

FOOD WITH A FARMER'S FACE

A search for community-supported agriculture



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It has been accomplished, my Master's thesis, a product of half a year of thinking, talking, writing, debating and rewriting. It is the icing on the cake of an adventurous two years after I decided to recite my job in order to obtain my Master's degree. This search looks closely at the exiting world of community-supported agriculture. More specifically, it provides a geographical perspective to the aspect of community building and the refining of relationships between food, producers and consumers.

Before I move on, I would like to thank a number of persons who have supported me to get this job done. First, my supervisor Henk van Houtum for staying patient and listening to all kinds of mind flows. Second, my sparring partners of the transition team Brabantse agro food Jack van Dijck and Marcel Webster, for helping me to get to the core of the issue. And, my respondents, Han Swinkels Marjon Krol, Froukje Kooter, Nol Verdaasdonk, Pieter de Boer, Ton Cornelissen, Hans van Dommelen, Klaas Nijhof and his volunteers, Nicolette Meeder, Maarten van Liere, Rob van de Langenberg, Pim Ketelaars, Geert van der Veer, Boudewijn Tooren and Rob Maessen. They each played in important part in my reasoning.

Abstract

The intensifying and up scaling of livestock production has led to the spatial and social separation of processing, distribution and consumption of food. Long food chains came into existence, which increasingly disentangled consumers from the origins of their food. Because of the significance of the livestock industry in Noord-Brabant, this divide is extremely visible. This burgeoning conflict escalated and eventually led to a Ruwenberg conference where stakeholders met to discuss the transition towards a more sustainable livestock industry. The closing statement of this conference says: 'In Brabant we want to move from industrial towards community farming; a situation in which farmers and citizens are the carriers of food production, liveability and the maintenance of the landscape'. The provincial council for health searched for the meaning of the concept of community farming. It calls on other scholars to contribute to this search from other disciplines. This search enriches the debate by focusing on community-supported agriculture. It takes a phenomenological stance and uses transition theory as a guideline. Spierings and Van der Velde (2008) show what differences people consider as push and pull factors (resulting into mobility) and what differences they consider as keep and repel factors (resulting into immobility). This search introduces these factors as motivations and barriers to move from the 'current, internalized' system towards CSA.

The transition perspective links micro (niche) with meso (regime) and macro (landscape) processes and helps to understand the mutual enhancing transformation of structure and behavioural patterns. Transitions essentially are a matter of redirecting the evolution of structure and agency towards an orientation that takes sustainable development as a normative orientation. Actors reflect on the problems of modernity (Giddens, 1991), including notions of capitalism and industrialism. The most defining property of modernity is that we are disembedded from time and space. The result is a sense of detachment and the rise of neo-localism, of which CSA is a component.

I sketched the landscape of the food system through mapping four paradigms, as defined by Lang and Heasman (2004) and Marsden (2003). The current regime is designed according to the productionist paradigm. The model is production driven and relies heavily on expansion and technological solutions. The life sciences integrated paradigm describes how new biotechnology is applied in food production.

The interesting feature of this paradigm is that it elaborates on the productionist paradigm, but strives to eradicate the limitations of this paradigm through biotechnological solutions. The ecologically integrated paradigm shows another normative orientation. It is a plea for downscaling and the rediscovery of the family farm. They argue that a small-scale agriculture produces less environmental problems and is more sustainable on the longer term. These descriptions amply fit CSA. The last paradigm is that of post-productionism, which takes 'consuming' as a leading principle for the design of our countryside.

At the level of the regime I spoke with representatives of the 'societal pentagon'. Despite their differences in starting points, there are many commonalities in the views of these parties towards the topic of CSA. All of them stress the need for shorter food chains, shared responsibility and shared risks between consumers and producers. When it comes to locality, all organisations define it in terms of proximity, because this enables to see where the food comes from and how it is produced. Both the importance of social proximity as well as food miles are mentioned. These aspects of place and origin are also thought to be important when it comes to community building.

At the lowest level, Grin (2008) defines niches as local alliances or networks that shape and use innovations. At the level of niches there is a variance of AFN's being developed in Noord-Brabant. These new networks ignore the traditional distinction of producers and consumers in the food landscape as being situated on opposite sides. Only three fit the description of CSA: The Kraanvogel, The Herenboeren and FRE2SH. They are largely unaware of each other's existence. Originating from Japan, community-supported agriculture (CSA) is widely heralded as the AFN most likely to provide an alternative to the current agricultural system as it transcends the boundaries between producer and consumer. CSA is about a direct relationship between farmers and consumers, a food production focus on ecological sustainability and economic viability, and being local in orientation. In the Netherlands CSA appeared in the form of Pergola farms. All three initiatives work on the basis of organic practices and strive to be as local as possible. The emphasis is on vegetable production. The amount of farm-attachment varies; some initiatives obligate their members to pick up the produce at the farm while others have multiple off-site pick up points.

The motivations for the establishment of the initiatives vary. They all refer to the effects of capitalism, globalisation, industrialization, the trend of declining government interference, attention for sustainability and the increasing availability of information.

These are notions of modernity as Giddens defined them and can be interpreted as changes in the transition landscape. They all show how the system is part of the problem. For the Kraanvogel this is the pressure that is put on the agricultural system due to low supermarket prices. For the Herenboeren it is the lack of sustainable, trustworthy foods and for FRE2SH it is the lack of possibilities for everyone to contribute to society (inclusiveness).

Nonetheless, their responses towards this regime differ. For the Herenboeren this means taking the demand side as a starting point. Both the Kraanvogel as well as FRE2SH seem to strive for a new economic model and have a focus on society as a whole. The main emphasis of the Kraanvogel is on a healthy environment, while that of FRE2SH tends to be more on the 'people' aspect.

The underlying motivations of neo-localism seem to be largely in line with people's motivations to get involved in CSA. Aspects defined as pull factors are: Quality of the produce, a need to know about the origins of food, sustainability and a feeling of community or cooperation. Push factors that are mentioned, as motivations for people to get involved in CSA are food scandals, prices and taste. Many studies show, however, that participant turnover is high due to multiple perceived barriers. This is resembled in the reactions of the participants: The convenience of shopping in supermarkets and the sales of organic products in supermarkets are defined as keep factors. When it comes to repel factors there is a variance of factors mentioned; product aspects (lack of choice and the influence of the weather on the produce) and consumer aspects (people's insecurity about their knowledge of agriculture). If consumers consider differences to be within their 'bandwidth of unfamiliarity' this arouses curiosity to participate, offering 'new' experiences. Therefore a balance has to be found between the attractiveness of the products and the demand for community, and should convenience and the risk factor be reduced.

Localness is an important aspect in all practices. Most arguments for it can be tracked down to that of saving food miles, but also to the possibility for people to reconnect to the origins of their food. A commonality is the ambition for short supply chains. CSA distinguishes itself from other AFN's through its capacity to establish communities around the interwoven issues of food, land and nature, hereby re-embedding people and being an answer to the problems of modernity.

Central in community building is the idea of place. Participants seem to be attached to the places of their CSA's, because of their significance as meeting points but also because of the landscape. Place building occurs through envisioning change (Herenboeren), be an open house (FRE2SH) or through working there (Kraanvogel). Such narratives contrast with the anonymity of the globalized food system. Proponents of community agree that CSA provides 'participants with social and communal relationships with one another and the land'. However, others argue members simply desired fresh, organic, local produce. This is resembled in the empirical findings of this search. The amount of 'community' in CSA varies. Moreover, one could question whether 'community' is not always present and whether the distinguishing factor of CSA is not the support instead of the community. Community then becomes a means for the agri-food sector to regain public support and the amount of community becomes less important.

The question remains whether CSA is able to transcend the conventional boundaries between producer and consumer. The Herenboeren, FRE2SH and The Kraanvogel seem to be able to re-embed people into place and the seasons and to create awareness, but the amount of community in the project varies. Nonetheless, for the situation in Noord-Brabant it is too early to say whether these initiatives will remain niche developments, or obtain enough strength to become a mainstream approach or generate spin-off effects. This depends on their ability to reduce keep and repel factors and enlarge push and pull factors.

Nonetheless, all representatives foresee a bright future for CSA initiatives. However they also acknowledge that they will only serve a small portion of the market because not all consumers are interested or willing to pay the effort. The search shows how innovations in the niche of CSA do not know each other. It is therefore important to create networks and platforms where innovative projects can meet and forge alliances. The search also shows that there is a lack of actors at the level of the regime that fulfil an intermediary role for CSA. Such an actor is needed in order for these projects to influence the regime.

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1. On the road

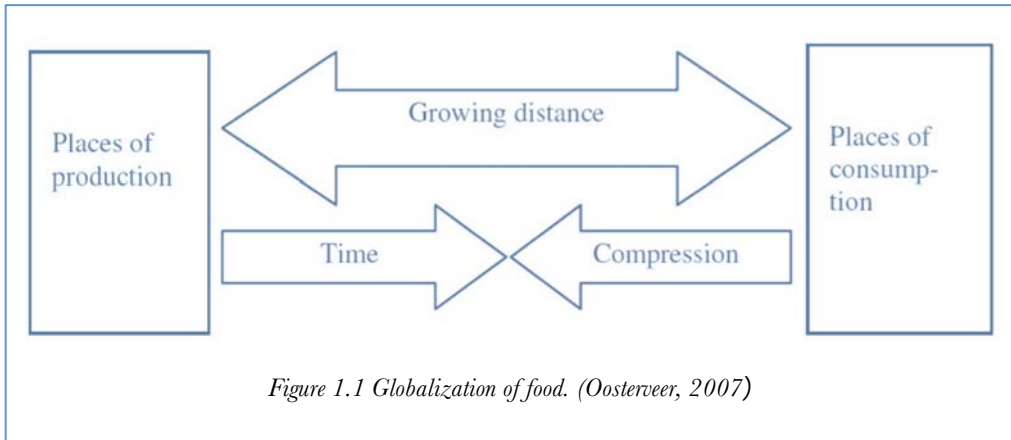
Before you lays a travel log. It will guide you through the transitional landscape of Noord-Brabant's agricultural sector, towards the fascinating world of community-supported agriculture (CSA). It is the result of the notes I took during my search that took place from March up until July 2015. This first chapter provides an overview of the origins of this journey.

1.1 Consumers and producers unchained

Since the time of the green revolution in the early 1950's, yields in agriculture exploded in numbers as many agri-businesses found new developments to make crops more resistant through herbicides, pesticides, and hybrid crops. Moreover, there has been an intensifying and up scaling of livestock production which has resulted in high production and efficiency rates, affordable meat and a globally competitive livestock sector. Governments have stimulated the growth of farm size, as they were frightened for food scarcity and economic depression to happen. Essentially it all came down to the point that small-scale farms were forced to upscale production, or go bankrupt. These developments led to a booming market in which new stakeholders were introduced. The former short, direct connection between producer-consumers went through a change where intermediaries such as processors, retailers, wholesalers, importers etc. all became part of the chain. Moreover, since the end of the 20th century agricultural production moved to large enterprises and is hidden from the eye (e.g. the emergence of 'mega stables'). The region-specific character of food is lost and was separated spatially and socially from processing, distribution and consumption (Pijnenburg and Reus, 2003). 'The farmer's face on food is therefore gone'. The fact that our food is safer than ever before is negated by this invisibility of production (Fresco, 2012). Figure 1.1 shows how distance grows, while the time it takes to transport our food from sites of production to sites of consumption, lessens.

The intensifying and up scaling of livestock production increased the divide between production and consumption in the food landscape; consumers became increasingly disentangled from the origins of their food (Dagevos and Bakker, 2008; Lassen et al, 2006) especially when it comes to meat and the livestock industry.

This is a divide that is there both materially and mentally, not just in terms of physical distribution and availability, but also in terms of awareness and perception (Dagevos, 2002; Korthals, 2002). This division also emerged in Noord-Brabant.



Noord-Brabant has the largest livestock density of Europe and the social and economic importance of this sector is therefore high. Agricultural activities provide food, welfare and work, and the meat and dairy products produced in Noord-Brabant find their way far beyond the region. Nonetheless, in 2010 the emerging conflict between consumer concerns (health, environment) and farmers practices escalated through various citizen initiatives (www.megastallen-nee.nl) collecting thousands of signatures against the building of so called mega stables, leading to a big debate on the future of Brabant's livestock industry.

Eventually, the province held a meeting (Ruwenberg conference) on the future of her agricultural sector. A wide variety of stakeholders was involved, because as Hajer (2011) suggests, neither society nor markets are to be steered from above as changeable objects (government). The landscape of producers and consumers is a complex force field in which the government will have to seek partners to deploy changes in motion, in which they will have to look for interaction based on empathy, persuasion and consultation (governance). Many societal organisations present at this conference stated that the ambition for Noord-Brabant should be to set the standard, and to undergo a transition towards a careful livestock industry. Transitions are defined as large scale, fundamental societal changes in thinking, acting and organizing (Rotmans, 2003). This ambition is written down in a closing statement (2013).

1.2 'Healthy farming in the community'

The second sentence of the closing statement says: 'In Brabant we want to move from industrial towards community farming; a situation in which farmers and citizens are the carriers of food production, liveability and the maintenance of the landscape'. Mariet Paes, chair of the provincial council for health, in her report 'Healthy farming in the community' (2014) examined the actual meaning of this term 'community farming'. She portrays a wide variety of initiatives through which farmers engage in community activities. In the margin, she mentions the phenomenon of community-supported agriculture (CSA). This movement that originated in Japan has followers in the Netherlands, the so-called Pergola-associations. It is a particular form of organic agriculture; Business are open and transparent and there is a committed group of customers who as shareholders receive part of the produce in return for a regular contribution, thereby creating continuity of the farm. They also have a say in the management of the farm. Paes calls on other scholars to enrich the debate from other perspectives. I decided to take up this challenge.

1.3 Research objective and significance

My contribution is based on geographical insights and aims to contribute to policy development regarding an acceleration of the transition of the agri-food sector in Noord-Brabant, by gaining insights in CSA participants' beliefs and preferences and their influence on involvement in CSA. This leads to the following research question:

Why do consumers participate in community-supported agriculture and which recommendations can be proposed to increase this participation in Noord-Brabant?

This main question evokes several other questions:

- Which types of CSA are currently being developed in Noord-Brabant?
- Which beliefs can be distinguished amongst participants and how do they relate to participation?
- Which push, pull, keep and repel factors influence their participation?
- What is the importance of 'place' in CSA?
- Which recommendations can be made for the province of Noord-Brabant on the basis of these theoretical and empirical insights?

Since the success of transitions depends on behavioural change, it is necessary to explore what lies behind individual choices in the time space configurations of daily life (Brunori, Rossi and Guidi, 2012). Therefore, we need to find explanations for 'discouraging' and 'encouraging' differences between 'here' and 'there' i.e. current agricultural practices and CSA. This search introduces 'community', 'place' (Tuan, 1977) and push, pull, keep and repel factors (Van der Velde and Van Naerssen, 2011) as valuable angles to investigate CSA and social infrastructures that facilitate this phenomenon, hereby refining the link between food producers and consumers. The search links up debates on community-supported agriculture and action theories in the context of transitions. It offers valuable insights in actor's beliefs and feelings within a transition process, which can also be projected onto other transition arenas.

On a societal level the search contributes to the further refining of the concept of 'community farming' in respect of the transition towards a sustainable agriculture in Noord-Brabant. The increase in scale in the agricultural sector in recent years often brought negative effects for residents in rural areas, such as odours and health risks. Solving this problem is not only a responsibility of the livestock industry. Consumers, residents, farmers, supermarkets, educational institutions, government agencies and many other parties need to work together here. This study provides insights in beliefs that consumers have and their influence on the involvement of consumers in CSA. These insights can contribute to a better understanding of these initiatives. The results of this search can encourage a more productive debate with an eye for different perspectives. Moreover, it provides recommendations to further direct this development in order to accelerate the transition. The search might explain structural constraints that are problematic in the establishment of CSA initiatives.

1.4 Contents

This log is divided into six chapters and a conclusion. In chapter two I will show how my search was prepared, while chapter three provides the roadmap for my search, based on the results of a theoretical overview of CSA. The chapter aims to be an introduction to the research topic and its place in the agricultural transition. Chapter four describes the dynamics of the macro-environment in which CSA is developing. Thereafter, the focus will shift to the empirical work. The next two chapters describe the results of my conversations with representatives of interest groups, and with the people from the CSA projects. On the basis of these findings, chapter seven presents an answer to the main question on the basis of conclusions as well as some recommendations.

2. Getting started

Since the province of Noord-Brabant is actively striving towards a transition of the agricultural sector and the debate on community farming and community-supported agriculture is part of this movement, I made use of the multi-level perspective on transitions. Rip and Kemp (1998) think of the transitional landscape as something through which we can actually travel, a very tempting thought. However, before exploring this landscape, we need to acquaint ourselves with transitions' multi-level character; the levels of niches, regimes and the landscape.

