Beyond "living to work or working to live[1]": The organisation and the value of work in Diverse Economies

An Andalusian Community Supported Agriculture case study

Geo 620 Master's Thesis

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[1] Gibson-Graham, et al., 2013. *Take Back the Economy: An Ethical Guide for Transforming Our Communities*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 19.

Abstract

Andalusian agriculture is mostly based on extensive exploitations. Because a great share of Andalusian agriculture is in the hands of a few, many peasant day-labourers face unstable work conditions. Small-scale projects fostering agriculture according to agroecological principles and aiming *community economies* arose. Scholars writing about Community Supported Agriculture often highlight the controversial role of such alternative food networks, discussing whether they produce alternative spaces for change or if they reproduce neoliberal subjectivities and exploitative capitalist labour relations. This master thesis aims, by taking Gibson-Graham's stance of possibility, to look beyond this trade-off and to understand how CSA proposes here and now economic activities performing utopias of just worlds. It explores how work in CSA is organised and realised, which values are attached to these activities by the very participants, and to what extent theories of *diverse economy* can contribute to the understanding of values and "well-beings", and to what extent these theories can help explain tensions and problematics arising in the every-day activities. To do so, I carried out an ethnographic exploration on a specific CSA case study in the South of Spain. Through the analysis of the qualitative data collected, I first argue that the economy and work can be *taken back*, creating human and environmental well-being. This happens by setting principles and structures of organisation aiming *community economies*, whereas practices has to be repeatedly renegotiated. Second, it results that doing *community economies*, causes a change in people's perceptions of the economy, by internalising values about work, food, sustainability, nature and consumption. Third, acknowledging the economy as being diverse, can contribute to another understanding of the current existing tensions in such CSA projects, influencing their good functioning and the wellbeing of their participants.

Keywords: Community Supported Agriculture, diverse economy, community economy, organisation of work, values of work, ethnography, Andalusian agriculture

Acknowledgments

To you,

who inspired me,
who shared with me,
who filled me with emotion,
who opened doors and arms,
who helped me over and over again
who showed me confidence,
who let me think,
who criticised me,
Everything is born, grows and becomes in interaction.

And to you, who have a passion, a dream and who 'put your little grain of sand'.

Thank you!

A ti,

que me has inspirado,
que has compartido conmigo,
que me has llenado de emoción,
que has abierto tus puertas y tus brazos,
que me has ayudado una y otra vez,
que me has mostrado confianza,
que me has hecho pensar,
que me has criticado,
Todo nace, crece y se hace en interacción.

Y a ti, que tienes pasión, un sueño y que pones tu granito de arena.

¡Gracias!

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Abbreviations

CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
SOC	Sindicato Obrero del Campo
SAT	Sindicato Andaluz de los Trabajadores
AMAP	Associations pour le maintien de l'agriculture paysanne
RAS	Red Andaluza de Semillas
ISEC	Instituto de Sociología y Estudios Campesino

*« La vraie révolution est celle que nous amène
à nous transformer nous-mêmes pour transformer le monde »*
(Pierre Rabhi)

1 Introduction

"I think that capitalism is a criminal system, terrorist, thieving, necrophiliac, that destroys companies and does not meet the human being. We need a model where the human being is at the centre of the economy (...). What is important is that it is in accordance with the well-being of the human being, of all human beings." (Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo, mayor of Marinaleda)

Agriculture and food production today are mainly based on a capital-intensive system and integrated into the international market. The production is a large-scale, industrial and specialised one, dependent on technology and chemical and fossil fuel inputs. Its primary measure of success is the quantity of output per land used (Zerbe 2010: 7-10).

Market mechanisms shape the employment terms of labour and the organisation of work within the agro-food sector. The consequences are casualised work, precarious employment conditions and the degradation of the land. In addition, high informalisation and feminisation of labour take place, which rely on a mobilised reserve army of labour composed of migrants (Bonanno 2015: 252-256). These processes also take place in the region of Andalusia, which has a long agricultural tradition and relies today on an agricultural sector, which is integrated into the global market. This sector shows different problematics nowadays, for example concerning work.

Unstable short-term contracts mark the flexibility within the agricultural labour market of Andalusia: only 0.38% of the registered contracts in the sector in 2016 were for permanent positions. Contracts are created in accordance to the necessities of the companies and to the reasons of employment, namely seasonal demand for more or less labour (Obervatorio Argos et al. 2017). Moreover, the Andalusian unemployment rate in 2015 in agriculture was 40.7% - higher than the general unemployment rate of 31.5% in the region (Secretería General de Agricultura y Alimentación 2016). Depending on the season, between 20'000 and 50'000 demands for the agrarian work subsidy were submitted every month in 2017, showing the precarious working situation of agricultural labour (Servicio Público de Empleo Estatal 2017). In the regions of Huelva and Almería, the share of foreign labour, which especially comes from Morocco and Romania - typically hired under precarious conditions and origin contracts, the latter favouring circular migration (Hellio 2014) - exceeds 50% (Huelva) and 70% (Almería) of the total agricultural labour (Obervatorio Argos et al. 2017).

Initiatives called alternative food networks (AFN) have grown in order to propose an alternative form of production, distribution and consumption all over the planet. In contrast to the conventional agri-food system, they generally share the common vision of not being only economically profitable but also socially and environmentally sustainable (Zerbe 2010: 6 ; Bonanno 2015: 259). This master thesis focuses on one specific type of such alternative food networks, namely on Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). CSA itself is not a precisely delimited term, but it contains many different models of production and consumption. The general aim is to shorten the food chain by operating through direct sells. There is a particular emphasis on creating a community around the issues of food and land. CSA programs aim to produce high quality, seasonal, healthy and ecological food.

Commonly, CSA establishes special partnerships between all participants and normally entail a form of organisation by associations or cooperatives. It can, however, bring together different actors: consumers and producers or only producers or only consumers. Members are more or less engaged in different activities for the functioning of the cooperative (Mundler 2007: 1; Besse 2012: 262-272; Hinrichs 2000: 299-300; Henderson 2010; Boddenberg et al. 2017: 246, 258). Additionally, such initiatives take different names and show different degrees of commitment and ways of organizing, but they share common characteristics and aims. Usually, CSA in Spain is based on volunteer, non-professional, self-organised work (López Garçía 2016).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the model of small consumer groups, next to bigger food cooperatives, has been growing in Spain. Especially since the economic crisis of 2007-2008, there has been a trend to participate in solidarity agriculture initiatives. A survey showed that 93% of CSA initiatives in Spain were created after 2005, and 62% after 2010. Therefore, it is still a recent phenomenon.

While acknowledging the actual problematics of work, this master thesis aims to look beyond the polarisation between capitalist and alternative economic relations as mutually exclusive forces. It does this by setting the focus on the already performing possibilities of work building *community economies* to fulfil human and nature well-being. Indeed, while understanding the economy as diverse, it is possible to look at what can be done here and now with what we have and at the same time acknowledging the power of "utopian visions" as transformative forces (Gibson-Graham 2006: xix-xxvii). This master thesis has, therefore, the aim to look at the sustainability and the possibilities for transformation that offer CSA as a socioeconomic model. How can work be organised and realised in order that human activity can create well-being? What happens when we shift human well-being to the centre of the economy? To understand contributions and obstacles to create sustainable economies and work relations, it is important to look at people's perceptions of their own activities and the ontologies these activities create in people's life. This master thesis will explore these aspects of work on the base of an ethnography in Andalusia, taking into the focus one CSA association as a case study.

To do so, this master thesis starts with an overview of the existing research in this field and the existing discussions, leading to the relevance and the contribution this master thesis represents in this context. I then expose my three research questions and their respective sub-questions that lead the content of the thesis (chapter 2). Chapter 3 is dedicated to embedding the reader into the research context shaping my ethnography. This is followed by the theoretical approach that conceptualizes economy, work and value. The theoretical understanding relies especially on Gibson-Graham, and aspects were complemented with perspectives of André Gorz and Michael S. Carolan (chapter 4). In chapter 5, I present my positionality as a researcher and explain the methods and the usefulness of ethnography. The application of this methodology in the field is outlined, as well as my use of Grounded Theory as a data analysis method. This will open the stage to the analysis and presentation of the data collected on the field, answering my research questions. Chapter 6 engages in the discussion about which principles and tools are set in the analysed case study to organize work and how work is realised in practice. Chapter 7 deepens the discussion by understanding which values people active in CSA attach to their activities and how values are created by those very activities. It also analyses people's perceptions of visions and realities of work in CSA. Chapter 8 answers the question of how work in the specific case study can be analysed in the frame of *diverse economies*, to which extent it contributes to economies where the human being and nature are centre stage and the well-being of both is cared for. Chapter 9 sums up the research, answers the research questions concisely, evaluates the contribution of this master thesis and offers propositions for further research.

2 Literature review and research questions

2.1 State of research

Many scholars have engaged in research about alternative ways of agricultural production and consumption – in short, about alternative food networks (AFN). AFNs are defined as "*food markets that redistribute value through the network against the logic of bulk commodity production; that reconvene trust between food producers and consumers, and that articulate new forms of political association and governance*" (Whatmore et al. 2003: 389). Such networks include Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and many other forms of network. Alternativeness is defined in contrast to the capitalist market system relying on globalisation dynamics, which prevails in current human society (Watts 2005; Hinrichs 2000: 299-300). Alternative systems are discussed because of their rise in response to the ecological and social problems increasing under the economic crisis of 2008 (Boddenberg et al. 2017; Bilias 2015).

Alternative networks and CSA, therefore, seek to bring about a moral economy (Zerbe 2010; Weiler et al. 2016; Bolton & Laaser 2013) of provision forms for ecological and social transformation. Economic exchanges that are re-embedded in society and therefore "*justified in relation to social or moral sanctions, as opposed to the operation of free market forces*" define a moral economy (Thompson 1966 in Galt 2013: 347)". This is aimed by proposing self-organised, collective- and solidarity-based production on a small-scale through democratic planning and assuring the protection of small farmers (Bilias 2015; Espluga Trenc 2015; Besse 2012; Boddenberg et al. 2017; Zerbe 2010).

Literature on moral economies provides discussions about how alternative ways of production and distribution drive societal change and question how such initiatives impact on livelihoods and the well-being of people. Bolton and Laaser (2013) define well-being in moral economies relying on other scholars. When labour is treated as fictitious commodity, "*the human value of work and its impact on material, psychological and social well-being is neglected* (Bolton & Laaser 2013: 517)". Not only material resources contribute to well-being but the social dimension of life, too. Therefore, well-being is interdependent, reflecting "*moral evaluations about relations to others, about how people should treat one another in ways conducive to well-being but also about normative issues that economic practices pose upon social commitments and responsibilities*" (ibid.: 516). Rosol and Schweizer (2012), who work on urban agriculture, talk about solidarity economy, as a model arising from the neoliberal crisis. Without being defined precisely as a model, solidarity economy shares a democratic form of organisation based on free and equal cooperation. Additionally, its activities aim to satisfy human needs, maintaining relationships based on solidarity rather than competition (Rosol & Schweizer 2012: 715-716).

"*The modern economy is a machine which separates humans*" (Besse 2012: 261-262) – following this quote, a way to overcome the logic of the capitalist market is through bringing consumer and producer together (or even merging them together to prosumers). Other processes proposed by AFN to overcome this logic are joint decision-making on fair prices and the disconnection of prices from the exact amount of vegetables (Espluga Trenc 2015; Watson & Ekici 2016; Boddenberg et al. 2017). In this regard, CSA favours the decommodification of food, work and economic relations.

The greatest share of literature engaging with the functioning of CSA, or more generally on AFN, deals with locality, participation and commitment as components of exchange, as well as pleasure, friendship, aesthetics, affection, justice and reciprocity (Galt 2013: 348). Moreover, scholars often discuss the aspect of alternativeness for ecological and health reasons. The ecological impact concerns the discussion about the development of sustainable agricultural techniques, which are tightly related to but less central for economic geography. In this context, the role of the organic label is prominent. Authors argue that an ecological way of production is not enough in order to achieve a holistic understanding of sustainability. It should include social aspects, too. Often organic production takes place in big plantations, which function in accordance to the conventional agricultural model and where the only sustainable component is the ecological way of production

without chemical inputs. This is also often the case in the development of organic agriculture in Andalusia. Therefore, some authors see small-scale ecological production models such as CSA as more sustainable (Baqué 2012; Boddenberg et al. 2017).

Agroecology ties into this topic, as it is a holistic concept and way of producing, including social and ecological philosophies. The discourse around agroecological ways of production, especially in connection to participatory action and local food networks, such as CSA, is very present in Andalusia (Cuéllar-Padilla & Calle-Collado 2011; Guzmán et al. 2013; Dimuro Peter et al. 2013; López García & Begiristain Zubillaga 2016; Sevilla et al. 1996). Additionally, CSA in Andalusia is discussed through the frame of empowerment of social groups and just development of cities (Dimuro Peter et al. 2013).

Most of the literature dealing with projects in Andalusia that can be defined as doing CSA does not use the term Community Supported Agriculture. It is a terminology, which is rather used in English than in Spanish. Far more often, scholars speak about models such as agroecological cooperativism, organic food networks, small organic production, alternative food networks and participative agriculture. It is Daniel López Garçia (2016) who linked the definition of CSA to the vast literature about the topic in Andalusia. There are not only different scholars studying the agroecological movement in Andalusia; there are studies that focused their research on the same case study as I do with this exploration. First, Pablo Saravia Ramos (2012) carried out research for his doctoral thesis through a qualitative exploration within the association La Acequia and the cooperative Hortigas. Based on their historiography, he aimed to first understand the discursive and practical characteristics and physiognomy of these social movements in relations to how they interpret production, distribution and consumption of food. Second, he aimed to know the paths and discontinuities of these experiences in their process of political creation as an alternative for social change (155). Furthermore, recently Liliana Reina Usuga investigated agroecological initiatives aiming for short chains of commercialisation in Córdoba in order to first identify the different actors, their configuration as a social network and the relational capital between them; and second, to analyse the relational capital from a gender perspective (Reina Usuga 2017). Finally, based on a restricted ethnographic exploration in the cooperative Hortigas, Virginia Bermúdez Vázquez wrote her bachelor thesis about the significance of the cooperative's activity as economic, political and social alternative (Bermúdez Vázquez 2017).

In the literature on moral economy, the controversy arises very often whether CSA really represents a "politics of the possible" (Harris 2009) and creates, as it argues, alternative spaces, or if it actually reproduces neoliberal subjectivities. Some scholars exploring this question tend to argue that CSA initiatives are more than just embedded into capitalism and reproducing neoliberal markets (Alquézar et al. 2014; Harris 2009), while others admit that this question cannot really be answered, but that both processes coexist (Hinrichs 2000; Mundler 2007; Mincyte & Dobernig 2016). As outlined above, authors often conclude that social benefit arises (Brown & Miller 2008; Espluga Trenc 2015) and more specifically that attempts to ameliorate labour relations are taken (Alquézar et al. 2014). For example, the fair price set in a collective decision should valorise the work of the farmer (Besse 2012: 270). However, there is a controversy in the topic, namely whether alternative economy gives a new meaningful value to work, or whether exactly the discursive emphasis on change within alternative economy legitimizes features reproducing exploitative capitalist labour relations. In addition, the question arises in which way decommodified relations are recommodified. Differing between research findings, some scholars speak more favour of one impact or the other, or engage critically with this discussion.

Different studies evaluate work and working conditions in CSA differently. With his research on the French CSA model (called AMAP), Paturel (2010) explains in more detail which dynamics in CSA impact work and how. He argues that the direct encounters between producers and consumers create social recognition for the producers, which gives the former a sense of the work they do and empowers them (Paturel 2010: 4 and Hayden & Buck 2012). Moreover, collective action on a cooperative basis changes the way one perceives work. Collective work engages a different way of work organisation. Cooperation demands a sharing of values and trustful relationships (Paturel 2010: 6-8). Hayden & Buck (2012) argue that through long-term embodied

participation in "tactile spaces" affects environmental ethics of CSA members. In contrast, Weiler, Otero & Wittman (2016) conclude from their study on labour-intensive AFN in Canada that moral economies creates precarious work regimes with exploitative conditions. They argue that a romanticised agrarian ideology disguise precarious work regimes of seasonal migrant workers and young interns. They often work for no or little wage and with minimal social protection. Farm interns for example exchange work for non-monetary values as food, room and education. However, often these workers show self-exploitative characteristics, based on the benefit of getting a "training" or based on a discourse of morality and necessity of the project (Weiler et al. 2016: 1-6).

Hinrichs (2000) recognizes both sides of the coin, a potential for decommodified relations as well as of self-exploitation in CSA. The consumer's economic share is built on trust and sharing farmers' worries. The investment has not the aim to grow money, but to grow food and an environmentally and socially friendly system of agriculture. She acknowledges limitations to it, though, because if one wants to avoid the farmer's self-exploitation by setting a right price, access for people with restricted possibilities is easily denied. She explains that there is a tension within direct markets between embeddedness and marketness (Hinrichs 2000: 295).

Galt (2013) offers a rich contribution this debate, introducing the importance to look at the distinct rationalities of farmers. He asks in his exploration on CSA in California if valuing work in CSA more, allows farmers a better livelihood or if competitive pressures prevent them from adequately valuing their work. When evaluating CSA in a broader political economy, he assesses that self-exploitation happens very commonly within CSA-farmers. Hard work, low economic returns and undercharging the purchaser define this. Self-exploitation explains why simple commodity producers can outcompete capitalist firms in agricultural production (Galt 2013: 346-348). However, Galt takes a closer look at farmer's alternative motivations and rationalities about work. Such rationalities have an important impact on their definition of well-being. There are multiple values not reducible to the capitalist economic rationality. Questioned farmers defined profit as healthy food, friends to share with and self-provisioning possibilities and therefore they enjoy their work in CSA (ibid.: 359-360). However, Galt recognizes that social embeddedness creates a sense of personal obligation that diminishes the farmer's well-being. Moreover, she says that monetary undervaluing can harm the longevity of CSA and have a reverse effect, namely to recommodify the relationship between farmer and consumer (ibid.: 347, 358). This could be overcome by fostering an open dialogue within participants of CSA (ibid.: 360-361).

Mincyte & Dobernig (2016) highlight this controversial topic, too, linking it to the work of young volunteers on CSA farms. They define urban farms as "sites of experimental production". On one side, they recognize a disalienation and decommodification of labour by the voluntary work on such farms because the experience reconnects one with the authentic self and emphasizes on non-material values of work. On the other side, such work represents a commodification process of it, too: firstly, because it is used by many young workers to create a network and build careers; and secondly, because the engagement in the farm reproduces values defining neoliberalism such as self-improvement, and entrepreneurship (1767, 1775-1776).

Scholars recognize another danger that emerge within this controversial discussion, namely the accessibility to such projects. Acknowledging marketness of CSA, Mincyte & Dobernig (2016: 1781) as well as Galt (2013: 361) and Hinrichs (2000: 301) add that there is an additional tendency that prices rise and that therefore access is restricted. Indeed, they say that often people with limited means have no access to ecologic, fair and local food and that AFN projects like for example urban gardening "*translate into an influx of white and more privileged groups into poorer communities and formerly industrial sites, creating conditions for gentrification and further commodification of these urban spaces*" (Mincyte & Dobernig 2016: 1781).

Hill (2015) and other scholars (Carolan & Hale 2016; Carolan 2013a) offer a turn into this juxtaposition within CSA analysis. Research is limited by "*speaking in a matter-of-fact way and by focusing on capitalist and neoliberal economies as the yardstick by which to assess all food economy initiatives*" (Hill 2015: 551). Food

systems inquiry should rather focus on "*matters of concern*" (Hill 2015). This implies another ontology, where we do not value capitalist interactions to be dominant but where there is room to gather and assembles diverse food economies (ibid.: 556, 561). To think differently about alternative food initiatives requires a different theoretical framing that "*recognizes that the marginality (and paranoia) associated with alternative initiatives comes from defining something as alternative in the first place*" (Hill 2015: 557). That is why these and other scholars (see, for example, Dixon 2010) engage with the performative approach of Gibson-Graham. They already recognize within a frame of *diverse economies*, that community food can be a site of post-capitalist economic possibility (Hill 2015: 557).

2.2   Research contribution and research questions

The literature review shows that despite a vast discussion around CSA, controversies still exist and further analysis could enrich the debate. The existing studies tend to focus on different characteristics and aims of CSA rather than perceptions of workers and the value they attach to their work. There are some authors who take different rationalities of participation (Galt 2013) and non-material values (Mincyte & Dobernig 2016; Paturel 2010) into account. However, when well-being is assessed, it is mostly done in respect to paid work in CSA, namely farmers (Galt 2013; Hinrichs 2000). Literature about how work in CSA is organised and how that and embodied experiences impact on work values can be enriched. Especially, while I understand the importance of taking into consideration the practices reinforcing neoliberal subjectivities, I do not want to use a "*critical lens to unintentionally perpetuate the very practices we are hoping to dislodge*" (Carolan & Hale 2016: 12). Consequently, this paper aims at understanding Community Supported Agriculture and especially work within CSA through the lens of *diverse economies* and to contribute to this literature. Taking this approach should help me understand how and why people value their activities, and how participation and experience shape such values over time, according to the fluidity of economic relations (Carolan & Hale 2016: 2-3). Understanding value is important in order to understand the well-being of the participants and the potential for *community economy*. To discuss that, it is important to look at how work is organised and how relations are shaped by such economic activities. While the *diverse economy* approach recognizes fluid relations, it understands community-based projects also as sticky: "(…) *which is to say that they do not travel well. (...) each needs to be grown within a given community, not transplanted from elsewhere*."(Carolan & Hale 2016: 12). Therefore, I emphasize taking into account the context and history surrounding and influencing a production system and how the latter developed, understanding changes and dynamics in the organisation of work and values. That is why an in-depth look through an ethnographic exploration is helpful. Additionally, it is pertinent to analyse this topic for the development of future policies. In the actual economic and employment crisis, it is important to debate how work, as essential constitutive of social life and economic relations, could be reorganised towards the fulfilment of well-being and sustainability through human activity.

Therefore, the thesis will answer the following research questions and subquestions. An ethnographic exploration of a specific case study in Andalusia will provide the empirical material to answer questions 1 and 2. Therefore, these questions are directed to the specific case study and answers cannot be generalised on CSA as a whole. However, question 3 will bring the ethnography-based findings into dialogue with the general debate about CSA.

1) **How is work organised and realised in the "Asociación cooperativa agroecologica La Acequia" in Cordoba?**

   o   Which principles are set to guide work?
   o   What is the organisational form and structure?
   o   What rules set terms of employment and participation?
   o   How are relations between workers?
   o   Who are the actors involved?

2) Which values do participants attach to work in the "Asociación cooperativa agroecologica La Acequia" in Cordoba?

- o How do workers perceive their work in the association?
- o What are their motivations for participation?
- o How does their work shapes participants' lives?

3) How does the understanding of the organisation and the value of work in this CSA case study can be put into relation with the debates on *diverse economies*?
- o To what extent does the case study build *community economies*?
- o How does work in CSA contributes to the well-being of its participants?
- o To what extent is the decommodification of agricultural production interesting to understand values of work?
- o How does the *diverse economy* approach help understand controversies and difficulties in CSA economies?

