternate between tasks is also deemed as important skills to learn: “especially when it’s heavier work, I have to take care of my back.” (R-E, 667). These ‘meta skills’ work together to make sure that the work is done safely and correctly at all stages of the growing.

Meanings

Meanings are the shared understanding, values and symbolic meanings that members attach to the growing of food at a self-harvest CSA. The meanings are subdivided into six umbrella themes: a dimension about learning and awareness, a social dimension, a physical dimension, a mental dimension, ideas about nature, and food/agricultural transformation ideas (see table 4).

The knowledge-sharing web

Respondents consistently mentioned that learning is central to the practice of growing. Beyond learning practical skills, participants discover new vegetables, plants, and edible flowers that they had never seen or tasted before: “There were a lot of things I didn’t know at all. For example, that you can eat all those vegetables and flowers.” (R-H, 166). These fun discoveries often sparked curiosity in the kitchen: the unfamiliar crops inspired members to expand their cooking skills: “Parsnip, once a forgotten vegetable. I came across it here and then decided to try it.” (R-E, 434). Some members even started balcony and backyard gardening to apply what they have learnt on the farm in their own homes.

The first-hand experience of working on the farm also increases awareness of seasonality and the efforts involved in producing food. Members come to expect and respect the variation in what vegetables are available: “Now is not the strawberry season. You shouldn’t think that they are available” (R-E, 368). Although some respondents already had some ideas, they also developed a better understanding of the labor needed in manual ecological farming: “I really enjoy working here. What does it cost to produce food?” (R-E, 95). These farming experiences were reported to foster a more critical view of the current conventional agriculture system with pesticide and high fertilizer use. As one participant put it: “Because I am doing this here, I am now even more aware of how things work in conventional agriculture.” (R-F, 216), which strengthens the respect for alternative food production methods.

The glue connecting these learning experiences together is the community around the CSA. Much of the learning happens while working side by side, such as learning about plants, a bird they saw, a useful technique with a shovel, sharing recipes, or debating problems in agriculture. Although some learning is done individually, most learning occurs through interaction with others. These interactions create a web of knowledge-sharing among the members, showing the close connection between learning and social dimensions in this practice.

Co-working as social glue

The practice of growing clearly has a social function: working side-by-side and a shared purpose make the farm work enjoyable, and this companionship is a reason why members return. Some tasks, like wheelbarrowing compost or weeding a whole bed, can seem overwhelming when done alone, but when they are done together, accompanied by conversations, they become manageable and enjoyable.

> Working alone on a bed that needs to be completely cleared of weeds is really hard work. It's more fun to do that with several people. R-I (166)

Overcoming these tough challenges together creates a strong social connection, and over time, this routine of working together leads to warm connections and friendships: "I do notice that you develop a certain bond with them." (R-E, 152). These social bonds are formed through a shared sense of purpose. Doing something that is perceived as something that matters, like supporting a social and sustainable movement, helps people to connect with each other (R-J, 343).

Physicality: power and gentleness

Participants mentioned that they value working with their bodies. For many, the movement done while engaging in the farm work acts as a medium for "taking care of the body" (R-F, 443). Active fieldwork offers a welcome counterbalance, especially for the volunteers with office jobs (R-I, 402). For some, often with a touch of humor, it even symbolizes fighting physical decline that comes with aging: "Let me just say that I am slowing down the decline a little [Laughs]." (R-C, 198). But in the end, lots of members simply enjoy working with and feeling their body because they find it satisfying and pleasant (R-C, 162).

Although the farm work always involves some form of physicality, respondents distinguish between two bodily modes. Power work, especially transporting compost to planting beds, demands strength and stamina. Shoveling and pushing wheelbarrows and emptying them are considered to be the most physically demanding tasks by volunteers. After a while, "the arms, legs, and back start to hurt, and bodies often protest" (R-I, 246 & R-C, 216). Not everyone enjoys it, yet some love the challenge and the sense of fulfillment that comes with completing the tasks (R-C, 144).

Fine work, such as weeding, planting, and sowing, is experienced as slower and more delicate, and feels different in the body. It uses fewer muscles, but stresses the body through bending, squatting, crouching, and kneeling (R-E, 206). Tactile contact with the environment matters too. Many choose to work with their bare hands when working with the soil, describing the sensations as joyful: "I wanted to do something with my hands in the earth. Out of my head and into my body." (R-I, 38).

Members enjoy alternating between different tasks because they require a different use of the body. They especially appreciate the stark contrast between heavy lifting and delicate tasks, which adds to the fun of the physicality of the practice.

> I really enjoy spending a few hours spreading compost. It's rough, hard work. And then getting to plant those super delicate, tiny, cute, newly sown seedlings. I really like that contrast. R-J (158)

Work that settles the mind

Respondents value the calm, present, and grounded mental state that the farm work brings. Some activities, like weeding, planting, or raking, are specifically named to be meditative-like (R-F, 443). During these tasks, the body is engaged in a physical activity, while the mind is disconnecting in a way, leading to a state of mindfulness and mental clarity (R-I, 38). The simplicity and repetitions of these tasks help create a certain rhythm, with many describing this as entering a state of flow (R-J, 164).

> When I am working here like this, it's quite meditative. Afterwards, I think: "actually, I haven't been thinking at all." R-H (134)

This calm state of mind can be achieved either in the company of others or alone. Light conversation while weeding together can be soothing, with one respondent describing it as "weeds disappearing from my brain" (R-E, 539). But others prefer to work alone to feel immersed in nature and experience the garden's calmness more intensely.

> One afternoon, when I was alone in the summer. I was sitting there, and a thrush was singing all afternoon, very close by. And then I really thought: "Well, this is ultimate happiness." R-H (601)

Just as variation is important for the physicality of the work, it plays an equally important role in the mental part of it. Performing one task for too long could easily tip over from a nice state of flow to a dull job. Members therefore appreciate the flexibility to alternate tasks and determine their own duration, which is important in voluntary work as it should remain enjoyable (R-C, 120).

Finally, the visible progress of the work done is mentally rewarding. Starting with a bed full of weeds and transforming it into a 'clean' empty bed ready for planting gives the members a deeply satisfying and fulfilling feeling. The fact that the results of farm work are directly visible to those performing it creates an internal drive to complete the task and enjoy the process (R-E, 272).