2.1 Multi-level perspective

The multi-level perspective on transitions links micro (niche) with meso (regime) and macro (landscape) processes (Geels, 2004; Rotmans, 2005) and helps to understand the mutual enhancing transformation of structure and behavioural patterns. The dynamics of the framework can be described in this way: the system is regulated by a set of meta-rules, the regime, that provides resources for and constraints to actors in their daily decisions and actions. The agricultural system will here be framed as 'the regime'. Within the system, innovative practices may emerge from society and, if successful, consolidate into established patterns of relations between actors, rules and artefacts, which are called niches. Niches can be considered nurseries that protect innovations from the mainstream practice. Innovations in niches can cause a transformation when they connect to societal dynamics at the landscape level. The landscape is a broad exogenous environment that is outside of the direct sphere of influence of actors at the level of regimes and niches (Grin et al, 2010, p.p. 23). At this level, we can see slowly moving changes, such as globalization, liberalization and individualization.

Central to the transition approach is the idea that 'regular' developments follow certain patterns, because they are embedded in a regime. Transitions are regarded the type of development that does not obey to the regime. Transitions can start from a constructive interference between changes at the level of the regime, innovations that occur in niches and developments at the broader level of the landscape (Grin, 2008, p.p. 45 and figure 2.1).

They are regarded radical, structural changes in societal systems, as a result of the co-evolution of economic, cultural, technological, ecological and institutional developments at different scales (Rotmans et al., 2001).

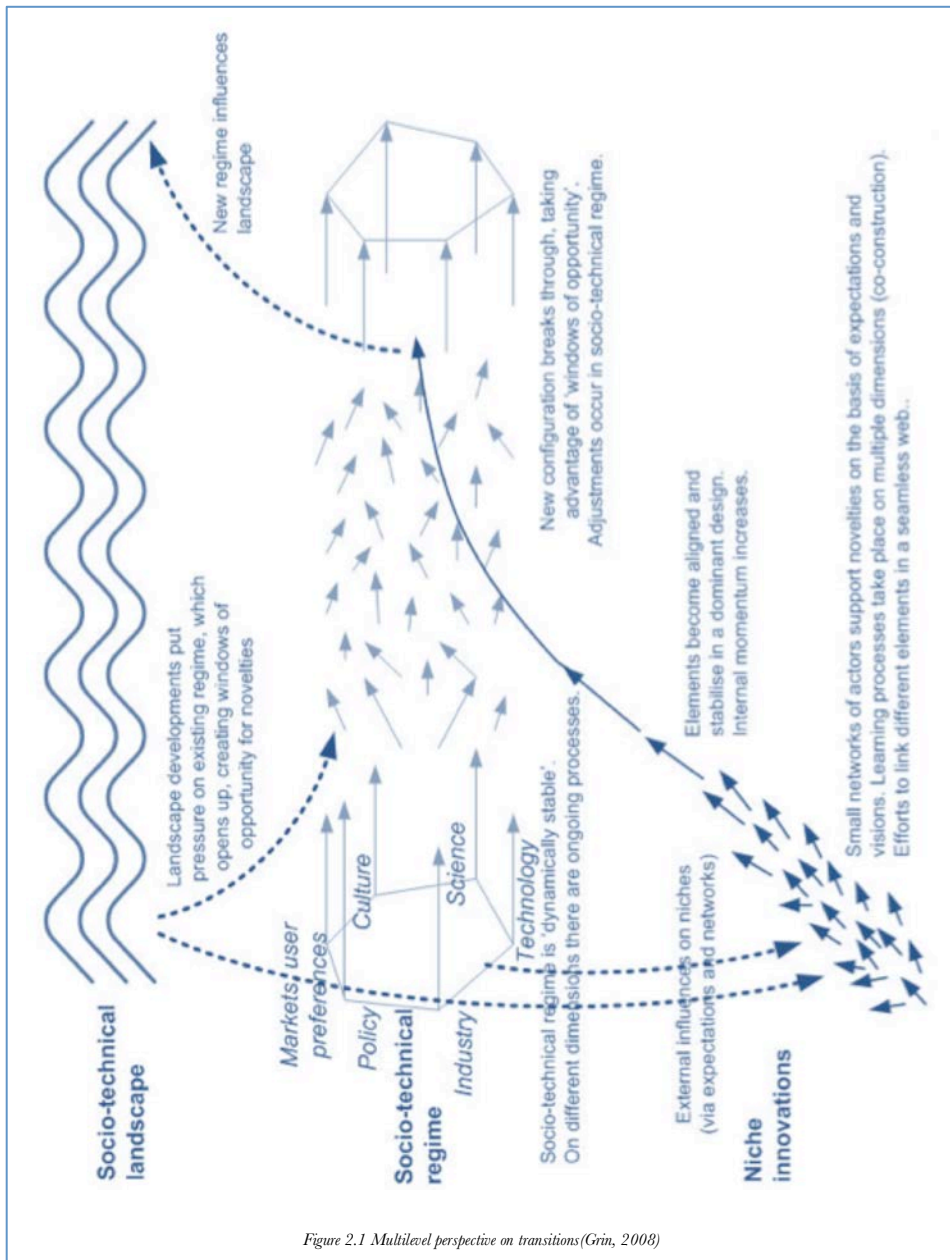


Figure 2.1 Multilevel perspective on transitions (Grin, 2008)

Structuration

According to Grin (2008), the multi-level perspective is compatible with the ideas of, amongst others, Giddens (1984): structure and action shape and influence each other under the influence of exogenous dynamics. In his structuration theory, Giddens provides a view of social systems with which we can understand both the relative stability that characterizes systems, as well as the potential for changes in those systems. Giddens sees social practices (recurring patterns) as a result of interaction between active actors and social structures. Central to this is the 'duality of structure'. With structure Giddens refers to a systems' set of rules and resources (embedded in regimes). By "duality" he means structures are both means and outcome of action. In acting, actors make use of the rules available and resources (structures) that make them, but also confirm these at the same time. The consequences of rules and resources based practices, ensures that social systems develop certain characteristics. This "double face" of structure entails that social systems have a tendency to reproduce themselves (Grin et al., 2003). In this approach, structure does not work as an independent force outside actors. Structure only influences actions because it is internalized in actors.

Modernity

From this perspective, transitions essentially become a matter of redirecting the evolution of structure (the regime level) and agency (the niche level) towards an orientation that takes sustainable development as a normative orientation. Here actors reflect not only on the self-induced problems of modernity, but also the approaches, structures and systems that reproduce them (Grin et al., 2003). Giddens identifies several dimensions of modernity including notions of capitalism, industrialism and the surveillance by organizations of massive size and scope. In concert, these dimensions tie the intimate aspects of personal life to social connections that are national and global in scope. The most defining property of modernity, according to Giddens, is that we are disembedded from time and space.

The result is a sense of detachment and "disembeddedness," a loss of certainty that makes it difficult for people to construct a secure and fulfilling narrative of self. This process is clearly visible in our food system. Modernization has led to a situation in which the origins of our food have become a lot less transparent, and in which to a certain amount we are alienated from our food. Question like 'What is this I am eating' and 'what does it take to produce this' arise. Many sustainable initiatives are a reaction to this divide and can be regarded a search for connections that fully acknowledge the value of food.

Giddens' notion of 'reflexive modernization' then becomes important. Basically this means that the process of modernization, next to economic growth and welfare, has led to big problems that cannot be solved by the system, because the system is part of the problem. The modernization of agriculture is an example of this, since this has led to the growth of production and a range of problems of which society is no longer prepared to tolerate its risks for.

2.2 Phenomenological approach

The perspective of transitions is interesting at a high level of abstraction, but I tried to concretize it as much as possible. The goal of this search was to gain insights in beliefs and preferences. Consequently I have relied as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation. Therefore I decided to make use of a phenomenological perspective (Moustakas, 1994), in which individuals describe their experiences. The basic purpose is to reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon, CSA, to a description of the universal essence. This is also what distinguishes this search from a narrative or ethnographical approach. A narrative study reports on the life of one individual (or a small group) and does not generate a general understanding. The ethnographical approach focuses on an entire cultural group. However, the group under research in this case is very diverse, it is not one cultural group. The assumption is that there will be several smaller groups with shared patterns or attitudes.

Poststructuralists like Gellner (1979) describe phenomenology as 'to abandon the aspiration to objectivity, impersonality and abstractness, associated with science'. He argued phenomenology lacks methodological underpinnings; 'you do not have to do anything, just watch the world'. Nonetheless, watching the world is exactly what I will do in this search and I propose the use of qualitative methods as a logical step. However, in order to not only rely on participant's views and enable data triangulation I propose the use of other methods as well (see §2.3).

2.3 Methods

In order to take as much advantage as possible from existing networks, during my search I participated in the initiative Brabant agri-food 2020. This initiative strives towards a transition in the agri-food sector, together with civilians, business, the educational sector and semi-governments they want to raise awareness. The province of Noord-Brabant instigates the initiative.

Themes they are concerned with are for example health, circular economies, responsible consumption and new business models. They aim to be an inspirator and motivator without taking a stand on how this transition must be entered. For a period of five months I joined the team that is facilitating this transition. I used a range of methods for data collection such as a desk research, visual data analysis, participant observation, in-depth and expert interviews.

Desk research and visual data analysis

Chapter three, 'Destination CSA' is based on a desk research for which articles on CSA, derived from scientific journals are used. These articles were coded and then analysed. The selection of articles can be characterized as 'snowball sampling', since the analysis of one article lead to reading another article etc. Moreover, I watched the documentary 'The real dirt on farmer John'. For the analysis of this movie I used the three steps of visual data analysis; what do I see (scene description), what does it tell (meaning), what is the message (symbolic meaning) (Rose, 2007).

Chapter four is also based on a desk research and deals with landscape dynamics. It is impossible, and unnecessary, to fully describe all dynamics. Therefore I made use of paradigms. These are ways of viewing the world that shape are beliefs and actions (Entman, 1999). A paradigm on food can be seen as a set of shared meanings and rules and a shared understanding of problems and solutions for food. I will draw on four paradigms that are widely recognized and are considered authoritative (Bakker et al, 2013; Lohman, 2013).

Participant observation

Chapter five deals with the lowest level of transitions, niches. To get a sound understanding of a CSA in practice, I first had to move outside of Brabant, to Wageningen, because I wanted to experience a CSA in working. Wageningen hosts one of the first Pergola associations in the Netherlands; The Nieuwe Ronde. I visited it and together with the farmer and three volunteers I worked on the lands and had some chats. My aim was to get a better understanding of CSA in practice, or as De Wald and De Wald (2002, p.p. 92) state: "The goal for participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study". They suggest that participant observation be used as a way to increase the validity of the study, as observations may help the researcher have a better understanding of the context and phenomenon under study. I visited the Nieuwe Ronde and used the 'observer as participant stance',

which enabled me to participate in the group but also enabled me to collect data and to generate a more complete understanding of the group's activities (Merriam, 1998).

In depth interviews and focus groups

Thereafter my search led me to Son en Breugel, Esbeek and Boxtel where I performed interviews with participants of three CSA projects. These represent a variance of CSA, both in terms of how the CSA has been executed as well as the phase of the CSA (early and experimental or already at an advanced stage) and the extent to which societal support stood central. This selection of CSA practices can thus be characterized as 'maximum variation', *since it provides multiple/contrasting viewpoints towards the research topic.* Polkinghorne (1989) recommends researchers in phenomenology to conduct from 5 to 25 in-depth interviews with individuals who have experienced the phenomenon. The interviews I performed with 10 CSA participants are based on Grin's action theories (2003, §2.4). For the interviews I approached the contact persons of the initiatives and I organized conversations with as many participants as possible. This depended on the availability and participants within the timeframe of this search. Where possible I chose to conduct focus groups rather than individual interviews in order to gather the opinions of a large number of people for comparatively little time and expense (Longhurst, 2010). This allows for different groups to explore the subject from as many angles as they please, and the interaction between members of the group gains a multitude of views.

Expert interviews

I also undertook expert interviews. Chapter six shows the results of the interviews with representatives at the regime level. The search at this level was a search in itself, because hardly anyone at this level is directly involved in CSA itself. According to Rotmans (2003), in order to picture the regime it is necessary to select actors from the 'societal pentagon': government, business, education, interest groups and potentially intermediaries. Rotmans defines this as 'social completeness'. This concretization is not exhaustive, but it helps in defining a workable level of analysis. This selection can be characterized as 'maximum variation'. For the selection of these participants Within the framework of CSA, none of the interviewees or members of the transition team were able to identify intermediary actors that link up government and the private sector. So in total four instead of five interviews were conducted. These conversations had the character of semi-structured expert interviews (appendix three).

My goal was to let the interviewees discuss their CSA experience in their own words with as little prompting from me as possible; many times, answers to one of my questions emerged in the process of discussing another.

2.4 Action theories

In the in depth interviews (appendix two), one of my key concerns was how participants in a particular CSA define "community," and what motivated and withhold them from participating in this CSA. I explored, among other things, their reasons for participating, the meanings that "local" has for them, and the role, if any, that the relationship with their farmer played in their decisions. In these interviews I tried to intervene as little as possible. Such extensive interviews (generally lasting between 60 and 90 min) allowed a much greater degree of complexity, richness, and texture to emerge than the closed-ended questionnaires that have typified much of the research on CSA member motivations (see Western, 1992). It is important to note that the aim of an interview [and a focus group] is not to be representative, but to understand how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives (Valentine, 2005). All interviews were organised on the basis of action theories (Grin et al, 1997), which are commonly used in transition processes. Action theories act as an organizing concept that visualizes the relationship between specific positions and more generic beliefs. Grin (1994) discerns four layers used in the theories of actors:

- The solutions preferred by the actor and the estimation of their effects and costs;
- The problem definition of the actor, that is the meaning that the actor gives to the situation as well as the importance of the solution in that respect;
- The empirical and normative background theories;
- The more general end state towards which the actor is acting.

The first two layers are indicated as "first order concepts" and show what these actors think is going on. The third and fourth layers are indicated as 'second order beliefs" and provide insights into the thinking and practices and deeper preferences of the actors. These underlying insights determine the leeway that the actor provides himself with in concrete situations (Grin, 1997), such as the decision whether to participate in AFN. I also used other data that illuminate meanings in written and verbal language, image and pictures. For example, newspaper articles.

In order to increase reliability, all interviews that are conducted during this search are recorded, fully transcribed and coded to enhance a profound analysis. A list of respondents is provided in appendix 1.

3. Destination CSA

Although one can be highly familiar with the province of Noord-Brabant and can easily make his way around, it could be hard to find your way in the transition landscape. Therefore I prepared a road map. This map explores the most important concepts and it narrows down the road towards CSA.

3.1 Alternative Food Networks

In the context of the agricultural transition, alternative food networks (AFN) or alternative agro-food networks (AAFN) are an important driver at this micro-level of the transition landscape. These alternative networks take various forms: consumers as producers (e.g. community gardens), direct sales (e.g. farmers' markets, box schemes), markets linking food with agri-eco-tourism (e.g. Slow Food) (Fresco, 2012). The 'alternative' in AFN is in the fact that they differ from mainstream agriculture as is resembled by the regime, and which is maintained as a social structure. As Giddens says, structure influences actions because it is internalized in actors. People who participate in AFN distinct their selves from these practices. They reflect not only on the problems of modernity, but also the systems that reproduce them. AFN can be regarded a search for connections that fully acknowledge the value of food, as an opposition to the mainstream food system. These new networks ignore the traditional distinction of producers and consumers in the food landscape as being situated on opposite sides. Instead, a picture emerges where both producers and consumers are working together in opposition to the mainstream food system. This requires modifications both from the producer as well as the consumer's side. When looking at AFN's under the producer's lens, we would need to focus on the way farmers have to organize their activities in order to adapt to new structuring principles such as short supply chains or local food. In examining them under the consumer lens, we have to explore what lies behind individual choices in the time space configurations of daily life (Brunori, Rossi and Guidi, 2012). In these new networks, changing consumption patterns rest on the change of patterns of relations and the adoption of new rules and breaking down of old ones. This process is the basis of the construction of a new system (Geels, 2004; Smith, 2006). Thus, patterns of innovation should be analysed according to a research strategy that stresses the motivations and barriers that consumers face when they try to act according to their values.

We seek to find explanations for 'discouraging' and 'encouraging' differences. When do differences promote participation in and AFN and when do they prevent this? Therefore, the geographical concepts of push, pull, keep and repel factors could be used. Van der Velde and Van Naerssen (2011) use these concepts in the debate of cross-border shopping mobility. Push factors stimulate behavioural change, because the current situation is less attractive than the new situation. Pull factors also stimulate change, because the new situation is found more attractive than the existing situation.