3 Research context and research case

3.1 The history and context of peasant labour and agricultural land in Andalusia

3.1.1 The historic specificity of latifundism persisting until today

Andalusia has a longstanding tradition of land concentration. According to different scholars, the historic persistence of latifundism (large-scale estate agriculture) in Andalusia marks its social structure, producer of inequalities. Its origins date back to the agrarian structures of the Christian reconquest in the 8th century, but especially to the 19th century when a dismantling of communal, cleric and manor properties took gradually place in favour of rich and big farmer families. This meant that the latifundist structure was not only maintained, but also reinforced at this moment. In addition, during this period a demographic change took place that led rural Andalusia from being "*land without men*" to "*men without land*" (Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 41-42). At the end of the 19th century, the landless day labourers – the "jornaleros" – made up 80% of the agricultural sector. Peasant protests multiplied therefore in the beginning of the 20th century. During the short Second Republic (between 1931 when the monarchic regime ended and 1939 when the Francoist dictatorship took the power) an agrarian reform was launched. However, scholars argues that the reform did not put into question the very structures and property relations of that time and were then anyway interrupted by a political change, namely by the instauration of the Francoist regime (1939-1975). Ideas of social transformation were repressed. During this period, Andalusian agriculture experienced a modernisation in order to face the pressure of global markets. This led to further polarisation between big property owners and dispossessed land labourers, as little and middle-scale farmers had to leave their lands, because they could not afford the capitalisation process of their farms. The percentage of day labourers was still as high as hundred years before, and unemployment was high, too. (Sauzion 2015; Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 41-46)

Especially, from the 80ies and 90ies onwards (after Franco's dictatorship), policies turned to be liberal and Andalusian agriculture was integrated into a globalised economic system, explain Sauzion and Gonzales de Molina et al. This fostered mechanisation of Andalusian agriculture as well as the destruction of the traditional model of agriculture. Fertilizers were introduced during this period, remembers Antonio, the farmer of the Acequia. Sauzion (2015) explains that this model of development favoured the excessive use of chemical products, contributing to a degradation of the environment. This type of agriculture increased productivity and diminished peasant employment, and big exploitations were favoured by these changes. As social peasant movements arose, the government tried to implement an "agrarian reform", in which economically inefficient land could have been confiscated by the government and offered to cooperatives for the revitalisation of the rural area. However, the instrument of land confiscation was never totally implemented and already abandoned during the 90ies. Furthermore, from 2010 onwards, the government decided to sell the confiscated and still unused land in auctions. However, due to the financial crisis of 2008 farmers had difficulties to buy these pieces of land and especially small-scale farmers faced obstacles taking loans in order to buy the land. Therefore, there is even public land, which continues to be unused today, next to the land of the big landlords. (Sauzion 2015; Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 99-102)

Scholars share the conclusions that the problem of inequalities in land distribution has rather been intensified by contemporary policies (Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 108-109; Sauzion 2015). Today the farmers and activists I interviewed in the field all witness that still a disproportionate great share of the land is owned by the so-called "terratenientes", the big landlords, where the most important owners are the Duke of the Infantado and the family of the Duchess of Alba. Juan, a member of the SAT helping in the occupied farm of Somonte, told me:

> "*Andalusia has 8 million hectares land. Two percent of landlords own 50% of this land. That means that for four million hectares, they receive a reward of around 800 million of euros from the Common Agricultural Policy, public money that we all pay as European citizens. They don't have to justify this money with improvements on the farm. They receive it just for the reason of owning this land – the more*

land they have, the more they receive. The little- and middle-scale farmers, the remaining 98%, receive the other 50%. However, in spite of so much fertile land, more than 500'000 day-labourers continue to be unemployed, waiting to achieve the 35 days of work that permits them to receive the miserable 430 euros for six month in the year [from the "Plan de Empleo Rural"] to half scrape out a living." (Juan)

Indeed, the adhesion to the common agricultural policy of the European Union led to the introduction of agrarian subsidies, in order to maintain Andalusian agriculture. As Ivan from La Verde and Juan, Fidel and Gabriel from Somonte explained to me, the most debated issue about European subsidies is that they are distributed in accordance to the size of the land owned and not in relation to the real production generated on it. This means that the big landlords profit from the European money. Indeed, 20% of farm owners receive 80% of the subsidies (Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 18). Big landlords would hold their land not for the production of food, but for the production of money, says Juan. This would show how productive land is "wasted" in Andalusia and why so many fields are not used for diversified cultivations, which would be more labour intensive, according to Ivan. Additionally, since the 80ies, the Spanish government introduced a social protection system - the PER (Plan de Empleo Rural) – to tackle the unemployment in Andalusian and Extremaduran rural areas and palliate the flexibility of agrarian seasonal work. Discussion in literature about the PER (see Sauzion 2015) is the same as on the field, according to my interviewee Pedro, who explained me this system and its problematics. Agrarian day labourers receive the financial help, if they have worked a minimum amount of days during the year and if they have contributed to the agrarian insurance every month. However, the system has its drawbacks. First, the financial help is not high enough to assure the subsistence of the day labourers. Second, it is often difficult to get the minimal requirement to get the aid and the system is dominated by discriminatory political favouritisms. Third, the PER has been victim of very much fraud, coming from sides of the labourers but also and more consistently from companies. That is why this financial aid towards the rural area and day labourers has not a good reputation within the population today, even if it is an important measure. History shows that even if some claims arose and the government introduced some policies over the years, the Andalusian agrarian question has not been solved yet. Land property has not been redistributed until today and the agrarian labour still faces injustice and precarity. (Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 9-132; Sauzion 2015; Cuéllar-Padilla & Calle-Collado, 2001: 376)

Figure 1: Typical agricultural landscape in Andalusia - between Palma del Río and La Campana (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

3.1.2 Consequences of modern agricultural specialisation

The dynamics of the last decades and the general evolution of the global agri-food system changed the specialisation of the Andalusian agricultural production. Even if the socioeconomic conditions, employment in agriculture and the development of the rural area of Andalusia have deteriorate, the agrarian importance of Andalusia is still prominent. Andalusian agriculture today is marked by extensive production specialised in

monocultures, especially for exports (Tejedor & Navarro Luna 2001: 102; Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 14-15). This has a strong impact on the biodiversity of the region, as well as on the quality of the soil and the water resources, emphasize Gonzales de Molina et al. (2014: 15, 103, 168).

The sectors of horticulture, fruit crops and olives have been growing rapidly because of their comparative advantage in the international market. Meanwhile, the production of cotton and cereals for example has been diminishing. Spain produces almost 40% of olives globally, of which more than 80% are produced in Andalusia, especially in the regions of Cordoba and Jaén (Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 110). According to Tejedor & Navarro (2001: 111), as well as according to my interviewee Diana specialised in the topic, one of the central problems for olive (oil) producers in Andalusia is that they sell the major part of the products in bulk, especially to Italy, France and Portugal. Consequently, they argue that the profit margins of commercialisation and bottling do not stay in the hand of the Andalusian producers.
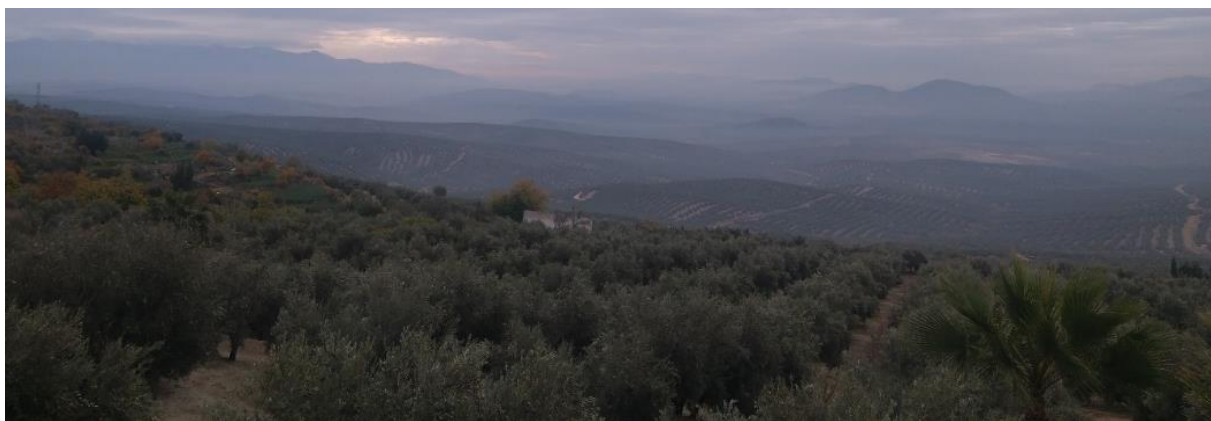
Figure 2: Olive trees until the horizon - view from Ubeda over the regions of Cordoba and Jaén (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

Another prevalent sector, horticulture, also has its origins in the Andalusian access to the European market. Horticultural extensive production is concentrated in the south-eastern Andalusian region of Almería, well known for the vast regions clustered with white greenhouses. Indeed half of the horticultural crops of Andalusia are grown there (Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 117). The southwestern region of Huelva is another important region for the clustering of greenhouses for extensive berry production. Both production sites are characterised by the high presence of migrant labour. The majority of the workers come from Morocco and other African countries or from Eastern Europe countries. The high presence of migrant workers is due to the European and Spanish migration policy regime, according to Hellio (2014). She argues that it enables and supports the recruitment of flexibilised, precarised and feminised, undocumented labour. Indeed, migrant worker are hired

Figure 3: migrant workers in a village of the Alpujarra getting into a car that brings them to work in the fields (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

under poor working conditions and with short-time contracts, because of the seasonality of extensive agriculture. Aside from undocumented migrants working on the Andalusian fields, many of the migrant workers are hired under "origin contracts". This means that migrants agree contractually to return to their home country once the working season has ended (Hellio 2014; Carnet 2008). I met Amadou, a seasonal worker from Mali in the Alpujarra, the mountainous area of Granada. This area is a historically important area for agriculture, where migrant labour is present today, even if on a smaller size than in Almería and Huelva. Amadou told me that depending on the season he changes place. In summer, he works in Bérchules, a village of the Alpujarran mountains, whereas in winter he has to look for work in the greenhouses of Almería or Huelva.

Sometimes he even went to the city of Logroño in Northern Spain, during the grape season. He earns per hour, and if he works a full day, he can earn between 30 and 40 euros. Many bosses (he calls them "patron" in

French) give to the migrant workers sleeping facilities next to the fields. The cost is of half an hour of work per day. Although Amadou has a social insurance and usually has a working contract, his working conditions cannot be termed as secure. For example, he already experienced, that his boss in Almería did not pay him the salary and he had no power to demand justice. "*You can go to the police, but if you don't have any chance, you lose. (...) You cannot do anything. (...) Some help you, but others help the bosses. (...) Than, the police says that they send you back to Africa.*" Amadou says that since the economic crisis of 2008, the situation got worse. He argues that since the actual president is in power, and many companies would have voted for him, the bosses have more freedom to mistreat workers. "*There is some bosses that treat you as a slave, others are better*" (Amadou).

Figure 4: Areal view on the agricultural Andalusian landscape (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

Figure 5: Areal view on the greenhouses of Almería (Photo: El Observador. https://www.elobservador.com.uy/almeria-megaproduccion-alimentos-n1110162)

3.1.3 Development of organic production

In the last decades, organic production has become important in Andalusia. Spain had a tardive development in organic agriculture compared to other European countries. Since the nineties, it rose very fast and today Spain is the EU-leader in ecological agriculture, whereby Andalusia makes the most important part of it. However, organic agricultural sites are in average more extensive than farms following conventional agriculture. This is because olives, grains and pasture, which are crops that always grow on large exploitation, compose a great share of the ecological production. Organic agriculture follows therefore conventional patterns: mostly monocultures in the hands of transnational actors of which products are destined to export. Thus, many authors argue that the ecologic turn is not truly fostering sustainability, nor the integration of small- and middle-scale producers (Tejedor & Navarro Luna 2001: 103-104; Cuéllar-Padilla & Calle-Collado 2011: 376; Gonzales de Molina et al. 2014: 179-180). Additionally, the certification label in Andalusia for ecologic production given by the CAAE is subject of discussions, as I acknowledged in the field as well as from literature. First, as Ángela, a member of the association La Acequia told me, the certification has to be paid by the producer rather than by the public institutions, in contrary to other Spanish regions. Controls happen once a year and are announced, which permits deviations from organic management. Therefore, she argues that some people prefer therefore to buy at small producers, which are not certified, but whom they trust thanks to direct relations that they produce ecologically. Additionally, Cuéllar-Padilla & Calle-Collado (2011: 376) explains that the certification system does not incentive small-scale farms and neither diversified production systems to be certified, because fix costs for the certification are the same for little as for large-scale farms and monocultures are less expensive than diversified productions. However, critics to ecologic production has to be relativised. The interviewee Luís, who is member of the association La Acequia as well as agronomist and expert in ecologic management and certification in the region, acknowledges the dark side of ecologic

extensive production in Andalusia, but do not visualize it as black and white phenomena. According to him, big steps towards ecologic production has been achieved in the last decades in Andalusia:

"*I do not say that there is so much production of this type [extensive ecologic monocultures]. It is true that there is, but there is also many people who do it by conviction, and because they like it. Rich and poor, big and small, medium size, of all the styles. (...) Therefore, this opinion that everything certified is just very… it hurts. Because I fought a lot in order to achieve a legislation. I started before there was any legislation, neither in Europe.*" (Luís)

3.1.4 Social movements reclaiming

Different social movements arose and projects of the civil society grown in response to the grievances. Already during the 80ies and 90ies, the Andalusian peasant population started to fight strongly to vindicate land redistribution. Different manifestations and land occupation took place. "La tierra para quien la trabaja" – "land for those who work it", was the slogan, which persist until today. The labour union of the peasant day labourers – the SOC (Sindicato Obrero del Campo) – was very active in this fight. Today the labour union is called SAT (Sindicato Andaluz de los Trabajadores), therefore including labourers from all sectors. The leftist labour union

Figure 7: A mural in Marinaleda representing the occupation march to the fields (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

Figure 6: Manifestation of the SAT in December, 2007 (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

fights especially for more sovereignty in Andalusia, strongly including food sovereignty. It encourages cooperativism, ecologic production, participation, feminism and the end of machismo. It has a strong nationalist element. The agrarian question remains one of its central interests. One of the most striking examples in the history of Andalusia, is the fight for land by the SOC and the citizens of Marinaleda, a village of Sevilla. Men and women, living in very poor conditions, occupied the "finca del Humoso" – a vast land property of the Duke of the Infantado – with a long fight during the 80ies and 90ies that included manifestations, marches, hunger strikes and police deportations, until they won. Today, the SAT continues to use the tactic of land occupations in order to demand land and work for the "jornaleros". Nowadays the farm of Somonte in the region of Cordoba, the farm of Cierro Libertad in the region of Jaén and the farm of el Indiano in the region of Cádiz has been illegally occupied (Falcón 2015; interviews with Ivan, Paco, Pablo, Juan, Fidel, Gabriel, Mariana).

Figure 8: Occupied farm of Somonte - "Somonte for the people - so that the world knows it" (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

Next to movements reclaiming land, social movements reclaiming local and direct markets through agroecological agriculture rose, too. Whereas in the beginning, the syndicalist movements were emphasizing more the fight for access to land and employment for the people, the agroecological movement cared especially about a sustainable production and distribution system. If there were different voices within the syndicalist movements in the last decades what concerns agricultural methods, today it is clear that they aim and promote an ecological management of the land and better integration into the social market. However, the two movements are not two distinct and separated ones. Indeed, they intersect and pose similar demands, but the degree of political involvement varies. For example, La Verde, the first important agroecological cooperative in Andalusia in the region of Cádiz has its origins in a land occupation of the 80ies by some young people militating in the SOC. The reasons were the same as outlined before: employment in the rural area was scarce, but people had families to feed. What started as an initiative between 30 people who wanted to be partly self-sufficient on occupied land developed into a cooperative of farmers, farming legally on public and bought land who to this day continue to sell organic vegetables through direct chains in the regions of Cádiz and Sevilla (interview with Bianca, farmer of the cooperative La Verde).

"The agroecological model, especially in those enterprises managed under forms of social economy (cooperatives), is becoming strong in Andalusia as an efficient alternative to the disintegration and the dislocation of the Andalusian agricultural wealth" (Tejedor & Navarro Luna 2001: 101). Agroecology can be defined in a very synthesised way as *"the ecologic management of natural resources, which, by incorporating collective social action with participative character, allows the design for sustainable development"* (Sevilla et al. 1996: 42). Since the beginning of the century, the model of small consumer groups, next to bigger food cooperatives, has been growing in Spain. Additionally, such initiatives take different names and show different degrees of commitment and ways of organizing, but they share common characteristics (López Garçía 2016). The model of associations and cooperatives joining production and consumption grew, where the Acequia of Cordoba and Hortigas of Granada are two referents in Andalusia. *"This model experienced a boom until 2010. In a lot of sites, it functioned and so many cooperatives of production and consumption were created on the whole Spanish peninsula"* (Miriam, farmer). Other CSA models were reproduced in Andalusia, as cooperatives of only producers, consumer groups, guarantee systems between private farmers and consumers, communal gardens and wider regional agroecological networks and cooperatives grouping single associations. I got to know personally and through telling or readings a lot of CSA projects in Andalusia[2]. Some of them have persisted for many years, while other already dissolved and yet others have recently been born.

Another important demand of the agroecological movement in Andalusia nowadays within food sovereignty and the maintenance of biodiversity, is the production of own seeds and the recuperation of local varieties. This makes it possible to be even more independent from the global market. The cooperative of La Verde has realised a huge seed bank over the years of activity. Only for tomatoes, they store seeds from 80 varieties. They exchange or sell them however in a grey zone of legality. As stated by Bianca of the cooperative La Verde as well as by Baqué (2012: 316) the actual legislations does not make it easy to receive a certification for selling own produced ecological seeds. According to Adrian, one of my informal conversation partners who works for the company, the RAS (Red Andaluza de Semillas) – the Andalusian network for seeds – is very active in promoting reproduction and exchange of local ecologic seeds varieties. For example it organizes every year a fair of biodiversity. On the one, I participated in October in Conil de la Frontera, different

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[2] Among others: La Acequia (Cordoba), Hortigas (Granada), La Verde (Cadiz), La Reverde (Jerez de la Frontera), Valle y Vega (Granada), Subbética Ecologica (Cordoba), La Rehuerta (Cordoba), Cresta y Lechuga (Sevilla), La Ortiga (Sevilla), Huertos Al-Xaraf (Sevilla), Isla de Tercia (Sevilla), Huerto del Rey Moro (Sevilla), El Enjambre sin Reina (Sevilla), El Gazpacho Rojo (Sevilla), Cooperativa de los Pueblos Blancos (Cadiz), Malas Hierbas (Cadiz), Red agroecologica de Cadiz

Figure 9: Recuperation of Kamut wheat seeds in Somonte (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

agroecological associations, cooperative and networks were present in order to exchange seeds and promote their varieties. Additionally, many political discussions about the topic took place and the event offered a good opportunity to make contacts between projects. In my association The Acequia, on which I based my ethnographic exploration, the farmer also reproduced the own seeds from our own production, in order to replant it the succeeding year. People in the occupied farm of Somonte are recuperating around ten ancient varieties of wheat since last year in cooperation with the RAS, according to Paco working there.

Agroecology has not only stayed in the focus of social movements. It has been developed in the last decades as an important academic discipline in the universities of Andalusia. The ISEC (Instituto de Sociología y Estudios Campesinos) at the University of Cordoba is well known, as well as researchers studying the topic in the Universidad Pablo Olavide of Sevilla or in the International University of Andalusia (Ángela; Luís). As a researcher of the ISEC told me, it have not been long since the public authorities from the city of Cordoba collaborated actively with them and showed interest in civil society projects within agroecology. Actually, the city of Córdoba signed the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact, which incentivises local governments to recall the global food production problems and to propose solutions to which commit in order to attain sustainable food systems on cities level. In November, the city presented jointly with the University of Cordoba the actual diagnostic of the results for the last year in attaining the goals, as the acequian member Ángela told me.

Figure 10: Exchange of local seeds by the RAS (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

3.2   General work situation and the impact of the economic crisis

In Spain, and especially Andalusia, the problem of unemployment and precarious work conditions are very present. I presented in the introductory words the statistical evidences taken from the publications of the autonomous governance of Andalusia, showing the extent of precarisation and unemployment. Partly this is due to structural development of the economic and agricultural model, as explained in the last chapter. Partly, the economic crisis in 2008 especially damaged the Andalusian economy and caused a massive increase in unemployment (Sánchez Maldonado 2015: 5). During my ethnographic exploration, I collected many

witnesses and histories behind these numbers. Almost in every encounter I had, regardless of the meeting context, people started to talk with me about the employment and economic situation of the country.

In the village of la Campana for example, in the rural region of Cordoba near the occupied farm of Somonte, the unemployment rate is 50%, Juan told me. That is one reason why people of this area started to claim for land occupying Somonte. However, also outside the rural area, it is difficult to find stable employment. Ángela, who has multiple university degrees, has been looking for employment in her area of studies for several years. A lot of her friends, as well as her brother, moved away from Spain in order to find a job. She says that she only found short-contract employments a few times, which let her live in a precarious situation. While discussing with Ramon, a student finishing his degree, I realised that the fear of finding a job after graduation is huge – and not the fear of finding a fulfilling and a suitable job, but the fear of finding any job. Many people told me, that if you want to have a stable and dignified job in Spain, the only way is to be a functionary for the state. That is why many people take the "oposiciones", the exams in order to have access to functionary positions. For Enrique, a young law graduate who is making the exam to get a functionary decision in the military, passing the "oposiciones" would be the most secure way for him to get employment. Or Elías, a hostel employee, who is taking functionary exams too, because as he says his whole family did the same and now have secure jobs. The economic crisis hit the country very hard. Maira, working as a teacher says: "*I feel privileged. I work in what I want and I have a job for the rest of my life. Especially in the actual situation of Spain and taking into account my age*" (Maira). Miguel, a hostel owner, witnessed how his own business went bankrupt because of the economic crisis, because his main business partner, a company he delivered for, went bankrupt. He is still waiting for the money this company owes him. Meanwhile, he started a new business in the tourist sector. Paco, working and living in Somonte now, has originally lost his job during the crisis. He could not finish paying his mortgage and had to go back to his parent's house. Witnesses are not specifically related to the agricultural sector, but they show the extent of the Andalusian situation. According to Molina (2014: 9), it is pertinent to look to the agrarian question of Andalusia, taking into perspective the actual economic crisis, the crisis of the economic model of growth prevailing on the Andalusian economy and the height of the unemployment rate. The latter would have even put more under pressure, as workers, originally employed in other sectors, return to the agrarian one.

3.3   "Asociación cooperativa agroecologica La Acequia" in Cordoba

For my ethnographic exploration, I took part mainly in the agroecological cooperative association La Acequia in Cordoba. It wants to promote the consumption of ecologic products through the care of the earth and the people. It is an association of production and consumption. Members of the association are producer and consumer at the same time. They produce for their own consumption and do not sell their vegetables. At the moment, there are seven groups of consumption within the association to facilitate the organisation. The association counts approximately 50 vegetable baskets, although this number varies constantly. Many people have as half a basket as their unit of consumption instead of an entire one, depending on the size of their own household. I had, for example, half a basket during my stay, my flatmate had half too, and we were a household of three people. Therefore, there are more participants in the association than baskets, approximately 80 people. Members pay 20 euros per month for receiving half a basket, and respectively 40 euros for the whole basket. The price is not set in accordance to the conventional market, but in order to cover the costs of the project. Every Thursday evening the baskets are brought to the distribution place, where members can come to pick them up. The association has one employee, a farmer, who does most of the work in the fields. The fields are in a tiny village, 20-30 minutes car drive from the city of Cordoba where the members live. Work is therefore mainly relying on voluntary work aiming self-sufficiency.

The association has a horizontal system of organisation. The groups of consumption are self-managed. One time per month, an assembly takes place, in order to take jointly the decisions about the collective. Using a rotational system, one group has to lead it and another has to record in writing the discussion and decisions. Previous to the assembly, the groups must meet to discuss the monthly agenda and decide their own position

as a group regarding the different points to discuss. Therefore, only at least one representative per group has to attend the assembly, to contribute the decisions, positions and opinions discussed at the reunion to the association's plenum. Decisions are always taken by consensus, which means that every person within the group and every group within the association has to support the final decision. Different tasks rotate between the groups during the year, as for example to take the responsibility for the mini-van owned by the association, the treasury, other administrative tasks or the organisation of the association's parties that takes place twice a year. In addition, every week before the repartition, groups has to make a "support to the distribution". That means that always two groups have to go to the fields to recollect the vegetables and to prepare the boxes of vegetables for every group that will be taken to the repartition. This means that every group has to go more or less once per month to do the support. The group can organize itself, it can decide when to go, either Wednesday or Thursday and it is not necessary that everybody of the group go. A basket entails therefore next to the monthly payment, some other commitments. Every person has to take over the former explained responsibilities within the group and the association, for example taking part in the reunions, the assemblies, and the supports in the fields. Additionally, for an entire basket, the member has to work in the fields for two hours per month at least. The support to the distribution counts extra. It can also be that the farmer makes a "call" to the groups. This means that at a specific point of time, when a lot of work is needed (for example for the sowing of potatoes), the farmer asks for a lot of people to come to the fields in order to help for the specific task and day and all the people who can, should go. Members should commit themselves to check the e-mails, the main discussion channel on the association's level. Furthermore, they should inform the association at least two months before they want to leave the association and cooperate in order to find a replacement so that the stability of the association is guaranteed.