Harmonizing body and mind

Although these results describe the physical and mental dimensions of the activity as separate, members describe having a single, interconnected body-mind experience when performing the practice of growing. While the body performs, whether their hands are used gently in the soil, or arms, legs, and back work powerfully to load and push wheelbarrows, the mind settles into a calm, soothing state as they "get out of their head and into their body." (R-I, 38). Weeding, planting, and wheelbarrowing are often done in a smooth, flowing way. During these repetitive tasks, members report feeling conscious of their body: the movement of the hands and the way things feel. As a result of this bodily consciousness, the mind goes calm and quiet. One respondent described this as "a state of being in which both the body and the mind are equally present and are given equal space." (R-L, 110). Respondents report that in these moments, they perceive their inner world more clearly and their outer world more intensely at the same time. Emotionally, these moments of body-mind connection feel calm and grounded. It involves two simultaneous connections: inward, where their body and mind feel connected, and outward, where the body and mind perform a task and position themselves in the landscape: "It felt like having a conversation with my surroundings." (R-L, 112).

The immersive nature experience

Volunteers link the practice of growing to nature in four ways that are connected: concern about the state of nature, immersion that fosters awe and a sense of beauty, a felt connection, and a practical urge to take care of nature.

Concerns relating to agricultural practices and the state of nature and climate change usually revolve around monocultures and high pesticide and fertilizer use (see the following section, 'agricultural transformation'). Some respondents fear that nature will suffer in the future if changes are not made in agricultural practices.

At the same time, being in the field brings a strong sense of nature immersion and awe. While working, members notice the vitality and complexity in nature, describe "a kind of awe for nature, an admiration, gaining respect." (R-N, 286). Many describe the garden as something beautiful, even something almost 'paradise-like' (R-J, 293). Specific details here stand out, such as the variety of green shades and leaf shapes, the buzzing of insects and the singing of birds, the feel of the soil and the warmth of the sun, the fresh air and the open landscape close to home.

> It's impossible to describe in words the shapes of the leaves you see, the shades of green, the flowers that bloom. Looking around. Wow, who came up with this? R-D (453).

One respondent noted that weeding alone intensified this immersion in nature and how it brought moments of mental ease. She described how, one day, she was weeding a planting bed on her own. At one point she looked up and saw a bed of flowering arugula behind the one she was working on: "There were bees and other insects flying everywhere. The sun was shining, and you couldn't hear anything except the birds and the wind. That moment felt so… pure. It felt completely peaceful with such a simple task to perform" (R-J, 195).

Building on this immersion, members often describe feeling connected to nature. This tactile engagement of hands in the soil and their bodies literally being close to nature distinguishes it from a walk in the woods (R-E, 128). Some even describe it as spiritual, and several reject the idea of a hard human-nature divide, saying they feel 'one with nature' (R-L, 146). One member explained that weeding with bare hands deepened this bond. As she dug in the soil with her hands, she could feel the earth and the plants: "some plants prickle, others don't." (R-K, 105&204). She found this conscious "feeling and touching" with her hands very enjoyable. She mentions having always loved nature, but that through these tactile experiences, this love has grown much stronger.

From the concerns for the state of nature and the deep connection with it often flow a felt responsibility to take care of nature. This is practically expressed as feelings of care for the plants, soil life, and other life in and around the farm. Nature at the farm is framed as something delicate, something that needs to be taken care of: "To me, it feels a bit like tucking in a little plant." (R-L, 56), and members act accordingly. One participant, for example, kept returning to recently planted tomatoes and basil to check their progress, describing a kind of parental feeling for those plants (R-E, 296).

Fundamental agriculture transformation ideas

Respondents talk about agriculture in two related ways: they critique the contemporary agricultural approach to farming, and they vouch for agroecological ideas they observe at the CSA. Many respondents express discomfort with current agricultural practices, especially the broad and extensive use of pesticides, which they consider harmful to ecosystems (R-C, 326). They feel that the larger system is difficult to influence, yet they stress that the damage is so dramatic that change is necessary and eventually unavoidable (R-C, 288).

In contrast, respondents advocate for an alternative approach to food production that does not harm nature in the process. They view agroecological, self-harvest CSAs as a concrete pathway towards sustainability. As one respondent remarked: "When strawberries are eaten by something else that is alive, that is a fact of life. It now serves another purpose, but it is not ours." (R-L, 132). This perspective challenges the 'power-over-nature' model of agriculture by reframing food production as a process of working with nature, rather than against it. But this ideal of 'farming in accordance with nature' is not an abstract concept for members; they show up as things that members value in the way that food is grown at the CSA (the practice of growing).

The broad use of pesticides is considered harmful to life on the farm, especially insects. This ethos is reflected in the CSA's no-pesticides-use policy, which respondents particularly valued (R-F, 202). Respondents also value the deliberate use of polyculture (i.e., growing a broad range of crops within small plots) over monoculture. The resulting 'ordered chaos' of plants and flowers is seen as a good kind of messy. For them, it symbolizes animal and plant diversity and demonstrates that diversified farming is feasible: "Look, how wonderful that this is possible. Just those thistles with those poppies. Such a beautiful field. It's not all neat and tidy…" R-F (186). Mechanized farming and extractive

farming methods are also said to be very unsustainable. Manual labor and circular principles are therefore important for taking care of nature, particularly the soil. Activities such as composting and manual weeding are considered to be more in line with the CSA's values (R-E, 527). Participants also voiced skepticism about the globalized food system: "And then (my partner) bought haricots verts from Egypt. I said: Yeah, I really don't need that." R-M (132). They emphasize the 'power of local'. Producing and obtaining your own food locally reduces food miles, you reconnect with your food sources, and it helps build local food communities (R-C, 54).

Taken together, these things lead members to believe this form of farming is sustainable and intrinsically worthwhile. This underpins their willingness to support a CSA with continued participation. Primarily, this participation takes on the form of financial support, but for some members, volunteering feels like a practical way of contributing to a better world: "That you contribute to (the solutions for) all the problems we have related to climate… that you contribute by doing something practical." (R-J, 355). In this way, participating in the process of growing is also experienced as a form of agency, a 'vote' in a big, chaotic world (R-G, 196). One respondent said that participating in the practice of growing makes her feel as though she is counterbalancing developments over which she has no control (R-C, 282). Overall, these CSAs symbolize hope for a better agricultural system in an uncertain world. Respondents mention that supporting the CSA and producing food in this way, taking nature into consideration, feels virtuous and purposeful. It gives volunteers a concrete way to do something positive for the world.