Keep factors hinder behavioural change, because the status quo is found more appealing than the new situation. Repel factors hinder change because the new situation is found less attractive than the existing situation. Van Houtum and Van der Velde (2004 and)Spierings and Van der Velde (2008) note that too many differences could deter shoppers because then they feel displaced. On the other hand, very small differences could make cross-border shopping less appealing due to the disappearing positive impact of differences.

Given that consumption behaviour is embedded in social practices, alternative food networks should provide consumers with enough incentives to detach them from conventional networks and attach them to alternative ones. The breakdown of routines occurs after the level of dissatisfaction has reached a certain point (Goodman and Dupuis, 2002). In this sense Grin et al. (1997) introduce action theories act as an organizing concept that visualizes the relationship between specific positions and more generic beliefs.

Consumers can, in relation to sustainable food consumption, roughly be divided into three groups. At one end of the spectrum stand the 'dark green' consumers that connect their values, interests and beliefs consistently with their consumption behaviour. Their deeply internalized ecological and social values are manifested in preferences for Fair Trade and EKO products (Verlain et al (2012) speak about the "green" segment). Estimates vary depending on the definition used, but are rather under than above 20% of the population. On the other side of the spectrum are those who have no interest in these issues or even find them hysterical. Depending upon the definition, estimates vary between a quarters up to half of the consumer population. Between these groups, there is a big intermediate group that is indicated as light green (Verlain et al, 2012). Light green consumers are characterized as people who do not naturally come into action, but still can be sensitive for sustainable values. They know that their consumption pattern has an environmental impact.

They also want to lend a hand to make a difference, but a radical change in their consumption behaviour is not automatically addressed (Bakker et al, 2013). Perhaps the biggest obstacle for change is the power of the ordinary, the dominance of behavioural routines and structures (see Giddens) that are often unsustainable. The modern agricultural system has become a taken-for-granted-reality.

3.2 Community-supported agriculture

Community supported agriculture (CSA) is widely heralded as the AFN most likely to provide an alternative not only to production inputs and methods, but also to the entire agricultural system (Guthman, 2004; DeLind, 2002). It is a community-focused food systems model that transcends the conventional boundaries between producer and consumer and rural and urban. CSA grew out of the 'tei-kei' movement in Japan where a group of women concerned with food quality partnered with local farmers in order to benefit farmers, themselves, and the land (Okomura, 2004). Tei-kei translated literally means partnership, but philosophically means "food with the farmer's face on it". In exchange for a guaranteed price and market, farmers agreed to convert to organic food practices (Local Harvest, 2008; Loughridge, 2002). The movement grew and spread to Noord America where it was renamed 'community-supported agriculture' (Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005).

CSA is about a direct relationship between farmers and consumers, a food production focus on ecological sustainability and economic viability, and being local in orientation. In its core CSA is an arrangement where consumers agree to pay a set price at the beginning of the farming season, and in return receive weekly baskets of fresh produce, meats, eggs or dairy directly from the farm (Local Harvest, 2008; Lapping, 2004). Sharing the risks of farmers and food production is core to the CSA process (Schnell, 2007; Okomura, 2004). If there is a poor harvest, everyone gets less, not just the farmers. In its simplest form, CSA is a contractual agreement between a farm and a group of consumers. These members purchase a 'share' at the beginning of the season. Thus, members pay the real costs of production and in this way contribute to the support of local, small-scale growers (Fieldhouse 1996; Groh and McFadden 1997). Henderson and Van En summed it up like this: 'food producers + food customers + annual commitment to one another = CSA + untold possibilities' (2007, p.p. 3). The commitment is advantageous for both sides; the farmer can build a direct and long-term relationship with his customers, paying attention primarily to food production,

and the customers will know where the food comes from, how it is produced and who produces it (Réthy and Dezsény, 2013).

Van En identifies the CSA system as: "CSA is a relationship of mutual support and commitment between local farmers and community members who pay the farmer an annual membership fee to cover the production costs of the farm. In turn, members receive a weekly share of the harvest during the local growing season" (1985).

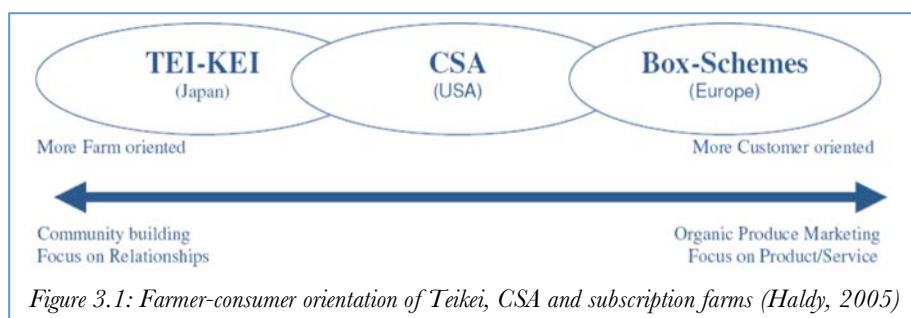
This definition differs from the one from Groh and McFadden (1990) who define CSA in a more abstract version, much more elaborated. Groh and McFadden refer to CSA as: "In its starkest terms, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is a concept describing a community-based organization of producers and consumers". Groh and McFadden do not mention any form of payment system in which the consumer carries any form of risk that the farmer might encounter. However, Groh and McFadden (1990) do seem to reflect on the mutual support between farmer and consumer.

CSA is not undisputed. Paarlberg (2009) for instance criticizes its inefficiency. Within conventional agriculture: less land is used and less environment and landscape is changed for the same agricultural output when compared to CSA. Representatives of the agro-industries as well as some scientists and policy advisors have been defending intensive food production as necessary to fight hunger in a world that will soon accommodate 9 billion people (Foresight, 2011). In this respect organic agriculture, small-scale farms and CSA are not seen as realistic options, but rather as symptoms of a post- modern quench for life quality and a romanticized step backwards. Often, such important discussions are not based on research but rather ideological and polemic (Paarlberg, 2009).

Pergola farms

In the Netherlands the phenomenon was renamed 'Pergola'. The word pergola symbolizes the relationship between the consumer and the farm: consumers are the branches of the tree through which the farm grows, and where it gets its support (van Beuningen, 2001). Bakker (2006) states that Pergola farms are about arrangements between a farmer and a group of consumers. Consumers agree to buy a share of the weekly harvest and pay the costs. The farmer agrees to the obligation to produce. The features of a pergola farm are the sharing of the harvest and the costs and transparency.

This definition is less concrete than the one on CSA, but still comparable. In comparison to American CSA's, in the pergola system, decision-making power is more with the farmer. Participants also seem to trust on the skills and expertise of the farmer more than in the USA (van Leeuwen, 2001). Figure 3.1 shows the differences and similarities of CSA concepts and how these relate to other direct marketing channels such as box schemes. The pergola system is comparable to CSA but is more likely to be in line with Tei-Kei due to the fact that the farmer has a larger say.



The difference between Tei-Kei and CSA is that Tei-Kei is more oriented on the farmer and the relationship between farmer and consumer, while in CSA the accent is on the marketing of healthy foods.

The concept of CSA is home to many variations and hence it is difficult to create one universal formula that covers all spectra wherein the terms 'community' and 'agriculture' meet each other. What comes to mind to people if one thinks of community-supported agriculture is that it's possible that this definition contains many different systems wherein agriculture and community are intertwined. By definition this concept might include anything, from adopt a cow up to farmer-consumer gas schemes. However, the creators of the CSA concept have clearly described CSA including the direct farmer- consumer linkage as defined by Robyn van En in the early 1980's (van En, 1985). CSA, along with other AFN's, attempts to remake the food system into one that is more economically and socially just, locally based and environmental sustainable (DeLind, 2002; Duram, 2005). However, the distinguishing feature of CSA is its capacity to establish communities around the interwoven issues of food, land and nature (Groh and McFadden, 1997).

Benefits and barriers

A wide variance of research on motivations for, and barriers to, involvement in CSA is available and data are relatively consistent (table 3.2). Most studies show the most common perceived advantages of CSA involvement include receiving safe and nutritious quality produce on a consistent basis, supporting a local farmer, and promoting environmental sustainability (Brehm and Eisenhauer, 2008; Cone & Kakaliouras, 1995; Perez et al., 2003).

Many studies show, however, that participant turnover is high due to multiple perceived barriers. These most often included the limited choices of CSA produce offered, the lack of variety, issues of seasonality, inconvenient pick-up times, and the occasional burden of excess produce resulting in waste (Cone and Myhre, 2000; Cooley and Lass, 1998).

Table 3.2: *Perceived benefits and barriers (Cooley and Lass, 1998; Cone and Myhre, 2000; O'Hara and Stagl, 2001; Hinrichs and Kremer, 2002; Sharp et al. 2002; Oberholtzer, 2004; Cox et al. 2008; Lang, 2010; Lea et al. 2006).*

Benefits	Barriers
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Freshness/taste/nutritional content• Organic or low-input growing methods• Ecological sustainability• Knowing where food comes from• Support of local economies• Personal connection with farmer• Community creation/sustenance• Connection with place and with local ecology• Stewardship of local environment• Open space preservation• Reducing food miles• Supporting farmers• Cheaper food• Food production knowledge• Seasonal food• Home delivery• Being involved with the farm	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of choice of produce• Concerns about sharing the risk• Payment upfront• Possibility of inconvenient distribution• Potential for waste of produce

In a study conducted by Perez et al (2003) participants indicated facilitating connections among local farms and farmers, other people, the land, or farming itself as reasons for their participation. DeLind similarly draws attention to the local nature of CSA and its place within the community.

She maintains reducing the 'distance between people and their food supply' is paramount to achieving success (DeLind, 1999, p.p. 3). But what is the local? Research on alternative food networks tends to frame locality with respect to distributional configurations, focusing on the distance between sites of production and consumption. They use notions of proximity like 'locavore' and 'food miles' (Pirog et al. 2001), or socio-economic notions of distance such as global commodity or value chains (Humphrey, 2000; Ponte, 2002). These conceptualizations tend to evoke images of relations between producers and consumers built on spatialities of distribution rather than on social and cultural relations reproduced in specific places. It is therefore more logical to focus on the community aspect rather than on the locality aspect.

3.3 The real dirt on farmer John

The American documentary 'The real dirt on farmer John' tells the history of the Peterson family farm over the years. The documentary sketches a portrait of John Peterson (fig. 3.3) and his farm on the basis of interviews and home videos. It tells the story of his life in a chronological order. By the time John was born, dairy and poultry were the mainstays of the farm. At an early age, he helped with the poultry chores. By his ninth birthday, he had started helping with milking and feeding the cows. When his father dies in the 60's he takes over the farm. The farm becomes a haven for hippies and artists. Because of his extravagancy he is the target of gossip in the rural community. In order to avoid bankruptcy he has to sell almost all of the land. In the end his farm survives as a CSA.



Figure 3.3 Movie stil (www.farmerjohnmovie.com)

The story tells about the loss of traditional American family farms. The documentary provides a look at what CSA is about, but it also gives a glimpse into organic farming. Moreover, it mirrors the times around John Peterson's life.

By the mid-60s, many of the family farms that dotted the countryside were either going through expansion in order to survive, or were closing their barn doors. Like much of America, in the 70s, John lived it up. The Peterson farm went the expansion route, until financial calamity arrived in the early 80s, almost closing the farm down for good. Luckily, enough of the Peterson land survived the shakeout to build anew. In 1990, John started farming again - this time with a different approach. He aimed for a natural system by which to farm - a system in which results were derived from the integrity of the soil, not the shenanigans of crop chemicals and petroleum-based fertilizers. Suddenly he found himself at the leading edge of the trend of going organic. The documentary tells the story of the American dream. John Peterson lives on his own terms, in balance with the land, he faces hardships and triumphs and uses creativity, so he 'survives'. It also shows how the farm is transformed by the CSA movement. In one of the scenes, the shareholders join together to raise a new barn, echoing traditions of the past while creating a new future. John notes that he always envisioned farms as a potential source of building strong communities. He believes that through CSA, more Americans will see first-hand that farms can "be incredible places, full of amazing stories," he says. This can have a profound impact on our culture, because people are starting to have personal relationships with farms again.

"Nowadays, people are coming out to the farm with their children saying, look this is where your food comes from." (John Peterson)

3.4 Embeddedness

The current food system is not only seen as bordering consumers and producers from one another, but also as distancing people from places and seasons, thereby destabilizing community (Loughridge, 2002). In this instance scholars speak about 're-localizing' food systems (Hendrickson and Heffernan, 2002) thereby 'recovering a sense of community' (Esteva, 1994) by 're-embedding' food into 'local ecologies' (Murdoch et al., 2000) and local social relationships (Friedmann, 1994). Thus, CSA can be understood as a potential means to counter many of the problematic aspects of modernity (Giddens, 1991). Nonetheless, the meaning of 'community' in community-supported agriculture has been the subject of debate. Both farmers and members hold a variety of ideas about the meaning of community. Moreover, CSA's have adopted several approaches to community building. Proponents of community (Jacques and Collins, 2003; Schnell, 2007) agree that CSA provides 'participants with social and communal relationships with one another and the land'.

DeLind (1999) points to 'embodied experience through farming activity as the way to develop an appreciation and to re-establish meaningful relationships, personally and socially, to the earth and to a community of place'. Cone and Myrhe (2000) point to 're-embedding people in a specific locality and providing a lived sense of seasonality' (p.p. 188). Membership in a farm can offer a connection to the land, to a community, and to a cosmic sensibility that has been lost through the dynamics of modernity (Cone and Myhre, 2000).

The ideal CSA model fosters a relationship of trust between local farmers and members and it should provide alternatives to the market by sharing risk with the farm (Feagan and Henderson, 2009). However, other scholars (Groh and McFadden, 1997; Lang, 2010) argue community in CSA is weak. One study of CSA members shows respondents do not feel that their CSA opened their eyes to the importance of community, nor are they integrated into their CSA (Lang, 2010). Instead members simply desired fresh, organic, local produce (Conner, 2003; Lang, 2010). Earlier studies of CSA (Groh and McFadden, 1997; Ostrom, 1997) similarly suggest 'developing community' was ranked weakly among CSA members. Several farmers reported not having the interest or time to engage in community building (O'Hara and Stagl, 2002). The collaborative model seems not realistic for all CSA farmers and members. Schrijvers (2006) therefore distinguishes between four CSA types, varying in the amount of consumer participation:

- Farmer managed: based on farmers initiative and farmer bears responsibility;
- Shareholder: based on shareholders initiative. They seek a farmer that wants to participate;
- Farmer cooperative: several farmers organize a CSA program and complement each other in their products;
- Farmer-shareholder cooperative: farmer and consumer cooperate and have an equal say.

Place

Offering an especially useful framework for studying the community aspect CSA, Gusfield (1975) suggests community can be defined two ways, one with a focus on geography (neighbourhood, town, village, etc.) and the other on social relationships regardless of location. What pulls these ideas together is the idea of place, an idea that encompasses not only specific location and the physical world, but also the human relationships and meanings that unfold there. The idea of place is distinct from that of space.

'What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value' (Tuan, 1977, p.p. 6). It is a vital part of human identity and experience; in fact, as Casey (2001, p.p. 684) has argued, 'there is no place without self and no self without place'. Places may be made unintentionally, through habit and custom, or intentionally through planning and forethought. Places are socially produced through cooperative actions of individuals in communities. People working together with shared understandings and expectations are what provide a place of strong community.

Place in the food landscape can be experienced at many different scales, but the fundamental nature of that relationship changes, as we move from the more intimate local spaces infused with first-hand experience, to larger entities known and felt in increasingly abstract terms (Tuan, 1977). As Tuan (1991) has argued, language and narrative play key roles in the construction of place and our relationship to it. DeLind (2006) advocates the incorporation of place building, and the importance of sense of place, in establishing real, lasting change, in agriculture. Food has become an important part of direct experience and sensory input in shaping peoples' experience of place.

For Lockwood, "place (is) a setting or landscape of profound meaning and connection to an individual by virtue of personal, direct experience" (1999, p.p. 368). A sense of place addresses relations, perceptions, attitudes and a worldview that effectively attaches people and place (Xu, 1995). Physical engagement with place is key in DeLind's conception. Food also has become a key part of many individuals' place narratives, and has provided a key way for many in establishing a stronger sense of place. No longer is an apple just an apple, but it is one that came from a particular field and was grown in a particular way by a particular farmer. Such narratives contrast with the anonymity of the globalized food system, of which manifestations can be considered placeless, think about fast food chains and mega stores. A classic description of such placelessness is 'there is no there there' (Stein, 1937). For CSA members, agriculture is rooted in the soil of a particular location and CSA becomes for many a way of connecting social and economic relationships to this physical reality. In other words, place is central to the construction of the idea of 'local food' (Schnell, 2013). But why this desire for locality?