Every new member that joins the association receive and has to accept the "welcoming document" that describes how the organisation functions, which commitments exists and which are principles of the association. The Acequia has some principles that guide the association in its way of working, acting and deciding. They represent the values to which the association commits. The principles are the followings, which are outlined in the welcoming document as well as precisely described in the "Carta de Principios" on the association's webpage:

- *Principle of trust and mutual solidarity: the promotion of social and human relations that are based on trust and mutual solidarity, and which encompass shared co-responsibility, cooperation and mutual help and the construction of a social alternative*
- *Principle of love and respect of nature (people, animals, plants and earth): the non-exploitation of people, the non-use of chemical pesticides and GMO's*
- *Principle of alternative economy: the concept of economy as an instrument and not as an end in service of other human relations. That includes the use of alternative economic relations, reinforcement of food sovereignty (rescue of traditional seeds), responsible, critical and shared consumption, strengthening of local networks of production, connection to other alternative economic experiences, etc.*
- *Principle of organisational autonomy: the determination of being independent not only from any other political, social or economic, institutional or civil entity, but also in the self-organisation of the consumption groups.*

- *Principle of consensus for decision-making*

(La Acequia 2007. Author's own translation form Spanish to English)

As I was told by different members during my stay with the association, it was a group of concerned friends that started the Acequia in 2005. There were no many possibilities to get ecologic vegetables in Cordoba at that time. The only older initiative than the Acequia concerned about ecologic products in the city was Almocafre. The latter started ten years earlier than the Acequia, with the idea to give space to producers for

selling ecologic and local products and to consumers to consume it. It developed with the time into a cooperative of consumers that conducts an ecologic food shop in the city, told me Alberto and Tomás. At that time, it also existed a group of barter in the city, engaged with the topic of solidarity and sustainability. However, it did not took place an interchange of essential products and the wish for sustainable and health food grown within these group. It was mostly the network of people engaged in the barter project that constituted the Acequia afterwards, remembers Tomás and Leo. Tomás told me how during this period he participated to a movement in Cordoba boycotting products from the USA because of the Iraq war. However, while sensitising to the topic of sustainable and just food he realised that this strategy fell short and that it is why he became a member of Almocafre and then engaged in the construction of the Acequia. In fact, it was three young women, Leo explained to me, who developed the very first idea of the Acequia and who decided to create a group for the production and consumption of ecologic vegetables.

4   Theoretical background

"*What if we believed, as Sedgwick suggests, that the goal of theory were not only to extend and deepen knowledge by confirming what we already know—that the world is full of cruelty, misery, and loss, a place of domination and systemic oppression? What if we asked theory to do something else—to help us see openings, to help us to find happiness, to provide a space of freedom and possibility?*" (Gibson-Graham 2006: 7)

4.1   General approach: diverse economy to let community economies grow

Gibson-Graham et al.'s conceptualisation of a *diverse economy* serves as a broader basis for this master thesis to understand economic activities, the "alternativeness" of CSA and its potential for creating new economies. It frames the economy beyond its common understanding of strict market relations. Indeed, Gibson-Graham et al. represent the economy as an iceberg, where market activities (the capitalist economy) just encompass the part above the waterline. Under the waterline, there is a wide range of people, places and activities, which contribute to the economy too, but do not count to the formalised capitalist market. According to Gibson-Graham et al., a diversity and multiplicity of economic action and participation exists (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013: 1-15). Actually, they argue that economic practices and forms of enterprises which are labelled to be marginal, are prevalent (Gibson-Graham 2008: 7). However, capitalism monopolizes economic theory, representing economy as "the" economy and therefore avoiding places for the cohabitation and contestation among a range of alternative economic forms, that are contributing to social well-being (Gibson-Graham 2006: xxi; Gibson-Graham 2008: 9). Gibson-Graham et al. have an interest in building new worlds with this theoretical approach. Starting to see non-capitalist activities and to see them not as marginal but as prevalent and viable, may encourage "*here and now to actively build on the to transform our local economies*" (Gibson-Graham 2006: xxiv). They propose different techniques to achieve this change.

First, they argue, an ontological reframing is necessary. The new ontology rejects the predominant realist structural vision, but accept that the economy is what we discursively and practically make of it (2006: xxi-xxxi; 2008: 15-19). In this way it produces the "*ground for a politics of possibility, opening the field from which the unexpected can emerge, while increasing our space of decision and room to move as political subjects*" (2006: xxx). This reframing starts also with ourselves as subjects, in our stance. A culture of thinking critique, explanation and caution should be overcome and replaced by a spirit of hopefulness towards connections and openings. This stance includes affect and emotions. By paying attention to its processes taking into account unconsciousness new political possibilities of thinking and acting arise (2006: 1-6). The second technique implies "reading for difference rather than dominance", an approach taken from gender studies asking for queer reading. Rereading requires the use of a different language that goes beyond our actual economic vocabulary. This does not change automatically the economy, but it offers new possibilities and strategies in order to do so (2006: xxxi-xxxii, 59-60; 2008: 20). Third, in order to generate new possibilities still not existing, Gibson-Graham propose thinking creatively. That means to bring things together from different spheres (2006: xxxii; 2008: 23).

Understanding the economy as diverse, and as the outcome of the decisions and actions we take makes it possible to "*take the economy back*". To *take back the economy* through action means according to Gibson-Graham:

- *surviving together well and equitably;*
- *distributing surplus to enrich social and environmental health;*
- *encountering others in ways that support their well-being as well as ours;*
- *consuming sustainably; caring for—maintaining, replenishing, and growing—our natural and cultural commons; and*
- *investing our wealth in future generations so that they can live well.*

(Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013: xviii-xix)

According to Gibson-Graham et al., once we shift the imagination of our role within the economy as pure passive consumers to economic actors, we can start to shape the economy, to reframe it here and now (2013: 1-15). Within the frame of a *diverse economy*, Gibson-Graham et al. propose an "*ethical guide for transforming our communities*" (2013). There is different practices in the *diverse economies* already performing *community economies*. A variety of transactions, forms of labour and of enterprises takes place in the actual economy, inserting themselves simultaneously in formal, informal and alternative markets (2006: 62-75). A *diverse economy* need not to be understood as "*an end in itself, but rather a precursor and prerequisite for a collective project of construction. We use tools and techniques of diverse economies to make visible the resources available for building community economies*" (2008: 29) "*Yet if we must necessarily "start where we are" to build ethical economies, what is the usefulness of simply judging such practices for their divergence from certain values? It would seem more positive and practical to treat the existing situation as a (problematic) resource for projects of becoming, a place from which to build something more desirable in the future*" (2006: 98). That is why "*Gibson-Graham argue that transformative potential can entail market mechanisms as long as they privilege 'care of the local community and its environment'*" (Dixon 2010: i28). By acknowledging *diverse economies*, resocializing economic activities can engage in a conversation and extend to a potential new hegemony. *Community economies* are economies *"in which ethical negotiations around our interdependence with each other and the environment are put center stage"* (2013: 13). Resocializing the economy means to live economy through ethical praxis. This implies to evaluate what is necessary, how is surplus produced, distributed and consumed and how are commons sustained. The central problem nowadays is the non-acceptance of interdependence, which is the essence of being. Communities should rethink their common being (2006: 80-86). Even if solidarity economies and moral economies offer ethical decision-making (see the state of research), Gibson-Graham differentiate slightly their approach from them. They argue that these approaches in contrast to their own bear a danger of positivist normative representations of how *community economy* should look like (2006: 98). According to them, it is important not to follow an essentialist model of development (Dixon 2010: i28). Gibson-Graham understand consequently *community economies* as "*economic spaces or networks in which relations of interdependence are democratically negotiated by participating individuals and organisations; they can be constituted at any scale (…)*" (2008: 28). Through the recognition and negotiation of this interdependence between humans, other species and the environment, community is built (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013: xviii-xix).

Community economy, even if differentiated shares a lot with other approaches of economic activism proposed by other scholars. Therefore, I was inspired and took notions from other transformative economic models, in line with Gibson-Graham one. I shortly want to present two approaches, which propose as Gibson-Graham do, an applicable guide, in order to handle here and now. Hart, Laville and Cattani propose "a citizen's guide" to move towards a *human economy* (Hart, J. Laville, et al. 2010), which I use partly to complement my theoretical understanding. According to the performativity of Gibson-Graham, human economy is made and remade by people and is already present everywhere, but marginalised and repressed. It is based on the field of possibilities that are already existing (8). Human economy is a "*holistic conception of everyone needs and interests, addressing humanity as a whole*" (5) on its way forward towards a better world (Hart et al. 2010: 4-16). Additionally, I took notice of Christian Felber's proposition of the *economy of the common good*, an economic model, which aims the maximisation of the well-being of society (Felber 2012). He starts from the idea to apply human values present in our diary relations also to the economy. Rather than orient the economy towards competition and economic benefit, it should work through confidence, cooperation and dignity (29). By aiming for community well-being rather than economic benefit, people would find back to the motivation and the meaning of working (47, 141-149). Additionally, Gibson-Graham and Felber share a small peculiarity: they both propose as an example of realisation of their theories the Spanish cooperativist project of Mondragón (Gibson-Graham 2006: 101; Felber 2012: 189). Furthermore, one cooperative I visited in Andalusia, has taken as a basis of work Felber's theory, adjusting his propositions to their context and possibilities.

4.2   The concept of work

Concepts of *work* are central for this thesis. To understand the evolution of work, its role and value in today's society and economy, and consequently the propositions for a reconceptualisation of work within the *diverse economy*, I mainly rely on André Gorz's (1999), Gibson-Graham et al.'s (2013) and Coraggio's (cf. Hart, J. Laville, et al. 2010) contributions.

In the capital economy, labour is commodified, bought and sold for a wage. This means that workers are dispossessed of their means of production and subsistence (Satgar 2016: 59; Coraggio 2010: 120). Gorz deconstructs the commodification-process of work: Capitalism bonds "*the need for a sufficient and regular income*" and the "*need to act, to strive, to test oneself against others and be appreciated*" (Gorz 1999: 72). By melting together these two needs to one single aim, it establishes capital's ideological and material power, and proposes and legitimize a specific valuation of "work". According to this logic, no activity is "work", which is not paid. "*Work-for-capital*" therefore defines life choices and strategies of the majority of society-members (Coraggio 2010: 120). In the salaried society, work is at the centre of life and the basis of social integration. However, the discourses of work in the postfordist era hide the power structure of capital. The hierarchic structure of the Fordist production is replaced by a network structure, where self-organised and independent collectives are coordinated without a central actor between each other. This system demands labour-force to have a "general intellect", a general knowledge. On the one hand, this structure can be seen as giving power to labour and as the rise of freedom within and from work. On the other hand, it signifies the total identification of the worker with his work. The idea that workers are autonomous in this system hides structural questions. The power of capital is no more directly exercised on work within the company, but indirectly in society where identities and values are built. "*Active subjects, but (…) in the service of an Other*" (Gorz 1999: 42) are built. The building of knowledgeable workers, or of an elite that holds the best competence, not only creates the inclusion of a reduced proportion of the population - and therefore unemployment and precarity for the majority of society members - but also the conception that work is the main source of autonomy, identity and fulfilment (Gorz 1999: 28-31, 39-46; Coraggio 2010: 121). Taking into account this precarisation and individualisation of work, where work is seen as scarce good, it is a paradox to place it as an irreplaceable function for integration, cohesion and identification. Gorz argues that the two needs – the need to get a secured income and the need to act and strive – should be separated from each other. This could detach the meaning of life from capital-valued activities and the meaning of work-time as the societal-prioritised time (Gorz 1999: 55-59, 72-73).

Even if Gorz does not share the same ontological premises of the economy as Gibson-Graham by putting capitalist relations centre stage, his contribution helped me to theorize work. In regard to my research question, Gorz' conceptualisation of work, the separation of work from any economic revenue, help understand the process of labour decommodification and the 'other-than-monetary" values of work on unpaid activities in CSA.

The understanding and critique of the value and position of work within a capitalist society leads to the comprehension of how labour could be *taken back* and organised within a *community or human economy*. Coraggio argues for a shift from productivity and the maximisation of capital accumulation to the definition of new and more holistic criteria and goals of work. A *labour economy* has the "*aim to reproduce and develop human life and its ways of organizing work, so that social and natural processes are governed by reproductive rationality. (…) Labour is at the centre of the economic process in harmony with nature*" (Coraggio 2010: 119). The goal is quality of life, well-being and the fulfilment of individuals and of the whole society (Coraggio 2010: 119-123). A fulfilled human well-being and happiness is "*about the combination of our love for what we do each day, the quality of our relationships, the security of our finances, the vibrancy of our physical health, and the pride we take in what we have contributed to our communities*" (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013: 21). This definition joins different aspects of well-being, namely material, occupational, social, community and physical well-being. Having satisfactory resources to meet basic needs ensures material well-being.

Occupational well-being comes from enjoying every-day activities. By being involved in community activities, community well-being is fulfilled. People feel socially well if having close personal relationships and a social network. Finally, physical well-being includes the care of a good health and of a safe living environment. How to reconcile all these aspects of well-being within work, instead of thinking them to be mutually exclusive? That is why working life and what we need to survive should be reconsidered within the perspective of our own well-being, that of others and of nature, in order to move beyond the actual trade-off of "living to work or working to live". Today, people moves between the two edges of working strategy: downshifting paid work and financial needs in order to have more time for fulfilling activities and bonding on a secure and well-paid income to the cost of other needs and sustainability. Cutting on one or the other end of well-being raises the rhetorical question if we "survive well" or not (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013: 17-48). According to Gibson-Graham, acknowledging *diverse economies*, there exist spaces of resistance to the discursive hegemony – making the actual economy to a *mixed economy* - in which we are living today. There are spaces that promote solidarity, equality and self-governance. Such economies could eventually grow beyond the micro-level and reach the so-defined *community economy* (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013) or *human economy* (Coraggio 2010: 123-129). This is what Gibson-Graham et al. emphasize by showing that inside the *diverse economy*, different forms of work already exist and are contributing a lot to the economy. Self-employment, cooperatives, reciprocal labour, work-for-welfare are examples of alternative paid labour. Unpaid work includes self-provisioning, volunteering, family and neighbourhood work. Such forms of work relations can eventually better address all aspects of personal and global well-being and therefore *take back* the economy to a sustainable way of organizing society and the economy. Therefore we can start to put the focus on this kind of work (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013: 17-48). Everybody could try to find a balance between its own well-being's. Everybody could with its own possibilities contribute to redressing imbalances between human consumption and planetary survival and between the (good) survivals of different human communities (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013: 33).

In *community economy* work has the goal to fulfil life for all in society respecting nature (Coraggio 2010: 123). In order to achieve it, a transition should take place, where working has not the ultimate aim to earn money - this can be a just a tool, in Felber's opinion - but to satisfy necessities, well-being and the pursuit of a coherent activity. Consequently, work would be done out of an intrinsic meaning and motivation (Felber 2012: 148). This perspective changes the value of work consistently. "*Work produces use value and satisfies social needs that are in themselves sources of satisfaction*" (Coraggio 2010: 128). With a new ontology of work, the social question is not to return to full employment so that everyone has an income to consume within capital transactions. Rather other forms of active life are developed, "*other ways of motivating and co-ordinating human actions, so that we can create other products, seek more desirable outcomes and make human life fulfilling, a life that includes work for sure, but work performed willingly and in fraternity*" (Coraggio 2010: 123). A definition of "good life" – what is necessary, useful and desirable – is decided democratically (126).

To be able to *take back* work, we have simultaneously to start taking back business, too. In the *diverse economy*, we recognize that enterprises are inserted in the economy in multiple ways – that means performing different types of transactions, in the formal as well as in the alternative or informal market (Gibson-Graham 2006: 74). This implies that the structures of authority and management have to be decentralised and democratised (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013: 49-83; Coraggio 2010: 127; Felber 2012: 146).

This theoretical approach to work designed by Gibson-Graham and other authors is useful to answer the research question of this master thesis in the context of CSA proposing an alternative system to the precarised and casualised labour in conventional agricultural production. Can work in CSA improve the human well-being including environmental well-being as Coraggio and Gibson-Graham ask for it in their "guides"?

4.3 The construction of value

My research partly analyses principles of community associations, perceptions of working activities, motivations and the participation's impact in order to understand values attached to work in CSA. To a certain extent, values of work have been addressed by discussing the concept of work in the precedent chapter. However, a short analytical understanding of the concept of value and its use in research is required. There is a variety of theories of value in different disciplines, which are not relevant to all outline carefully at this point. One important contribution represents David Graeber's publication "Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams". His anthropological and ethnographic perspective on value differs from economic theories of value. Economic theories of value explain the value of things either as objectively generated through work or subjectively through personal evaluation (see Fröhlich 2009; Krumbachner 1991). Graeber (2012) explains value as something dynamic, where action is central for its understanding. Value is the realisation of meaning; it is „*how people present the meaning of their actions to others – normally reflected in a way that is socially recognised. However, these forms are not the sources of value*" (own translation, 83). I will rather focus on the use of the concept of value in geography and in agro-food studies, to understand its meaning for this master thesis.

Miller (2008) argues that there is a shortage of theories of value even if plenty of scholars works with this concept. The problem is that we often differentiate between the economic and the other-than-economic. That means that value is either equal to price or valuable exactly because not reducible to price. He advocates finding a bridge between value as price and value as inalienable, by looking at the use of value in everyday life. However, this relation can get lost when inalienable values are taken over by the abstraction of priced value and never return to the population. He argues that large-scale systems such as capitalism tend to break this co-constitution. "*The use of value can be productive of value, where it achieves commensurability between value and values, and thereby may be argued to contribute to our welfare*" (Miller 2008: 1128).Value should not be imposed, but rather should be brought into being and understood as embedded within its particular context.

Carolan (2013a) takes further this dynamic and enactment of value which Graeber and Miller recognize. Value is relational and fluid. As the world is one of becoming and performatively constructed, economies of value are it too. Values are temporally and spatially contingent on economic, social and material performance. Carolan and Hale (2016) recognize the role of different capitals in sustainable and just agroecosystems and communities, which are the expression of values. Values are in their turn, the visions of how the world ought to be. A balance should exist between the development of different capitals – natural, cultural, human, social, political, financial and built – for *community economy*. However, they asks themselves how communities do value such capitals the way they do. Which are the processes changing valuations? They find an answer by taking into account what happens "below ground" (taking into account the *diverse economy* approach). They argue that it is important to recognize the role of "*practice-based belowground processes and patterns*" (Carolan & Hale 2016: 4). They explain it with the example of urban agriculture projects, where values are co-constructed in a network of meanings. There, living experiences within the project – as tactile and embodied practices - can create new values, on an individual as well as on an organisational level. To conclude, I can understand value for this thesis as relational and in constant change through its enactment.

5 Research design

I will first lay out my underlying positionality as a researcher towards the field shaping my methodological approach. In a second step, I will outline the chosen methodology and its methods and explain its utilities and advantages in respect to my research. Finally, I will present its application on my fieldwork, therefore summarizing my working steps and data collection, including strategies used for access and of sampling.

5.1 Researcher's positionality

Positionality is the researcher reflexion on their own placement within the fieldwork and the research as a whole. It draws attention on one's own position within the contexts, power relations, identities and viewpoints studied (England 1994). I take a reflexive approach, which is critical to the conduct of fieldwork because it offers the researchers a greater flexibility towards their own subject and sensitiveness, towards self-discovery (82). In opposition to positivist research, arguing that scientific knowledge can only be produced through objectivity and thus by the neutrality of the researcher, I acknowledge another definition of objective research (81). Academic research cannot be objective, but normativity can be grounded (Lund 2014; Sayer 2003; Burawoy 1998). "*Objectivity is not measured by procedures that assure an accurate mapping of the world but by the growth of knowledge; that is, the imaginative and parsimonious reconstruction of theory to accommodate anomalies*" (Burawoy 1998: 5). However, recognizing our place "*enables us to objectify our relation to those we study*" (Burawoy 1998: 14).

The biography of a researcher affects the research. First, because depending on personal characteristics such as ethnicity, gender and social status enables more or less different methods and interactions. In my case, I think I reached a good balance between my identity as an insider and as an outsider, partly thanks to my biography. In the field, I achieved an insider identity, which offered me trustful relationships, openness and participation. That was especially due thanks to my good knowledge of the language and my personal proximity to "Southern European culture". However, as I am evidently not coming from Andalusia and therefore unknown to the specific context, I maintained some outsider characteristics, which were very valuable in order to avoid implicit assumptions during discussions and unclear expressions (Crang & Cook 2008: 38-48). Second, because depending in which contexts we grow and live, we set our interests differently. Following Lund, (2014) research cases are not natural, but mental and analytical. Researchers follow objectives with their work (224-226). "*We need to locate ourselves in our work and to reflect on how our location influences the questions we ask, how we conduct our research, and how we write our research.*" (England 1994: 87). We always enter the field with presuppositions (Lund 2014), or ideology, as Schumpeter called it (Schumpeter 1949), which we have to recognize and to lay out (Burawoy 1998: 6). My research questions arose in a specific context. My university studies allowed me mostly to analyse and understand actual global problems. However, my subsequent questions to search for solutions to these global problems were mostly left unanswered. This motivated me to understand on a small scale the dynamics of projects that judge themselves offering an alternative to a certain extent to some of these problems, living human and sustainable principles. What does already exist? What do such projects tell me about what could exist? My search for strategies to grow towards a better society – which therefore implies a normative judgment – led me to choose this research.

The implication of the researcher on the field, its positionality, has to be taken into account methodologically. Indeed, methodology and positionality go hand in hand. *"The intersubjective nature of social life means that the researcher and the people being researched have shared meanings and we should seek methods that develop this advantage*" (England 1994: 82). As explained, "*fieldwork is personal*" (England 1994: 85), therefore it is difficult to balance between the own academic and activist subjectivity on the ground. Lyons (2014) suggests to converge the two, creating a productive "third place" – "*hybrid spaces, where new possibilities may arise, bringing into being new subjectivities that might in turn create new possibilities for social change*" (ibid. 2014: 106). In addition, "*moving across and between these subjectivities - including*

"activist" and "academic" subjectivities - enables us as researchers to explore our emotional, sensual and political selves; including those parts of ourselves that are frequently rendered invisible and/or illegitimate through professional socialisation" (Lyons 2014: 107). When engaging consciously in this third place, the research method applied will be defined by collaboration (Lyons 2014: 109). My ethnographic fieldwork that will be extensively outlined in the following chapters implied to converge these subjectivities, because I was engaged as "activist" and "academic" in the same context. Furthermore, as my personal life and activity was interwoven with my researcher presence, I decided to take on the methodological advantages and richness in term of content, rather than try to separate what cannot be separated. Acknowledging my positionality, the next chapter will expose the methodology guiding the fieldwork and the methods applied.

5.2   Methodology

The methodological approach taken in this thesis has not been chosen by chance. As Burawoy notes "*Usually, it is not the problem that determines the method, but the method that shapes the problem*" (1998: 30). My positionality as a researcher and the theoretical frame within which this thesis takes place - both outlined above - are in accordance to the methodological position that structured the fieldwork and which will be presented in the following paragraphs. Namely, I collected empirical data through a qualitative field research, and more specifically through an ethnographic exploration. Following Helfferich (2009) qualitative research "*reconstructs meaning or subjective perceptions*" (21), where the aim is to *understand* a social reality. A triangulation between and within different methods made it possible to gather information from different perspectives. I will outline the application of these methods on my fieldwork in chapter 4.3.

5.2.1   Ethnography

Ethnography does not only include gathering information through *interviews*, but includes as well *participant observation* of the researcher as a method. That means that the researcher takes additionally and principally part in the activities and life of the social group studied, observing and interacting with it over a certain period (Herbert 2000: 551). "*The ethnographer gains unreplicable insight through an analysis of everyday activities and symbolic constructions*" (Herbert 2000: 551). Such an in-depth approach can better take into account the context where knowledge is constructed, and this is essential in research because "*expressions are 'incurably' tight to context*" (Helfferich 2009: 22). I also refer to Willis (2007, in White et al. 2009: 22) to define ethnography broadly as "*an umbrella term for fieldwork, interviewing, and other means of gathering data in authentic (e.g., real-world) environments ... [that] puts the researcher in the settings that he or she wants to study. The research is conducted in the natural environment rather than in an artificially contrived setting*". Traditionally, anthropologists typically employed ethnography. Its aim was initially to take a closer look at a social reality and to give voice to the weaker without judging from a superior stand point (Beaud & Weber 2003: 8-10). Traditional ethnography was looking at a specific cultural knowledge in time and space through the lens of their inhabitants (White et al. 2009: 23). Actually, ethnography "*attempts to make sense of their [the people studied] making sense of the events and opportunities confronting them in everyday life* (Ley 1988 in Herbert 2000: 551)". Ethnographic research developed over time and was applied within other disciplines of social science, among others within sociology and geography (Herbert 2000; White et al. 2009). However, Herbert (2000) points at the underestimation of ethnography in the geographic field, because of the diffused critique of ethnography for being unscientific and not producing generalizable knowledge (551). Even if nowadays ethnography finds place in economic geography compared to some decades ago and techniques as participant observation are sometimes used, their whole benefit and depth remain unexploited (Barnes et al. 2007: 21-22). Whereas originally ethnographers understood the emergence of order and theory from the ground up, which means in an inductive way from the field to the academy, scholars started to discuss ethnography as a methodology that does not start research with a tabula rasa. As every qualitative research, it starts with academic pre-assumptions and it engages a discussion between observation and theory (Herbert 2000: 552; Burawoy 1998: 7).