Practice of self-harvesting

Once the crops have grown, the next practice in the chain is self-harvesting. This practice refers to the activities through which members collect their produce, such as planning and deciding what to pick, navigating the field to the desired planting beds, and harvesting itself of course. This chapter presents, respectively, the material, competence, and meaning dimensions of self-harvesting at a CSA. Table 5 provides an overview of these practice elements and their subgroups.

Practice elements	Subgroups
Materials	Guidance and navigation aids
	Garden infrastructure
	Tools and storage
	Body and personal gear
Competences	Planning and preparation
	Orientation and identification
	Evaluation skills
	Harvesting techniques
Meanings	Learning and awareness
	Social dimension
	Physicality
	Mental dimension
	Nature immersion
	Agricultural transformation ideas
	Food values

Table 5. Practice elements with subgroups for self-harvesting

Materials

To begin, the material setup for self-harvesting is organized into four subgroups: guidance and navigation aids, garden infrastructure, tools and storage, and body and personal gear (see figure 5).

The harvesting process usually begins with members checking the harvest message, usually accessed on a phone. This message, sent out by the farmers, lists information on which crops are ready to be harvested that week, how much each member can harvest, and how to harvest the specific crops (e.g., cutting the top or lower leaves). In this way, the harvest message forms the central focus for

gathering information about harvesting. “I always have my harvest message with me in my email to check” (R-B, 60), reports one member. Once in the field, members navigate themselves using the central harvest map, an overview of all planting beds, and the white flags that mark beds that are open for harvesting. Together with the small wooden signs at each bed displaying the name of the crop, these form central ‘guidance and navigation aids’, which are very useful for new harvesters. Over time, members learn to navigate the field by memory and become less reliant on these materials. The pathways and planting beds create the spatial layout which allows members to follow habitual routes and protect the crops: “I really walk my route, strictly on the paths.” (R-O, 537). In addition to the ‘garden infrastructure’, members also need some simple ‘tools and storage’ for harvesting: a knife or scissors to cut individual vegetables or whole plants; reusable bags or containers to hold them; and a larger bag to carry everything home. The importance of these items becomes clear when they are absent: “The first time I came here, I didn’t have a knife with me.” (R-O, 481). “Without a knife, I can’t harvest anything”, she thought. And lastly, as in the growing process, the human body is a key material that makes self-harvesting happen. Individually, the hands cut, pinch, or twist crops, the legs carry you along the paths, and your eyes search the planting beds for crops, yet harvesting is ultimately done by the body as a whole.

Competences

Competences are the practical know-how through which members carry out the harvesting. These are the things members need to be able to do to perform the act of harvesting at a CSA: selecting, picking, and handling vegetables. The competences are organized in four subgroups: planning and preparing, orientation and identification, evaluation, and meta-skills (see table 5).

Members typically prepare by checking the weekly harvest message on their phone, making a rough plan of what to pick based on what they plan on eating the following week. Many prefer to harvest once a week, while some split harvesting across two visits. The visit frequency and storage space at home usually determine how much is harvested in one visit: “At some point, my refrigerator is full. Then I thought: I will visit again later this week to pick up the bok choy.” (R-B, 48).

On site, the harvest map, the white flags, and crop signs help harvesters find the correct beds. As beds contain multiple plants, respondents noted they had to learn to identify crops by sight. The harvest message or a quick Google search helped when harvesters were unsure about plant identification. Respondents do note that plant identification improves each time they pick and cook a certain vegetable: “Once you have seen it a few times, you will know.” (R-A, 631).

A planting bed may be open for harvesting, yet not every plant is ready. Choosing the ‘right vegetable’ is a skill that can sometimes be deeply intuitive: “You can also just see what part of the plant can be eaten and when the plant is ready for harvesting.” (R-A, 595). But most members have to learn judging the ripeness of plants from the internet, from others, or by trial and error. Respondents also mentioned having to evaluate portion sizes against their home cooking plans. The idea is to take enough, but not too much, to avoid waste.

> “I definitely don’t pick too much. In the sense that it is not going to go to waste at my house.” R-A (757)

Once the crop has been chosen, harvesting is straightforward. Harvesting techniques, like cutting or picking, are quite self-explanatory and not difficult to learn for most members. A small challenge lies in knowing exactly where to cut or pick, because this differs for each plant. As one member put it: “Well, I know how to cut a plant. I think everyone knows that, but where…?” R-B (168). Respondents report to learn from basic trial-and-error, or by asking other members on the farm.

Meanings

The meanings are the shared understanding, values, and significance that members attach to self-harvesting in a CSA. The meanings are subdivided into seven dimensions: a learning dimension, a social dimension, a physicality dimension, a mental dimension, ideas about nature, food/agricultural transformation ideas, and a dimension about food values (see table 5). Because six of these dimensions also recur in the practice of growing, the section below summarizes overlaps and emphasizes what is distinctive to self-harvesting to avoid repetition. Explanations behind the overlaps are discussed in the practice dynamics part.

Multifaceted learning in the field

Like the practice of growing, self-harvesting has a prominent learning aspect that members enjoy deeply. Even if the skills needed for harvesting aren't seen as complex, many participants still learn practical know-how, such as plant identification, field navigation, judging ripeness, and harvesting techniques. Alongside learning the skills required for harvesting, members also broadend their knowledge in other areas. Harvesting visits, for example, introduce members to new plants and vegetables. They are often surprised by the variety of crops available on the farm: "You learn a lot more about food… How many different types of crops there are, for example." (R-B, 30). As only seasonal crops are available, members learn how to cook with different types of vegetables than they would buy in the supermarket. Respondents say that, by seeing firsthand what crops grow in each season, they develop more respect and appreciation for seasonal food (R-B, 150).

> I didn't know that at the start of the harvest season, around April and May, leafy greens like lettuce, endive, turnip greens, arugula do really well. And that later in the season, zucchini, bell peppers, and strawberries start to do better. I really wasn't aware of that." R-B (162)

Learning about plants was also more fundamental. For some, seeing how vegetables grow in the field challenged certain preconceived ideas about what vegetables should look like. Discovering that vegetables vary in shape, size, and color, that not all of them look "pitch-perfect" (R-A, 651) was very refreshing to members.