The local trap

The nature of modern society, with its greater focus on the distant, has lessened the micro practices that tie the geographical subject to his or her place-world (Casey (2001, p.p. 684). Such shifts have given rise to a countermovement: neolocalism, the conscious fostering of local connections, identities and economies (Schnell, 2013), of which CSA is a component. The importance of the 'local food'-movement is resembled in the fact that the word 'Locavore' in 2007 got recognized by the New Oxford American Dictionary. A locavore is 'someone who tries to only eat food that is produced within a range of 100 miles'. There is a wide range of reasons for the emergence of this desire for locality in the food context like sustainability, quality and justice, but one is particularly powerful: the intensifying and up scaling of food production have increased injustice, environmental degradation, food insecurity, and oligarchical decision-making structures (Magdoff et al. 2000; Shiva 2000). Born and Purcell (2006) call this the "capitalistization" of food production. One important strategy through which firms have pursued this capitalistization has been globalization. Food production and consumption have become increasingly global as a means to achieve capitalistization. Born and Purcell suggest that because capitalistization has been associated so closely with globalization, many have conflated the two, assuming global agriculture is the same thing as capitalist agriculture. What follows from this assumption is that resistance to capitalist agriculture through alternative food networks must be necessarily local (Goodman, 2003). According to Feenstra (1997) food, as a focal point linking production and consumption, has much integrative potential, something that can most effectively happen at a local scale (Henderson and Van En, 2007, p.p. 3). However, other scholars in rural studies, share a growing concern about the assumption that local is inherently good (Hinrichs 2003; Weatherell et al. 2003). Born and Purcell (2005) term this 'the local trap'. The local trap conflates the scale of a food system with desired outcome; it confuses ends with means, or goals with strategies. It treats localization as an end in itself rather than as a means to an end, such as justice or sustainability.

They argue that scale, just like borders, is socially produced: scales (and their interrelations) are not independent entities with inherent qualities but strategies pursued by social actors with a particular agenda. It is the content of that agenda that produces outcomes such as sustainability or justice. Any given scale, the local, the regional, the national or the global is produced through social and political struggle (Delaney and Leitner, 1997; Kelly, 1997).

Therefore, the properties of a given scale, such as its extent or its function are never eternal and ontologically given (Smith, 1992, 1993). Rather, they are contingent: They will result from particular political struggles among particular actors in particular times and places (Marston, 2000). This means we cannot assume that local food systems are inherently more sustainable than global ones. When researching the food landscape, it is sustainability (or justice, democracy etc.) that must remain the focus, not localization or globalization.

3.5 Conclusion

The intensifying and up scaling of livestock production has led to the disappearance of the region-specific character of food, and led to the spatial and social separation of processing, distribution and consumption. It can be considered a consequence of modernity. This divide is there both materially and mentally. This border between consumers and producers is represented by 'the system'. Consumers are not crossing this border, but escaping it through AFN's such as CSA. The escalation of this emerging conflict can in transition terms be seen as a 'systems crisis'. Stabilized patterns that maintain this system can be changed through innovative practices. An important concept in this respect is Giddens' 'duality of structure', by which he means structures are both means and outcome of action. At the niche level, innovative practices emerge that can contribute to changing the system. Some of these niches are represented by AFN's.

These new networks ignore the traditional distinction of producers and consumers in the food landscape as being situated on opposite sides. However, a radical change in consumption behaviour is not automatically addressed. Perhaps the biggest obstacle for change, to cross the border, is the power of the ordinary, the dominance of behavioural routines. Therefore AFN's should provide consumers with enough incentives to detach them from conventional networks and to attach them to alternative ones. Factors such as sustainability, origins and stewardship play a role in the decision, while distributional issues are factors that withhold people from joining. CSA is said to transcend the boundaries between producer and consumer. It distinguishes itself from other AFN's through its capacity to establish communities around the interwoven issues of food, land and nature. Sense of place is central to the creation of communities. Food has become a key part of many individuals' place narratives, and has provided a key way for many in place building as is shown in the story of Farmer John. Nonetheless, the amount of 'community' in CSA varies.

CSA emphasizes local involvement; it is a component of the movement of neo-localism and can be considered as countering the problems of modernity. However, 'local' food is not about distance from the source of the food, it is about the establishment of connections between consumption and production, and rooting these in a specific place. Local, then, is not really a spatial concept. Locality as a scalar concept is an outcome of an arrangement that depends on the particular agendas of the actors involved. Thus, local food systems can be sustainable, but this is depending on the agents' practices. This means that the best way to think about scale is not as an ontological entity with particular properties, but as a way to achieve a particular end.

4. A view from the tower; reading the landscape

Noord-Brabant's county hall is a 23 story building next to the A2 highway in 's-Hertogenbosch, which provides a fantastic view on the typical Brabant landscape of stream valleys and sand ridges, its cities and villages. However, behind this serene view a fierce debate in another landscape, the transition landscape, hides. A transition landscape is formed by the exogeneous environment and its processes, outside of the direct sphere of influence of the niches and regimes. According to Grin (2010, p.p. 23), transitions can develop in different ways, which are represented by 'paths' in the transition landscape. These paths make use of several landscape developments. Sahal (1985) shows an example of a transition path (figure 4.1). This figure clearly represents the metaphor of the landscape, its dynamics and the transition path through it. It is important to explore these macro-processes because as Stones (2005) states, processes of structuration are constantly influenced by higher powers. On the regime and niche levels, actors are consciously and unconsciously influenced by the landscape dynamics, but conversely they are trying to influence the landscape as well. Therefore these processes should be placed in a wider historical and geographic framework. Within such a framework, politics, culture, worldviews and paradigms play an important role (Rotmans, 2003).

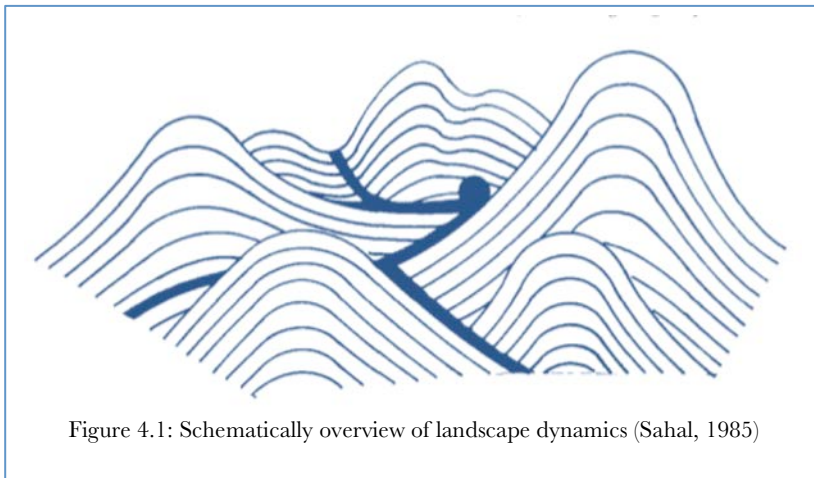


Figure 4.1: Schematically overview of landscape dynamics (Sahal, 1985)

There are various paradigms on agriculture and food production that not only differ, but are diametrically opposed to each other. This tension between different visions of sustainable agriculture and sustainable food reflects the dynamics of ideas in science and society about what is sustainable. I will draw on the paradigms that are defined by Lang and Heasman (2004) and Marsden (2003). Their comprehensive descriptions are widely recognized and are considered authoritative (Bakker et al, 2013; Lohman, 2013).

4.1 Productionism

Various terms are being used for the agricultural and food system that in recent decades has become more and more under attack. Long and Haesman (2004) speak of 'productionist agriculture', while Marsden (2003) characterizes this system as the 'agro-industrial' model. Agriculture in the post-war period was marked by an emphasis on quantitative growth, industrialization, subsidies and cheap food. In the last quarter of the previous century this paradigm faced more and more public criticism both for its effects on the environment, nature and landscape as well as for the impact on animal welfare. Demands for animal welfare, natural and healthy foods in many cases proved to be at odds with the systematic rationalization of this agricultural model. Moreover, this model led to a widening gap between food production and food consumption; Consumers became more and more estranged from the origin of their food (Dagevos and Bakker, 2008). An important development in this regard is the process of 'consolidation'. This refers to the up scaling and internationalization in the retail sector (Bijman et al., 2003). Today, the larger supermarket companies and food manufacturers more than ever put their mark on the food system (Hingley, 2005). These are powerful market players, who have become a major influence on food supply. Through their concentrated buying power they can put pressure on primary producers and commercial developments. It is the supermarket organization that decides which product is on the shelves. This contemporary power of the retail sector illustrates that agriculture increasingly has to take into account market demands.

Producers have to conform to the various needs that cannot be separated from our increased prosperity and associated lifestyles (Bakker et al, 2013). In transition terms this period can be seen as a regime in trouble. The period 1974-1996 can be seen as an example of gradual destabilization of a dominant regime (Grin et al, 2010).

Lang and Heasman state that mankind has reached a critical point in its relationship with food and the food system and future solutions for food should maintain a balance between humanity and ecology.

From the year 2000 the term 'sustainability' was coined. This term had its origin in the Brundtland report (1987) and started to gain more from attention, from a broader audience. Although there is no single definition of sustainable food production, the current food system is considered to be unsustainable. In recent years there has been a proliferation of terms, relating sustainable food and its problems. Terms such as fair trade, organic and animal friendly popped up. Although they are all relating to the 'alternative' landscape dynamics, they are also all individual trends. So, there is a wide range of choices for a morally just food production. This makes it difficult for policy makers to steer a course and for consumers it is hard to make the right choices to change the regime.

As a potential heir to the throne of the old productionist paradigm, Lang and Haesman (2004) see two new, rivalling paradigms that are both presenting themselves as the sustainable alternative. The role of technology, the operation of the market and the use of resources gain a very different interpretation and appreciation in these paradigms. On the one hand they define the 'life sciences integrated paradigm' and on the other the 'ecologically integrated paradigm'. Marsden (2003) adds a third one: the post-productionist paradigm. These new ideas can be considered a response towards the productionist paradigm. This line of reasoning suits the thinking about persistent problems within transitions and reflexive modernization (Giddens, 1991).

4.2 Life Sciences Integration

The 'life sciences integrated paradigm' is based on a mechanical and medicalized interpretation of human health and the environment. Food is seen as a solution for health issues. Further intensification and up scaling in an industrialized setting are key. However, these developments take the three dimensions of people, planet and profit as a starting point. Biotechnology plays a central role in it: not only through genetic modification, but also through the manipulation of living materials in the production of food products. Genetic modification is however, according to Lang & Heasman, the defining element of this paradigm. It is still a recent phenomenon, and it has the potential to radically change the systems of food production. Lang and Heasman speak of a new green revolution. The use of genetic modification has mushroomed in recent years.

The interesting feature of this paradigm is that it elaborates on the productionist paradigm, but strives to eradicate the limitations of it through biotechnological solutions. This makes it a promising paradigm in achieving a dominant position, because it requires little behavioural change. In fact, it can be seen as a continuation of the modernistic thinking, since it uses technological solutions to problems. Moreover, the paradigm can connect easily to transformations in the food system because it is possible to work with large-scale monocultures and its economic structure is characterized by large-scale production processes and global trade that is dominated by multinational agribusiness (Lohman, 2013).

A striking illustration of this paradigm is PlantLab in 's-Hertogenbosch; a three-story basement farm that uses solar panels and led lighting. It aims to be an example of how high-tech agriculture can supply future cities with fresh and sustainable foods. PlantLab and its partners aim at a fine-tuning of supply and demand, in order to reduce transportation costs of food over the world, as well as CO₂ emissions. PlantLab points at the advantages that this form of urban horticulture could have for warm regions with a water shortage but an abundance of sunlight. Another example is that of the development of hybrid meat such as VION's hackplus, which partly exists out of vegetable proteins, or the Roundel concept in which centralizes the needs of the chicken. To ensure sales and profitability, agreements were made with a few major players, to market the non-conventional qualities of the product, such as animal welfare and eco-friendliness.

4.3 Ecological Integration

The 'life sciences integrated paradigm' rival, according to Lang and Haesman, is the 'ecologically integrated paradigm' that exemplifies extensification and downscaling, embodied in artisan and regional food production. The emphasis is on biodiversity, circular systems, transparency and health. Its supporters state that within the productionist paradigm food production has become too dependent on technological and chemical resources and that food production this way is not tenable in the long run. They argue that a small-scale agriculture produces less environmental problems and is more sustainable in the longer run. When it comes to technology, this paradigm looks at solutions from agro-ecology. This combines old agricultural methods with new scientific knowledge, in order to realize large-scale production. Examples of agro-ecology are the use of insects for crop protection and crop rotation schemes.

Within the paradigm much attention is paid to craftsmanship and local knowledge of farmers and the emphasis is on the fact that there is no 'universal recipe' for agriculture. This contradicts the homogeneous, technological methods that are used in the other paradigms. The concept of peasant farming (Van der Ploeg, 2008) and the rural development perspective of Marsden (2003) also fit within this paradigm. Within these rural-sociological perspectives much attention is paid to rural identities and new institutional arrangements that improve transparency in the relationship between (urban) consumers and agrarian producers.

People with an ecological food style see food as part of the 'cycle of life' and attribute much value to the people-nature balance. The epitome of this style is the biological consumers that often also strives for sustainability in other sectors such as housing, mobility and recreation. A prominent example of initiatives that suit this paradigm are 'Alternative Food Networks. Although there is a wide range of AFN's (food cooperatives, urban agriculture, box schemes, farmers markets, farm shops, community-supported agriculture, their commonality is that they respond to the dissatisfaction about the exorbitant rationalization of the food system. Within AFN's the aim is to regain a relationship of trust between consumers and producers, with an eye for sustainability and the 'local for local' concept.

4.4 Post-productionism

The post-productionist paradigm is modelled around urban society. Nature and the countryside are used as recreational facilities that meet the needs of a growing urban population. The paradigm is characterized by (further) marginalization of agriculture and an increasing consumer oriented design of the countryside. Marsden (2003) sees this route in response to the agro-industrial model; a trend that he himself regrets because it is exaggerated response to the productionist era. Bakker et al (2013) argue this is a premature judgment. Why could there not be a sustainable agriculture that is focused both on the production of nature and recreational facilities, as well as other kinds of services outside the domain of food ? Multifunctional agricultural that combines agro-ecological development and 'green services', are in fact operating on the cutting edge of the ecologically integrated paradigm and the post-productionist paradigm and offer opportunities for nature, the environment and the landscape, as well as the urban needs for rural tranquillity and authenticity. Supporters of this paradigm see food as an important symbolic means of being together; a moment of interaction with loved ones. Food is about social and cultural connections, authenticity and happiness.

Food choices in this regard are connected to traditional preparations and the origins of food. From an ethical understanding, traditional and authentic food is seen as a moral right. Global food systems that are debunking this right are criticized. The perfect example of this paradigm in practice is Slow Food.

This movement's origin lays in a motivation that centralizes the social and cultural character of food and then come out at regional, artisan products, sustainable production and an ecological circuit. This immediately shows the difference and the overlap with the ecological paradigm. However, in the ecologically integrated paradigm the circularly element is taken as a starting point, which then often leads to the social aspects of food. More generally, Slow Food can be considered a social protest against the up speeding and superficiality of modern society, of which the prevalence of fast food is a symbol. Although the movement in the Netherlands is not large, it is a movement that has charisma and where young people are actively involved, such as the Youth Food Movement (Bakker et al, 2013).

The provision of environmental services by farmers, care-farms and agri-tourism are also expressions of this paradigm. Several initiatives take on the challenge to enthusiast a wider public for regional and sustainable products, such as the new supermarket Marqt that centralize the supply of 'real food', health, justice and sustainability. Moreover, the recent wave of AFN's that show a strong commitment to the experiential aspect of food can also be seen as affiliated to this post-productionist paradigm. Any format is somewhat arbitrary given the overlap with the ecological paradigm.

4.5 Conclusion

Through mapping the four paradigms, I sketched the landscape developments in the food system. Actors from the regimes and niches are continuously influenced by these paradigms. They work towards them or are resisting them. Niche developments can profit from the shifting paradigms that are putting pressure on the regime (Grin et al, 2010). Although sustainable initiatives often receive a warm welcome, a warning is in place. Much of agriculture is still business as usual, mainly driven by prices, competition and export interests. The productionist paradigm may publicly face hardship, institutionally it can rely on a strong network and influential positions and it is certainly not beaten. One may wonder whether the productionist paradigm has sought refuge in the latest developments in life sciences, where it perpetuates its dominant position under the guise of health and sustainability and slows profound change (Bakker et al, 2013).