A critical engagement with methods pursuing a reflexive positionality valuing the researcher's subjectivity is common within studies on CSA and working with a similar theoretical approach of this thesis. Participatory and extended methods are applied in agro-food research, farming systems in rural areas and poststructural feminist economic geography, as for example by Gibson-Graham on whom theories this thesis is based (see Lyons 2014; Cameron & Gibson 2005; Barnes et al. 2007; Chambers 1994). Especially scholars of the ISEC (Instituto de Sociología y Estudios Campesinos) of the University of Cordoba studying agroecological associations in Andalusia have developed a tradition of Participatory Action Research (PAR) (see Taylor et al. 2012; Cuéllar-Padilla & Calle-Collado 2011; Sevilla et al. 1996; Torremocha et al. 2014; Carolan 2013b). Such methods includes the participation of the researcher in the changing process, changing itself and the community it work with, in collaboration with it. The aim is a political intervention, to enable other futures by *"understanding the world in order to change it"* (Gibson-Graham 2008 cited in Lyons 2014: 105, 111). This ethnographic research does not have such an aim, but takes an understanding-oriented perspective. I did not want to actively change the world I was studying with an agenda, applying collaborative and transformative methods, aiming to find applicable solutions to the problems and transforming actively in collaboration with the people the field. I think this could only be possible and make sense in a second step, after the creation of this master thesis, once I already experienced the specific field, knows the actors and problematics and carried out fist research there. However, it inspired my ethnographic approach and the understanding of the positionality as a researcher in an ethnographic study, basing myself on Lyons (2014), on Cameron, Gibson & Hill (2014) and White et al. (2009: 24). This enables me to methodologically value my implication within the studied community as an active participant and not just as an observer in an 'untouched world' and to understand the production of knowledge as being created in an intersubjective manner, between the others and me.

5.2.2 Why take an ethnographic approach?

The intrinsic ethnographic condition of being embedded in the context studied can be contained or turned to its own advantage (Burawoy 1998). Containing would mean not to apply ethnographic methods anymore, but to follow a positivist science. This would keep distance from the ground through a representative sample, standardisation and not affecting the situation studied (Burawoy 1998: 5). However, this approach *"transgresses its own principles because of inescapable context effects stemming from the indissoluble connection between interviewer and respondent, and from the embeddedness of the interview in a wider field of social relations"* (ibid.: 7). That is why Burawoy suggests to *embrace* the ethnographic condition. A reflexive approach makes context and dialogue the basis of research. As outlined before, it implies that the reflexive model is based on prior theory. Therefore, such research looks at the aggregation of situational knowledge into social processes (ibid.: 14-15).

Different reasons motivated me to pursue an ethnographic exploration. The in depth-look that ethnography makes possible, can uncover processes and meanings, as well as *"elucidate the linkages between the macrological and the micrological, between the enduring and structured aspects of social life and the particulars of the everyday"* (Herbert 2000: 554). Furthermore, it can catch valuable insights by going beyond pure interviewing, because it collects not only information about what people say, but also about what people do. This enables to balance *"discrepancies between thoughts and deeds"* (552) and put them into relation (Herbert 2000: 550-554). Additionally, I could experience in the field that sometimes the best discussions arise in informal settings. Finally, following Carolan, most cognition happens unconsciously. However, academic thought often do not acknowledge this and follows only a non-corporeal rationalism, which lacks a wide area of social reality. Carolan (2009) demands for an *enlivened social theory* in order to let it work. Additionally, he emphasizes the use of all senses, and not just the visual, which is predominant today in the West. As Herbert (2000) points it out too, ethnography involves the researcher's emotions and senses (552). I argue that by experiencing the field in an ethnographic way, I develop an embodied knowledge about the topic I research, grasping more the unconscious dimension. By writing down my lived experiences in the participant

observation notes, taking into account my subjectivity in the field, I can study and value my "self" (Lyons 2014: 107).

5.3 Research Process: Ethnographic data collection

I stayed three months in Andalusia for fieldwork, from September until December, 2017. I was based in Cordoba, were I participated throughout this time in the association La Acequia as a regular member. This association represented my specific ethnographic case study. During this time though, I travelled around the region at different points in time for weeks or days in order to visit other CSA-projects. These visits allowed me a further view on CSA in the study region of Andalusia. This enriched my findings based on the ethnographic case study and helped to embed it into a more general context and to draw parallels. Following the methodology of ethnography, I used participant observation and ethnographic interviews, ranging from semi-structured interviews until daily discussions as main methods of investigation, which I will explain in detail hereafter.

5.3.1 Ethnographic interviews

I conducted *semi-structured interviews* (see Helfferich 2009: 36). Therefore, I prepared an interview guideline for the "most common type of interviewee", which were the members of the association La Acequia. Few topics formulated as open questions give structure to the guideline, which in their turn have many possible sub-questions (Helfferich 2009: 178-180). I adapted it depending on the context, for example, when I interviewed people, which were part of other associations, cooperatives or projects in general. Additionally, the guideline did not stay the same over the three months, but I added and deleted questions and changed their order. This is because my knowledge about the case and the context got deeper with the time and therefore some questions got redundant or repetitive and new questions arose. The interview guideline served – as the term defines it - as a "guideline". This means, that I used it as a helpful tool, to get a rich and varied information according to my research questions and to give inputs to the interviewees. However, I allowed the interview to take a natural flow, which means that I spontaneously omitted or added questions and that I did not strictly follow the sequence depending on "where the interviewee took me". Depending on the interviewee, the interviews had most of the time characteristics of an episodic interview (see Flick 2000) and sometimes narrative and even problem-centred elements (see Helfferich 2009: 36). I deliberately did not do expert interviews as differentiated interview type, because often interviewees are both at the same time – experts for specific topics as well as experts for their everyday lives, and it is valuable to give them the chance to express both knowledges at the same time. Additionally, what can be seen as "expert knowledge" is itself bearing cultural discourses. Therefore, I still collected through many interviews expert knowledge but considered it to be only one kind of knowledge among many. For example, I got to know expertise about the development of organic agriculture in Andalusia, of social agroecological movements in the region and Spain and much more.

I conducted in total **21 interviews**. I recorded seventeen interviews with consent of the interviewees and transcribed them in a strict and direct way. They lasted between 35 minutes and two hours. The other four interviews happened rather in movement or more spontaneously and therefore, I had not the chance to record them. However, I carefully reconstructed their content in my field notebook based on notes and on my memory. Furthermore, I had **18 informal conversations** relevant for this Master thesis. However, the precise number and duration of informal interviews is difficult to define, for the following reasons. First, some of them include either extended conversations with several people at the same time, where I count every person as a single conversation partner. Second, alternatively and accumulatively, some interviews include repeated discussions with the same person at different points in time. It was also difficult, to clearly separate the different conversations into two strict categories because the variety of discussion was very wide. The shade of formality varied a lot between all non-recorded conversations, ranging from more constructed interview settings to spontaneous discussions on the way with friends. This variety shows however, the richness of the ethnographic approach that allows the researcher to collect data constantly during fieldwork and to react to varied inputs.

I conducted the formal and informal interviews with the following people, whereas some few people had several of these roles. Almost all interviews and discussions took place in Spanish, except two in German and one in French. Interviewees' direct citations in this master thesis are therefore my own translations from the original language to English. Names have been changed for reasons of anonymisation, except those of public officials.

Interviews:

- 13 participants of the association La Acequia, where one is the farmer, two of them are former participants, some of them are pioneers of the project, and one of them was at the moment a "paying member" who does not work on the fields, nor comes to assemblies
  (Lucía, Maira, Alberto, Leo, Luís, Mateo, Clara, Tadéo, Martín, Tomás, Rosana, Miriam, Antonio)
- 1 volunteer working on permaculture projects in Andalusia
  (Mauricio)
- 1 seasonal migrant worker working on extensive fields of Almería, Huelva and in the Alpujarra
  (Amadou)
- 1 producer of the agroecological cooperative Hortigas in Granada
  (Estefania)
- 2 workers and pioneers of the cooperative Humar in Marinaleda
  (Mariana, Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo)
- 2 producers of the cooperative La Verde in Villamartín (Cádiz)
  (Bianca, Ivan)
- 1 pioneer/worker/consumer of the association Subbética Ecologica in Cabra (Cordoba)
  (Ruben)
- 1 producer of ecologic vegetable baskets in the province of Cordoba and Seville
  (Miriam)

Informal conversations:

- 2 members of the association la Acequia
  (Ángela, Diana)
- 1 agrovolunteer, and several members of the agroecological cooperative Hortigas in Granada
  (Eduardo)
- 2 full-time as well as 4 occasional workers on the occupied farm of Somonte
  (Paco, Pablo, Juan, Gabriel, Fidel, Pedro)
- 1 producer of the association Subbética Ecologica in Cabra (Cordoba)
  (Luís)
- 2 researchers of the ISEC (University of Cordoba) and 1 researcher of the Pablo de Olavide University (Seville)
  (Jorge, Laura, Manuel)
- 1 collaborator of the RAS and member of CSA projects in Seville
  (Adrian)
- 2 students, 1 hostel owner and 1 hostel employee
  (Ramon, Enrique, Miguel, Elías)

5.3.2 Participant observation

I used participant observation as second, central method on my fieldwork to understand the day-to-day life of La Acequia. Through the participation and reproduction of everyday practices with the association's members, the aim was to gain a deep insight into their meanings and intentions, as well as into the processes and socio-spatial structures they create and in which they are embedded (Herbert 2000). When I took contact with other

associations and projects in the region, I preferred not only to meet for an interview with a responsible person, but to apply participant observation in its limits, too. Indeed, I always visited the sites personally, and I tried to stay there for one up to several days, participating at work within their usual routine and having informal chats with their participants.

Garfinkel defines participant observation as such: "*If the discursive dimension of social interaction, what we may call narrative, can be reached through interview, the nondiscursive, that is the unexplained, unacknowledged, or tacit knowledge, sometimes referred to as practical consciousness, which underlies all social interaction, calls for more. It may be discovered through "analysis," for example, or through participation, "doing" things with and to those who are being studied*" (Garfinkel 1967 cited in Burawoy 1998: 14-15). Participant observation goes beyond the dialogue between participant and observer (Burawoy 1998: 5,14), the researcher intervenes indeed through its participation, creating distortions (16-17). The explicit actancy of the researcher in the field, as active member of the community studied, "*extends the observer to the participant*" (Burawoy 1998: 16). Following Burawoy, I argue that this ethnographic method is better defined in the context of this thesis as observational participation, in order to emphasize the importance of the active and not passive participation of the researcher in the field. Indeed, I joined the association La Acequia during the permanency in the field as a regular member – with equal rights and obligations as every other participant. I was not only an observer or an academic. I was, felt and was perceived as a new collaborator of the association, a member of my group called *manceras* – and a friend of some of the members.

Participant observation implies concretely to make field notes about the lived experiences, which will be analysed in a second step in the same way as the interviews. Through field notes, happenings and thoughts can be reconstructed chronologically. Field notes have to include practical information about the event, object, relation, discussion, people involved, and the happenings observed, as well as the analytical such as the own questions, presuppositions, first raw assumptions and thoughts (Beaud & Weber 2003: 94-98). What is observed can take different forms, such as a happening, an interaction, places or objects. These forms can intersect between each other (Beaud & Weber 2003: 139-170). I recorded my experiences in a virtual field diary, and additionally took photographs.

My implication in the association La Acequia as ordinary member included the following activities, which I reported in my field notes (respecting Beaud & Weber 2003):

- Visit every Thursday night the distribution meeting point, divide within my group the vegetable box and pick up my respective basket
- Harvest the vegetables and preparing the boxes for all the groups approximately once per month with my group before repartition (I normally joined also other groups doing this task, in order to have a wider insight)
- Attend the monthly reunion with my group before the general assembly took place
- Attend the monthly general assembly as a representative of my group
- Doing fieldwork at least 1-2 hours per month (I normally did more, and I paid attention to go sometimes when our employee was working there, too)
- Attend the biannual association party; take over some working shifts at the party (bar and cleaning); take over an organisational task for the party (I took over the correspondence with the DJ)
- Being implicated voluntarily in extra activities (I translated the welcome document from Spanish to Italian for the outreach and I've been active on the association's Facebook page)

Additionally, I reported systematically about the visits to other associations and projects in the same manner but adapted to their contexts. I always redacted a brief entry about every interview conducted, too, including places and activities, access to the interview partner, dynamics and non-verbal communication of the conversation (Beaud & Weber 2003: 178-179). Last, I also took notes about unexpected situations, discussions

and activities that surged during my daily life, which seemed to me being related to the field and the research context, and therefore of eventual relevance.

5.3.3 Access to the field and sampling strategies

The access to the field revealed to be successful. The first contact in order to find an association on which to fix my case study took some time, because neither I, nor the university had contacts in Andalusia and the communication happened per internet. First, I did extensive research on the web in order to find different CSA associations or cooperatives in the region. One attempt to cooperate with an association did not work out because they were too focused on internal changes. They had just experienced a change of producer, which did not fit my interests either. Another association wrote back only after a very long period of time, after I had already oriented my research elsewhere. After an extended period of correspondence with two associations, I decided for one and finally I got the confirmation. The person, which was corresponding with me per e-mail, had already written to me that the association was in a crisis. It was therefore not clear if it would survive any longer, but that this crisis could also be of interest for my research. I just realised in the field how much this situation influenced the difficulty to give me a confirmation. On one side, the actual acute crisis took a lot of time during the assemblies, which only take place once a month and where all kind of decisions are taken. Therefore, it was no priority to think about my participation in their frames. However, as nobody opposed to the proposition and as I had the possibility to join the association as an ordinary member, this reason was not so relevant finally. To the other side however, the person with whom I was writing felt a very strong responsibility, fearing that once I had arrived, the association would stop to exist. Fortunately, this was not the case.

Once in the field, the access to the different actors happened smoothly. I mainly relied on Beaud & Weber's advices (2003). Almost all people I asked for an interview agreed quickly and some even felt "honoured" to help me. I only experienced a few exceptions, where the interview did not take place with the person I was interested in talking to. However, it was not because of a clear refusal, but rather because of their circumstances of time constraints. People were extremely helpful. They often gave me further advices about whom I could talk to and they put me in contact with them. I faced rather the problem, that at a certain point, I had to think carefully about which ones to select, in accordance to my research interest, because of time management. The only "access difficulty" was in terms of geographical reachability. When I visited projects other than my main case, it always took very much time to get there, because distances in Andalusia are long and access with public transportation is complicated.

My purposeful sampling strategy for selecting the interview partners within and outside my association was a mixed one, including variation, criteria, typical cases, deviant cases, opposite cases, operational construct sampling, as well as using the snowball and the opportunistic principles (Patton 1990: 182-183). This means that I selected based on criteria defined by my thesis and as well taking advantage on the possibilities that offered me the field and the contacts tied. In ethnography it is important to investigate on a basis of interknowledge, it is important that your interviewees are in relation to each other and not selected on abstract criteria. In the contrary case, one makes qualitative interviews and observations, but does not do an ethnographic exploration, according to Beaud & Weber (2003: 15). This explains why I applied different sampling strategies and why I selected my interview partners gradually during the field research. Indeed, knowledge gained through first interviews pushed me to look for different or for similar knowledge in relation to the already acquainted knowledge.

In qualitative research it is important to select the cases for their validity (Flyvbjerg 2006: 13). The latter "*(...) have more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with sample size* (Patton 1990: 185)." Therefore, I did not fix a precise amount of places to visit and interviews to conduct, but I let myself be led by the field. I set three months of time to spend on the field. That set a limit to my data collection, but it offered me an extended period to allow a deep insight into the field.

5.4 Data analysis methods

I used Grounded Theory, as a guideline in order to make sense of the data collected in the field in systematic and scientific way. This data analysis method was first described by Strauss and Corbin (see Strauss & Corbin 1996). Its principles are applied to ethnographic studies (see Crang & Cook 2008: 133; Herbert 2000: 552) and scholars working on similar topics as me, uses tools of Grounded Theory, too (see Carolan & Hale 2016: 7; Mincyte & Dobernig 2016: 4). Open coding originally allows theory to be built up from the ground and this corresponds to ethnographic original demands that analytical order has to emerge from the field. However, today scholars acknowledge that ethnography, as well as analysis cannot be strictly inductive, because researcher goes to the field already with a conceptual apparatus. This is reflected for example in the research questions or the way field notes are taken (Crang & Cook 2008: 132-133; Herbert 2000: 552). I therefore approached my data collection to analyse it, conscious of my precognitions, my prior work on theory and the development of my research focus, but open to let data tell the main topics and problematics. Additionally, the Grounded Theory approach aims to develop a theory from the data and the concepts extracted from it, rather than to verify an existing theory. As Flick argues, it is also possible to apply only some instruments of Grounded Theory, without analysing strictly according to the traditional Grounded Theory method of Strauss & Corbin. Cook offers a similar interpretation when describing how to analyse ethnographies. Especially, in the frame of a Master Thesis, the demand to construct a theory is too ambitious, for example (Flick 2005: 258; Crang & Cook 2008: 133-142). With this thesis, I rather want to contribute to further discussions about existing theories of *diverse economies*, while applying methods of Grounded theory to let phenomena emerge from the field. Hereafter, I will explain how I used the coding process of Grounded Theory in order to analyse my data. In order to do so, I made use of the computer-based program MaxQDA (Version 2018).

The first step for an analysis according to Grounded Theory is open coding. This process demands to break down, conceptualize and categorize data (see figure 4).

Figure 12: Open coding process in Max QDA (Screenshot of Max QDA)

This means to first read the data, looking for what interview's sentences and paragraphs really mean and what phenomena and conceptualisations their content represent (Strauss & Corbin 1996: 43-45). These implicit themes of each statement are marked by a summarizing analytical code (see figure 11). Sometimes I formulated "in vivo"-codes, which were expressions that interviewees used directly (ibid.: 50). In this way, codes are created directly from the concepts that the data content reveals. The researcher does not mark the content with predefined codes. This process represents the open and bottom-up characteristic of Grounded Theory (Mey & Mruck 2011: 318). In a second step, codes are put together building vaster categories of meaning. In this way, codes with similar patterns are collected and relations between codes are pointed out, but still without creating an interpretative storyline between them. I therefore read the whole data I collected, interview transcripts and fieldnotes, and created throughout codes issued from the text. Of course, created codes, were then used for all upcoming data. With the time, as I had more and more an overview about the content, but less and less the overview over my codes increasing in number, I started to create categories. I marked categories, by giving the same colour to the corresponding codes. The pink category visualised in figure 12 has the intention to join all emotions.
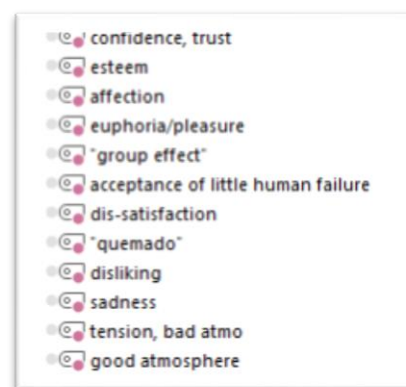
Figure 11: Category "emotions" of codes in Max QDA (Screenshot of Max QDA)

Grounded Theory proposes in a second step axial coding and in consequence a selective coding. According to Strauss & Corbin (1996) categories and codes are reordered into a coding paradigm. The paradigm creates an assemblage of the conceptualised data into a phenomenon, which underlies to a context and to causal conditions, whereby strategies are created that influence the phenomenon back and which finally leads to certain consequences. Selective coding translates then the paradigm into the conceptualisation of a main story line (Strauss & Corbin 1996: 76-95). I did not make strictly use of this coding methods because it was restricting me to a pre-defined schema of analysis. These elements are however, sometimes more sometimes less visualised as such, present in my master thesis. For example, I joined all codes constructing knowledge about the context of research and the causal conditions for the development of CSA in the study region into an own chapter, previous to the analysis (chapter 3). Different phenomena building on each other were described along all three chapter of the analysis, where strategies and consequences during time until today build discussions around the phenomena. However, I structured the knowledge, resulting from the open coding process, rather according to some advice of Glaser in Mey & Mruck (2011) than to Glaser & Strauss. They argue to bring into relation theoretical assumptions and research focus with the in interrelation assembled codes, to a clear result and storyline (323). During open coding, I already collected important and repeated controversies, discourses and problematics arising from the data. Then, I put them in relation to my research questions and my theoretical approach and structured the analysis in this way. As well, I followed a "bottom-up" structure. This means that I started by discussing daily material phenomena and its practical implications (chapter 6), then I put them into a wider context of perception, positionalities and value-related consequences (chapter 7) and finally I spiralled these findings up to an abstract dimension of theoretical understanding and contribution (chapter 8).

6   The organisation of work and its realisation

My main empirical case study - the association Acequia – is organised and works according to its guiding principles (see chapter 3.3). These guidelines represent their way, how to create sustainable economic and human relations in the association and therefore how to address the well-being of the people and the planet as a whole. However, the principles are general and leave places to decide how to translate them in day-to-day practice. That is why I take them as a guideline to structure this chapter, in order to understand how activity is organised in the association. Especially, I will discuss how participants deal with the organisational form and structure. How do they realize them in practice? Which are the benefits and the problems arising? I therefore mainly address my first research question and its sub-questions (see chapter 2.2) in this chapter. I understand work as all the association's activity done by both paid and voluntary work in order to produce and distribute vegetables. The question how work is organised therefore draws on different aspects. First, I elucidate the structures of the association in order to understand how the form of organisation influences the way of working and the division of responsibilities between workers. Second, I present relations between the workers, which shape the way work is organised and realised between members and the degree of implication. Further, I explain how decisions in the association are taken, having different impacts on the way members work together. I then offer an insight on how working in CSA respects the environment as well as which term of employment it offers to employees. Here, I address labour conditions of paid work and how employees perceive them. I elucidate to which extent economic networks below ground are tied to other projects, to understand the larger embedding of working relations in CSA. Finally, I show who is or can involve her-/himself in CSA work. When explaining the organisation of work in these steps, I discuss its translation into the everyday activity, presenting its enrichment and challenges to work relations. Moreover, the development of the association over time shaped all these aspects, which I also present through interviewees' telling.

6.1   External autonomy: financial autonomy and independence from "the system"

"*Taking back work*" goes hand in hand with "*taking back business*" (see Gibson-Graham in chapter 3.2). Non-capitalistic spaces of transformation must be created to allow working relations below ground addressing ethical quality of life to develop. Therefore, it is important to look at the main organisational form of "businesses". My case study was an association, implying a decentralised and non-hierarchical structure. All CSA projects I encountered in Andalusia had similar structures, being either association, cooperative or having no formal definition. These "business structures" shape organisation and perception of work in distinct ways. This chapter addresses the realization of the association's business form towards outside, and the next chapter (6.2) focus on the association's internal structure and its implications.

The question of external autonomy, meaning to be independent from any other entity, was especially present in the first years after the creation of the association La Acequia. At that time, one of the biggest discussions was about how much to be integrated into "the system": "*Are we an association or are we not an association? Because being an association meant to be part of the system. We discussed that for two years*" (Leo). Being an association makes it possible to profit from stately social insurances for employees. On the other side, being association means to be partly integrated within the conventional system of the state and to lose some of the independence the association wanted to preserve. "*The alternative to the stately social insurance was to put a bonus of money for the case that something happened*" (Leo). "*After many years we realised that if we wanted to treat employees more humanely, it did not make sense not to have a social insurance. It would imply no right to unemployment or to public health*" (Luís). The members realised that profit from intelligent stately instruments, as social insurances, benefitted to their vision of human dignity and increased the well-being of their employees.

Furthermore, the question about accepting subventions or not, let emerge the discussion around the principle of autonomous organisation. However, the members never wanted any subventions, exactly because they preferred to be totally autonomous and independent, as Tomás, Lucía and Leo told me. This is a quality of the

project that members esteem a lot. "*I like this collective capacity. 80 people, without any subvention or any other type of help that are capable, with different approaches, ways to see the things, that they are capable to realize a project of this type. It is something that seems to me to be proud of*" (Alberto). The Acequia is not the only project that does not want any subvention. Ruben told me, that his association Subbética Ecologica, for example, applied once for a subsidy from the province. They almost invested money, which then would have been paid back with the subvention, but they finally did not. Other projects they were in contact with did though. They took a loan in the bank in advance, but finally they never touched the promised subsidy. After this experience, the Subbética Ecologica decided that it would never take help or cooperate with public institutions for things that have directly to do with the survival of the association. The core functioning of the association should be independent. They collaborate with public institutions only for extra activities. For example, they give courses of ecologic gardening in public gardens for older people in their village.