Harvesting social ties

Self-harvesting also clearly serves a social function. For some, it is a social ritual: two respondents, who are also friends, noted that they usually went harvesting together. In this way, the harvesting also functioned as a get-together and quick catch-up moment (R-B, 60). Another respondent, who organizes tours of the garden for new members, said that she sometimes does group-harvesting moments. These social activities help new members connect with each other and help create 'a valuable community' (R-G, 160). But many also harvest alone, yet they still connect socially to harvesters, volunteers, or farmers that are present at the garden at that time: "But I always chat. I enjoy that a lot too." (R-O, 409). These moments of simple conversation and chitchat are by some deeply valued and are part of what makes self-harvesting enjoyable. These interactions are underpinned by a shared ethic of trust and solidarity; the solidarity payment system and 'harvesting to one's needs'-principles reflect these best, according to respondents. It creates a safe and trusting atmosphere that allows people to connect with each other.

> There isn't someone at the gate weighing your basket. It's just based on trust. That really gives me a lot of hope for how things could be. R-A (1134)

Physically engaging and mentally refreshing

Compared to the practice of growing, respondents describe self-harvesting as lighter work, but it is still physical activity. The activities of walking between the planting beds, bending down, kneeling, squatting and, reaching in the planting beds were often described as a good physical exercise by respondents. The experience of collecting food in the garden was often connected to values of a healthy lifestyle, such as being outdoors, being in nature, and 'taking care of the body' (R-F, 443). Many respondents also include the trip to the farm in this routine, turning the act of cycling or walking into a small pre-harvest ritual that adds to the sense of moving one's body.

Self-harvesting as an activity was also said to be calming, fun, and mentally refreshing. The trip to the CSA, the immersion in nature, and the rhythm of picking vegetables all shift attention away from everyday life troubles and allowed, harvesters to live 'in the moment'. Many respondents mentioned that the farm's beautiful surroundings contributed greatly to making the harvesting experience feel satisfying and relaxing: "Then I will just stand there and enjoy the surroundings a little." (R-A, 1080). For others, the harvesting experience adds to a healthy feeling. One morning, a member arrived at the garden feeling a bit ill, but the weather was nice, and the plants were still covered with morning dew. He breathed in the fresh air and immediately felt better: "It literally felt healthy. As if I was getting more oxygen." (R-B, 84).

Immersive nature experiences and ideals in agricultural transformation

When it comes to the practice of growing and harvesting, two clusters of meanings show to be similar. Firstly, there is an admiration of and a desire to reconnect with nature and, secondly, there's a push for agriculture to adopt more 'nature-friendly' methods in farming. Notable similarities occur, for example, when respondents describe how they feel immersed in nature during harvesting. One respondent remembered how harvesting tall leafy greens, in this case Russian kale, made her feel immersed in the plants' territory (R-A, 954). Standing amongst the high crops and being surrounded by buzzing bees made her feel like she was in a small jungle. For her, this harvesting experience was not just about collecting kale, but also a moment where she felt connected with nature. Clearly, therefore, the nature immersion experiences that members have during harvesting are very similar to those they have while growing food. Similarly, valuing agroecological production is tied not only to growing food, but also to harvesting. Respondents view the act of harvesting as a way of supporting the initiative, the local food system, and the bigger CSA movement: "It feels like I am supporting the local community. That is quite rewarding." (R-B, 102). Once again, these are identical meanings associated with the practice of growing.

Food values

Values surrounding food influence many aspects regarding the decisions someone makes in obtaining food. For example, what someone considers to be 'good food' (e.g., tasty, healthy, prepared fast, affordable, etc.) influences what they choose, where they source it from, how much they consume, how they cook it, and even when and with whom they eat it. This illustrates the versatility of what food can mean to people.

Many members connect their food consumption directly to the state of their health. One respondent argued that food is the starting point for a healthy life: "That's a preventive measure. That's where it actually starts." (R-M, 60). While the ideas of what 'healthy' means varied, many members emphasized variety and organic produce as important food values. They therefore often praised the variety of produce available at the CSA: "Look at how much the CSA has to offer! Compare that to the supermarket near me in terms of different vegetables." (R-B, 402). As pesticides were also considered harmful to health, the CSA's no-spray produce was widely regarded as healthier than non-organic

produce. And as well as being fuel for the body, food should also be tasty and enjoyable. Several respondents said they think the vegetables from the CSA taste much better than supermarket vegetables: "The turnips are much tastier. I used to make soup with them. Radishes are much richer in taste." (R-K, 346). Others also mentioned that the extensive use of plastic wrapping in supermarkets was off-putting. Therefore, the ability to harvest food themselves and use their own reusable packaging was seen as a major advantage of the CSA.

> I'm fed up with all those plastic wrappings for vegetables in the store. R-M (30)

Finally, the origin and locality of food add meaning to self-harvesting. Harvesting food themselves provides transparency about how and by whom it was grown, which resonated with some participants' skepticism towards long global supply chains. Several participants believed that locally sourced food was superior to imported produce from around the world (R-M, 312).

Practice dynamics

The practices of participation researched in this thesis are interdependent rather than isolated. As the practice chain illustrates (see figure 1), the growing process is followed by self-harvesting, which in turn connects to cooking and eating. These links are sequential and functional; the chain ultimately has the function to feed the household, but they are also recursive. Performances in one practice shape subsequent actions in others. In Social Practice terms, some materials, competences, and meanings are shared across practices and circulate between them, stabilizing links and reconfiguring others. In this practice chain, space and time matter as well. Growing and harvesting take place in the CSA field, and weekly routines provide the rhythm and pace for this chain. Taken together, these practices form a nexus of practices rather than a series of isolated and unrelated tasks. The results that follow first examine the on-site dynamics of growing and self-harvesting and then turn to the off-site dynamics of cooking and eating.

Place, principles, and time in growing and harvesting

To begin, both the practice of growing and self-harvesting are performed in the same geographical location and landscape. Volunteers work in the same planting beds as those that are harvested, hear the same birdsong, see the same bees and flowers, and feel the same sunshine on their skin. Unsurprisingly, this shared location creates similar meanings in both these activities. For example, the immersive nature experiences described earlier is present in both activities, albeit with a different emphasis. During the growing process, members feel more connected to nature through tactile experiences such as engaging with the soil, weeds, crops, and insects. During harvesting, members tend to emphasize visual and auditory experiences more, such as seeing the birds and plants and sensing the quietness of the place. Although the content differs slightly, a sense of closeness to and attentiveness towards nature is shared by both practices.