Another paradigm, the ecologically integrated paradigm, shows another normative orientation, but it is argued that more research is needed in order to find out whether this paradigm could be a viable alternative. It is the paradigm that amply fits the description of AFN's. However, the use of these formats is arbitrary since many AFN's refer to the post-productionist paradigm as well. Table 3.1 shows a short overview of the three paradigms and provides examples of their expressions.

Table 3.1: Illustration of competing paradigms

Practical examples of competing paradigms			
Paradigm	Life sciences integration	Ecological integration	Post-productionism
Key words	Biotechnology, health, convenience, malleability, enjoyment, top down, functional foods	Extensification, downscaling, regional orientation, agro-ecology, moral duties.	Consumptive design rural areas, eco services, recreation, tradition, being together
Examples	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PlantLab • Roundel concept • VION Hackplus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban agriculture • Farmers markets • AFN 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slow Food • Agri-tourism • Eco system services

CSA amply fits the descriptions provided by the ecologically integrated paradigm, since much attention is paid to new institutional arrangements that improve transparency in the relationship between consumers and producers. Because of the importance of 'community', one could also place CSA in the post-productionist paradigm, because of its attention for 'togetherness'. However, the emphasis of this paradigm is more on the social and cultural character of food, tradition and craftsmanship. Community should in this regard be seen as family and friends rather than creating new communities and improving consumer-producer relations. Moreover, it focuses on a consumptive design or rural areas at the cost of agriculture, while CSA acknowledges its importance.

5. Meeting face to face; exploring the niches

As a next step in my search I moved to the lowest level of transition; the niche developments. Grin (2008) defines niches as local alliances or networks that shape and use innovations. The innovation is within the niche, shielded of from the regime, while at the same time a market is created for the innovation. Rotmans (2003) states niches can be seen as the level on which experiments take place. They will face resistance per se, because they are pioneers. The system is not yet geared to the results of the experiments and there is no market yet. Many experiments fail. They have to connect to developments at the level of the landscape in order to succeed. In my search I found three initiatives in Noord-Brabant that matched the description of community-supported agriculture.

5.1 A range of initiatives

For the selection of CSA practices I looked into several alternative food networks that are currently being developed in Noord-Brabant. These alternative networks take various forms. Organic farming combined with home sales is one of these. An example is the organic farm of 't Schop in Hilvarenbeek (www.hetschop.nl). There also are self-picking gardens such as Pluk en Plenty in Goirle (www.plukenplenty.nl). Moreover, initiatives for urban agriculture mushroomed, exemplified by a whole range of plans such as the 'natuurSUPERmarkt' (www.natuursupermarkt.nl) in Eindhoven or the Bossche Boeren in Den Bosch (www.stadseboeren.nl). In this context a revival of permaculture can be seen (www.eetbaareindhoven.nl). Farmers markets where farmers directly sell their produce are organized on a weekly basis in Den Bosch (www.biologischemarkt.nl) and Eindhoven (www.dwme.nl).

Moreover, shops that specialise in local produce originated in Den Bosch (www.bijboergondisch.nl) and Breda (www.smaakwarenhuis.nl). These initiatives share a goal of shortening the food chain and reducing borders in the food landscape. Nonetheless, none of these initiatives applies to the notions of CSA. Several other initiatives do approach the CSA spirit.

These initiatives are exemplified by box schemes such as the meat provided by the Blije big (www.deblijebig.nl) or the vegetables provided by Tuinderij Croy (www.tuinderijcroy.nl), Tuinderij de Es (www.tuindees.nl) or Tuinderij de Tuin (www.tuinderij-detuin.nl). These box schemes enable consumers to subscribe to a weekly basket and to pick up this basket at the farm or at pickup points. Special attention should be paid to the Goei Eete initiative (www.goeieete.nl).

Goei Eete started in 2009 as a citizen's initiative with the aim to approach the traditional food in a different way: from the demand side. It is a web shop concept where customers can place an order, which can be picked up at a pick up point of their choice. The products come from local farmers in the surroundings of Tilburg, in order to reduce food miles. They stress out the origins of the food: who produces it and how is it produced? By buying directly from the farmer and reducing the costs of logistic, products are sold for a normal price, but the farmer earns more. Nonetheless, in Noord-Brabant there currently are only three organizations that implement CSA according to the strict definition of Van En (1985): The Kraanvogel, The Herenboeren and FRE2SH. However, I also wanted to experience a CSA in working. In 2007, 'farmer' John Peterson visited The Nieuwe Ronde (De Gelderlander, 2007) one of the first Pergola associations in the Netherlands. I decided to follow his example in order to acquaint myself with the topic, so my search started in Wageningen.

5.2 The Nieuwe Ronde

In 1998 the Nieuwe Ronde started on a small plot of land of just 0,4 hectares on the outskirts of Wageningen. 60 households directly joined within the first year of business. The organization continued to grow steadily in the years that passed and the Nieuwe Ronde expanded to 1,5 hectares of land. In 2013, another 1.5 of lands operated by a second farmer was added to the project. The Nieuwe Ronde offers a subscription farming style of harvesting for people living around Wageningen. The farmers allow public access to their farmland to assist him with cultivating crops and in return, the 'members' pay an annual subscription fee, that allows them to harvest fresh produce on a weekly base. At the moment there are 400 individual members (Table 5.1).

The basic aim of The Nieuwe Ronde is to use the farmland in a sustainable manner. Cultivation is done according to the requirements of SKAL (organic farming). A crop rotation system is used to improve the ecological structure of the soil. No fertilizer or pesticides are used,

simply to allow nature to maintain control over the land where the farmer merely operates as a partner, rather than an exploitive actor. The organization emphasizes to promote and stimulate local and 'forgotten' vegetables that are both organic and seasonal (Markiet, 2011).

Table 5.1: Facts about The Nieuwe Ronde

The Nieuwe Ronde	
Location	Wageningen
Type	Farmer-shareholder cooperative
Number of participants	400 persons
Produce	Potatoes, vegetables, fruit, flowers.
Structure	Association with two connected farmers.
Payment	€188,- per year per adult, annual payment.
Capital	All farming costs covered by membership fees.
Consumer involvement	Self harvesting, possibilities for volunteering, additional activities, newsletter, website, annual meeting

Currently, there are three different kinds of membership on offer:

- Vegetables & herbs: At a cost of € 188, - (p.p.) members are able to harvest vegetables, potatoes, berries and herbs every day for one individual.
- Flowers & Herbs: For €38, - members are able to pick a bouquet of flowers and herbs once a week.
- Financial contributor: This membership is for supporters of the farm. It costs €50, - per season. These members are allowed to harvest for a small discount now and then.

The membership fee covers all farming costs as well as the farmer's salary. In return for this fee, members can harvest a pre-defined share during the growing season. If there is a surplus, it is processed by the association and sold to third parties for income generation. The members of the association share the risks of crop failure equally: if production of a certain crop is lower than expected, each person harvests less. On the other hand, they also benefit if there is more to harvest when production is higher than expected.

Organization

The Nieuwe Ronde's constitutional formation is that of a cooperation in which the members have, to a certain extent, a say in decisions about the farm. There also are aspects that are decided upon by the board or the farmers themselves.

This board advises the farmers with strategic planning. It has several duties such as arranging means of promotion, consulting farmers and to consolidate with governments. Additionally, the board helps out with small tasks such as painting and creating the newsletter. It prepares an annual plan that is presented at the annual member meeting, which is visited by less than 15% of the members (Markiet, 2011). The annual plan contains aspects like the financial budget, membership prices, farmer's income, vegetable lists or possible events. Members also have the possibility to join the member commission. The commission organizes events and activities such as the Strawberry celebration day, an open day and a green café (Kloen, 2007). This current organizational structure emphasizes on strong social ties. A form of reciprocity exists wherein members stimulate each other to do small chores to assist the two farmers. In order to enhance communication with the members the cooperation publishes a newsletter 'Het Groene Blaadje'. This letter contains information concerning the latest status of the crops, a list regarding which crops to harvest, recipes and a column. In the case of the Nieuwe Ronde, members do not own the farm or shares; the farmers remain the owners of the land. The income of the two farmers is determined by the board. This is done in accordance with the two farmers and the members. The salary should represent a 'fair' income that can sustain a farmer's family and cover his daily costs. This vision is one of the main elements of what CSA stands for, to provide the farmer a fair income. The membership price is determined by the farmer's income (Kop et al, 2008).

Findings

We started the day with drinking coffee. All activities take place in a strikingly relaxed atmosphere. Klaas announced the tasks of the day: Weeding the broad beans and capuchins and storing piles to prepare a fence (figure 5.1). During the weeding I spoke with one of the participants, a retired biology teacher. She told me a small amount of volunteers support the farm for one morning per week. This small amount of volunteers when compared to the number of participants in the scheme does not bother her. She just enjoys working in the outdoors. On her turn, she does not participate in any of the meetings. The communal aspect seems not very important to her. She is a member and a volunteer because she likes the quality and freshness of the products. She also likes the idea that it saves food miles. She argues that the garden is an open space with a mechanism of self-regulation. There is a high degree of social control. However, not everyone sticks to the rules.

"Sometimes participants harvest more than they are allowed to. There is no control." (Participant)

After the coffee break I started weeding the capuchins together with another participant. He also notes the small amount of volunteers. However, in his view, many people just 'profit' from their membership without getting really involved. They like the quality of the produce, but have little need for community. His own



Figure 5.1: People volunteering at the Nieuwe Ronde.

motivation is to be occupied; he is retired and likes working outdoors. Because of his annoyance the communal aspect seems to be of more importance to him. When the volunteers had left I spoke with the farmer. He distinguishes three sorts of participants: Environmental minded people, people who want to teach their children about the origins of food and people who appreciate the quality and freshness of the produce. They all live within 5 kilometres of the field. He himself has a strong belief in CSA as an opportunity for consumers and producers to reengage. At the Nieuwe Ronde for instance, people enjoy visiting the land and meeting other people. The community aspect is important to him. His main message is that endless expansion is not the only option for agriculture, the Nieuwe Ronde shows.

"It is important that there is a good atmosphere amongst our participants, this encourages public support for our association". (Farmer)

5.3 The Kraanvogel

The Kraanvogel (table 3.2) is the biodynamic farm of Maarten and Hermien van Liere in Esbeek (since 1987). The Kraanvogel's mission is to produce healthy food from a healthy soil and to connect consumers and agriculture. It is a mixed farm where cattle is kept and a large variety of vegetables is grown. The farm operates on the basis of organic principles. This basically means that no fertilizers or pesticides are used.

Another important aspect of organic farming is the believe that a farm is developing like a living organism, based on her own capabilities and in close cooperation with the environment. They strive to a production as local as possible. Their main market is a box scheme of vegetable subscriptions, which can be picked up on a weekly basis.

"We aim for a healthy balance between an efficient production process and the human dimension". (Maarten van Liere)

Pergola

The Kraanvogel is an example of a pergola farm, the Dutch version of CSA. Over the past few years, the pergola has deliberately grown, towards 180 participating households. In order to establish this growth, it is not so much a matter of public relations as well as mouth-to-mouth advertising by his customers, Maarten says. He is quite happy with the involvement of his members:

"It is nice that we are able to get along with our customers in such a way that they are willing to assist in the management of the farm."
(Maarten van Liere)

Table 5.2: Facts about the Kraanvogel

THE KRAANVOGEL	
Location	Esbeek
Type	Farmer managed
Number of participants	180 households
Produce	Potatoes, vegetables, eggs, meat.
Structure	Independent farm. A pergola association is in formation.
Payment	Monthly payment of €33 up and until €54. Subscriptions are by the year.
Capital	Put in by farmer.
Consumer involvement	Several possibilities to volunteer at the farm or to host a pick up point, additional activities, establishing prices together, newsletter, website.

There is no obligation to volunteer, but members can assist the farm in several ways (figure 5.2). Some volunteer in planting, weeding or harvesting in the field. Others support the farmers by bookkeeping. Moreover, people make their home address available as a pick up point for the boxes, because they are not all distributed at the farm, but also at local pick-up points. There are approximately 20 people that assist on a regular basis and 16 households that host a pick up point.

Besides volunteering, there are other opportunities for people to engage in the farm. 'We organise several activities, such as an harvest feast and a sheep shearing festival', Maarten says.

At the core of a membership is subscription for vegetables. There are four types of subscriptions, varying in size. Additionally, people can choose to add a potatoes subscription or to adopt a chicken and receive its eggs. Not all vegetables are produced at the Kraanvogel. 'As a small farm we are unable to produce throughout the year. That is why we purchase or exchange product with other farmers', Maarten says.

The prices and the production plan are set at the beginning of each year during a 'pergola' meeting, in consultation between Maarten and Hermien and their customers. Customers pay per month. The Kraanvogel chose not to let its customers pay in advance, because some of them are unable to do so, for financial reasons. The subscription however goes by the year. Yet, when people want to abort their membership they often have their reasons, so he will not give them any difficulties. Trust is an important aspect to him.

A new economic model

In essence, Maarten says, it is all about vitality in food. Every living organism has a certain level of vitality. Human beings can eat healthy foods that have much vitality of eat bad foods that have little vitality. When you eat food with much vitality, it strengthens your own vitality whereas when you consume foods with a low vitality, it takes some of your own vitality.

An organic cabbage of lettuce has more vitality than one that has been produced with the help of fertilizers and pesticides. However, on a higher level Maarten and Hermien believe that a new economic model is needed in order to respond to future challenges. Supermarkets do not take care of their farmers, because they purchase their products at low prices. Therefore farmers are unable to take care of their land or cattle properly.



*Figure 5.2 Maarten van Liere and a volunteer
(source: kraanvogel1.blogspot.com)*

They have to meet impossible demands. Moreover, monopolists like supermarkets are undesirable because they cause the disappearance of diversity and the freedom of people to develop new things. The starting point should not be to produce something as cheap as possible, but to produce something for a reasonable price. According to Maarten, when you produce something as cheap as possible, you inevitably have to retrench on things you should not retrench on. This leads to a 'hypodermic decomposition process', which is clearly visible in the agricultural sector. For the past 50 years prices are under pressure so farmers are forced to expand, which eventually led to a form of agriculture that is no longer socially accepted. They want to act differently:

"The appeal we make to our customers is, please pay for your food what it takes produce it." (Maarten van Liere)

According to Maarten, this process is not only visible in agriculture, but also in other sectors such as the clothing industry where people are exploited, 'just for us to be able to buy cheap t-shirts'. All of us take part in this. No one can exempt himself from this. It has to do with the systems as they are in this world. A small part of us is aware of these, but for a large part we are not. What we do is to withdraw ourselves from the system a little, on a small scale, in a small place, with a small group of people. 'Our type of farm is a means to bring about a reverse'.

Think global, eat local

The 'local' aspect of his pergola for Maarten means that the distribution of his products is organized close to the farm. As Cone & Myrhe (2000) present it, people are re-embedded in a specific locality. However, since the farm uses pick-up points, the community aspect in this respect is defined in terms of social relations rather than through proximity. This is central to the concept of the Kraanvogel. 'We could not live with the distribution system as it was', he says. 'We used to load our produce into a van and then it was shipped all around the world. It is bizarre to transport food around the world, while it can be produced everywhere.' Through its localness, the Kraanvogel establishes a meaningful relationship with its customers. For Maarten this means that his customers contribute to caring about the earth. Especially his group of loyal volunteers is committed to his farm as a place to work in the outdoors and enjoy the atmosphere. For the majority of consumers the sense of place seems to be created through 'knowing where the food comes from'.

Push, pull, keep and repel factors

Maarten believes that an important motivation for people to participate in his pergola is the quality of his produce. Because of the economic bond people have with his farm, his farm has income stability. Therefore expansion and mechanisation are not the solutions he has to use, and people value this. He also notices a need for fresh and healthy foods amongst his customers and the need to be closer to the origins of food. Seasonality is also experienced as an advantage he says. These are all pull factors. As a keep factor he notices the sales of organic products in supermarkets. However, he states that the most important thing is that people buy biological products, no matter where. He thinks it is unnecessary and impossible for every farmer to turn into a pergola farmer.

He also observes several repel factors, such as the lack of choice. What is in the box is what you will eat. However, he also mentions customers that see this as advantageous; they do not have to think about what to eat. Besides this, the content of the boxes is not always sufficient. 'When you have guests over for dinner, of course a 4-person box is insufficient to cook a meal'.

Another disadvantage is that during the season certain crops might succeed and others do not, due to weather conditions for example. This means that the particular crop will be overrepresented in the boxes.