Sustaining themselves financially is not always easy, for none of the associations with whom I was in contact. One of the urgent problems of the Acequia when I arrived in the field was that it did not know if it could further exist because during some months the financial incomes were less than the expenditures, due to too few participants. As Ángela explained to me when I arrived at the extraordinary crisis assembly, the Acequia was passing a very critical moment. "*At the moment we have problems to survive. We do not have enough liquidity. We spent money that should not have been spent, to pay the release money of the farmer of a bit more than 4000 euros in the case we have to stop. We only have a bit more than 2000 now*" (Ángela). Even if measures were taken to step out of this acute crisis, the association is still very tight on cash and bigger unexpected expenditures or the departure of many members could bring the association again is serious difficulties of financial autonomy. The projects on the occupied farms typically cannot sustain themselves financially. Partly, it is the labour union SAT that is implicated in the occupations that finance the projects. On the other side, the occupied farm of Somonte as well as the one of Cierro Libertad have launched a crowdfunding campaign in order to finance their projects. Somonte is actually collecting money to finance the recuperation of different variety of wheat seeds.

External autonomy is therefore valued especially regarding the financial aspect and the independence from the state and the "system", meant to be the conventional economic market. Mauricio that volunteered on different permaculture projects emphasised additionally, how agricultural models promoting ecology and community can ameliorate the well-being of the farmers through independence from globalised markets. "*I realised that it is not only a hocus-pocus [permaculture], but it is a possibility to solve the world hunger. It is not only possible in Andalusia, it is also possible in Africa for example. It has also already been done, and farmers had consequently better and healthier harvests. Suddenly, whole families get independent from the market and could feed and finance themselves.*"

This chapter shows how CSA projects want to be mostly autonomous, especially from the capitalist market and the state, in order to "*take back*" work to their own rules. However, the ultimate goal is not to hold on the principle of autonomy, but rather well-being through work, as illustrated by the discussion around the formalisation of the collective. In doing so, autonomy is used as an instrument and method towards well-being.

6.2 Internal organisational autonomy: who takes responsibility in decentralised and flat systems?

The association Acequia has flat hierarchies. As already mentioned, it is composed of seven groups of members that organize themselves autonomously. "*The structure is rotational. The organisational unity is always the group. Therefore, towards inside the group can organize itself how it wants to, but every group has to assume the necessary tasks for the association, as for example to the "support to the distribution" and those who rotate into other groups*" (Leo). Every group has to fulfil its commitment towards the whole association. For example, there is group x that have six members, all with half a basket. That means that the group has to work twelve hours per month on the fields. It is the group though that can coordinate itself who does this work. The

groups therefore each have the freedoms to manage themselves within the frames defined by the association. "*I have talked to you about the group I have always been part of. Problems are always minor. Because you say to me that during this month, you cannot go to the fields, and we say okay, we make it for you. I felt very much less organisational problems in the group than in the big group. Well, it is also true that the little group does not have to take the decisions that the assembly takes. Its capacity is restricted*" (Luis). The latter citation shows that the capacity to organize itself better in the little group is related to its smaller unit as well as to the capacity to show solidarity within it. I will turn to the latter point closer in chapter 6.2. Internal autonomy makes it possible that members within the group can negotiate between themselves who takes over which responsibilities. even if they all have apparently the same role (Maira). These examples also show that internal autonomy makes it easier to coordinate within a non-hierarchical structure when little groups organize themselves. In this way, only seven units instead of 80 have to respond to the association.

Sometimes it is even difficult to coordinate within the little group. Many members complained that finding a time when everyone can go to the fields is very difficult. "*I prefer to go during the week than on weekends. But for sure, there is a lot of people for whom it is easier to go the weekends. So, either I try to coordinate with people who also prefer to go during the week or I take more responsibility and prioritize the fields on my weekends*" (Clara). I got to know this problem, too. Principally, I was very available and flexible during my time on fieldwork (surely more than all the other members who had a fixed job). However, during the last month I went very rarely to the fields even if I wanted to go regularly, because it was very difficult to find a common free afternoon with other members.

Figure 13: Preparing the vegetable boxes at the "support to the distribution" in La Acequia (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

Being autonomous groups, bring more flexibility but also more diversity in the organisation: "*The association is big. It divides itself into little groups, so it is easier to manage (...) this can be an advantage or a disadvantage*" (Tadéo). For example, it is easier to decentralize the responsibility to the groups to introduce new members in the working ways of the association. However, every group does this its own way. It can happen that some new members are not well introduced and experience unpleasant situations that hinder the member to feel comfortable and the work to be done efficiently, as Tadéo explains and as I had the opportunity to observe. At several assemblies, a new person had to represent its group and even to keep the minutes without ever having been at an assembly before. "*We never do this, we never send anyone new alone to the assembly. Other groups do it though. It seems to me to be a very big mistake. For me, you always have to go with the person. And especially if this person has to take the minutes or lead the assembly*" (Tadéo). Once when this happened, it caused a stressed atmosphere at the assembly among all the members, and the new member seemed to feel very uneasy and overtaxed.

This example leads me to different issues arising from this organisational structure of work. First, I will outline the difficulty of being active within the association without experiencing some chaotic moments of

misunderstandings. Second, I will draw on how autonomy requires the response to the individual commitments from all groups and all members, which imply responsibility and participation. Finally, I will show how self-initiative is important in this context and how members deal with informal responsibilities.

6.2.1 (Dis-) organisation

A decentralised system of organisation does not make it always easy to understand dynamics and to follow them. I experienced it myself especially when entering the association as a new member. During the first weeks, I wrote in my notebook that I felt a little bit lost because I felt that nobody was responsible for me. At the beginning, I always asked my flatmate and another member for help, with whom I had corresponded to enter the association, both of whom were quite involved in the association. At the beginning, I had to be taken into the different channels of communication: the e-mail distribution channel and different WhatsApp groups of coordination. It was they who incorporated me or that asked the responsible people for it. I asked them too when I needed different telephone numbers, for example the one of the farmer. There was no official list where to look it up. After a while, I started to communicate more with my group. Talking with the people, participating everywhere and reading carefully the welcoming paper helped me to understand better the organisation of the association. However, it is sometimes difficult when questions arise and nobody knows the answer, and there is nobody "higher up" to ask who is responsible. Additionally, the organisation is not of the easiest to understand and to follow once you enter as a new member. "*What mostly cost me to understand were the baskets, the working hours, (…). The topic of how it functions. It is difficult until you do not [have the routine]… it happens to everybody. When Bea and Matía entered, they were thinking more slowly, too*" (Clara). There is a lot of dynamics that you have to catch step by step, emphasizes Tadéo, too. It is finally with the time that you get used to the organisation, learning it by doing. Clara experienced that too: "*If I compare myself to the people who have participated for a long time, I still feel new. But I see an evolution since the first days, because when we have to take decisions and have an opinion, I participate and I have propositions, because I am already internalizing what the association is and its way to function.*" Therefore, being organised in flat systems requires more time in the beginning to understand how to implicate themselves, but this issue can be resolved through active participation.

There are, however, issues that remain chaotic and lack transparency because they happen decentralised and because there is no clear structure of responsibilities. For example, I got to know who was the responsible member that can include new members in the mailing list once I had to ask for myself. However, during all three months we regularly received e-mails either from some members asking to include a new member or from ex-members who wanted their e-mail to be deleted from the distribution list. All members of the association receive then these e-mails, instead of only the responsible person. Apparently, almost all groups and members were not informed about this delegated competence. Ángela told me that such issues arise again and again, sometimes she is a little bit disappointed about the failing coordination between groups. Such small instances of disorganisation can be perceived with time as a burden to efficient group working. In contrast to this observation however, Saravia Ramos (2012) observed that the horizontality in the association in contrast to other organisational structures, promotes the transparency of the processes (330).

6.2.2 Commitment: minimal participation and inequalities

> "*The system is good, but the people have to do it. I always say: The garden is not just a garden. It is my garden, your garden… People always think that what belongs to everybody, does not belong to nobody.*"
> (Rosana)

The main reason why there is inefficiencies in work is not the organisation and structure per se, but the attendance of one's commitments as part of a group without hierarchies. According to Lucía and Rosana, sometimes responsibility get diluted. Not everybody understands that in a collective project every single person counts. Luís captures it in a nutshell: "*The system of organisation is good, the structure is good. We, the people, we fail.*" Autonomy requires personal commitment, which means to take over one's responsibilities at least within the group, says Alberto. According to him, if there are people within a group that laze around, the group

suffers. "*To be self-organised requires co-responsibility of each member, in order that the collective functions. A key element is to take a minimum of responsibility*" (Alberto). However, many members describe the actual situation that many people do not show enough of their minimal commitment. This weakens the association. Especially, most of the groups do not fulfil the minimal working hours per month. "*If there is a commitment that you have to work two hours, everybody has to do them. Alright, perhaps this month you cannot, no worry, but the truth is that it is always the same. And now another month, and another, and the group is always in deficit, in deficit, in deficit. And the sum was augmenting all the time. (…) Then, of every group, it was always the same person going to work. He goes always and you go every three months. Why? Because you have a lot of work. Okay. The problem is that this is also a commitment, for heaven's sake. You cannot find two hours anywhere? (…) Damn, if these are the commitments, then do not sign up. You have people who say 'It's okay, I am going. It's okay, I am going.' But when the fifth, sixth, time comes, you say, 'this month I am not going either'*" (Martín). There are some inequalities in participation that surge from the fact that autonomy does not only imply freedoms but also requires responsibility. The line between showing solidarity towards groupmates and free riding from others engagement has to be negotiated. Depending on the person, his/her group and experiences, there are some people that have the impression that the line has been exceeded towards constant unilateral engagement from some participants. Unequal participation exists between members as well as between groups, Martín thinks. The farmer Antonio sees the lack of commitment as one of the biggest problem of the association, too. People would never achieve their commitment to work on the fields. "*They leave it aside, leave it aside, leave it aside and I spend a whole month here on the fields seeing nobody. Then suddenly the last week of the month it's 'I wanna go to the fields!'*" The fields, however, need a permanent care, work has to be spread over the days and not every day is ideal for working on the fields, for example if it has rained before. This is a problem that has existed since almost the beginnings of the association, says one of the founders: "*It was always like 'I can't make it, I can't make it, I can't make it… now it's end of the month' and nobody has done one's hours. Like now*". However, people say that years ago the general commitment was still higher than today.

Rosana has the impression that today people seem to "*be and not to be*". People express a lot of understanding for external reasons that hinder their colleagues from taking responsibility of their commitments, however sometimes it feels like the real will is missing today. For example, people arrive unprepared at the assemblies and this makes it very difficult to have a smooth and productive discussion. Assemblies are unsatisfactory because "*we already start from group reunions that are done per WhatsApp or have not been done*" (Tadéo). He noticed that at the last assembly he assisted that nobody was really prepared to discuss, but everybody except the farmer was looking on its mobile phone in order to check the decisions of her/his own group or to ask the groupmates for missing information. For Rosana this means that people do not fulfil their commitments nowadays because they care less: "*Here, nobody is obliged, due to an obligation or due to work. No, it's something you have signed up voluntarily. So, if you signed up voluntarily, involve yourself. And if there are people who do not like assemblies, well they are within a group and they can discuss it and perhaps this person can do another task. But you do not go to an assembly without reading the points about which it will be discussed. If you could not assist the group reunion, then inform yourself. You cannot open a pdf-file on the computer? It takes ten minutes! They do not do it because they do not feel like doing it. That they don't lie to me!*" The lack of commitment bothers some members more and other less, but it ensures that the association is in constant crisis. Members like Martín quit because of these inequalities between members in taking up their own commitments. Other people accept the situation, although they regret the missing commitment. Rosana for example told me that there were moments where she wanted to give it all up, but she likes it too much. She got upset with the people, however she says: "*now, I enjoy*". If one week there is no chard in the baskets just because fewer people from the responsible group went to harvest and therefore they did not had the time to make full baskets, she will pick some the next time she is going to the fields to work. "*As Antonio says, instead of being irritated, he says 'don't get irritated', he marks it this way [strongly stressing the r]. The others will do what they will do. Well I do my part, a bit of work or a bit of harvest. That's it*" (Rosana).

Some people try to do their part and enjoy the things they like about the project without taking over the whole responsibility of the other members. *"I think in the Acequia everybody is an adult, everyone knows her/his responsibility. (…) I don't want to force anyone, I do my part and I don't do more, except if I really see that something is going really wrong if I don't intervene. Otherwise, I think that it is a collective project. And it will function better or worse depending on how the people are. If one or two people press ahead the others and organize everything, it does not bring anything. For sure, everything could work better, but then it is everybody who should take responsibility"* (Tomás).

Figure 14: Member of the Acequia weeding carrot plants (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

However, difficulty to realize one's commitment is not only due to personal lack of prioritisation. Structural limitations hinder people to engage themselves in voluntary work, too. Implication in the association has to be negotiated with people's other activities. *"It is normal. Because everybody has a lot of things to do today"*, says Antonio. Depending on life situations and schedules, this can be easier or more difficult. Different interviewees share the opinion that the circumstances of the people who started the project changed with the years and that this is one reason of less implication: *"My assumption is that it is due to the circumstances of life. Most of us were students, there were some exceptions, but then life priorities changed – the job, the family, most of the people have children. The circumstances changed"* (Tomás). Furthermore, many people experienced that their voluntary work in the association was often contingent on conditions of their paid work. It is not possible for everybody to assist in preparing the vegetable boxes in the afternoons because they have to work. For example, Lucía remembers that her last year's working schedule made it impossible to go to the fields: *"Last year I could hardly give any support. During winter I came home at four o clock, I ate and then it was already dark."* For other people, the precarious working conditions they experience in their paid job hinders their stability in their working commitment in the Acequia. The economic crisis of 2007-2008, of which repercussions still are apparent, made the situation worse. Some people, have temporary working contracts and have constantly to change city to find a new job. This makes a stable participation in the association impossible. Furthermore, Alberto says that the economic crisis has heightened the working pressure, therefore debilitating voluntary work: *"The crisis made us more exhausted and tired. Being part of such an association is an important expense of energy. Taking this in account, it is not the purely economic question of the crisis that influenced the participation, but rather the very long working days, the augmentation of stress, social depression…"* (Alberto).

This shows that even though people appreciate the idea of such an organisational system, it cannot be realised completely in practice, because many members do not fulfil all of their commitments. However, it is a phenomenon that has been augmented over time. It is due to personal prioritisation as well as to structural limitations. Whether independently for personal or collectively for external limitations, it is a problem for the functioning of the associative work when many people do not take their minimum responsibility: "*Groups only function if everybody row in the same direction. However, if someone – not that he rows against – but if he does not row, we turn around, right?*" (Martín).

6.2.3 Self-initiative and informal responsibilities

Many tasks and responsibilities surge in the organisation of such an association that go beyond written commitments. They are "*invisible tasks, which have to be done but which are not valorised or that are not seen on paper*" (Tadéo). Although hierarchies are flat, some members voluntarily take more charge doing this invisible extra work. "*I think there was always a nucleus of people that have taken a lot of responsibilities. I think that were key people thanks to those the project is going on*" (Alberto). Everybody perceives them as trustful and important people. As Luís describes them: "*Everybody has trust in them!*" Often, they are pioneers or at least members who have participated for a long period. As Saravia Ramos (2012) describes, people can assume leadership roles within such horizontal structures. They take such a role because of experience, high involvement into the project, the personal way of being, or the quantity of information hold (which depend from the degree of involvement) (364-365). People in this position are somehow conscious about it and somehow also not. Very often, when I asked them what their role is within the association, their first response was that their role is the same as of the one of everyone else, and then only afterwards they were listing "small" things they were doing in addition. For example, one of the veterans said: "*I do what all the other people do. Work on the fields, the support to the repartition, going to the repartition… Well, meanwhile I have, because of my so to say position as a veteran, a special status, that people ask me things. However principally, I do what all people do.*" Another pioneer told me right after having said that his role is the same as the role of everybody that he always helps in the rotatory task of cash management and with the administrative things because it is complex. He was also the one who took up the responsibility to respond to my request per Facebook and e-mail because no one else took it and no one is formally responsible for it. I noticed that often the same bunch of people actively think for the association and accordingly write e-mails to the whole association when there are exceptional situations to deal with, or who remember people about their usual tasks (for example to send the monthly minutes). "*There is to less sense of responsibility. People do at best the minimum. (…) For example, the boxes that we have to put the vegetables into it – they turn to be less. Before it was always Luz who did it. Since she is not doing it anymore, (…) there is less and little boxes. Alright, I neither said nothing until now. But, does no one notice that? Do nobody says something? Do I have to do it if nobody else perceives it? (…) Nobody thinks about such things that exceed the everyday. It is a pity, a lot of energy gets lost in this way*" (Tomás). This shows that it exists a lot of work that goes beyond the usual tasks defined by the basic commitment rules, but which are essential in order such an association to function. However, not enough people realize the existence of this work and neither commit themselves to do it, but it is rather some few people taking over this charge informally.

Members do not see this kind of leadership role of some people as problematic, they are rather thankful for their engagement in the community and they find it natural that such informal carry of responsibilities exists. Saravia Ramos (2012) also observed the legitimation by the group for informal leadership and its normality (339). "*These figures emerge in spontaneous and natural ways, however it would be good if a co-responsibility existed. It would be more efficient if not always the same people take charge*" (Luís). Even if informal roles are accepted, it seems that in this association the equilibrium of sharing responsibilities within an autonomous system is not very balanced, though. The members taking charge are not always happy with this position, although they do it voluntarily and with passion. "*Sometimes I don't like my role. Sometimes when I say something, everybody believes it more. Especially with memory, 'What was the decision we took?' Only*

because I have been a member since the beginning, it does not mean that I remember such things better. Sometimes it can be my fault. When we have a slow rhythm of work and suddenly I do what has to be done, I take over the urgencies" (Leo). Tomás says too, that his group is very lazy now and it is always he who has to remind the group when they are for example responsible for the support to the distribution. "*It would be better if it would not be like this, but this is the situation now.*" Tadéo has the impression that this finally leads to the end that people get disillusioned, because "*I cannot pull the whole carriage, I can help to pull it.*" However, it does not give the impression that they do not like to take over some extra responsibilities per se, but rather that a minimum of co-thinking and responding from other members makes it difficult with the time and slow down the function of the association. At least, all the people I asked were not at all disappointed that their "invisible" engagement was not recognised or valorised from the other members. "*I do not even pose myself this question. Mmh.. I mean, I have so to say my own esteem*", says Tomás. Furthermore, Saravia Ramos (2012) argues that leadership within the association is not against the horizontal organisation and they do not try to reproduce hierarchical static relations, whereas they are rather the result of different ways to inhabit a project. "*It [leadership] has a functional and practical role, in order to facilitate the processes of decision-making and in order to advance ore rapidly with complex topics*" (Author's own translation) (Saravia Ramos 2012: 357). I got the exactly same feeling from my participation experience within the association and the way my interviewees talked about this topic.

This organisation structure and the unequal and informal responsibilities affect the role of the farmer, too. I observed that members leave an overcharge of responsibility more and more on the shoulders of the farmer, too. "*His character is more and more important*", says Lucía. "*He is the suffering one. He should only be the farmer. However, there is many decisions that we leave in his hands. We give him responsibilities that should not be his. For example, when we plant crops. He decides what to plant, what not to plant, how to manage the fields. Before, this were shared decisions*." The farmer perceives this charge, too. He told me: "*Giulia, the decisions about the garden, I take almost all of them.*" He would share them with the members, or even hand them over: "*I should be able to say 'We will sow potatoes for this date' and they should find the solution. This is participation. 'We want to eat artichokes, or whatever, and how much' and I sow them.*" In the first years, the responsibilities of the farmers were even higher. One of them told me: "*At the beginning I had a very strong role of leadership, of promoter of the project. (...) In the first years I was present everywhere, in almost all the commissions. (...) After some years I started to change, I realised that I could not have so many responsibilities. I changed my participation a lot*" (Miriam). I realised that in the association of Hortigas in Granada, this situation is still partly present. The principal farmers there have not only an important role in the agricultural responsibilities, but also on the level of the association's organisation. Saravia Ramos (2012), who carried out his research six years ago, also recognized greater importance of the farmer as a leader at that time. I could not recognize a leading role for the actual farmer in the association. Nevertheless, he has a very important role, where he is in charge of many responsibilities concerning the fieldwork. Members of the Acequia usually recognize this excessive delegation of authority to the farmer and say that he is a bit disillusioned about the missing participation of the members on the fields. However, he learned to accept these organisational failures and to deal with them. On the other side, as members know that the farmer is experienced, they feel less responsible to take decisions in this field, says Tomás. Additionally, some members say that he is very rigid concerning agricultural methods. Some experienced members want to participate more into the decision-making of the fields and introducing new methods, but they do not agree with the farmer's methods.

People who take over extra responsibilities exist not only on the level of the whole association, but also within the single groups where they serve as pillars and conductors. Ángela commented it to me as something natural and depending on the experience within the association. After having talked about these dynamics in her group, she asked me: "*In your group it is Lucía, isn't it?*", and I had to fully agree. She was the one in my group, asking most often when and where we wanted to meet for the reunion and she was the one at the reunion took over the role of leading the discussion. Tadéo talks about his role of coordinator within his group: "*I am a bit attentive when we have to go to the support to the distribution and I coordinate with the other group who has*

to go. I often take over this part. (...) It is me because I have more contacts, or I don't know why." Tadéo expressed his thoughts about why he thinks there is many people and especially new ones that do not take over these invisible tasks. "*I don't know if it is because we, who have been members for a longer time, cannot delegate so that new people can take responsibilities. We do not teach them that these responsibilities exist and I notice that those who have been involved for more time are those who lead the way. It is like this at the level of the group as well as at the level of the association. (...) This is not healthy for an association. What happens? I saw that in all collectives. (...) However, me for example, I also entered as a new member and now I am something like a half-veteran, I mean, it also depends on how much the person... on how you engage yourself into a project.*" On one side, the fault can happen on the side of the people who are used to take responsibilities. They do not know how to give up their roles. On the other side, it depends on one's initiative about how much one wants to be active.

Self-initiative is essential within flat and autonomous systems. Most of the additional responsibilities or of extra activities arise through self-initiative of the members. Some years ago, for example, a commission existed that organised external organic producers with additional products (eggs, bread, fruits, etc.) to come regularly at the distributions. Ángela told me that next to the fact that fewer members did orderings through this platform, she and the other responsible girl gave up this self-organised offer. Since then, there is sporadically some producers selling their products through the association. It is often one active member that is in contact with different producers. Sometimes he sends an e-mail to all members with a list of products available at a specific day and we can put our desired quantity on a table. This member makes this little additional work just thanks to his self-initiative and his altruism towards its colleagues and we could profit from this offer. Such a structure of organisation makes it possible that there is place for everybody who wants, to bring itself into the association with its interests. "*For example some years ago a women wanted to plant aromatic plants on our fields. So she did*", tells Tomás. I realised myself how self-initiative is possible, required, and welcomed. It started in the very first week. We decided at the assembly to translate the welcoming paper into different language for Erasmus students. I took over the translation into Italian and together with the other translators, we coordinated this additional task. When time passed by, I was motivated to make other contributions to the association. For example, I always took photos when I went to the fields. After the parties, where I also took photos, I realised while chatting with another member that it would be cool to upload them on the association's Facebook page. I realised that if I wanted photos being uploaded, I had to start doing it myself. One day later, I was co-administrator of the Facebook page and started to post my photos. This shows that "*Quien cree, crea*" – "*Who believes, creates*". Ruben from the association Subbética Ecologica told me this guiding phrase, while he was telling me euphorically about the self-initiative and motivation of some members of his association to help on different fronts.

This chapter has demonstrated that within an autonomous structure where everybody has the same position, there is a lot of space to work cooperatively, to take over what one's preferences and to be pro-active. However, it can partly translate easily into unequal senses of responsibility and therefore diverse strengths of commitment.

6.3 The entanglement of trust, mutual solidarity and community bonds

6.3.1 Trust as a fundamental pillar for working decentralised

"That about trust is essential, because otherwise it (the association) would not exist. Because if you would not trust people that they respond, you would not do all this." (Clara)

I realised that the principle of trust was very important for realizing the work together as an association. Participants were conscious about it. Within the group as well as on the level of the whole association people shared mutual trust. For example, people relied especially within their own group of consumption on their colleagues. Maira finds it important that "*you trust your part of the basket that a person will go to work if you cannot or that you make yourself responsible to go to work and to contribute. It is about having trust in the*

other." On the level of the whole association, trust is also an essential pillar for the functioning of all activities. Leo makes the point: "*We do not have to take account of the activities of the people. Simply, if I say that I worked some hours that means that I worked these hours. That's it. Or for example we now have maternity and paternity service, or for people who are sick… nobody will go to control them, you do not have to officially prove it. Or the farmer, we do not control his hours, he notes it and he knows it and that's it.*" "*Or when we organize the parties, we trust in the participation of everybody*", adds Clara. Additionally, Alberto made aware that there are no sanctions if some people do not do their work. That is why trusting each other is essential in this context. Not everybody felt this trust enough, though. The former member Martín experienced situations, where people broke his trust. "*S/he [another member] signed up [the worked hours], and afterwards you heard that this person hadn't gone. I am a very honest person in such things. If you do not go, do not go. There were some people who you knew they had not gone, because they told it to another friend that they had not gone but that they had written that they had done their hours. However, these people did not know that this friend was also a friend of mine. And I did not like this.*" Cumulated with other reasons and happenings, it is why Martín did not want to be part of the association anymore. This shows how trust is fundamental for collective work, because if this feeling is missing, members are not willing anymore to engage themselves. However, if trust is there, things becomes possible, which would not be done otherwise. For example, Ruben told me that in his association Subbética Ecologica, they renovated the whole building were the new headquarters are. The building is though still property of someone else, but he promised to sell it to the association the coming year. Ruben says that it is a person of trust, who is also very engaged in the association as member, and therefore he has no worries at all about that.