While meanings are often described as elements of specific practices, these results suggest that meaning groups are sometimes cross-cutting: meaning that they span multiple practices. As an example of this, the on-site practices also share a set of principles or ideals that members value in agriculture. Members involved in growing and self-harvesting share a general belief that the current state of agriculture is problematic and needs to change. Accordingly, they advocate agricultural models that are more nature-friendly and prioritize soil health, biodiversity, and circularity. As with the nature-immersion experiences, these meanings are not confined to a single practice but shared between the two. In this example, these meanings are shared not because these activities occur in the same space, but because they are rooted in the CSA's values and role as a sustainable food production site. These CSA values tend to resonate with some members, who join a CSA for this reason. However, the resulting

actions are expressed differently. Some members want to join a transformative food initiative by becoming part of a CSA. This would enable them to contribute financially to the CSA and participate in harvesting. Others go one step further, wanting to contribute practically by volunteering at the farm and engaging in the practice of growing. This demonstrates that the same ideas about agricultural ideals can result in different commitments for members, such as harvesting or volunteering.

In addition to space, time is also an important factor in connecting these two practices. The practices not only share the same location and values relating to agriculture, but are also performed relatively close together in time. For example, CSA volunteers usually end their volunteering hours by doing some harvesting. This is a practical and sensible pursuit, as it saves time. Over time, CSA members get into a routine of volunteering and or harvesting on set days, either weekly or multiple times a week. These routines set the pace for the practice chain. But it also works the other way around. For instance, when members come to harvest their crops, they sometimes see volunteers working on the farm. This sometimes results in members actually joining in with volunteering for some hours. Some of them even became regular volunteers this way.

Stepping away from space, time, and principles as the main connectors for practices, the focus now shifts to the elements of the practices themselves. A closer look at the materials, competences, and meanings reveals other dynamics. For example, there are certain competences and practical know-how needed to engage in the practice of growing. As well as learning how to weed and plant, it is useful for a member to familiarize themselves with the types of plants that grow on the farm. The competence development of learning how to identify plants during volunteering can make self-harvesting easier, faster, and gentler. With their new competences, they can identify the right plants to harvest more quickly (plant identification), recognize which plants are ready for harvest more easily (judging ripeness), and handle them carefully to avoid damage because they have worked with them before. In this way, competence development extends from growing to harvesting.

For the sake of argument, let's stick with the example of competence development. New members frequently use guidance and navigational tools, such as the harvest map and harvest signs, to find their way around the field. Members who spend time on the farm gradually learn where the plants are located. This is how they develop navigational skills. Over time, the use of guidance and navigational materials therefore becomes less important for navigation. Members know where the planting beds are by heart and no longer need the guidance, which also reduces the time it takes them to harvest their crops. This demonstrates how developing a certain skill can also influence the dependence on a certain material arrangement.

> Yes, I still had to look around a bit. At first, I didn't even know there was a harvest map, so it took quite a while before I actually collected everything, all the vegetables for the week. Now I am a bit more familiar with what is roughly where, so everything goes a bit faster. R-B (78)

Meaning-making in one practice can also lead to meaning-making in another. For instance, the repeated process of handling the plants carefully during planting made some volunteers see the plants more like living creatures that needed to be taken care of. At the same time, harvesting crops became particularly special for some because they had planted and cared for those plants for a longer period of time (R-E, 296).

The transformative effects of CSA participation on cooking and eating

Shifting the focus from the field to the household, the dynamics also change. As a result of participating in CSA, the way respondents cook and eat changes significantly. Firstly, participating in a CSA changes the type of meals that are prepared during cooking. Respondents say that, since joining, they now often plan meals around the crops available at the CSA. Whereas before, some respondents would buy

whatever vegetables they fancied from the supermarket, they now started to incorporate more seasonal produce into their cooking. One volunteer also noted that her supermarket shopping habits had changed. Having learned about new types of seasonal crops during her time at the farm, she wanted to try the vegetables she had seen there more often.

Several respondents also said that their approach to meal planning had changed since they started harvesting their own food. Initially, meals always revolved around a type of meat. With a weekly harvest share, however, meals started to revolve around the available seasonal produce, which, of course, was vegetables rather than meat. This shows how new members sometimes adopt a more vegetable-oriented approach to cooking, changing their values around food.

> A sense of the traditional way of eating: what meat are we eating tonight, and what are we eating with it? I'm doing it the other way around now. R-F (236)

Several respondents also enjoyed cooking as a hobby. The wide range of seasonal produce available encouraged them to experiment in the kitchen with vegetables they had never tried before. They really enjoyed the challenge of learning new recipes and cooking techniques. Harvesting new vegetables, therefore, reinforced meanings around cooking as a hobby.

As a result of their participation, the respondents' cooking habits changed, with certain cooking techniques and materials being used more often. Respondents reported using cooking techniques that allow for easy combinations of different vegetables more frequently, such as stir-fry and bake trays, because of the wide variety of vegetables included in a share. Additionally, whereas vegetables were previously packaged clean in bags and plastic wrappings, respondents now had to learn how to properly wash them and incorporate this into their cooking routine. For some, participating in CSA also started to change their ideas about what a meal should contain. For instance, one respondent began adding vegetables to her breakfast and lunch as well as her dinner: "Why should you only eat vegetables with your dinner?" (R-K, 328). In this way, being engaged in the practice of self-harvesting changed the meaning of 'what a meal should include'.

In addition to these changes in cooking habits, some notable changes in eating habits were also observed. Several respondents reported that their vegetable intake had increased significantly after they started self-harvesting. Some also lowered their meat consumption. As one respondent mentioned in the interview: "We started to eat more vegetables, and we started to eat less meat. And I think both are good developments." (R-F, 234). Some also found that their diet became more varied when it came to vegetables, as seasonal availability helped them out of their 'veggie-comfort zone'. One respondent even said that she could see her taste changing over time because of it.