Future prospects

Maarten thinks CSA could be a big opportunity for young people that want to be involved in agriculture to actually get the opportunity to do so. 'Land in the Netherlands is incredibly expensive and a lot of capital is needed to start a company. With CSA, you can organise this capital together', he says:

"A farmer looks for customers that want to organise it with him. Then a window of opportunity opens. That is the most beautiful thing of CSA." (Maarten van Liere)

Nonetheless, he is critical about the role of CSA in the transition towards a more sustainable agriculture. 'A large part of the agricultural sector has taken a form that is not easy to adjust', Maarten says. It is not only the divide between producer and consumer, but also between farmer and villagers. He compares it to an oil tanker; you can turn the rudder, but it takes some time to turn. Maarten sees a growing interest in CSA, both from consumers as well as farmers.

He thinks the livestock industry is not very suitable for CSA, but individual farmers should be able to show creativity and to change direction. Even more critical he is about the government policy towards agriculture, as 'they should have intervened years ago'. They should remain far from developments such as CSA. 'If the government intervenes, what will they do? Subsidies are easy to misuse and to spoil the market. Education is what the government should facilitate. And righteous legislation is what is needed. And a halt on the expansion of farms'. That he thinks is one of the causes of the current crisis. A crisis that makes us question if the farms as we know them will help us to respond to future challenges.

5.4 FRE2SH

In 2013 the first FRE2SH Farm had been established in Son en Breugel. FRE2SH stands for food, recreation, energy, education, sustainability and health. The aim of this FRE2SH farm is to achieve self-reliance amongst urban citizens. It is established by the STIR foundation: 'Stichting Transformation, Indexation and Research'. The foundation is

concerned with the study of societal developments and takes 'structured sustainable humanity' and progress as a starting point. For STIR, this is the basis for the ethical justification that we as humans have towards ourselves and future generations.



*Figure 5.3 People working at the FRE2SH farm
(source: www.stadvanmorgen.wordpress.com)*

They support a transition from what they call the current money dependent structures of growth that lead to crises, towards a stable structure of 'sustainocracy'. Their aim is to gradually exploit more FRE2SH farms within the area between Eindhoven, Tilburg and 's-Hertogenbosch.

The location in Son en Breugel is run by Nicolette Meeder on a small plot in front of the house she lives in (figure 4.3). They just finished one season of farming.

According to Nicolette, the goal is to establish a meaningful relationship between the city and the countryside and to create the possibility for people to get involved in food production. They want to show that food is near and it is possible to organise a food system in a local community. They want to create awareness amongst people that they can contribute to change. They put peoples talents first, every person contributes from his or her own talent and responsibility and there is no hierarchy. As this quote shows, this is seen as a new reality:

“This is a world, next to the regular society, in which we stimulate each other, and meet each other close to nature and home. With less food miles and the ability to see where your food comes from”. (Nicolette Meeder in: Van der Heijden, 2014)

STIR uses AiREAS coins (table 5.3). When people volunteer at the farm they earn coins, which can be used to exchange them for the produce or to attend sessions of the STIR academy. For Nicole this coin is not about currency, but about behavioural change. It encourages people to do new things.

Table 5.3: Facts about FRE2SH

FRE2SH	
Location	Son en Breugel
Type	Farmer-shareholder cooperative
Number of participants	Undecided
Produce	Vegetables.
Structure	Undecided.
Payment	Participants earn coins (aireas) for every our worked. They can use this to buy produce or participate in other STIR projects.
Capital	Undecided.
Consumer involvement	Whole project run by members.

An important aspect for FRE2SH is to seek cooperation with local entrepreneurs. In Son en Breugel for example they work together with an organic garden and an organic farmer. They also seek cooperation in the social sector, for example with a foundation for social care in Eindhoven. Moreover, environmental considerations play a role, so it is all encompassing. In the context of CSA, Nicole does not speak of contract but of commitment; to take on the responsibility to work together. There is no local farmer that takes the lead. They produce themselves. However, they do want to involve local farmers and their products in order to make organic produce available for a broader audience. There is no border between consumer and producer in this ‘system’:

"There is people and there is the environment. When we learn from the perspective of the environment, there is no system. New forms arise all the time". (Nicolette Meeder)

FRE2SH also searches for new ways of food production, they want to experiment. 'We not only work on the surface, but also in forests'. Such experiment start on a small scale, but involve a variety of parties such as schools and universities. When the experiment is finished, the results will be given back to society, in order to inspire someone else to work further on it.

Value

Nicole explains how it is all about creating value. 'Once value is created, it is possible to return this'. This is impossible in the current economical system. In this system there is a large group that is willing to 'add value', but is not able to. STIR wants to offer a perspective, to show that basic needs of existence are available for everyone; housing, food, care, and health.

Another important aspect is awareness creation. They want to know about the origins of their food and be involved in it. It is about the sustainability of your live and the life of others. 'When you give to yourself, you also give to someone else. That is inseparable'. For her it is important to know exactly what she is eating. 'I know how I treat this soil. I also know I put a relief the environment. I know where it comes too, in contrary from when I buy products at the supermarket. It is fun. It shows respect for yourself, others and the environment. You are involved in your own health and that of others.

"My children sometimes say I am a witch, but when I prepare a meal for them they say: Cool mum!" (Nicolette Meeder)

Place

Nicolette lives in Son en Breugel for 1,5 years now. To her, her house is a FRE2SH location, like there will be more. 'My door is always open. All the time people come for a chat or come to help.' We also hold meetings here and sometimes people stay here for several days. It is the ultimate representation of FRE2SH. It is a place for experiments. For her it is truly about the embodied experience of growing food as a means to develop meaningful relationships to the earth and the community, as DeLind (2002) stated. FRE2SH is looking for new, large, locations to establish farms. They are talking with governments to take over vacant properties of at least 6 ha.

It is clear that there are few financial resources available. However, according to Nicolette, it is not about possession:

"There is no such thing as possession. When we are gone, everything flows back to the community." (Nicolette Meeder)

Nicolette thinks visitors experience the farm as a place where they can be who they want to be. Where there is a freedom of speech and where they can feel safe. She feels the place is supported by people in the surroundings. Nonetheless, people also are still hesitant to join in. She thinks it is important food is produced locally. From an environmental perspective, but also from a health perspective. She also adds that local food is important in teaching young people about it.

Participation

Nicolette recognises several factors that influence people's participation in the project. One of them is the food scandals that have been brought to light in recent years. People also start looking for cheaper food, because they cannot afford to go to the supermarket anymore. The bad taste of supermarket products is another aspect she mentions. These can all be considered push factors. She also refers to some pull factors: a feeling of safety and community and a need to know about the origins of food. Nonetheless, it is convenience that makes people decide to keep visiting super markets (pull factor). People are lived by the system they are in; they have to earn money and there is a lack of time to spend on food production. There also are many people who think they are unable to grow their own food because they do not have the knowledge. These are repel factors.

Perpetual mobile

Nicolette is very positive about the future of the project. It is a perpetual mobile according to her, 'people come and go, we try, we fail, we try again'. We have a dot on the horizon of a healthy city. To establish that we continuously seek cooperation with local farmers. 'They are trapped in the system. They work for big supermarkets so they have to expand and invest in expensive machinery'. FRE2SH invites them to contribute a small part of their effort to their project. This way they want to create new, value-driven economies. They see it as their role to do so. The role of the government according to Nicolette is to facilitate and give room for new developments. She provides an example:

"Sometimes governments do not cooperate because of a certain zoning of the town plan. Then I say: This land was there long before we were. It is not your possession. It is organic; the government is not there to maintain itself. There is no system." (Nicolette Meeder)

The appeal she makes is for governments to have an open mind. To stop controlling, 'because control kills developments'. She believes that because people have an interest in their own environment they are motivated to improve it. The government should stand next to them and help them, not hinder them. 'People have a lot of capacities. However, because of all the rules and regulations, they quit. We do not. We do not ask for permission and we just start. Not at the expense of others, but on behalf of them. This way, we can accelerate the whole transition'.

5.5 Herenboeren Boxtel

The Herenboeren initiative originated in 2014 and aims at establishing a farm in Boxtel of which 200 households become a shareholder, in order to provide for their own food. It is an initiative of a group of people who live in Boxtel. I spoke with four of the founders; Pim Ketelaars, Geert van der Veer, Boudewijn Tooren and Rob van de Langenberg.

Table 5.4: Facts about the Herenboeren

HERENBOEREN BOXTEL	
Location	Boxtel
Type	Shareholder
Number of participants	200 households needed
Produce	Potatoes, vegetables, fruit, eggs, meat
Structure	The association will hire a farmer.
Payment	€25, - per week per household
Capital	A deposit of €2000, - per household (equals 1/200 shares)
Consumer involvement	1/200 say in decisions, possible to become a board member, volunteer, additional activities.

The herenboerderij in Boxtel will be 'a small-scale mixed farm, where pure and reliable food is produced: vegetables, potatoes, fruit, eggs, beef, pork and chicken meat. All of this according to high quality standards' (Weekkrant de Meierij, 2014, figure 5.4). On their website the Herenboeren state: 'Food is a primary need and we want to eat healthy and tasty foods for a good price'. They want to know for sure that their food is produced with respect for the farmer, the animals and the environment. They want to know about the origins of their food.

The prices of the food should be comparable to those in supermarkets. They figure that this is possible when 200 households (500 persons) participate. This means these people will put in €2000, - per household and then will form a food cooperation. Each member is a shareholder of 1/200 of the shares. Amongst the members, a board will be elected that manages daily matters. At an annual meeting, all members will have a say in the cultivation plan. A farmer will be hired to perform the duties on the land. This enables the cooperation to ask the farmer to perform his work the way they want it to be done. Members are allowed to work on the farm, but this is not an obligation. Geert van de Veer is the initiator of the plan. He was involved in the establishment of a cooperation of entrepreneurs in the Groene Woud area. A group of local producers tried to join forces in order to create a complete food package instead of several small and incomplete ones. This appeared to be difficult:

"I came to the conclusion that for a farmer it is more easy to lend €2.000.000 from a bank than to invest €2.000 in the marketing of his own product. Then I realised we had to stop thinking supply-wise and take the demand side as a starting point." (Geert van der Veer)

'When you want to be demand-oriented and you take the margins between the price consumers pay and the revenue a farmer receives as a starting point, it must be possible to start a profitable enterprise'. That is what they want: to counter the system and to start a profitable new business model. Sufficiency is the goal, not efficiency. The farmer as an employee is an important aspect of their plan. He will be the manager of the farm and bears a lot of responsibility, but they want the farmer to operate within the framework of the association. They are afraid that if the farmer would be entirely free in his operations, he could make choices on the basis of efficiency and cost prices, which could contradict the basic ideas of the association.

Along the route several people that liked the idea joined him. In 2013 the group started to organise inspiration sessions for interested people. They also had a lot of positive media attention. In the beginning of 2014 two of the founders both started working on a professional basis for the project, for half a day per week, which gave the project a boost. They then also started thinking about expansion of the project into other places, in order to exchange experiences and maybe eventually share harvests. The initiative mushroomed and now there are developments in Vorden, Winterswijk, Amsterdam, Ede and Utrecht.

Community building

Formally there are no members now, because the food cooperation has not been established yet. Some 150 people have already showed serious interest. The initiators are eager to build a community with the 200 people they need for the food cooperation. However, they also think this will be the hardest part of the plan. They see two conflicting trends in society that could be a hindrance for this project to work out. On the one hand, people feel the need to eat healthier, but they also became more individualistic. The risk then is to have a group of people that wants to consume the products, but has no further interest in being part of a community. Creating a community is about more than just eating. However, as Pim says, it is also part of the challenge to find out about such things. 'I do not want a manual for this'. Geert says the inspiration sessions in themselves are helpful as a means to create a community. The biggest challenge Boudewijn thinks is not to find 200 families, but to keep them within the project.

Pull and repel factors

At the inspiration sessions they held, over 100 people have contributed to a mind map. In this mind map they answered the questions 'What do you like?' and 'What do you fear?'. The answers to these question scan be grouped into pull and repel factors, as is shown below.

The pull factors can be grouped into the following terms:

- Interaction with farm: Strengthen local economy, involvement in the production process, small scale, support local farmer, possibilities for recreation, become self-supporting, environmentally friendly, non-profit, cooperation, transparency, landscape, meet people, landscape
- Quality of products: Responsible, know what you eat, sustainable, organic, tasty, payable, quality, fair, healthy, seasonal products, animal welfare
- Knowing about the origin: Possibility to visit, clear origin, experience, local, sustainable, cycle of life, knowing where it comes from, trust.

The repel factors can be grouped into the following terms:

- Doubts about the farmer: What if no one wants to volunteer, what if farmer wants to quit, continuity, is farmer open tot his.
- Insecurity about the community: What if participants quit, maybe too fixed, long period, environmentalists, elitist.

- Production problems: Costs of the produce, regulations, food safety, occasional overproduce or shortage, seasonality, quality, logistics, variety, who decides?
- Questions about the financing: additional costs, rentability, role bank, €2000 is too much, salary farmer.

'In love with the Wilhelmina park'

In the beginning of 2015 the Herenboeren signed an intentional agreement with the Marggraff foundation (figure 5.4). This foundation manages the Wilhelmina park in Boxtel, which means the Herenboeren now have a place to start farming. This place, and place as a concept in general, is very important to them, as is resembled in the newspaper heading 'Herenboeren: in love



Figure 5.4: Signing of the intentional agreement(boxtel.herenboeren.nl)

with the Wilhelmina park' (Van der Linden, 2015). 'It is an inspiring place', Rob says. According to Boudewijn, it is the small-scale cultural landscape in which they are able to operate because efficiency is unimportant. They want to operate on an organic basis and sustainability objectives can be incorporated in places like these. Place is one of the aspects of their concept that is very important in community building. There has to be a sense of experience. They believe that their place is the starting point for them to create a community. They are creating a place where something happens; this is where your food is being produced:

"People should like to be there, even if you do not need to be there. Being part of a community is more than picking up a basket of vegetables. You want to be part of something, somewhere, feel a sense of ownership." (Rob van de Langeberg)

Or as Boudewijn says, the place could become a place people use for self-identification:

"People need a place in order to believe, together. We used to go to church because we believe. Now we go to the soccer stadium because we believe are club is the best. Our place to believe is the Wilhelmina Park." (Boudewijn Tooren)

According to Geert the strength of their location is that at the moment there is nothing. People in Boxtel remember that for the past 30 years corn was grown there. That is going to change now. 'This helps us in showing how we will change the system. We start over again'. The soil contains nematodes, which makes it impossible for now to cultivate it. This has also been helpful they think, because they decided to postpone cultivation for a year, instead of dislodging these nematodes by using pesticides. This shows that they want to make a difference.

Food miles also play a role in their plan, as they state on their website 'we want our food to be produced in our own environment. The chain could not be shorter. We want to realise this with the inhabitants of Boxtel and its surroundings'. Distance thus is an important aspect Pim says. It is not so much about a physical distance as well as a mental distance. 'If you want to be a community, then it is not sufficient to show up once a month' Rob says. It is also important to meet each other in town or at local events. So, 'local' to them is more about community than about physical distance. Recovering a sense of community (Hendrickson, 2002) is a core aspect for them.

"We do not want to be an ennobled crate system. Off course we can send our produce to Amsterdam, but that is not what it is meant for. The idea is that people visit the farm, that you know where your food comes from and you bear a warm hart." (Rob van de Langenberg)

Countering the system

When I ask them what is the problem they offer the solution for, they all react strongly. They do not see their selves as an opposing force towards the establishment. 'What we do is provide the consumer with sustainable foods, because that is what they are asking for. We give them the opportunity to do it differently themselves, instead of only pointing at others, saying 'what you do is wrong'. However:

"If there is one problem for which we offer a solution, it is that consumers do not trust their food anymore. By starting a local initiative, it is possible to regain this trust." (Pim Ketelaars)

They show a strong sense of wanting to know what happened to the food they are eating. 'This is impossible in the current system'.

Their movement is not an answer to this problem. They only state that what they are doing is different. It is something new, which is developed outside of the system. They are demand-driven instead of the current system, which is supply-driven. Rob agrees, but he stresses that this is a fall over that is not only visible in food production, but in the entire society; housing markets, the financial sector, spatial planning, education. 'It is all about added value. The question is: what is that and should it be rewarded in euros?'

Future

They do see a bright future for initiatives like their own and they want to expand. However, they stress that they are only one example of food cooperation, perhaps other initiatives will start. They also acknowledge that they will only serve a small portion of the market and that the large majority will continue to consume foods that are produced the way they are now. Nonetheless, they think the current system of agriculture is bankrupt: 'When you look into the economics of a livestock farm, you will see that the large majority is technically bankrupt. There is no reward the farmers can take out of the enterprise. Moreover, societal support is very low. There may be a demand, but this system is bankrupt and it will not hold long. They are sceptical about the role of the province in developments like these. The ambitions of the province and its rules and regulations contradict each other.