6.3.2   Mutual solidarity and its changes in time

Mutual solidarity represents a further essential pillar in order that collective work functions. Members of the Acequia emphasised especially that mutual solidarity exists within the people of the own group of consumption. "*We organize ourselves depending on our availability. We have mothers who have little babies. (…) We prefer to look within the group, if she is in such a life situation, especially in moments of maternity, we support her. In my little group, I do not have children, is to rather go to work to the fields because I have more time. Because there are groupmates, who have children and they find it even harder to come Thursday to pick up the basket, so it is a huge effort for them. For the support to the repartition, I feel more responsible that it functions*", explains Maira. Clara experiences this solidarity, too: "*For example, if I cannot go to pick up my vegetables, Lucía [a groupmate] does it for me. I should concentrate more on the working hours… Because I cannot pick up the basket as I have English class at the same time. Nevertheless, Lucía or Alberto, or you and Luís the other day… Always when someone has a necessity, someone else responds. I did not know Luís and the other day he offered to me 'I will pick it up for you'*". This seems to be the case in most of the groups. The organisational autonomy within the groups makes this possible. Mutual solidarity is essential in the organisation of the groups and let activities work smoothly. I also experienced it several times. The first month when I entered my group, the smallest possible basket for entering the association was very big for one single person. This has been changed during my stay, though. That means that the first month of my stay, I had to take officially a basket that was too big for me alone. However, my group proposed to me to equally share part of the tariff I had to pay and to share the vegetables that were too much for me between all members of my group, in order that I did not have to pay a price that was too high for my needs. This meant that my groupmates paid a little bit more for one month than they normally did, to make my participation possible in an equal way to theirs.

Figure 15: Dividing a pumpkin between group members at a vegetables repartition of La Acequia (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

The relation between the group members and the employed farmer of the association shows some controversies that concern trust and solidarity. Several times members emphasised the importance of the farmer's presence in the association, and their trust towards its capacity and its endurance. "*I think he (the farmer) is crucial. Otherwise we wouldn't have the vegetables that we have. Crucial, because he is really always there. We always know that the garden is in good hands. As the vertebral column. All the others are coming and going, but he is always there. Therefore, I think that he is very important, he gives us very much security. We know that the tomatoes are well cared, that he does the best that he can in the time and the possibilities he has.*" The farmer is always given the space in assemblies to say how he feels. However, he does not really use this space in reality. I realised with the time, that he exchanges his state of being through rather informal channels. That means that he talks about it more with some members of trust he has in the association. "*I get along well with everybody*", he says. He feels comfortable within the community and he loves to chat to the people coming to the fields, as Tadéo says and as I saw at the weekly repartitions. It is rather a question of failing trust in the organisational and coordination system (as explained in the chapter above) than trust towards the people, that he does not express himself that much. Even if personal relations are good, his trust in mutual solidarity has been taken away with the time. When I asked him if he counts with the working hours that the members should do every month he says that he count the theoretical hours for the planning of the garden, but he does not count on the people to come: "*Yes. This work is never done on the fields. Yes, I count it as my burden to do them (laugh). So, how long have these tomatoes plants been there [pointing to the dried tomato plants next to us]? One and a half months? Well, one and a half months is a long time. Those you are pulling out now. That should have been done before and let cleaned and the soil prepared.*" He realised that nothing is coming back from the members. "*Antonio sees that people do not respond. He is disappointed*", explains Luís. Therefore, he changed his attitude: "*He does his work, before he did more than corresponded to him*", Rosana says. She added that when he saw that there was no reciprocity and the people did not involve themselves, he stopped being involved as much as before.

On the level of the association, experiences collected through the history of the association told the members that instruments and rules on the association's level were missing in order to apply mutual solidarity and caring for the members in need. For example, different people told me that many members left the association some years ago, because they could not fulfil their commitment anymore as their life situation changed and no measure helped them staying in. Especially, it touched the topic of maternity and paternity. "*Problems have*

surged that we did not know how to confront, as for example maternity. Many women got pregnant and had to leave the association because they had children" (Lucía). When the association realised the problem, it introduced new rules in order to care about its members. Pregnant women, people with babies or health diseases were excused from most working commitments. This modality is working well today; however, it caused many losses before the decision was taken. Tadéo experienced this problem in his group and reflected over it: "*For me, the Acequia has not renewed itself. It was more immobile than life is. It is difficult sometimes to follow the changing rhythm of life. We lost two people of our group and were about to lose a third for maternity. And after that happened, we introduced the discharge for maternity. This is not the only reason, but yes I think… there are many people who left because of maternity.*" Another event some years ago touched Rosana by its lack of solidarity: "*There was a very committed girl, she worked so much and then she became unemployed. And she said: 'I want to continue with the Acequia, but I cannot pay the vegetables', but nobody accepted that she stayed working in exchange of the vegetables. No, because we all have to continue equally. I find that pretty harsh.*" To increment solidarity on the association level in a formal way for caring about the members in need, a new modality of participation was introduced last summer. It implies the commitment of working during two "support to the repartition" per month in order to receive a basket of vegetables every week. During the process of deciding and even afterwards, the discussion arose about equality and also about worker's exploitation; however, it was decided that the modality was created in order to care about the members that were temporally in a difficult financial situation. These examples show how instruments were introduced in the organisation of the association in order to facilitate mutual solidarity towards people in different life situations.

However, members encounter new difficulties in showing solidarity today in contrast to former times, even if formal modalities were introduced. Tomás sees the other side of the coin when talking about the introduction of the "working solidarity basket". He explained how solidarity was more present before towards members in need and how this new participation modality was normally resolved informally within the groups themselves. "*We talked about forms, how to support people. Normally we said, that the single groups had to resolve, what today exists officially (…). We always said that the groups themselves had to decide. If someone says that he cannot pay, then it should be the other groupmates that decide if they are disposed to pay a little bit more. We knew each other. We knew than that this was true. And there was also a time, where some people paid more, for like half a year. Some people who said they can afford it, payed ten euros more, because we run out of money. So, we could say that these new modalities, which existed already before, are now officially, because we know us each other less. True. It is logical, if you know the people less, first, to come and to say "I cannot afford it", it is not that easy and perhaps you do not do this when there is no trust. Then, there is the question, if there is someone coming and you do not know the people, you do not know if it is really true. Everybody has financial difficulties. So it is difficult because you do not know each other, you cannot estimate it.*" This reveals that for having economic relations caring the human, the pillar of trust is essential. However, without knowing each other personally, it is more difficult to have trust. In this way, the commitment and incentive to help each other lose its force. Solidarity takes rather place when you have personal relations and when a community feeling exists within the members. Rosana explains the importance of this closeness in the association: "*When you have better relationships, it works better, you have more trust and more friendship, that means it all. In the Acequia you are involved emotionally. Involvement with someone you do not know is difficult, it is a problem. So, if he has a problem, and for me it implies a problem, I care less. Perhaps in the association it happens more and more, that people are less involved emotionally. Because it is easier to respond to everything if you are involved. In my group, when we had people who after some months said 'I can't!'… say it to the group! If you do not talk, we do not know what is happening. If you cannot come for the vegetables, we can pick it up for you… But, if you do not communicate your necessities and your problems, we cannot help you. I think that is happening to all of us.*"

6.3.3 Community: the importance of knowing each other

Creating a community incentivises people to be more implicated in the association as well as participate at the different activities of the association to create personal bonds with the other members. Clara recognizes this causal relationship between feeling bonded and working well: "*After reunions, we always drink something together. And I think it is also good for creating a network between us, that we know each other and so on, this is also good for the project. Because talking in this way, you develop more ideas, more trust with the people, I think all this is important, too. As a group we responded when we had to bring propositions.*" Many members emphasize how bonds are tied within the own group of consumption. "*We are very united, we do not get to have problems. If someone misses, we pick up the basket. We have two new people now. But the rest, yes. We always celebrate together Christmas dinner and the farewell in summer. We have a lot of cohesion. We always call each other to go to the fields. And for the rest, I think we divide the tasks*" (Leo). Rosana perceive it in her group, too: "*For us, reunions have always been moments for enjoying. We meet at someone's home or in a bar. When we meet at someone's home we make dinner together.*" I also perceived the importance and beauty of knowing people and feeling integrated in order to participate. When we went working on the fields, it was normally a very friendly atmosphere. We all talked together during harvesting, telling each other our actual situations or exchanging ideas. It is in this way that I met people from other groups. I also experienced the weekly distribution meeting as a good moment to see my group and create bonds. The size of the groups makes it easier to experience familiarity faster with the group members than with all members of the association: "*I think that in this aspect the group is really good, because it creates more cohesion between people. You support me, I support you tomorrow*" (Luís). Clara and Maira pointed out that they had the opportunity to get to know other people of the association while working at the bar at the association's autumn party. However, many members had the opinion that connection between groups is more difficult. As Maira says, "*there are few moments of encounter. Sometimes the support to the distribution has been a good opportunity to get to know other groups. Because when you go to pick up the vegetables, we just go for the vegetables, you see your groupmates and that's it.*" I perceived this difficulty, too. I had a closer relationship with the members of my own group. Thanks to the interviews I organised with different members, through my active engagement to go to the fields with different groups, thanks to the party and to the contacts I got through my flatmate that participated in another group, I got to know some people from other groups pretty quickly. Nonetheless, I also reflected at the end of my stay, that actually my group with some exceptions knew that I was present, on what I was working and how I was involved in the association. However, getting to know people and creating strong personal bonds needs time, within the group or between groups.

Figure 16: Harvesting together during a "support to the distribution" on the fields of La Acequia (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

Many members, especially those involved in the association for many years, recognize a loss of familiarity and friendship within the members of the association as a general development. "*The biggest evolution is the affinity between people, in the groups as also between groups. When we started we all knew each other. There was more union within the groups and the people. We did parties, we did parties for ourselves. (…) We were more friends, and had more internal cohesion, even we created it. Even from my group there were people I did not know and we get to be very good friends thanks to the association. Now this has gone lost*" (Leo). This let change the degree in activity of the people. When talking about the changing feeling as community, all interviewees started to tell me about the change in the degree of participation, the two things being tightly related to each other. Leo remembers that in the past "*everybody went, we brought food, we shared food… We went like 50, 60 people at the assembly. We had giant assemblies.*" Lucía perceives this change, too: "*We changed a lot. We were more people and true that we were more united. For example, we met and went working on the fields a whole day, and ate there a rice. More cohabitation.*" She assigned the loss of community to the fact that a big change in the membership took place. She is not the only one having this opinion. Additionally, Luís and Tomás say that not only membership changed, but that while before members were all from the social movements from Cordoba, now members have become more diverse, coming from different perspectives. „*I always say, perhaps I romanticize the starting time, perhaps it was not that great – but I think yes, though. At the beginning, it was really a bigger circle of friends. (…) We were not all best friends, but we all knew each other. And the groups, they were either associations, or other groups that were somehow active together, or who lived together. It was a really heartfelt relationship, I never lived something like this before. Such a human warmth, that was great, and this has been lost. (…) The new people coming in were… from somewhere else. And because of that, this cohesion has become lost. So much that my group has not met since summer. We discuss decisions per WhatsApp.*" Tomás thinks that the group feeling has changed so much, because they do not know each other that well anymore. This changed working habits into less engagement and less quality of work as well as less enjoyment of being involved. "*Between the groups, activities have also shrunken. We had joint planning meetings and so on. We had more activities together. And when we do it now, few people come. Or when we have such initiatives… like someone proposed once, why we do not do a barbecue next to the fields in his house. But we never did it*" (Tomás). It seems to be a vicious circle, where more community feeling and personal relationship would increment participation (as it was before), but that because there is less participation, people do not get the opportunity to know each other that well.

Community cohesion and personal proximity are an important pillar of association's work in other CSA-projects around Andalusia, too. The project on the occupied farm of Somonte lost its strength since the community of around 30 people had internal conflicts, and due to that they gave up participation. According to the volunteer Mauricio, also in many permaculture projects around Andalusia, community is the basis of existence and work. In CSA models, where due to their organisational form are less based on communitarian work, community feeling and trust can be a fundamental pillar. For example, this is the case for the ecologic vegetable basket producer Miriam near Seville that sells its basket through direct relations of proximity and guarantee with the consumer. She says that she builds a sense of community and personality through the weekly e-mail she sends to her clients in order to create functioning and satisfactory economic relations: "*In the morning of the distribution day that is Tuesday [in Cordoba] and Monday here in Seville, I send an e-mail and I tell something. Something about the fields or about what will be in the basket. People told me, that this e-mail bind them to the fields. They valorise it very much. Because it holds an information that is more difficult to translate at the distributions. They get connected with what will come and valorise it. They valorise the basket and the work behind. (…) Because it creates another tie. If you just see me when I am giving you a basket while running, it is difficult to maintain a relationship that overcome the 'I give you money and I give you vegetables'.*" Furthermore, she sustained that by explaining the commitment and the significance at the beginning of a relation with a client, builds trust, mutual respect and solidarity. She can rely on clients that pay every month in advance their basket, come reliably to pick up the basket and that inform her in advance if they want to stop the relationship. To the other side, consumers can rely on a weekly basket of quality that is planned

the whole year round and financially stable. "*Basically, my model is based on a relation of individual commitment between me and the consumer. I always repeat when someone approach me, that s/he is not buying vegetables, but rather that s/he is entering into an economic relationship based on trust and mutual support*" (Miriam, ecologic basket producer).

This chapter showed how CSA actors care about and value trust and mutual solidarity in their economic relation. It is because of trustful and personal relationships that members show mutual solidarity. Thanks to trust and mutual solidarity work can be realised within the terms of organisation of the association, namely decentralised and non-hierarchical structures, allowing some freedoms and familiarity to participants. However, when these aspects are not totally present, the organisation of activities in the association suffers. Additionally, people shows more engagement to be active and have more joy to work when they feel personal bonds between each other.

6.4   Decision-making process: the beauty and the slowness of consensus

As the structure of organisation is horizontal, the form of taking decisions happens including all members voice in the frame of assemblies. All decisions within the association La Acequia are taken by consensus. Consensus is when all participants agree on the same decision. First, decisions are discussed within the single groups of consumption, and then it is the assembly that takes the final decision, based on the represented positions of the groups. The principle of consensual decision-making is taken more seriously in the assemblies than in the group reunions. As Clara and Rosana both emphasised, reunions are more relaxed. According to some interviewees, when there are discussions, sometimes the opinion of the majority is accepted. However, usually there are fewer fundamental discussions in the groups where single people put their veto. If there were, they were discussed and tried to clear up.

"*I thought that this [consensus] was impossible. However, you can, you can. It seems silly, but there are people who are very hard-headed. I am pig-headed, I admit it. There are people with very different ideas. You have to look for other solutions*" (Lucía). Even if sometimes it is hard to realize, people valorise this principle. It looks for decisions that are more creative and it makes people aware of differences and other valuable ways of thinking and arguing. "*I liked this, that everybody has different opinions and that everybody reaches an agreement. Someone comes from one place, someone else from another. And everybody brings new things in, and it is like 'Ah! I would not have thought about it.' Alright? Therefore, it seems very good to me*" (Rosana). Being confronted with different standpoints makes people aware of difference and enriches them, as well as it teaches people to be flexible, as my interviewee argues: "*People have to work it out. You have to think and know that you can come across black, white, dark grey, light grey, red, yellow, green. There are many ways of doing something. (...) I think that if things are discussed with reasoning... I think that nobody is inflexible and rigid. I think this is what I like from the Acequia, this flexibility*" (Rosana). Interviewees show that this mechanism is something that most people did not experience in many other situations in life. Therefore, I was told, they do not trust from the beginning that it works, but once they get to know it, they appreciate it all the more. For example, Alberto told me: "*It is a very important work to do. Especially, because we are not used to it. It is one of the things that the Acequia taught me. The importance to work towards a consensus. I am a school teacher. We were there with the children and wanted to build groups to work in groups. So, I asked them: 'How do we want to form the groups?' They were unsure. (...) 'Let's vote!' I said, before we vote, we try to achieve a stand of consensus, let us see the reason of the ones and of the others. Perhaps we achieve it without voting.*" Taking decisions by consensus implies another type of communication between people that aim to listen, understand and value each other. The objective is to have a common understanding and to take decision, which everybody can back and represent in the end. This create another type of relationship. Tomás explained it to me very carefully: "*I find it [the principle of consensus] essential. It creates a totally different dealing within the people, than if we would say 'okay, let us vote' and the winner wins and the loser loses. (...) If we vote (...), imagine that you have standpoint A and I have standpoint B and are our standpoints are very important to both of us. We know, we discuss it and then we will vote it. Then we are opponents. Then I just*

have to convince you that my proposition is good and that your proposition is bad. And the one will win, who's better able to minimize the proposition of the other. This shapes the whole discussion. However, if I know that I have no chance even if I convince everybody but you say no, then it does not work. I have to agree on something with you. I do not understand it, and it is clear that I see my standpoint as the right one and you know that. So, you have to explain it to me. Where is the problem? Why can you not accept it? What is important to you? I have to put myself in your position. (…) It is a totally different starting point, which I find so interesting, that there is no opponent and no exclusion." To take decisions by consensus can therefore be seen as a difficult process, but also as a very respectful and fruitful one in the end. It does not exclude anybody's opinion and it creates a common understanding and a solid basis for common work.

I experienced a glance of it the very first week I was part of the association, when I assisted the extraordinary assembly. This assembly was held because of the association's crisis, in order to find solutions who changed the situation or to decide to slowly dissolve the association. Therefore, it was a tensed assembly from the beginning and everybody was expecting a lot from it. As Ángela told me, she was very anxious "*because it will be intense, because there are different positions. There are those who strictly want to have a list of very committed members and those who are for more flexibility.*" I perceived this tension, and discussion turned sometimes heated. However, the impression I had in the end was that with the time it gets more equilibrated who was talking and giving constructive propositions. The tension and the accusations dropped. Instead, more and more, people put together the different pieces and arguments from the different groups to create a joint proposition. Almost everybody seemed to back it. The assembly ended with tired members, but also feeling a common basis for taking the next steps together.

Although interviewees valorised a lot the explained advantages of consensual decision-making, they also recognised its difficult implementation. Indeed, everybody realised that decision-making can be very slow in this manner and that this can be tiring and inefficient. "*The decision-making done consensually is sometimes very slow… and exasperating*" (Luís). Members complained how sometimes people lose themselves discussing things back and forth, starting "*mental paranoias*", how Rosana called them. This results in assemblies lasting too long for their real content and it freezes important decisions for months of debilitating work. To understand this problematic, everybody told me a story about rabbits invading the garden some years ago. It seemed that this story had left some scars and that it was the apogee of ineffective rigidity that this system achieved. I will use it here too, in order to illustrate the problem. Principally, there were rabbits invading the garden of the association. They were eating all the shoots that had recently been planted, therefore destroying all the work done and leaving the garden with much less yield. "*No we cannot put traps! No, we cannot put a dog! No, we cannot kill them! Everything was prohibited, and every day they were eating more plants*" (Lúis). Members heatedly discussed the possible decisions how to deal with the problem, and in order to do so, propositions had to go back and forth from the groups to the assemblies, which took a very long time. "*Three months passed by until we put a wire netting*" (Rosana), for a decision that is urgent and which is small and easy, according to Luís, Matéo and Martín. Things like that happened in variated situations in the Acequia, according to many members. "*What happened in the end? On a very hot summer day, we said urgently, those who could went, put the wire netting, suffered, worked. One rabbit remained inside, one died and the other disappeared. I don't know if it is because he missed his friend, I don't know. The problem disappeared on its own. It is a problem because you have to find a solution, but immediately. And this costs the Acequia a lot*" (Rosana).Three months passed by to take a decision, which finally was not proposing a solution to the problem, because it was already "too late". To work in an efficient way, decisions have to be taken with more rapidity sometimes.

This is exactly what the farmer points out all the time, because as Rosana says, he is "*a practical and realistic person*". He explained it to me as such: "*Look, this breaks [he touches a machine for fieldwork]. You bring it to the assembly that it is broken. Now, I don't know what, we bring it to the groups. Now… the next month, the groups bring it to the assembly and maybe it does not have a chance. And the problem is not solved. This, if it*

breaks, next week it has to be fixed. The same happens when you sow. I cannot wait until they tell me to sow 300 lettuces. Wait three months, and you should already have eaten your lettuce (he laughs)." Practical things of fieldwork are not compatible with the decision-making structure of the association. Agility and reactive responses are necessary. "*The garden…does not accept... the decision-making of the Acequia or a similar collective need another agility. (…) Everything that is made by consensus to take a decision, takes an eternity. But the fields do not want this. If you do not do it today, from today to the next month it does not value anything more*" (Antonio).

Different members recognize this inutile decision-making process in such cases. However, they differentiate between types of decisions that the association takes. What concerns these practical decisions about the garden, the system should be adapted. For other decisions however, touching more deeply the principles and the way of functioning of the association, members value the application of consensus. Today, sometimes, easy operational decisions that cannot wait until the next reunions and assembly are taken through the e-mail channel. One group share its propositions, and the other groups have some days in order to discuss it and then share their opinion per e-mail again. When a group does not answer, the silence is treated as a non-opposition, therefore as an "okay". However, this system does not propose a very dynamic solution. "*I am in favour that sometimes we form commissions for some topics, to decide things that are not essential. The paper of principles of the Acequia not. But, more operational, day-to-day questions. I would welcome it*" (Alberto). The introduction of commissions could facilitate to deal with practical issues without passing through the assembly. Years ago, the association had different commissions, for example the commission for the production (which dealt with questions related to the garden) or the commission for external relations. However, they were dissolved, because to less people were interested to be implicated into such commissions. The association Hortigas of Granada still applies this system, in order to delegate some work equally within members, and in order to mix people from the different groups of consumption. While discussing about the possibility to introduce working commissions though, some members as Clara and Matéo welcomed it too, as idea to render the association more flexible and the decisions taking process more rapid. Luís proposes that there should be an executive commission, which can take practical decisions. "*In my opinion there should be an executive board of two, three people. I proposed it sometimes, even if it would be rotational. No? (…) The equilibrium between the consensus and the execution of decisions – I think there we should move forward*" (Luis). The association Subbética Ecologica functions for example with different commissions and an executive board, which is rotatory. All members – producers as consumers – can take part in the commissions they want to and they find interesting. Always when a matter surges, a commission is created who deals with it, told me Ruben, one of the promoters of the project. The executive board facilitates the coordination. However, the important decisions are taken within the frame of the assemblies. The disadvantage could be that not everybody is informed at the same level about everything, however, the system is more operational and it offers more agility to work efficiently. This would also help to avoid decision-making through something as an "informal executive board", which sometimes exists within the Acequia when it is under time pressure. "*Sometimes the farmer says it to Luz, or to Filipo, or at one of those who are more involved and they take the decision because it has to be rapid*" (Luís). This example relates to the informal responsibilities taken by some actors and the trust of all the members in these figures, explained in a former chapter (6.2.3).

Decision-making and the application of consensus have changed over time in the Acequia, though. According to some project pioneers, the principle of consensus does not pose so many problems anymore, as "*there are almost no people anymore whose different views collide. (…) I mean, such situations as we had in the beginnings, where we had debates that lasted half a year. If we constitute ourselves as association (…). Those were all long discussions where we looked for a compromise, and where we finally found one. People cannot imagine this nowadays. People say 'yeah, yeah, okay'. It makes it easier on one side, but there is a lot that goes lost in this way*" (Tomás). This is surely due to the fact I explained in chapter (6.2.2) that people engage themselves less into the association, and therefore they are less involved in discussing. Saravia Ramos (2012) evaluated the application of consensus in a similar manner. He argues that consensus needs a high involvement

of the people (313). As people are not that involved and as this practice is not so common in our societies, its application by the association's members can entail difficulties and also misapplications of the method (314).

Discussions often do not deal anymore with theoretical concepts and ideas, but rather with the diary practice. The political component was very present before, as Raúl and Leo remembers. Different pioneers told me how they got kicked out of the rooms at a certain time of the evening after they had held three hours of assembly, and how they went to the next bar in order to continue the discussion over a beer. "*At this epoch, the dynamic was more exigent. It was also more intolerant (he laughs). Groups said no, that they did not agree and this could continue like this for two months*", explains Luis. Therefore, members, including pioneers, appreciate the improvements in doing assemblies that are more effective. They agree on the fact that the discussions are more directed towards the problems and therefore assemblies are more resolute. People would not waste time on issues and they are able to stop discussions with a dead-end. "*Assemblies are much more efficient, agile and dynamic today*" (Alberto).