> I eat a much more varied selection of vegetables. That's a real bonus. It also changed my taste. It's still changing. R-C (406)

Discussion

This thesis began with the observation that, despite CSAs being frequently presented as promising alternatives for more sustainable food systems, participation remains both limited and unstable (Galt et al., 2019). For CSAs to become a viable option in the future, participation must grow and stabilize. Much of the existing literature responds to this challenge by examining motivations for joining or leaving CSAs, as well as what might convince members to stay. While this work is insightful, it tends to treat participation as an individual choice, failing to explain why and how CSA participation sticks with its members. In contrast, this thesis approaches CSA participation through a Social Practice lens, reframing participation as a set of practices that are organized around materials, competences, and meanings (Shove et al., 2012). Based on the analysis, this discussion advances two main arguments. Firstly, participation in a self-harvest CSA is much more than just a way of obtaining organic, locally grown vegetables. It is a multifaceted activity through which members build social ties, take care of their physical and mental health, spend time in nature, and contribute tangibly to changing agriculture. Secondly, CSA participation should not be viewed as an isolated choice (whether someone joins, stays, or leaves), it should rather be seen as an ongoing process in which people engage in a series of connected activities (growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating) and gradually adopt the bodily and mental routines associated with these activities. The following sections elaborate on these arguments and position them in relation to the literature on CSAs and SPT.

The first argument we will discuss concerns what participation in a self-harvest CSA *means* for members. While members often initially join due to preferences for healthy, organic, and locally grown food (Cone & Myhre, 2000, p. 190), they keep participating because the activities of growing and self-harvesting come to be perceived as valuable activities on their own. Volunteering (i.e., the practice of growing) on the farm provides an opportunity to 'learn to work the land', acquire practical skills in weeding, planting, and crop care, and extend one's knowledge about plants, seasonality, and food production in general. These learning processes are largely informal and collective, taking place as volunteers work side-by-side. At the same time, engaging in farmwork is framed as both physical and mental self-care. Members value the combination of physical and more gentle tasks, and they see working outdoors with their bodies as a means of staying fit and healthy. They also describe how the simplicity and repetitiveness of tasks such as weeding or planting helps them feel calm and mentally clear. Sometimes they refer to these experiences as flow or mindfulness. The social dimension of the work is equally important. When members engage in the practice of growing, they work side by side, and the friendships and sense of companionship that grow over time are a key reason why many people come back week after week. Tasks feel more manageable when they are shared, even when the physical effort can sometimes be overwhelming. In this sense, the volunteer community is essential in shaping and sustaining this social practice, but these meanings also go beyond the individual to include their environment. When working the land or harvesting among the planting beds, members encounter the vitality and complexity of nature. Moments of awe often rise to a deep sense of respect. The many shades of green, the variety of leaf shapes, the buzzing of bees and insects, the singing of birds, the fresh air, and the openness of the landscape all contribute to an enchanting feeling of being immersed in nature. Members also link their participation to wider agroecological concepts regarding how farming should be organized. The material setup of the CSA plays a key role in symbolizing this. The variety in the planting beds and flowers among the vegetables, as well as the use of simple hand tools, all signal a small-scale and nature-friendly farming. Equally important in this are the materials that are absent: synthetic fertilizer, herbicides, pesticides, and heavy machinery. Together, these material features are interpreted by members as signs of an authentic agroecological approach that prioritizes biodiversity, soil health, and manual labor over external inputs and technological complexity. Therefore, participating in growing and harvesting is not only a way of obtaining produce but also an expression of discomfort

with conventional agriculture and its negative impact on the environment. It is a means of counterbalancing agricultural intensification, actively supporting and enacting more environmentally friendly farming practices.

The above-named meanings are not limited to volunteering work in growing; they also extend to self-harvesting, even though the materials and competences involved are partly different. Harvesting (i.e., the practice of harvesting) typically begins with reading the weekly harvest message, which provides information on which crops are ready for harvesting, how much can be harvested, and how to harvest each specific crop. Once in the field, members move around the garden, guided by navigational materials, and use simple tools for the harvesting itself. The required skills are less about specific techniques and crop care, and more about planning what is needed at home, navigating the field, identifying plants, and judging when crops are ready to be harvested. Members describe this practice using language that is very similar to that used to describe volunteering: they say it is a calm and enjoyable activity that allows them to be outside, move their bodies, learn lots of new things, meet or briefly chat with others in the field, and value nature and its agroecological farming methods. At the same time, harvesting is where food values become visible. Ideas about what constitutes 'good food', such as varied, organic, fresh, tasty, and local, are especially valued in harvesting at the CSA. In this sense, self-harvesting reflects many of the meanings associated with volunteering, while focusing specifically on food and its role in members' diets.

The second argument put forward in this thesis is that participation in CSA is best understood as an interconnected series of practices rather than as a single choice. The analysis shows that growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating form a chain of practices, each with its own materials, competences, and meanings, but also depend on each other. Without the first act of growing, there would be no crops to harvest. Without harvesting, CSA vegetables would not be consumed by its members. These practices are therefore sequential, meaning that one practice feeds into the other. Growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating are also linked because they share key practice elements and because elements travel between them. Firstly, there are shared meaning elements that are anchored in a shared location. In both activities of growing and harvesting, members described immersive experiences of nature that, although expressed differently, showed great resemblance. The sense of closeness to nature appeared to be less dependent on the specific activity and more dependent on the surroundings where the practice took place. It shows how important the location is in shaping these practices. Secondly, beyond the importance of location, shared meanings also arise from the agroecological principles that underpin the CSA. Members foster ideas about what agriculture should look like and express their desire for change. Through volunteering or harvesting, they demonstrate their commitment to more sustainable practices. It shows that not only the shared location connects these practices, but also the underlying values of the CSA as a sustainable food production site. Beyond this shared location and principles connected to the CSA, the results also show that the practices are connected because of the dynamics between the practice elements. Competences developed in one practice could extend to another practice. For example, skills such as plant identification and careful handling, learned during volunteering, can be used to make harvesting easier, faster, and more gentle. Changes in one element can also reshape another element. Competences developed in one practice could also change the reliance on a material arrangement of a practice. For example, as members gradually develop navigational skills, they become less reliant on material aids such as harvest signs and maps. The dynamics between practices also extend further down the practice chain. Participation in CSA was reported to change cooking and eating in a significant way. In response to the seasonal availability of vegetables, the types of meals prepared changed, and the importance of meat consumption reduced, and vegetable-oriented cooking increased. Certain cooking techniques and tools, such as stir-frying and using bake trays, were used more often in this process. With the changes in cooking, diets also changed significantly. Members reported eating more vegetables, as well as aligning their diet more closely with the seasonal rhythm of what was available on the farm and

experimenting with new vegetables that they would not normally buy. Eating thus became more diverse, more seasonal, and more connected to the place where the food was grown.