5.6 Conclusion

The number of participants in the CSA projects under review have grown in recent years. Both the Nieuwe ronde as well as the Kraanvogel have witnessed an increase in the number of members and the Herenboeren seem to have interested a big group of people already. The Nieuwe Ronde and The Kraanvogel are initiatives in itself, while the aim of STIR is to gradually exploit more FRE2SH farms and the Herenboeren are also expanding into other places. All initiatives work on the basis of organic practices and strive to be as local as possible. The emphasis is on vegetable production. The amount of farm-attachment varies; some initiatives obligate their members to pick up the produce at the farm and in the case of the Nieuwe Ronde you even have to harvest it yourself, while at the Kraanvogel there are multiple off-site pick up points, which means there is not necessarily a direct farmer-consumer interaction.

Except for FRE2SH, the initiatives all share the same organizational structure, that of a group of customers, a board and a farmer.

However, only in the case of the Herenboeren the farmer is seen as an employee. In the other two cases the farmer owns the land and takes the lead. Every initiative has a different farmer-consumer relationship. In all cases there are several opportunities for volunteering. The main decision-making is done at an annual meeting where members can participate. The Herenboeren stress their goal to introduce an economically viable business model, while FRE2SH and the Kraanvogel seem to be more idealistic. Nicole does not speak about contract but about commitment; to take on the responsibility to work together. Maarten also is less concerned about the contractual aspect as is resembled by this quote:

"I trust people to fulfil their payments, I never go after money. That is very different from how things work in the normal economy."
(Maarten van Liere)

First and second order beliefs

The motivations for the establishment of the initiatives vary. They all refer to the effects of capitalism, globalisation, industrialization, the trend of declining government interference, attention for sustainability and the increasing availability of information. These are notions of modernity as Giddens defined them and can be interpreted as changes in the transition landscape. In essence, the three examples in Brabant all define some sort of problem that they react to. They all show how the system is part of the problem. For the Kraanvogel this is the pressure that is put on the agricultural system due to low supermarket prices. For the Herenboeren it is the lack of sustainable, trustworthy foods and for FRE2SH it is the lack of possibilities for everyone to contribute to society (inclusiveness).

Above all, they all agree on a crisis in the current system. Not only in the food system, but also in other sectors or even society as a whole. Nonetheless, their responses towards this regime differ. For the Herenboeren this means taking the demand side as a starting point. Both the Kraanvogel as well as FRE2SH seem to strive for a new economic model and have a focus on society as a whole. The main emphasis of the Kraanvogel is on a healthy environment, while that of FRE2SH tends to be more on the 'people' aspect.

The solutions they propose differ. The Kraanvogel offers its customers the opportunity to pay a reasonable price, the price that actually covers all the production costs. This is because they see how in the current system, when you produce something as cheap as possible, you inevitably have to retrench on certain aspects.

This leads to a system that is no longer socially accepted. Their initiative offers people a possibility to, on a small scale, withdraw themselves from this system. The purpose of FRE2SH is to visualize food production and to show people that it is possible to make your own change. They see this as a new system next to the current system. For them it is about added value and enabling people to add value to society. They support a transition from what they call the current money dependent structures of growth that lead to crises, towards a stable structure of 'sustainocracy'. The Herenboeren state that their project is an opportunity to act differently themselves (as well as offering others to join in); they are demand-driven instead of supply-driven.

Localness

Localness is an important aspect in all practices. Most arguments for it can be tracked down to that of saving food miles, but also to the possibility for people to reconnect to the origins of their food. None of the initiatives seems to fall for the local trap, since they all show how there localness is used as a means towards a higher goal. Moreover, they all show awareness that their contribution is just a mere drop in the ocean. Nonetheless, the definition of local varies in terms of physical proximity. Physical engagement is key, but the 'place' does not necessarily have to be near. A commonality is the ambition for short supply chains and the re-embedding food into local ecologies, as sketched by Esteva (1994).

Localness in all the examples is used to create meaningful relationships and community. Place is an important aspect towards the creation of a sense of community. Participants seem to be attached to the places of their CSA's, because of their significance as meeting points but also because of the surroundings. Place building occurs through envisioning change (Herenboeren), be an open house (FRE2SH) or through working at the site (Kraanvogel).

The amount of 'community' in the four examples varies. As Groh and McFadden (1997) and the examples of The Kraanvogel and The Nieuwe Ronde show, most members simply desired fresh, organic, local produce. They are part of a large consumer base. Within this large group there is a small amount of committed volunteers. Both of these groups are part of the community of CSA, but the level of involvement differs clearly. The first group is involved through newsletters and occasional meetings with the farmer and other members. The latter is involved through volunteering on the land or attending meetings.

The amount of involvement that is deemed necessary by the initiator of the farm, be it a farmer or a consumer, also varies. The Kraanvogel for example organizes pick up points for the weekly subscriptions so there does not necessarily have to be a farmer-consumer interaction, while The Herenboeren insist on picking up the produce on the location itself. Indeed, the collaborative model seems not realistic for all. Therefore I propose that the emphasis of CSA should not be on *community*, but on *supported*. What distinguishes these projects from prevailing agriculture, is the support they gain in their surroundings and in their customer base.

Push, pull, keep and repel factors

The representatives of the three practices defined some aspects they recognise as pull factors: Quality of the produce, a need to know about the origins of food and a feeling of community or cooperation. Only Nicolette mentions push factors (food scandals, prices and taste) as motivations for people to get involved in CSA. The convenience of shopping in supermarkets and the sales of organic products are defined as keep factors by Nicolette (FRE2SH) and Maarten. The Herenboeren did not mention any keep factors, which could be explained by their statement to not be a 'countermovement' towards the system, but to be a development in itself. When it comes to repel factors there is a variance of factors that is mentioned. Maarten focuses on product aspects (lack of choice and the influence of the weather on the produce) while Nicolette mentions consumer aspects (people's insecurity about their knowledge of agriculture). The keep factors that are mentioned by the Herenboeren are about doubts people have about the cooperation with the farmer and the rest of the group and problems in production and financing. This could be explained from the fact that they are in an explorative stage of their project.

When consumers perceive less appealing differences or more repelling similarities, motivations to participate in CSA diminish. The strength of push and pull factors together declines and the strength of keep and repel factors together grows. Participation in CSA should be a 'familiar' experience somehow. If differences are too large, they will function as a crowd 'repeller' and its crowd 'pulling' possibilities will not be acknowledged by consumers. Therefore a balance has to be found between the attractiveness of the products and the demand for a 'feeling of community', and should 'convenience' and the 'risk factor' be reduced.

Future prospects

All representatives foresee a bright future for CSA initiatives. However, Maarten and the Herenboeren also acknowledge that they will only serve a small portion of the market, because not all consumers are interested or willing to pay the effort. Therefore, CSA will only play a minor role in the transition towards a sustainable agriculture. All three are critical about the government's attitude. Criticisms vary from the lack of intervention which led to the current state of affairs, to too much intervention in the form of regulation which unable some new initiatives. The government should give room for new developments and not interfere too much in their development. A level playing field is what should be created and awareness is that the government could promote.

6. Entering the pentagon; discovering the regime

Innovations in niches are seen as the seeds of transition (Grin, 2010). However, the success or failure of a transition is determined by the way niches connect to the regime, supported by landscape dynamics. The regime was the final stop in my search. A regime is a set of practices and routines that fulfil a societal function. Organizations, institutions and individuals are consciously or unconsciously a part of it. It is hard and maybe even impossible to identify all actors in a regime. It might even be impossible to speak of the regime. I tried to concretize the, for community-supported agriculture, relevant regime in Noord-Brabant. Representing the Southern farmers association (ZLTO), I spoke with Marjon Krol (project manager) and Froukje Kooter (trainee). Thereafter, I spoke with the director of the environmental association BMF, Nol Verdaasdonk. I also interviewed representatives of the province of Noord-Brabant: Hans van Dommelen (team manager), Pieter de Boer and Ton Cornelissen (agricultural policy officers). The last interviewee in this series was Han Swinkels, lector of sustainable livestock chains (HAS University).

6.1 Notions of CSA

Various ideas exist regarding CSA. Marjon thinks of it as an interesting opportunity to strengthen consumer-producer relationships. However she stresses, it might be the most advanced in terms of consumer participation, but it is certainly not the only approach. The most important way is to just 'buy' products directly from the farmer in a short supply chain, she says. Han agrees that there is a wide variance of community farming that centralizes a certain reciprocity between consumers and producers. 'Consumers and producers did not lose each other out of sight, but they did lose each other from sight, because of all the intermediaries in the food chain. In CSA they are actually interacting with each other.' Initiatives like these respond to several problems. The decreased support for existing food production systems, but also for rural depopulation through creating economic vitality. Moreover, they offer a solution for the reduced eligibility that occurred since 2008. Marjon also draws attention to subscription farms, where you can subscribe for a weekly basket of vegetables. In some of these cases these consumers even have a say in the cultivation plan and she argues a subscription is a form of financing in advance.

The representatives of the province also distinguish between several appearances of CSA; in the strict definition of direct agreements between consumers and producers, but also as box schemes or crowd funding operations. Within the provincial organization, CSA is not used as a specific policy term. Nol stresses how farms not only deliver food, but also deliver other services such as employment and maintenance of the landscape.

According to Nol farms can gain appreciation when they use soil, water and air in such a way that it adds value to these factors. Then, a positive interaction between consumers and producers arises. Ultimately this leads to the restoration of a cycle in the food system. A cycle of shared responsibility. He stresses the sustainability of CSA:

"The good thing about CSA is that people jointly work towards a regional and self-sufficient food system that can be maintained for the next generations" (Nol Verdaasdonk).

The contractual aspect he finds less appealing. When it comes to community, he thinks it should be about unwritten rules. 'When you summarize these into formal rules, something is already going wrong. This leads to mistrust. Interaction within the community should prevent unwanted behaviour'.

6.2 Responsibility

Responsibility is a theme that turns up in all conversations. For Marjon it is this aspect that has gone lost in the long food chains of today and within the current agricultural system it is impossible to regenerate this. 'Because consumers do not get enough information, they cannot steer this. This also has consequences for producers.' The aspect of shared responsibility is a key characteristic of CSA for Marjon.

"It is difficult to produce according to consumer demands, so it is important to re-involve consumers in the production process." (Marjon Krol)

Nol agrees and speaks of an 'organized chain of irresponsibility. 'When you buy a bike that does not meet its requirements, then it is the producer who eventually is responsible for the damage. In the food chain there is no such thing.' He says that in the cycle in which we operate, consumers, producers and all intermediaries should jointly take on responsibility for the whole chain and not just one part of it. 'The chain of organized irresponsibility then reaches consumers and the self-evidence of not knowing about the origins of food is thereby

broken'. The representatives of the province agree that CSA could be part of the solution for sharing risks and responsibilities. 'In the current system the risks of food production are entirely located on the side of the producers. Participating in CSA makes consumers aware of the risks in food production'. However, this risk is limited. According to Ton the only risk for the consumer is 'not receiving what he has paid for, but for these products they can do additional shopping at a supermarket'. For Han CSA means participation in the agricultural process in full, this means financial engagement, engagement in production and purchasing products. Sharing risks and responsibility is the important aspect in CSA.

"Producers and consumers, become one and the same in community-supported agriculture: prosumers." (Han Swinkels)

6.3 Relationship farmer and consumer

Nol states that in the current system the connections between producers and consumers are lost. 'The system is about mass production and other aspects such as landscape have been subjected.' According to him there are many areas in which connections need to be restored. Not only in the field of food production, but also in the field of relationships with neighbours, employees and the landscape. 'To get re-involved in a community, there is work to be done on all these aspects'.

Nol thinks the challenge is to connect the transition of the agricultural sector that is driven by societal changes, with questions of sustainability.

"People say: I do not recognise the taste of these vegetables. There are no fish in the trench. The landscape in which I grew up has gone. When I am sitting outside there is a smell." (Nol Verdaasdonk)

CSA could be a means to restore these connections according to Nol. However he says attention should be paid to equality between farmer and citizen. On the one hand, citizens should let the farmer play his part. On the other hand, the farmer should pay attention to the citizens' ideas. A guaranteed market for the farmer is not the main goal. Marjon agrees, but from another perspective. 'If a CSA is being developed, it is important that a farmer is involved from the start, so the CSA can be established cooperatively. It should not be a construction whereby a group of consumers takes the lead.'

The provincial representatives think CSA reduces both the physical, as well as the mental distance between consumers and producers. However, 'knowing your farmer' is regarded as a side product of CSA and not as a motivation. 'The motivation is more idealistic. A better environment start at your own.' For Han the most important thing is that there is reciprocity between producers and consumers. In other words; the consumer knows where the food is coming from and the producer knows where it is going to.

6.4 Community

Regarding the theme of 'community' there are several responses. Nol's approach is one of a network of connections. 'Whenever there is too much tension on one of the connections, the connection as a whole could break.' He thinks this is what happened in the current system. Marjon stresses that CSA is not the only place where community can be developed. 'It is also in farmers markets and farm shops that community occurs.' The Eindhoven Food Collective is an example of this. This consumer initiative collects food from multiple farms and redistributes this through collection points in the city. 'People do not have to go to the farm, but at these collection points communities are being created because every week at the same time, 20 or 30 people gather there to pick up their orders. Froukje adds: 'In these places customer loyalty is being developed. People visit these places because they appreciate the products and the way they are produced. '

"It is the feeling of shopping in a small grocery store. These stores hardly exist anymore, but in a food network like CSA you can experience this feeling again." (Froukje Kooter)

In CSA the aspect of locality is important. The representatives of the province have a clear view on what is local: something that is produced in the neighbourhood and of which you can see how it is produced. Neighbourhood according to them is all that is reachable by bike. Otherwise there will not be a connection, they think. Nol stresses the importance of a social connection with the place of production. Local for Han means that both the initiators as well as the participants feel connected to a certain place of production. 'Connectedness can be organized amongst the line of people or places. Physical distance then becomes less important'. Marjon and Froukje bring up the concept of 'origin'. 'Consumers that want to reconnect with production processes and therefore want a story about the origins of the food and its producer, a story that a supermarket can not provide.' When it comes to origin, it is the supply chain that matters, not the food miles. In a short supply chain you can be familiar with the origins, with the story,

even though distance is large the ZLTO representatives think. 'What ZLTO wants is the farmer to have control over the chain in which he operates, so that he receives as much of the added value as possible'. Ton thinks the aspect of 'experience' is more of importance when it comes to consumers that incidentally buy products directly at a farm.

'Consumers that take part in a CSA on a structural basis will do so because of idealistic motivations'. For Han the community does not necessarily have to be local, because it is also possible to support a community abroad. This depends on your product and the working of the chain. However, for some people it is attractive to work close to home. Then Han thinks it should be part of a farm's strategy and it should be an intrinsic motivation.

6.5 Not for everyone

Ton thinks it is an illusion to think that all urban people will get involved in a one-on-one relationship with a farmer. 'This is physical impossible, moreover not all consumers have an interest in this'. He therefore thinks: *"Alternative networks is the correct term, because they will always remain alternative"*. (Ton Cornelissen)

Marjon agrees that there is only a small amount of customers that wants to eat based on what is available in the region. Besides distance, seasonality and availability can be regarded as she thinks, as well as unfamiliarity and ignorance towards food issues.

'The question is; how important is it for you to finish your shopping list at one place?' (Marjon Krol)

Nonetheless, Nol notices a growing awareness that health is influenced by food, which leads to a growing interest in quality foods:

"The fact that Albert Heijn operates on the market of organic produce means a growing amount of consumers turn away from what is produced." (Nol Verdaasdonk)

6.6 Transition

Han recognizes the growth of developments such as community-supported agriculture, regional products and branding. His estimation is that this will continue in the coming years. Because of the ageing population there will be more people who are able to actively engage in developments like these. These developments will keep coming, although some will disappear again. They will influence the regime that will adjust. Nonetheless, it will be an evolution and no revolution.

Some initiatives will remain in a niche. Others will try to scale up, they will have to make concessions. Nol uses a systems approach. 'Most decisions about our food are made on a routinely basis, we do not think about these things. However, at a certain point discontented arises about the way things are'. He states that if a farmer or a consumer wants to change his practices, he needs to escape the system. 'CSA is impossible in the system. People that want to act differently, will have to organize it outside the system, hereby heading into a 'terra incognita'. These people are reclaiming ownership of their own choices according to Nol. They are pioneers who think about their choices. Hans agrees:

"Whenever I asked my father why something had to be done in a certain way, he said: 'Because it is done this way'. People who act differently thus become mavericks. However, when things start to go wrong, a need to act differently arises. Mavericks then become pioneers." (Hans van Dommelen)

Nol's expectation is that alternative networks such as CSA cannot take the easy road. 'A certain amount of discontent needs to arise before people start to think outside the system and start something new.' This is not easy. However, when the amount of initiatives grows, the movement as a whole grows, which will make it easier for CSA. Pieter notes that CSA in the transition towards a sustainable agriculture fulfils a role in awareness creation.