This chapter has shown that making decisions including all members equally and especially applying consensus offers an inclusive, understanding-based and creative

Figure 17: Weekly vegetables repartition of La Acequia (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

model of work. As Saravia Ramos (2012) states, consensus strengthen legitimation, participation and "*transforms diversity in a common good*" (306). He emphasizes that slowness is not the same as process, meaning that sometimes slowness is necessary in order to build more reflexive and participative spaces (319-320). "*It needs more time, but we can achieve better things, because you have a comprehension, we can share ideas. You have to have more time, to debate and then reach the consensus. I see it very well as idea, in practice it is more difficult, though*" (Clara). The realisation is not always easy, to guarantee a dynamic decision-making process. Especially, concerning the management of the fields that are not concerning fundamental values of work but rather daily practices requires a more flexible and decentralised form of decision-making for the good realisation of work.

6.5 Love and respect towards the living: environmental care

The association respects nature thanks to its agroecological way of production. No pesticides or GMO's are used. "*Before, nothing of all that existed [referring to the chemical pesticides]*", points out the 61-years old farmer Antonio. He uses traditional ecologic methods for working the fields, because anciently ecologic management was the commonly used method. "*I grew up on the fields since I am a little boy. The ancient garden formed me*" (Antonio). Ecologic management can vary a lot. According to Luís, the association works the fields ecologically, but it could be done more or better. For example, there is ecologic approaches that do not work the earth with machines, because it destroys its life and structure. However, no extensive agriculture is promoted on the Acequian fields, instead a diversified production is followed. "*We have a local agriculture that respects the earth and the plants*" (Leo) that "*does not exhaust resources*" (Maira) and that "*makes less damage to the planet*" (Clara). By producing self-sufficiently and locally, there is no environmental and social exploitation at the other edge of the production chain as it can be the case in conventional agriculture.

For going to the fields members has to use the car. However, cars drive usually with most of its places occupied. Groups organize themselves to drive to the fields together. In addition, there is a WhatsApp group called

"blabla Huerta" where all the people of the association can post their planned ride to the fields in order that other members can join the ride. Diana pointed out that she also esteems the system of the Acequia, because it does not produce waste, as there is no need for package material during the transportation from the field until home. "*We transport the vegetables in boxes to the repartition and there, everybody come with its own bags, which can be reused every time*" (Diana). The association Subbética Ecologica cares this topic too and produces own solid bags that can be used every week when vegetables are picked up directly at the farmer's home. Producing ecologically at a local scale cares therefore for the local environment and respects global environment and in this way cares for others and nature's well-being.

6.6   Love and respect towards the living: caring about employees

"In this economic model we do not have exploitation of the worker, but dignified duties and a decent salary, it seems to me." (Maira)

The Acequia is based on a CSA-model of self-provisioning work. However, it also partly relies on employees responsible for the farming production. This chapter analyses therefore how paid labour and working conditions has been defined over time, taking into account member's as well as farmer's perceptions.

6.6.1   Working conditions: farmer's and member's perception

The actual farmer, the only employee of the association, enjoys good working conditions according to all asked members. He works 30 hours a week, including his presence at the assemblies, and earns a relatively high income (almost 1100 euros per month) taking into account agricultural labour in Andalusia, but also equilibrating it with the rest of his conditions and with the living costs of the region. It is also very much higher than the salaries payed to employees in another agroecological cooperation I visited (600 euros for approximately 30-35 hours a week). In the latter, one of the farmers told me that the salary is enough to live. However, she would welcome discussing and increasing her salary, especially because one of her fellow farmers is at his limits, living only with a fifty per cent salary. Furthermore, the farmer of the Acequia has all the benefits of social insurance and unemployment. He is formally contracted for 40 hours per week "*for the social security… otherwise you don't receive anything*" (Antonio). Additionally, he can drive to the fields with the mini-van that belongs to the association and it is the association, too, paying the gasoline. He is free to take the vegetables from the garden for his own consumption; however, Antonio has his own garden at home where he grows all his vegetables, so he says that he normally does not take from the association's fields. Normally, the farmer goes to the fields Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday for approximately six hours (from 7 or 8 to 13 or 14, depending on the season) and Thursday the whole day. Thursday, at the end of the day, he drives the mini-van with the vegetables boxes to the repartition point and assists the repartition. He is free to decide on its own when he wants to work his 30 hours. This decision is externally only conditioned by weather and heat and by two commitments towards the association. First, he should be present Thursday night if it is possible (otherwise the association members try to take charge of the mini-van), and second, he has to write an e-mail every Sunday night when he will be present on the fields during the week (so that members can decide to join him). Furthermore, I perceived the working atmosphere and rhythm very pleasant on the fields of the Acequia as well as of the other agroecological associations and projects I experienced. I do not want to romanticize fieldwork, as I am conscious that it is physically demanding and exhausting. Often the sun was burning strongly, and when the winter came, it was freezing in the morning before the sun was high. After one hour curving my back or lifting loads, I already felt the effort and the day after I felt the pains. However, I never felt stress, pressure or disagreeable situations. One could work on his own rhythm, enjoying silence or chatting together from time to time. When we needed it, we took pauses. If the neighbour passed by and stopped, we chatted a bit with him.

Estefanía, a farmer of Hortigas appreciate her work in the association because "*I can work as I want, with the people I like at my side. And also I can be part of a project that has a sense that have a social vision, I also like this a lot.*" The work implies some freedoms and the fulfilment to do something good and with the people

one likes. Especially feeling free and feeling to do something with a sensed aim motivates Paco working and living full-time on the occupied farm of Somonte. He embodies the cause of the project, being proud of working towards self-sufficiency. "*Before I had a mortgage to pay to the bank, now I am free. Here it is freedom*" (Paco).

For Antonio, the farmer of our association, the accent is slightly different. He was unfamiliar to social movements when he entered the association. "*It is admirable how he adapted to it and surely lived a learning process*", says Tómas. Even so, or because he introduced himself into this structure, he is tired of its problems that are always the same. As discussed in chapter 6.2.2, he is a bit disillusioned about the rigidity of the decision-making process and about the low commitment of the members to come to the fields. Estefánia (the farmer of Hortigas) also does not like that there is too much responsibility on her shoulders. Additionally, Antonio is tired of working not because of the Acequia but because of work in general. He already worked many years of his life and would like to enjoy free time for himself. "*I have worked since I was 12 years old. Always exhausted. I don't want to work anymore, I want to retire. Working… for the young people. (...) Time! This is what I need. Time for me! That I never had. While I am alive!*" (Antonio). However, he appreciate the work he can do in the Acequia, because for many years he did not work as a farmer, even if this is his real passion. He also esteems his working conditions. "*The fields are what I always liked. If I did not like this, I would not be here. I am here because of what I earn and for the work I have*" (Antonio).

The association, meaning all members, carries the responsibility for the employee. During assemblies and interviews, members acknowledged this duty. During the last acute crisis, when the association thought it eventually had to close, the discussion around the fact that part of the release money of the farmer had been used and that this could not be the case if the association would close abruptly. This problematic was presented during the extraordinary assembly. After discussing it finally, members realised that the release money would not be a problem if the association would close, because in this case, during some months members could continue to harvest but without working the fields anymore. That would mean continuing paying the monthly fee, without that the farmer had to go to work. However, this discussion made me aware about the insecure situation the farmer should have gone through, without knowing for different months if his employer - the association - would continue to exist in the nearest future. When I approached him about this topic, he did not seem to worry. This is partly due to the fact that he is already 61 years old and he has the right to ask for two years of unemployment. Therefore, he told me: "*If they close before [before he officially retires], because the Acequia does not works anymore, I retire before. I will not look for something new. When I stop working, I receive unemployment money.*" I also realised with the time, that although insecurities can exist, caring is an essential characteristic of the association. Therefore, members are concerned about the guarantee of working conditions for their employees and that is why the farmer's fear of being left to its own destiny can be low. People demonstrated to feel responsible for the safety of the farmer, when talking about it at the assemblies and especially in private conversations with me. As many interviewees told me, members proved this common responsibility in 2011, when their fields suffered an inundation of the river Guadalquivir. This caused important damages to the plants, which let the members decide to look for another site where to grow their garden. Therefore, they passed a time where the inundated fields did not offer any yields anymore, and the new one had first to be found and then worked before they could be productive. During this bridging time, most of the members continued to pay their part in order to guarantee the full salary to their farmers at that time. "*We stayed a lot of time without vegetables. (...) During these months, I think we inundated in December and until summer, we did not have any vegetables [other members talked even about a longer period of time]. Many people quit. We stayed around forty people that continued to pay the salary of the farmers. A lot of people stayed, some went away, but...*" (Rosana). Rosana and other members doubt, if the same extended solidarity and responsibility would take place nowadays that a similar situation would occur. "*I don't think that people would stay now. I think that a 90% would quit*" (Rosana). However, a new member told me without asking for it that she discussed it once with colleagues of her group, and she feels this responsibility even if

she has recently entered. "*If it closes or something like this happens and we have to put work or money, I feel like the other people who are members since more time, I have this commitment, because when I entered the Acequia, they give you the statutes, you read them and accept them…*" (Clara).

Almost all interviewed members of the association showed throughout a very strong esteem towards the farmer. They expressed how they are grateful that Antonio is their farmer, because he does his job very good and he has a great knowledge. "*We will not find a second Antonio. (…) It is difficult to find such qualified people*", says Tomás. Furthermore, people esteem that they can learn so many things over the years thanks to him. For example, Tadéo exclaimed: "*Antonio is a person who knows so much and if you let him talk, he knows very much. And he doesn't have any title, but he has a life, and what a life! And having him there to learn (…) it is a true present.*" Member are very thankful to him especially because he knows how to deal with an association that is sometimes chaotic, unstable, with members who do the same mistakes over and over again. So many people told me that he has a great patience that they appreciate. "*Antonio, he is a saint (laughs). If it would be another person, s/he would have already gone. Antonio for me, he is a really patient person (…) with many left hands, and he let us do a lot. Who knows when you don't have to notice things and he let us make mistakes. This is not easy and it seems nice to me. Because with the role of the father of the garden, he lets the children make their mistakes in order that they learn. How many times did we cut into the seedbed and he got mad, but anyway he smiles at you the next day*" (Tadéo).

6.6.2 Development and definition of paid labour and working conditions in time

The presence of paid labour force in the association underlies to the development of the association in time. The need to pay some specific people for the farmer's job, developed and was legitimised over time but pretty quickly, because of the development and complexification of the project. The division between the organisation of the project as main task for the paying members and the responsibility of the fields as main task of the paid farmers get always stronger in time. That is why the definition of working conditions adapted in time, too. Leo resumes the development of the activity, showing how it started from an informal union of friends and ended to a formalised employing association: "*At the beginning we had a working schedule. And each person went once a week, when s/he could. Rapidly, in some month, we wanted to charge two people for the fields and after little time we thought about paying these people. After three to four years, we converted into an association and contracted everything legally.*" At the very beginning, the association did not have any employees, but every member went to the fields in its free time doing its part of the work in a rotational way. This rapidly adapted through the necessities and availabilities of the involved people as the last citation shows, and the rising size of the project, according to Saravia Ramos (2012: 210). Once, some people started to take the main charge, working conditions emerged as a topic. Thus, working conditions were not always at the same high standard as today. It was through the initial and constant construction of the association that members started to discuss paid work, the treatment it should receive and started to set rules. Therefore, with the development of the association in time, working conditions developed too. "*When we started… there were no worker conditions. I didn't have consciousness of... of a worker, right. Nobody had a consciousness, towards where we were going to neither*", explained Miriam, one of these pioneers. At the beginning, the transition from a collective consciousness of voluntary common work to the consciousness of having employees was diffuse, as the structures and way of functioning were in construction, change and constant experimentation. The perception of formally employing farmers was not present in the beginning, but it was rather the idea that some people would take more responsibility than others. The shift in terms used for the money paid to these people represents this conceptualisation, too. "*We were talking about allowance ("asignación"). I don't know if today you talk about wage ("sueldo") or allowance [indeed, today people in the Acequia were talking about "wage"]. We talked about allowance to give to the people that dedicated themselves more to the work on the fields. We thought more about… someone who got some more responsibility for the fields, but that work on the fields were still shared a lot*" (Miriam, pioneer). Therefore, working conditions could not be clearly defined in the starting phase of the association as it is today. "*I was earning 500 euros and did not work 40 hours a*

week. However, there was a time when I was working 40 hours and more. And I was touching 500 euros for a certain period. Looked from a perspective of labour conditions, without being registered, earning 500 euros, working 35-40 hours, it is pretty bad. However, we did not have a consciousness of... we were a collective project, and I was the happiest person on earth. I was learning. And the situation was changing." What could objectively and in an uncontextualised situation be defined as being bad working conditions, perceived the former farmer differently. She do not criticise these conditions. This is because she was part of the creation process of the association herself and because it was a temporary situation where the association had to constitute itself to a true employer. As explained in chapter 6.1, the discussion of how to exist legally emerged in the first few years. A decision was taken to get constituted as an association in order to offer access to social security to the employees, which ameliorated the working conditions of the farmers. This step into formalisation was an important one towards the recognition of waged work and the formalisation of employer and employee. As well after a while, two other pioneers started to work as employees and the wage was heightened. "*It developed with the time. (...) I think the best conditions were at the time when I left in 2010. (...) For me it was very good. (...) We earned 800 euros for a ¾ working day. We were respecting the hours. For sure, the hours were the ones on the fields, not all the ones before: the time we spent organizing. However, the hours of assembly also counted.*" In her opinion the association developed working conditions further once she left. Today she has the impression that the working conditions of the actual farmer are great: a high income and with fewer responsibilities. According to the same worker, the development of the Acequia as a social collective experiment shows how the definition of paid work and employees' working conditions have to be understood in their context. Starting as a civil project without a lot of knowledge and means did not offer the best working conditions from the beginning. However, many other values were on forefront – collective action and personal growth – that incentivised the participation and development of the association. Additionally, the decision-making over working conditions was always shared between all participants. By growing as a project and learning as collective, working conditions were adapted.

In the beginning, as some of the very founders of the project became employees, the definition of their role was very urgent to discuss because they were the people most connected to the organisation of the project as well as responsible for the fieldwork. The political definition and recognition of being an employee known therefore some difficulties, according to Saravia Ramos (2012: 198, 204). This role changed however in time: pioneers were not the only ones possible to take this charge and in this way employee and employer get better divided into two distinct categories. Today indeed, the definition and division of two different spheres are very much clearer. Once the two pioneers and farmers of the Acequia quit, the actual farmer was hired through a regular recruiting process. Whereas at that point of time, one of the most important criteria defined was that the new farmer should know about social movements, assemblies and so on, this perception changed over time, seeing the farmer as the important pillar for the vegetables' production. As during this procedure, it did not worked out to hire the candidates with social movements experience, Antonio was selected – an experienced farmer, but unknown with such projects. Rosana showed how she is grateful about this development: "*When we chose the farmer, we debated. Which qualities should he have? He has to have good abilities with social groups. Let's see, if he is farmer, the most important thing, is that he knows how to work the fields, isn't it? No, this was the last thing. Okay. Well, Antonio was a real energizer for us. Because the one guy before [who was hired for very short period of time in-between] was a guy that knew very little about gardening, who was very nice in social groups, in alternative things, of a lot of ideology. However, he started an enterprise and he left...*" (Rosana). With the arrival of Antonio as a farmer, the distinction between the employee as an experienced farmer and the members, organizing the "social" part get stronger. As outlined above in chapter 6.6.1, the members of the association esteem the farmer that much, especially for his paternal role on the fields. The ex-farmer Miriam, although she is very critical towards the actual (dis-)functioning of the Acequia, emphasised how with the new farmer the division she always strived for but didn't achieved within the association worked out: "*It was like 'wow'. The perfect hybrid model (...). The Acequia has achieved to say: 'you are farmer, you dedicate yourself to that and nothing more. And we pay you really good for that. But you*

don't go off script, because the rest belongs to us.'" Consequently, legitimation why to hire paid workers was always defined through the responsibility over and the time-intensive involvement on the fields of one or several people, however it changed from the idea of having a leadership of the associative work to having experienced farming labour.

6.6.3 Negotiation with self-exploitation and farmer's autonomy

In this context, it is interesting to look at the positionality of the workers in their own roles. In the literature review, I cited scholars engaging with the topic of self-exploitation of workers in Community Supported Agriculture. People would charge themselves with a lot of work, without higher return but accepting it in the name of other values and aims. This could also be assessed in the case of Miriam in the first years of the association's life. As I cited in the paragraph above, there were a time where she was working a lot, in return to a modest salary, however she felt very happy because of the project she was creating within the group and because she was learning a lot. Additionally, she was finding what she really loves in life. Moreover, she accepted that this work - that could be termed from a certain perspective as self-exploitative - was a temporary situation within a wider learning process and evolution. She started by doing very much extra work, in the organisation of the association, as well as into the fieldwork, because members did not come to work according to their commitment and she still wanted the garden to be perfect. "*This was one of the things that I disliked the most. If people do not come, I cannot leave work undone.*" Therefore, Miriam often took this charge on her, doing more work than she should have done and doing it "*with few enthusiasm*". "*And for sure, finally a lot of work was voluntary. It was also a way to get rid of... I had to get out of many spaces, in order to get rid of voluntary working hours. Because I did a lot of voluntary work, next to be paid work. To remove participation, or to remove voice from many places. (...) My tendency was to move back (...). I wanted to stay a farmer. This was the truth. I wanted things to be defended as collective, where I almost don't participate. That my voice would be the farmer's voice*" (Miriam, pioneer and ex-farmer). This shows that not only the association had to define the existence of employees and its participation conditions. It took also place a development of the farmer's perception itself, to understand her own participation not as pioneer and leader anymore, but as the farmer, in order to define herself principally as employee and nothing more.

Antonio, the actual farmer, experienced a period, too, where he engaged voluntarily more time into the project than he should. "*Before, he worked a lot more hours than the one he was supposed to do*", remembers Rosana. However, he understood with the time that he should stop to take this charge on him, because it had no effects and he was doing unpaid work. "*Buah. I was looking if that [additional work] incited people... but finally people didn't realize. And that were hours more, that you don't pay to me. But there is more [work], so either you pay me more or you come more to work to the fields. That's it*" (Antonio). Therefore, he changed attitude and realised his duty as employee: "*I took the decision that when I did my 30 hours, I'm done.*" This problem of overcharging themselves is present in other projects, too. For example, the two founders of the association Subbética Ecologica are both employed by the association. However, they often do more hours at the end of the day, then the one for whom they are paid. It is difficult to make a separation, especially because the founders are in a transitional phase where they are passing from doing voluntary work to doing employee work and where their status of founders and employee is difficult to differentiate. Miriam, the ecologic vegetable basket producer, told me that her posture towards her work developed since she started with this activity until today. "*At the beginning it costed me to ask. Ask for commitment and for money. The price was to less for living for some time. I was under… under the real value that my baskets turned to have, I think. (...) I didn't have self-esteem. Farmers and self-esteem do not go along that well, to say the truth.*" For some time, she was exploiting herself unconsciously, asking to less commitment and to less money for the work she was doing and the quality she was offering. However, it was a process of learning, where gradually she changed this situation. Today she told me proudly that she attain the necessary self-esteem to ask what she needs and since then, it works very well for all participants. People accepted her demands as a matter of course, asking why she would not have said something before. "*I reached a model that is useful to me and that gives me a lot of security. I have a lot*

of vital sensation." According to Saravia Ramos (2012), a process of self-reflexion takes place about working conditions, the latter defined by the very people suffering them (207).

Even if members of the association take the responsibility of being employers, the employees are not directly guided by them and are to a certain extent independent, due to the horizontal organisational structure and the principles of autonomy and trust of the association. This space of independence bear advantages as well as disadvantages. As explained in chapter 6.2.3 discussion always turned around which responsibilities has to carry the farmer, and its realisation changed in time. Often, the farmer is left with more responsibilities than he would prefer. For example initially, the farmer Antonio helped doing the harvesting and the preparation of the boxes, what today is called the support to the distribution. However, with the time, members delegated this task more and more, because they knew that the farmer would be there and help, until he said "*Wait, this is not my obligation!*" (Antonio), and he stepped back from this responsibility. Farmers had and have to control and to a certain extent and negotiate for themselves, if they do overcharge themselves with responsibilities that are not the ones of the employee and if they

Figure 18: Preparing the vegetable boxes at the "support to the distribution" in La Acequia (Photo: Giulia Satiro)

exploit themselves. To the other side however, as I outlined in chapter 6.3.1, farmers have the freedom to do their work in an autonomous way, without being controlled by anybody. This give the farmers the possibility to define to a certain extent their working conditions on their own. Saravia Ramos (2012) recognize this duality in farmer's definition in her/his working conditions and in her/his exposition to self-exploitation. He argues for an even more radical possibility of self-definition by the farmer: "*The role and the duties of these people are not the same like the ones of a worker as we understand within a conventional experience. Instead, they are similar to the ones of the other participants of the association, even if they manage bigger responsibilities and activities. This principle allows to understand how working conditions, even if decided by the collective, are in the practical reality defined by the very people [the farmers]. The collective only has the role to ratify the decisions, giving legitimacy to the working activity of the farmers*" (205).

6.6.4   Spaces of volunteer farming

Scholars engaged in the topic of work in AFN argued that in CSA there are often workers hired as volunteers or apprentices, even migrant labour and other occasional labour, hired during work-intensive seasons who work under precarious labour conditions (see Weiler & Otero & Wittman in chapter 2.1). In the Acequia this has never been the case. The only people working the fields were the hired farmer and the members of the association. In other visited associations, the case was slightly another one concerning young apprentices. The association Hortigas is used to have occasionally "agrovoluntarios" – agrovolunteers. When I visited the cooperative, there were three agrovolunteers that stayed between three and seven months. They were young bachelor students that were doing field research for their thesis in agroecology and meanwhile working half a day on the fields. Estefania told me that however, when there were enough work for all on the fields, the agrovolunteers could stay at home. They could in exchange live in the Hortigas-house and eat for free. Hortigas

do not have the whole year through agrovolunteers and do neither look for them explicitly. However, sometimes the cooperative has demands coming in, and it accepts them if they know that there will have enough work for them to do, told me the farmer Estefania. Normally it is students coming, that needs to get field practice and make fieldwork for their thesis. Sometimes they are just young people that want to make an experience on the fields. One of the agrovolunteers told me that, because he experienced one girl at the beginning of his stay that came without any universitarian reason and he was expecting another one further in the year. The association makes attention that when agrovolunteers come, especially during winter, there is more than one at the same time, because living in that village alone can turn a bit boring, says Estefania. Ivan of the cooperative La Verde told me that in former times they also had students that were writing theses and volunteers wanting to learn how to do ecologic agriculture that came volunteering for the cooperative for some months and living in the house next to the fields.

This shows that to some extent, this phenomenon exists in some places in Andalusia, too, where work in exchange for a learning experience and food and shelter for young people takes place. However, in these two case, the cooperatives were not fully dependent on volunteer workforces as they only relied on them in sporadic way. This shows that they do not primarily welcome them as convenient workforce, but also as opportunity for knowledge transfer and network creation. As scholars also argue about young volunteers, the agrovolunteers of Hortigas did not feel to be precarious workforce. They were rather happy that they could make an experience in a foreign country without many expenses, being involved in a social tissue on place and having the chance to make fieldwork for their theses, learning and evaluating practices.

Furthermore, it exists many experimental permaculture projects around Andalusia - which were less in the focus of my fieldwork but that also count to CSA - that welcome the whole year-round volunteers. Mauricio, the volunteer I talked to, was one of these volunteers going from project to project in the region in order to work in return of food and shelter and sometimes some things more. Mauricio found the farms he went working on, on the internet platform "Workaway", where sustainable small-scale projects looking for volunteers and travellers looking for experiences and low-budget stays can virtually meet. Finally, short-contracted workers for seasonal work were not a subject at all in Andalusian CSA. This is because such associations and cooperatives use to have diversified fields, in order to produce the whole year round a rich vegetable basket. Therefore, "it is always season" and work stays more or less stable during the year.

In general, this shows that I experienced considerably more decent and stable working conditions in CSA than those traditional agricultural labour and migrant labour in Andalusia, presented in chapter 3.1 by different scholars and interviewees. This is mostly due to CSA's different work ethics, different structures of work and different management of the fields.