Taken together, these two arguments connect with and challenge existing research on CSAs. First, this study confirms and builds on the existing research on the motivations behind joining CSAs. Studies such as those by Cone & Myhre (2000) show that people often join CSAs because of a concern for the environment, a desire for fresh and organic food, and supporting local food producers. The results of this thesis support these outcomes, but also suggest that the initial motivations do not remain external factors alone. Once members become involved in the practice of growing and harvesting their own produce, these concerns become stable meanings in the practices themselves. This means that this thesis adds to motivation-based research by showing how the reasons people had for joining could become a part of the reason that makes members want to keep participating.

Second, the results nuance previous work on the role of community in CSAs. Pole and Gray (2013) and Brehm and Eisenhauer (2008) found that joining a CSA to 'be part of a community' or build social ties was rarely cited as a major motivation. They argued that the 'community' in Community Supported Agriculture was often more symbolic than decisive in joining. While this thesis partly confirms that observation, respondents of this thesis did not join primarliy to make friends. However, the results also showed that the community is really important for stabalizing the volunteering practice. The group of volunteers forms a tight community of people that care for each other, and for many, the social aspects of the work are an important part of returning to the volunteering work each week. In other words, community might not be an important reason for joining, but it acts as a social glue that keeps volunteering on the farm going. This resonates with social practice theorists who view community and practice as closely intertwined. Wenger (1999, p. 45), for example, argues that practices are "the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise". The CSA and its volunteer community illustrate how community and practice actively constitute one another.

Third, the results contribute to the limited but growing body of research on wellbeing in CSAs. Some studies have discussed food related to well-being, for example, examining how access to fresh, high-quality food affects people's feelings towards food (Birtalan et al., 2020). More recent work suggests that CSA involvement can have positive effects on mental health too, for example, by providing structure, purpose, and outdoor activity (Milford et al., 2025, p. 13). But the results of this study suggest that an important dimension of CSA participation is often underexposed. For many members, participating in CSA is seen as a form of self-care. They describe volunteering and harvesting as activities that help them care for their bodies and clear their minds. In other words, self-care is not just a side-effect of participation, but a core aspect of the practices that motivates members to invest their time and labor.

Fourth, this study supports findings that CSA participation can reconfigure cooking and eating practices. In a study based on SPT, Standal & Westskog (2022, p. 17) examined CSA members in Norway and showed a shift towards more seasonal eating, increased vegetable consumption, and more time spent on meal planning. Similarly, the results of this thesis show that members adapt their meals to the season, experiment with new vegetables, and make more vegetable-oriented meals.

This next section of the discussion considers the role of SPT in this thesis and the limitations of the study. First of all, this thesis applied the three-element model of materials, competences, and meanings to a self-harvest CSA context (Shove et al., 2012). The practices of growing, self-harvesting, cooking, and eating were operationalized in terms of these elements and used as concepts for coding and analysis. This demonstrates that SPT can be employed to describe participation as a practice-based phenomenon. Second, this thesis arranged these practices in a chain, building on ideas about 'nexus thinking' from Schatzki (1996). This study specified how elements are shared between practices, how they travel, and how a change in one practice can reconfigure others. A key methodological limitation emerged regarding the use of SPT to analyze behavior. The scoping of practices was primarily based on

their respective goal. Self-harvesting, for example, was conceptualized as *one* practice. In principle, however, each practice consists of many micro activities that could all be analyzed as distinct practices on their own. This could include deciding what to harvest, harvesting itself, storing and preserving the vegetables, and so on. This issue makes the scoping of practices a rather tricky task: at what point do we stop splitting activities into separate practices? While cutting up activities into separate practices is theoretically possible, it would add complexity without adding explanatory power of social practices. For this reason, the practice chain was operationalized in terms of the main steps through which food becomes part of everyday life: growing, collecting, preparing, and eating. Future research could explore these 'cut-up' practices in greater detail, or compare other techniques for scoping to understand their impact on our understanding of participation. In this thesis, however, defining the boundaries of a practice by its overall 'purpose' proved to be an effective criterion.

Another limitation of this thesis applies to the generalizability of the results. This thesis examined one specific type of CSA participation: volunteering and self-harvesting at a farm where members collect their own produce. Consequently, the findings of this thesis apply to CSAs with similar arrangements, which makes generalization to other models limited. Other CSAs operate on box schemes or home delivery, which changes what participation means. However, this opens up possibilities for future research to compare CSAs where members harvest their own produce with CSAs where members pick up a box or receive deliveries. This allows us to explore how volunteering is valued and experienced when self-harvesting is no longer part of participation.

The findings of this thesis have implications for our understanding of CSAs and how the participation gap might be addressed. CSAs are not just places where food is produced. They are places where members participate in growing and harvesting activities, reconnect with food production in the process, and incorporate these practices into their daily cooking and eating habits. This contrasts sharply with the current trajectory of industrial agriculture. During a long period of time, agricultural productivity has increased by maximizing output and reducing labor costs through mechanization and the use of external inputs, like pesticides and herbicides (Magdoff, 2015). As agricultural productivity increased, farms required fewer workers, which contributed to a large-scale reallocation of labor from agriculture to other sectors (Herrendorf, 2014, p. 78). Industrial agriculture has taken people of the land and replaced much of their labor with machinery and chemical inputs, resulting in larger, more standardized farms, and a public that is largely labor-distant from food production (MacDonald et al., 2018; Clapp, 2015).

CSAs operate in a different way. They depend on organized human labor and allow members to actually participate in food production through relatively simple farming methods. By lowering the threshold for what it means to 'farm', through manual tools, accessible tasks, and learning by doing, they enable people who are not professional farmers to participate in agriculture and support more sustainable production. In this way, CSAs help to repopulate the land with low-input ecological farming methods and re-establish the connections between citizens, land, and food. In practical terms, the results of this thesis suggest that CSAs could benefit from explicitly acknowledging and communicating their broader role. Rather than presenting themselves only as vegetable suppliers, CSAs could emphasize their role as initiatives that bring people together to connect with each other, nature, and the food they produce and eat. In order to stabilize participation in CSAs, it is crucial to recognize the importance of the community. At the same time, CSAs could present the volunteering work as a form of self-care for the body and mind, rather than simply as unpaid labor. This could make volunteering and participation in harvesting more attractive to people who are not members. Finally, because participation influences both cooking and eating habits, the CSAs could further support their members by sharing recipes, preserving tips, and ideas for seasonal, vegetable-based meals that make it even more easy to incorporate CSA produce into everyday diets. The participation gap will not disappear easily. Time constraints, physical ability, distance to the farms, and financial considerations

remain real barriers, and volunteering and self-harvesting will not be feasible or attractive to everyone. Nonetheless, this thesis has demonstrated that CSA participation is far more than an alternative way of buying food. It changes our behavior around food, cooking, and eating, it brings people back into contact with the land and with each other, and it offers a beautiful and concrete example of what communal agroecological food production can look and feel like.