'Consumers will get acquainted with food production and the idea that it is not evident that it is possible to eat whatever you want, whenever you want. This will generate new value for foods.' Nonetheless, he and Ton see CSA as a small part in the bigger picture:

"Our food system is like an oil tanker. Alternative networks are small ships that float around this tanker and maybe could have an influence on the direction of the fleet." (Ton Cornelissen)

Marjon's hope is that as part of the transition process an intensive livestock farm would commit itself to a steady customer base, which would feel a joint responsibility for the farm. 'This would be possible through regular gatherings at which customer demands are discussed, and how the farm could respond to that demand and which consequences that brings.' Pieter and Ton place the developments in the agricultural sector in a bigger picture and speak of 'decaring'. 'After the Second World War the government took care of our food. This has changed after some excesses exposed by the media'.

The same process is taking place in health care they think. 'Everything is being organized for us, but now health care expenses run out of control and we are moving towards the so called 'participation society'. It is through another trend, the increase of the availability of information that the seem-side of decaring is getting clear. Nol agrees. He thinks we live in an era of multiple crises; socially, economically and ecologically in which consumers and entrepreneurs are thrown back on themselves.

Ton and Pieter state that they do not see a direct role for the province in the development of CSA. 'These are initiatives that originate due to people's spontaneous acts. When they need help, they know where to find us'. As a government, the province could provide them with a platform they state, in order to show what is possible. They also think of incidental (not structural) subsidies to provide initiatives with a running start. Nol sees a driving role for the BMF and tries to stimulate initiatives such as CSA. However, when initiatives are taken over by the market, they will seek further for new initiatives. According to Han it is the province's task to facilitate certain developments that contribute to their own vision. Facilitating means initiating, stimulating, through start-up subsidies or providing space for development. What they should not do is taking over initiatives. They should show flexibility, because they are designed to regulate the current regime, while it is these initiatives that face the limitations of this regime.

Marjon recognises that the improvement of the relationship between consumer and producer is important, but she does not see a direct role for ZLTO in the development of CSA and stresses the role of farmers as entrepreneurs. 'ZLTO operates on behalf of its members and only if they want to start working on CSA, ZLTO can support them.'

6.7 Conclusion

Despite their difference in starting points, there are many commonalities in the views of the parties towards the topic of CSA. All three stress the need for shorter food chains, shared responsibility and shared risks between consumers and producers. Moreover they argue that the subject should not be interpreted on a narrow basis. ZLTO and the province state that there is a wide variance of initiatives varying from box schemes to crowd funding. The BMF argues that a 'community farm' in itself should not be seen to narrowly, because it delivers not only food to its community, but a wide variance of other (ecosystem) services as well. When it comes to 'support' these initiatives are just as important.

BMF and ZLTO both note the disappearance of the sense of community and its importance. They also see the opportunities for community development through agriculture, but note that CSA is not the only way to achieve this.

When it comes to locality, all organisations define it in terms of proximity, because this enables to see where the food comes from and how it is produced. CSA is important in awareness creation. Both the importance of social proximity as well as food miles are mentioned. These aspects of place and origin are also thought to be important when it comes to community building.

Both BMF and ZLTO as well as the province use a bottom-up approach when it comes to the development of CSA. They all state the initiative should come from the field, nonetheless BMF states they want to fulfil a role as a motivator for this. They also state that CSA is 'not for everyone'. Besides practical issues, ignorance and unfamiliarity are considered factors that withhold people from joining a CSA.

7. Packing up

So here we are, at the end of my search. I read about CSA, have spoken to those who are involved in CSA, and have spoken to those who have or should have an interest in CSA. On the basis of a phenomenological approach and within the framework of transitions I tried to answer this main question:

Why do consumers participate in community-supported agriculture and which recommendations can be proposed to increase this participation in Noord-Brabant?

In order to answer the first part of the question I will present some conclusions based on the CSA practices. Thereafter, I will provide some policy-oriented recommendations and suggestions for further research in this field.

7.1 Conclusions

Pressure rises in the transitional landscape. Problems with mass production, animal diseases and human health occur. These problems change the perspective on the food system from that during the heydays of modern agriculture, as I have showed on the basis of shifting paradigms. A shift is gradually occurring from a Productionist paradigm towards a Life Sciences Integrated paradigm, Ecologically Integrated paradigm or Post-Productionist paradigm. It is unclear which paradigm will be dominant. Moreover, the Productionist paradigm is not beaten yet. Community farming amply fits the Ecologically Integrated paradigm.

CSA in Noord-Brabant

As Paes (2013) showed, there is no clear definition on community farming. Therefore, many Alternative Food Networks can be considered to fit this term. Several types of alternative food networks are currently being developed in Noord-Brabant. These alternative networks take various forms, such as organic farming combined with home sales, self-picking gardens, urban agriculture, farmers markets, (web) shops for local produce or box schemes. These are all important drivers at this micro-level of the transition landscape. However, in Noord-Brabant there currently are only three AFN's that implement CSA according to the strict definition of Van En (1985): The Kraanvogel, The Herenboeren and FRE2SH.

These projects are largely unaware of each other's existence. The number of participants in these projects has grown in recent years. They all work on the basis of organic practices and strive to operate as local as possible, with an emphasis is on vegetable production. These initiatives are established by farmers or dissatisfied consumers, without the support of actors at the regime level. The perception of the regime by niche developments is of interest. It is strikingly that in all cases people feel they miss support from the regime level in general, and from the administrative regime in particular. Because the CSA practices can be considered pioneer-developments, this is not surprising. The criticism is not very specific, but it focuses on lack of righteous legislation and the amount of legislation. Nonetheless, participants also acknowledge that an active role of the government is inappropriate, because initiatives like these should develop through bottom-up processes. This is in line with the thinking of the government representatives. As a government, the role of the province is limited, but it could provide them with a platform they state.

Interestingly, although their starting points differ, the parties in the societal pentagon all stress the same goal: a shorter food chain in order to regain trust and responsibility. Nonetheless, when it comes to CSA specifically, there seems to be a lack of intermediaries that are capable to connect the developments at the scale of niches and the regime. This group is missing in the societal pentagon and could be one explanation of the lack of support the initiatives at the niche level are experiencing.

Beliefs and preferences

The CSA practices seem to be successful because of their ability to organize the dynamics of the landscape (the shift towards the Ecologically integrated paradigm) in their projects. They all respond to notions of modernity (Giddens, 1991) such as capitalism, globalisation and attention for sustainability, and clearly uncover the phenomenon of reflexive modernization; they respond not only to the problems of modernity, but also the structures and systems that reproduce them, such as the pressure that is put on the agricultural system due to low supermarket prices, the lack of sustainable foods or the lack of possibilities for everyone to contribute to society. Above all, they agree on a crisis in the current system. Not only in the food system, but also in other sectors or even society as a whole. The initiatives offer a possibility to, on a small scale, withdraw yourself from this system. The most defining property of modernity is the 'disembeddedness' from time and space. CSA can be considered as a means to 're-embed' food into 'local ecologies'.

This localness is an important aspect in all CSA practices. The desire for locality in the food context can be explained through reasons of sustainability, quality and justice. Therefore CSA can be seen as a component of the movement of neo-localism (Schnell, 2013).

Place

Nonetheless, the definition of local varies in terms of physical proximity. A commonality is the ambition for short supply chains. Localness in all the examples is used to create meaningful relationships and community. None of the initiatives seems to fall for the local trap, since they all show how there localness is used as a means towards a higher goal. Place is an important aspect towards the creation of this sense of community. Participants seem to be attached to the places of their CSA's, because of their significance as meeting points but also because of the beauty of the surroundings. CSA becomes a way of connecting social and economic relationships to this physical reality. It is a means of countering the aspects of modernity (Giddens, 1991) represented by the anonymized food system. Engagement can be understood as active participation on site, but also as knowledge about the origin of food. However, the amount of 'community' in CSA varies. In line with Groh and McFadden (1997), most members simply desired fresh, organic, local produce. They are part of a large consumer base and within this large group there is a small amount of committed volunteers. As Verlain et al. (2012) showed, it is probably only the 'dark green consumers' (around 20% of the population) and maybe the 'light green consumers' (around 30% of consumer population) that are sensitive for the idea of CSA. Like some of the interviewees stated, CSA is not for everyone.

One could question whether 'community' is not always present. Is it possible to farm without community? It seems that as one of the interviewees stated 'consumers and producers did not loose each other out of sight, but they did loose each other *from* sight.' This means that despite the physical presence of a community, there might not be a feeling of community. Therefore the emphasis in community-supported agriculture should not be on *community* but on *supported*; what distinguishes CSA from prevailing agriculture in the productionist paradigm, it the support they gain in their surroundings and in their customer base.

Motivations and barriers

Participants in this search show that on a rational level it is mainly the quality of food of CSA that attracts people. Quality is here defined in terms of fresh, organic and sustainable.

The convenience of 'the supermarket' and the supposed inconvenience of CSA is what withhold people from joining. On the emotional level it is aspects of taste and origin that attract people to CSA and it is the risk factor that withholds people from joining. Perhaps the biggest obstacle for change is the power of the ordinary, the dominance of behavioural structures, the regime. Thus, participation in CSA should somehow offer a 'familiar' experience (Spierings and Van der Velde, 2008). Therefore a balance has to be found between the attractiveness of the products and the 'demand for a feeling of community', and factors such as 'convenience' and 'risk' should be reduced.

Whether from a transition perspective where they are influencing the regime from the niche level, from a structuration perspective where they as agents are influencing structure, or creating 'place' within the space formed by the regime, the question remains whether CSA is able to transcend the conventional boundaries between producer and consumer. The Herenboeren, FRE2SH and The Kraanvogel seem to be able to re-embed people into place and the seasons and to create awareness, but the amount of community in the project varies. However, if we decide to emphasize the *supported* aspect instead of the *community* aspect in CSA, all initiatives meet the requirement of having this communal support. Community then becomes a means for the agri-food sector to regain public support and the amount of community becomes less important. Nonetheless, for the situation in Noord-Brabant it is too early to say whether these initiatives will remain niche developments, or obtain enough strength to become a mainstream approach or generate spin-off effects. This depends on their ability to reduce keep and repel factors and enlarge push and pull factors.

7.2 Recommendations

Now what can the provincial government do about this? When looking at the transition from a governance perspective (Hajer, 2011) the government should keep a finger on the pulse of developments initiated by individual citizens, civil society and businesses to keep insights on innovations. Nonetheless, the transition perspective provides interesting viewpoints on how to deal with innovations within a changing system.

The search shows how innovations in the niche of CSA do not know each other. It is therefore important to create networks and platforms where innovative projects can meet and forge alliances.

The search also shows that there is a lack of actors at the level of the regime that fulfil an intermediary role for CSA. Such an actor is needed in order for these projects to influence the regime. In this instance it might be helpful to arrange a meeting on the subject with the societal pentagon, since they all strived for the same goal, but used different definitions.

Policymaking should avoid a 'quest for control' (van Gunsteren, 1976) and take into account the social and economical character of the processes it wants to direct. Through the establishment of platforms and networks these developments can be supported, by making them public.

7.3. Reflection and suggestions for further research

Some critical comments should be made regarding the search and its results. First of all, this search focused on the three projects in Noord-Brabant that meet the requirements of CSA. As described in chapter five, many other initiatives also arose that do not meet these requirements but share the philosophy of a short food chain. In this search I choose to use the strict definition, whereas it would have also been interesting to define a continuum of developments and make a comparison. A suggestion for further research could therefore be to involve these initiatives, such as subscription farms.

A transition is in this search used as a sensitizing concept. Transition theory is useful in a close analysis of complex systems. However, it is hard to concretize many of its concepts, as is shown in the landscape chapter, where paradigms had to be used and in the regime chapter, where the making of an analysis of the actors appeared to be hard. Grin et al. (2010) acknowledge that the theory still needs additional research. It could therefore be valuable to perform a research with transition at its core, not just as a sensitizing concept. Just like Paes (2013) encouraged scholars to take up the subject of community farming, I call on scholars from the field of public administration or political science perspective to shed their light on this subject.

The data I obtained stem from producers as well as consumers. However, when it comes to consumer's beliefs and preferences it has to be noted that they mostly are derived from people who are no 'passive' consumers, but the actual initiators of the projects. Therefore this information is based on their own views, or can be described as 'hear say' on what they think the other consumers think. This is due to the limited timespan of the search and the deployment of qualitative methods.

A suggestion for further research could be to further investigate these 'passive' consumers beliefs. This could be done by the use of quantitative methods, but also through a long period of participant observation at for example The Kraanvogel.

Regarding the conclusions, niches can be regarded as 'the seeds of transition' (Grin et al, 2010, p.p. 24). Only when they are sufficiently adjusted and 'mature' can they make use of the windows of opportunity and compete with the regime. Therefore it might have been too early to draw conclusions on their role in the transition process. The research could be repeated at a later stage in the transition.

The final critique involves my learning process of CSA and its aspects. While my original research objectives involved a more general study of benefits and barriers towards participation, it eventually also involved aspects such as transition theory and place building. It would have been advantageous to study these aspects before performing the fieldwork; I was still learning about the world of CSA while during the interviews. This would have benefited the quality of the interviews.

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Respondents

The Nieuwe Ronde

Klaas Nijhof
2 Volunteers

FRE2SH

Nicolette Meeder

The Kraanvogel

Maarten van Liere
Hermien van Liere

Herenboeren Boxtel

Pim Ketelaars
Boudewijn Tooren
Geert van der Veer
Rob van de Langenberg

Province of Noord-Brabant

Pieter de Boer
Ton Cornelissen
Hans van Dommelen

Brabantse Milieufederatie

Nol Verdaasdonk

Zuidelijke Land en Tuin-
bouworganisatie

Marjon Krol
Froukje Kooter

HAS University

Han Swinkels

Interview guide CSA practices

The CSA

- What is your CSA's mission? Why?
- What do you think of this definition of CSA: Contractual agreement between a local farmer and a group of consumers, described as shareholders/members. Members buy their share at the beginning of the season. Farmers then produce for a guaranteed market. Risks are shared: when the harvest is bad, everyone gets less.
- What is being produced in the CSA?
- How does it work? (contract, subscription, payments)
- What is the structure of the CSA?
- What is the relationship of the farmer towards the CSA?
- Is capital coming from the farmer, consumers or third parties?
- How open is the CSA to consumers?
- How is consumer involvement organised?
- What is in it for consumers?

Beliefs

- What is the problem CSA solves?
- How do you contribute to this?
- Which values appeal to your organisation?
- What is the desired end state and how is CSA a means for this?
- What is the difference between an apple from the supermarket or one that is produced in a CSA?

Place and community

- What does the CSA mean to you?
- What does the CSA's location mean to you?
- What is local about your CSA?
- Why is that important?
- What does the CSA mean in your relationship with the farmer?

Benefits and barriers

- What do you consider advantages of CSA?
- Why would people participate in CSA rather than buy from the store?
- What do you consider cons of CSA?
- Why would people rather buy from the store than participate in CSA?

Future

- Is there a future for CSA in Noord-Brabant?
- What is the role of CSA in the reunion of farmers and consumers?
- What could the government do to involve people in CSA?
- What is the role of the government in general?

Closing

- Are there any other matters?
- Are you interested in the results?

Interview guide expert interviews

The organisation

- What do you mean with CSA?
- What do you think of this definition of CSA: Contractual agreement between a local farmer and a group of consumers, described as shareholders/members. Members buy their share at the beginning of the season. Farmers then produce for a guaranteed market. Risks are shared: when the harvest is bad, everyone gets less.
- How is your organisation involved in CSA?
- Which initiatives for CSA do you know in Noord-Brabant and how is your organisation involved in these?

Beliefs

- What is the problem CSA solves?
- Which values of CSA appeal to your organisation?
- What is it your organisation wants to achieve in this field?
- What is the desired end state and how is CSA a means for this?
- What is 'local' about CSA?
- Does CSA reduce the distance between farmer and consumer?
- Is there a future for CSA in Noord-Brabant?
- What could you do to encourage CSA?
- What is the difference between an apple from the supermarket or one that is produced in a CSA?

Benefits and barriers

- What do you consider advantages of CSA?
- Why would people participate in CSA rather than buy from the store?
- What do you consider cons of CSA?
- Why would people rather buy from the store than participate in CSA?

Closing

- Are there any other matters?
- Are you interested in the results?