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Appendix 1. Generative AI systems statement

I did not use any generative AI system to write or generate text included in this thesis. Any AI tools were only used outside the thesis text for preparatory support (e.g., brainstorming), and all analysis, interpretation, and writing are my own.

Appendix 2. Interview guide

All interviews were conducted in Dutch, but translations are available.

Introductie en formaliteiten

Allereerst bedankt dat je de tijd heeft genomen om deel te nemen aan dit interview. Het doel van dit gesprek is om je ervaringen bij [CSA] beter te begrijpen. Ik ben geïnteresseerd in hoe je ervaringen invloed hebben op wat je op de tuin leert, hoe je omgaat met gereedschappen en materialen, en welk betekenis je daar aan hecht.

Dit interview duurt waarschijnlijk 30 tot 60 minuten, maar we kunnen de tijd aanpassen, afhankelijk van wat je prettig vindt. Je identiteit blijft volledig anoniem. Het interview wordt alleen opgenomen met je toestemming - dit helpt mij bij het transcriberen van je antwoorden en het analyseren van de gegevens. Als je wil, kan ik je de transcriptie van het interview sturen, zodat je kunt controleren of alles correct is vastgelegd. Als je je op enig moment ongemakkelijk voelt of het interview wilt beëindigen, kan je dat doen zonder uit te leggen waarom.

Als je tijdens het interview vragen hebt, aarzel dan niet om ze te stellen. Als je er klaar voor bent, laten we beginnen!

This interview will probably take 30 to 60 minutes, but we can adjust the time depending on what you feel comfortable with. Your identity will remain completely anonymous. The interview will only be recorded with your consent – this will help me transcribe your answers and analyze the data. If you wish, I can send you the transcript of the interview so that you can check that everything has been recorded correctly. If at any point you feel uncomfortable or wish to end the interview, you may do so without explaining why.

If you have any questions during the interview, please do not hesitate to ask them. When you are ready, let us begin!

Ijsbreker en context

1. Zou je me iets kunnen vertellen over hoe je bij [CSA] betrokken bent geraakt? ***Context***
2. Wat heeft je gemotiveerd om lid te worden van een CSA? ***Motivatie***
3. Hoe lang ben je al lid van [CSA]? ***Context***
4. Hoe vaak bezoek je [CSA]? ***Beschrijving bezoek***
5. Welke activiteiten voer je uit bij HHL? Welke activiteiten zijn voor jou het belangrijkst? Waarom? ***Beschrijving activiteiten algemeen***
6. Zou je kunnen beschrijven hoe een oogstbezoek er voor je uitziet? Welke handelingen voer je uit tijdens het oogsten? Welke activiteiten zijn voor jou het belangrijkst? Waarom? ***Beschrijving activiteiten algemeen***

Icebreaker and context

1. *Could you tell me something about how you became involved with [CSA]?* ***Context***
2. *What motivated you to become a member of a CSA?* ***Motivation***
3. *How long have you been a member of [CSA]?* ***Context***
4. *How often do you visit [CSA]?* ***Description of visit***
5. *What activities do you carry out at HHL? Which activities are most important to you? Why?* ***Description of activities in general***
6. *Could you describe what a harvest visit looks like for you? What tasks do you carry out during harvesting? Which activities are most important to you? Why?* ***Description of activities in general***

Specifieke ervaringen

7. Kun je een moment beschrijven dat je is bijgebleven tijdens een bezoek aan [CSA]? ***Beschrijving ervaring specifiek***

Specific experiences

7. *Can you describe a moment that stuck with you during a visit to [CSA]?* ***Description of specific experience***

Leren en doen

8. Zijn er dingen die je hebt moeten leren bij [CSA]? Hoe heb je die dingen geleerd? ***Vaardigheden***

Learning and doing

8. *Are there things you had to learn at [CSA]? How did you learn them?* ***Skills***

Omgeving en materialen

9. Hoe ervaar je de fysieke omgeving van [CSA]? Wat valt je op als je hier bent? ***Identificeren omgeving***
10. Zijn er bepaalde objecten, planten of materialen die je vaak gebruikt bij het uitvoeren van je activiteiten hier? ***Identificeren materialen***
11. Wat merk je lichamelijk als je op [CSA] bent? ***Lichamelijke ervaring*** (ontspanning, inspanning, fysieke verandering)

Surroundings and materials

9. *How do you experience the physical environment of [CSA]? What strikes you when you are here?* ***Identifying the environment***
10. *Are there certain objects, plants or materials that you often use when carrying out your activities here?* ***Identifying materials***
11. *What do you notice physically when you are at [CSA]?* ***Physical experience*** *(relaxation, exertion, physical change)*

Betekenis en waarden

12. Hoe zou je [CSA] (of de activiteiten bij [CSA]) aan vrienden of familie uitleggen? ***Kern [CSA]***
13. Wat betekent [CSA] (of de activiteiten bij [CSA]) voor jou persoonlijk? ***Persoonlijke betekenis*** **[CSA]**
14. Met welke waarden of idealen verbind jij [CSA]? ***Waarden CSA***

Meaning and values

12. *How would you explain [CSA] (or the activities at [CSA]) to friends or family?* ***Core [CSA]***
13. *What does [CSA] (or the activities at [CSA]) mean to you personally?* ***Personal meaning [CSA]***
14. *What values or ideals do you associate with [CSA]?* ***Values CSA***

Verandering

15. Hoe heeft [CSA] jou het meest veranderd?

Change

15. *How has [CSA] changed you the most?*

Afsluiting

16. Is er verder nog iets wat je wilt delen over je ervaringen bij [CSA]? ***Overig***

Closing remarks

16. *Is there anything else you would like to share about your experiences at [CSA]?* ***Other***