6.7   Alternative economy: a collaborative network?

The language used to term this principle – alternative economy – does not embody the ontological presupposition of *diverse economies* proposed by Gibson-Graham, but it accepts that its activities are taking place at the margin of the economy. However, the activities fostered by alternative economy reproduce *community economies*. "*I think it is another model of economy. Collaborative, where we all involve ourselves, where there is no exploitation of the worker, but where the worker has a decent work and salary, I have the impression. We do not exploit the earth, we do not waste natural resources*", says Maira and Alberto adds: "*The Acequia is a collective, a cooperative that wants to cultivate its own products, and eat in a salutary manner.*" This citation as well as whole chapter 6 show that all the ways of organizing themselves and working in CSA aim the reproduction of "another economic model". Additionally, food sovereignty is an important aim for sustainability. To achieve it, the alternative economic model of "prosumption" (Boddenberg et al. 2017) is actively applied by the association. This model makes self-efficient production within the group possible to a certain extent. Additionally, the reproduction of seeds is another important tool fostering food sovereignty, in which the Acequia as well as all other visited associations, cooperatives and projects are involved, as explained in chapter 3.1.4. However, to create an entire economy that includes multiple

sustainable transactions beyond the ones that one single association can do, relations between the different single actions are important. I expose this in the next paragraphs.

I made the experience that thanks to my participation into the association Acequia I got to know and received an easy access to other economic relations and transactions reproducing *community economies*. First, thanks to the network of people I was thrown in, I got to know where to buy additional products respecting similar values of production and consumption. I got to know three ecologic and fair-trade shops, which were all cooperatives, where people can be member to assure the stability of the business. I was introduced to the sellers of ecologic and local vegetables at the market. Some people brought once a week ecologic bred to the city, where I also started to order and pick up bred. Once a month an ecologic market was taking place, which I also visited and where I used to buy some products. Different producers were often friends of friends, therefore I had the opportunity to get to know the people more personally then it already was thanks to the direct encounters. Furthermore, at the distribution evenings of the association there were sometimes producers coming and selling their specialities. One of the members of my group was selling his own organically produced chickpeas. Twice a young man came to sell his cheese he was producing with some friends on an almost self-sufficient farm and once a woman, who was once part of the association came with her children selling some fruits and chestnuts she produced on her family's fields. I always took the opportunity to buy these products. Additionally, in this way, I always had the opportunity to take up conversations with the producers and we get to know each other. We even went to drink a beer after the repartition together with some members and the cheese-seller. Thanks to these and other sometimes informal channels giving access to sustainable products, I bought almost all food (and partly other products too) within *community economies*. It did not cost me additional energy to operate in these channels, as I got an easy access to these economic relations thanks to the network of the association La Acequia.

Actually, the association do not have many contacts with other projects creating a wider tissue of solidary relations. The only regularly exchange is with two spaces in the city of Cordoba incentivizing the distribution of ecologic products, solidarity and participatory actions, where we usually held assemblies. They are the *civic house and social centre Rey Heredia* and the *sociocultural and agroecological space Casa Azul* (that closed right before I arrived to the field). On the other hand, there are a lot of informal relations between the Acequia and other projects and organisations because members of the association are often active in other like-minded projects. "*Cordoba is small. If you start to talk with people from the Acequia, you meet people from Ecologistas en Acción, Almocafre, from Arbol de Sobranía Alimentaría, from the landless worker's movement (…). The Acequia has not as a very structured network, as we do not really have formal organs… perhaps this part is not really worked out, but the people from the Acequia are active in many places. So I think this is creating a network, even if it is in an informal way*" (Alberto). That means that the Acequia as formal association is not that much integrated into a network of alternative economic relations nowadays, only in informal ways.

However, this was different when it was created and in its first years. "*The only network in which we remain is in Cordoba, we are in ASACO, the Alliance for food sovereignty in Cordoba. However, often we do not go to the reunions*", explains Leo, "*our group should be political and go towards outside, participate in other… with other groups of Cordoba, in other platforms.*" For example, some years ago the Acequia had a commission for external relations to maintain the contact with other associations. However, the group had always less engaged people. That is why it does not exist anymore today. "*There was such an agro-Olympiad, which was organised in Granada, where people from the Acequia participated*", said Tomás. Alternatively, people from the association Hortigas came to Cordoba to help the members of the Acequia, when they experienced the crisis of the inundated fields, told me Leo. The farmer of Hortigas told me a similar story, saying that actually years ago the association had a lot of contacts with other associations, in contrast to today. Everybody presented other possible reasons to explain this change. On one hand, some interviewees say that people and their life situations and priorities have changed. On the other hand, other members say that the Acequia has not many capacities at the moment and therefore it has to focus its energies towards the inner organisation, which is the

first priority to stay alive. However, the Acequia is constantly asked from outside to represent itself and to collaborate for the strengthening of a network of collaborative economy. At the beginning of my fieldwork, the association was asked from two different festivals aiming sensitisation of sustainable, agroecological and participatory activities to take part as association. Nobody, or not enough people, showed self-initiative and capacity to represent the association. Such incidents continued to happen. Sometimes, when smaller networking demands arose, some people took over the charge. Once, Argentinian people engaged in agroecology came to visit the fields of the Acequia and once, I invited a researcher active in the association of Hortigas to come to Cordoba to visit my association.

Other associations were telling sometimes similar, sometimes different stories. Bianca, of the cooperative La Verde told me that her association takes part into the agroecological network of Cádiz (Red agroecologica de Cádiz). This network brings together different actors and producers of the region concerned with agroecology. They organize every week a market in a town nearby, where La Verde also goes to sell its products. The group is very active. They share a WhatsApp group where a lot of interchange happens. People exchange knowledge and information on this chat. However, Ivan of the same association, who is taking part since many years, told me that the political activism and community building has decreased in the last years. "*We have to bond together*." Indeed, he has the opinion that in order to survive as a project, it is very important to get connected and using different tools next to farming. For example years ago, they get invited for talks, co-organised courses and were engaged in education, where they additionally gained some money. The association Subbética Ecologica is very actively expanding their external relations since one year, creating a wide network of knowledge and solidarity. The co-founders regularly go to different events to present their model and talk about *community economy* on a local as well as international level. In exchange, there is different researcher, project developer, etc. coming to visit their association to interchange experiences and learning from their practices. The occupied farm of Somonte is also strongly related to different other projects and organisations. First, as it is connected to the SAT, it is already embedded into a wide regional network. Additionally, it collaborates for example with the RAS and with Via Campesina. It also have many visits of other movements and organisations from all over the world.

Overall, many but not all associations and projects experienced over time a loss in active relations and mutual help within a network of collaborative sustainable projects. However, projects know each other – at least at the level of Andalusia where the agroecological world is not that immense. Informal exchanges still exist and the presentation of the example I lived, shows that a network of people and activities perhaps unconsciously exists – rather informally - and is constantly rebuilt. I had to make the experience that many collectives that I visited in the region were experiencing very similar problems. When they told me about their problems, members of different associations were even asking me sometimes, what I saw in other projects I visited and if I would have come across to solutions. That is why I had the impression that it could be helpful to be more actively and purposefully in contact between projects, in order to exchange experiences, strategies, problems and to bring together different opinions to find together new ways. Additionally, I showed that personal embeddedness into a network of trustful relationships aiming sustainability facilitates one's engagement for well-being as well as that where contacts between projects took or are taking place, they are based on solidarity and therefore facilitating work.

6.8 Access to participation

Access in not directly mentioned in the principles of the Acequia. However, I think it is important to look at it. Stepping back from the internal discussion of how principles aiming *community economies* and well-being are developed and impact people helps to embed these practices into a wider perspective, to understand who has actually access to them. It is pertinent because as demonstrated in the state of research (chapter 2.1), there are different studies arguing that agroecological projects benefit to a small privileged part of the society. First, I will turn to the simplicity/difficulty to fulfil the different conditions of participation and second I will look at

member's perception about the openness towards "diverse types of people", including their living style, political and ideological convictions.

The association is principally open to everybody. There was a time, when there was a waiting list because the production did not allow to receive more members. That is why a group of interested people that wanted to be part, started a similar agroecological association, La Rehuerta, in the city of Cordoba, told me Tómas. However, today and since a while, the association rather experiences a crisis of participation and is looking for new members. I realised through all the interviews and discussions with different members that almost everybody entered the Acequia because they knew someone that was already participating. Members seemed to become conscious of it and decided that they should do more advertisement for the association in order to find additional people. That is why we translated the welcoming paper into different languages to invite Erasmus students to participate. However, also making advertisement needs self-initiative and voluntary additional work and that is why external advertising is advancing slowly.

Furthermore, I discussed with the people about the price of participation. Scholars argues that access to ecologic vegetables through alternative food networks is often limited to a privileged part of society, because of its high monetary price (see chapter 2.1). As outlined in chapter 3.3 the price for a weekly half basket, that is surely enough for the consumption of one person, costs 20 euros per month. Principally, everybody evaluated the price of participation being low. Additionally, as discussed in chapter 6.6 the prices are set in a way that wages payed with this money are just. Other associations and cooperatives put the same importance on having accessible prices and also fair wages. "*I sincerely never ate so many vegetables like now, since I am in the Acequia. It does not seem to me expensive. (…) Sincerely, to eat vegetables for 20 euros per month, I even find it convenient. I have vegetables to eat every day*", says Maira. Everybody added that it depends to what other vegetables you compare the price. Depending on whom opinion, it can be that compared to conventional products, the price is a bit lower, a bit higher or the same. However, the quality and the taste are completely different. "*I don't know if going to a supermarket would be more expensive. If it is not more expensive, it is the same price. However, the quality of the products we have here is not comparable. If you compare it with ecologic vegetables outside, I think that ours are less expensive. Compared with conventional products it is still convenient or more or less the same*", is Maira's opinion. Several people however, did even not had the idea to compare it with conventional products when I confronted them with this topic, because for them ecologic and fair vegetables are a priority and even became a matter of course. Alberto's answer reflects this position: "*I cannot say it… if I would have to quit the Acequia and buy vegetables in Almocafre [a cooperative ecologic shop], because it would be the place where I would by it if I had to buy it outside… Yes perhaps [it would be more expensive]. (…) Well, in the Acequia there is some seasons where I have too much vegetables compared to what I really consume. If I would buy them in Almocafre, I would not buy so many vegetables… perhaps the same amount would be more expensive, but if I would buy in Almocafre I would not buy so many vegetables.*" Members express additionally, that the weekly amount of vegetables they receive through the association is higher than what they would normally buy. Lucía told me that she exchanges products with her neighbour in this case. Her neighbour brings her sometimes fruits and eggs from her country house and she gives her some vegetables. Interviewees' opinions show that price is low. However, the other conditions that have to be fulfilled in order to be part of the association have to be taken into account, too. "*It depends.. if you take into account.. Well, now we have a lot of production and so I think that the Acequia is less expensive than any other vegetables. But other times, if you take into account the work that we do. (…) If you take into account that we have to dedicate time, effort, it is more expensive the Acequia, than buy it in a shop*", relativize Leo. Additionally, to the price it has to be taken into account that people spend working time, engagement and for example gasoline to drive to the fields in order to have access to the acequian ecologic vegetables.

There are other mechanisms incentivising the participation of different people and the association shows engagement in social activities. The participation conditions has been flexibilised when I entered the association (as I already explained in chapter 6.3.2). In order to attract more people to the association, a basket

per group has been introduced that exclusively demands financial commitment. Another basket has been introduced for people with financial problems on the level of the whole association, demanding exclusively a fixed working commitment at two supports to the distribution per month. This facilitates the access to sustainably produced vegetables to more people, who either do not have the financial means but have time, or who do not have time to work on the fields, for example having working hours that are totally incompatible to fieldwork and are only able to pay. However, the introduction of these modalities, especially the one demanding a financial commitment, has been discussed and criticised. Members were asking if it goes along with the principles of the association and if differentiated commitments within the association are justified, as the association defines itself by people coming together producing and consuming. I will deepen this problematic in chapter 7.3 when discussing the negotiation between visions and realities. Moreover, the association is engaged in helping people in need. For example, the social centre Rey Heredia, where members go for holding the assemblies, receives every week a basket of ecologic vegetables. This centre cooks every week for the people of a rather poor district of the city. Additionally, Ángela organised the participation of an undocumented migrant earning his money on a traffic light at the party as DJ – his real profession. He had the opportunity to come in contact with people and earn money.

Finally, different times the topic came up, if people need to correspond to a certain profile in order to enter the association. Diana, a recently entered member, told me once that she did not feel fitting into the main profile of the association. Actually, at an event of the association another member told her "*'We are looking for people with your profile!'*" and she did not felt comfortable at all with this categorisation, acknowledging that she was evidently not fitting into the profile she finds rather typical, indeed the "*alternative and politically left-oriented person*". Clara, another rather recent member, has the impression that we all share some similarities in our living style. Rosana, who is member since many years, remembers that when she entered the association she also felt a bit different: "*At the beginning I had the impression that I did not fit to… to such a young group. I was 44 years old, and people were younger. Those, who today are 40 years old, were 30 at that time. They were very alternative people. I was a lady, housewife, who worked but who was very bourgeois, within the normal. And this seemed to me extraordinary, an Acequia, a garden, where you work…where agroecology… sustainability. I did not know that things. I entered the association and I started to know things, to see other perspectives.*" This shows that the diversity on which some people come upon is also appreciated. Luís welcomes the diversity of people within the association. He sees it as a positive development that the association experienced, because at the beginning it was apparently less diverse. Ángela told me for example that from her point of view, she has the impression that the Acequia reunited rather similar "*hippy*" people at the beginning. However, now it has opened up and it has many different people, what she really appreciates. Especially, she emphasised that this is the contrary of the other agroecological association of the city called "La Rehuerta", which is "*more community, but if you don't really fit you can feel excluded.*" Personally, I also had the impression that I met rather diverse people within the association. Of course it exists some common denominators – necessarily, that all have apparently a relation to or interest in ecology - however once I get to know people a bit closer I really experienced different "types of people" and with different strong political interest or even position when talking about different topics during discussions unrelated to the association. "*The Acequia politically, it does not have any political tendency. If you see someone of 'falange', that means from the extreme right-winged party, it would perfectly fit. Because it is a collective that is centred on agroecology, and agroecology does not have any ideology. That it is normally rather represented into a certain political spectre, alright, but it has no ideology. (…) If we do not give any ideology to the association you open it, and people join that were perhaps never at an assembly, that never constructed horizontally, that come across forms that perhaps did not entered their political imaginary… And this takes part to the values of the Acequia, that it does not say 'no, you are not leftist, you do not join here, because agroecology is Marxist Leninist', didn't it?*" (Tadéo). This shows that even if it is not so usual to see strongly rightist people in the association, it is open to the entire political palette. What makes the association open, is that the most important denominator is a very practical thing, namely the production of ecologic vegetables for the own consumption,

on which many different people can agree. In contrary, projects of land occupation in Andalusia have an evident political standpoint, as the SAT backs them - the leftist, internationalist and nationalist labour union of the region (see chapter 3.1). The ideology is strongly Marxist, represented for example by the wall paintings in Somonte (for example there is a Che Guevara and a red sickle painting) or by the language used by its participants. However, it shows a very open characteristic, too. One of their most important guiding principle is "La casa es del pueblo" - "The house is the house of the people" – repeatedly said and that means that everybody is welcomed to come to Somonte.

In order that diverse people can experience other economic relations and explore strategies of well-being finding, it is important that such projects are accessible. Miriam, who is very active in the agroecological scene of Andalusia, resumes this change and need: "*I think that on all places, on the whole peninsula and in whole Europe, projects are changing and will open up to more people, more diverse people. Not staying with our nucleus of trust, of comfort, and of people that we already knew that we would agree on the same things. We have to establish a model that can be useful to people, that is more diverse*."

7 Embodiment of another world: values making community economies

Why people implicate themselves into other economies? This chapter outlines with which motivations and imaginations people built and joined such projects and how their relation to their participation developed in time as well as how they feel about it now. Which values do members attach to their work in CSA? Especially the second research question of this master thesis is the focus of this chapter (see chapter 2.2). I show how very often work in CSA has a great importance on people's life, looking beyond the narrow impact on their way of consumption, but also changing them on different plans of their life. Next to their multiple learnings, they value their activity also because of the impact they want to achieve within society. Actually, my findings show that through active participation people embody values of *community economy* in their every-day life and in their thinking stronger than before. Even though sometimes issues seem to arise between people about value discrepancies, namely between the real performance of economic and work relations within the association and the vision of it. This chapter shows therefore, how people negotiate with this issue and how such problematics can be addressed taking a theoretical stance of *diverse economy*. In this way CSA activity can be seen as a contribution to the construction of *community economies* here and now, but also as performative activity based on change producing value.

7.1 Motivations for getting involved

Most of my interviewees were participating in CSA on a voluntary basis, with exception of the professional producers – the employed farmer in the association La Acequia and some of the external projects I visited. They have other main activities in life; most of them have a paid job as main occupation. They were all working in different areas and many of them appreciated their job more or less. However, I collected opinions about things about their paid work that they would like to be different. It was very interesting to see how often similar critique arose and how it communicated the wish for ways of organizing work, as they exist in CSA. Even if they did not mention it as direct cause for participating in the association, as one do not replace the other, I perceived it as interesting insight in regard to the member's valuation of their activities and the well-being produced by those activities.

The majority of the people work in hierarchic structures and feel limited by them. They feel these structures of power imposing certain ways of acting and making their work dependent from others, "b*ecause there is a lot of people on top of me. And we are the "last mule", like we use to say here. What you say has no importance. Often I have to do things that I don't like to do, and this makes me angry. (…) You have a lot of steps. The one at the end does not know what we are doing, not all our information reach them, and not all theirs arrive to us. If it would be more direct, we would gain a lot. There is a lot that gets lost on the road*", says Mateo. This leads to a feeling of powerlessness in decision-making, with few space for democratic discussion and an impossibility to develop own ideas and projects. For example, Maira says: "*Sometimes the system imposes to you things that you don't want to do. I am a teacher, I am functionary but still provisional. I want to say that I still don't have a school, where I have my fix work place. I change every year school. I don't have my class where I can develop the projects I want. Who knows, perhaps I want to work without books. However, arriving at a school – and I tried it already – and say that I will not work with book… it's complicated*." Many people mentioned that they dislike the high degree of bureaucracy, tied to the topic of hierarchies that slows down processes. "*Now I do a very mechanical job, very dependent from the bosses that are not present, that do not care about you. I stay there waiting a lot of time. Because they always lose a lot of time for bureaucracy, or because of the chain of demand, it is a very hierarchised structure where I pass a lot of dead time*" (Leo). They derived the latter from the very structures, as visible in Leo's words, or from the lack of trustful relations: "*In one of the projects, I have to give a million of justifications for the tasks I did this month, about what I do. I have to fill so many papers. A lot of bureaucratic and administrative work that I don't like at all*" (Clara). Some members also missed the care about sustainability in their paid job and others felt too qualified for their

position. "*Furthermore, I don't have a job that goes along with my profile*" (Leo). Finally, the paid activity of some interviewees was not fulfilling them personally or they did not perceived it as having a real meaning for society, in contrary to their voluntary work. They were seeing it as a compromise with themselves, in order to gain enough money to live, mainly to fulfil their material well-being. It shows how in contrary, values of work strengthening other aspects of well-being are partly neglected in order to assure an income. "*It is a job that gives me enough free time to do the things that really interests me. And saying that, I am already saying that my job for me is for gaining money*" (Tomás).

Gorz's conceptualisation of work presented in chapter 4.2 is helpful at this point. Gorz shows why it is interesting to look at voluntary work, in order to see how people value work and which values they put forward once they detach activity from their need for income. People try to equilibrate all aspects of well-being in paid work, too. However, as the need to survive takes an important part over the paid work choices, it is more difficult to find out which other values people give to their activities once they do not feel this pressure of material well-being over the others. To the other side, some of my interviewees were paid workers within CSA, which made it interesting to see how they negotiated an equilibrium of all aspects of well-being within *community economies*. Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo, the mayor of Marinaleda and co-founder of the cooperative Humar, icon of the peasant's rights movement in Andalusia, emphasizes the importance of creating a society where all aspects of well-being are balanced within work, but where it is also valuable nowadays to experience voluntary work in order to detach themselves from the priority of economic returns. He was, and indeed still is, very active in fighting for the development of a model in his village, where Andalusian peasants could have a regular and decent income to live. Therefore, he created a cooperative, where people are treated equally and where returns are reinvested into the community. To the other side, he emphasizes the importance of engaging in voluntary work, in order to understand and experience humanitarian values: "*Without voluntary work you don't have humanism. You have to give your contribution to the society not only for economic reasons, but also for solidarity. The importance is not to have a lot, but to be a lot. In order to be a lot, I think that money just have to be a tool, an agitator for rights and freedom. I think it is right to create a model beyond money, where values are solidarity, humanity and the happiness of the other human beings*." Therefore, looking at voluntary work, intrinsic motivations and values striving for other aspects of well-being than the material one are highlighted. This aspect of voluntary work can contribute to the understanding of values.

Acequian members most repeated motivation to join the association in the beginning was the wish to have healthy and sustainable food and knowing where their vegetables came from. "*I started to have healthy products, for me and for the environment that was the first reason*", remembers Leo for example. The other following motivations were either present since the beginning and reason of joining for some members, or they grow with the time while participating for others. First, people appreciated that they would have their own garden, working for their vegetables by themselves, bringing them closer to nature and learning about gardening. According to Leo this is an important factor, because otherwise he would buy ecologic vegetables instead of growing them himself. Furthermore, getting to know new and interesting people was an important motivation, too. Many participants highlighted the interest to get to know and work with diverse people, with different ages, jobs or point of views to exchange. Finally, the idea of working together as a group motivated members - some with the intention of joining and creating a political project aiming returns for the community and a more sustainable society. Leo for example adds "*(…) to have a group work and human relations*", to the reasons of his participation. Even if depending from member to member some motivations were overriding the others and some just grew in time, the reasons for becoming and being members are similar within participants. For most of the members motivations get intensified during participation, becoming integral parts of their life.

7.2 Values of participation

I could crystallize different values that members attach to their participation. First, people recognised their activity within the association as a place of learning and for opening their minds. They felt that the participation had a great impact on their life, changing their ways of thinking and acting. Moreover, they see themselves

contributing to the realisation of a utopian imagination of how society ought to be. That is why people see more or less their implication in the association as an important part of their life. Many members, especially if they were taking part for a longer time, interiorised the values shared in the association so far that they could not imagine themselves without being active in such an activity.

7.2.1   Learning on different levels: growing consciousness and discovering new worlds

"For me it has been... knowing myself. I started in 2005, twelve years ago. For me the Acequia was a school. The university I went to, next to the degree I did. (...) But in reality, my real university has been the Acequia. For me it was a project to get to know myself and to learn a real work that I like a lot. And that I feel it is very necessary" (Miriam, pioneer and ex-farmer of the association).

All members of the Acequia told me how the participation in the association had an impact on them and changed their life more or less substantially and on different levels. "*It made that I have a diet now that I wouldn't have if I would not be in the Acequia*" (Clara). The participation changed strongly the ways of eating and of cooking and shapes today their consumption behaviour, according to all members. Everybody eats consistently more vegetables than before. "*Now I am used to cook a lot of vegetables. Otherwise, I am very carnivore. I eat now very much more vegetables. It made me change*" (Lucía). Her alimentation centres on the vegetables of the association they receive every Thursday, according to Maira. Cooking experience and habit changed completely for all members. "*My fridge is almost all Acequia, or some other ecologic products. I think this is the greatest impact, you have to eat with what you have*" (Leo). Having a predefined vegetable basket every week, changes indeed the frame from "*I buy this and cook that*" to "*I have this, so I do it*" (Tomás). Indeed, people appreciate how they learn new recipes, by looking them up, experimenting or especially exchanging recipe ideas between members. "*I learned to cook in a different way. I asked the colleagues how they consumed the tomatoes*" (Martín). Often this was also due to the fact, that depending on the season the basket contained many vegetables of few specific varieties. "*I know how to cook much more things, because I saw me obliged to look for new recipes having so much overproduction of aubergines and peppers*", laughs Clara. Members were also surprised to get to know new products they did not know before and integrate them in their diet. These facts are related in a wider context that members get used to the consumption of only seasonal vegetables and especially local varieties, which are not that commercialised. Everybody got very much sensitised to the topic of seasonality, learning which vegetables grown when and learning to eat according to this rhythm. "*Before, if I felt like to eat a tomato in December, I ate a tomato in December (...). And seriously this changed my habits*" (Maira). In this context, members emphasised how they appreciated to have an own garden and the knowledge they gained about gardening.

People strengthen their consciousness not only concerning seasonal production and consumption, but their ecological, social and political consciousness about sustainability as a whole. Martín said that he became a bit more conscious of where to buy his products in order to act ecologically and socially in a more sustainable way. "*I am attentive to the local market. I don't buy fruits at the mercadona [a supermarket] for example, but rather at the little fruit store next to my house.*" Rosana experienced going to film projections and talks about environmental problems around the globe, thanks to the connections she made in the association that make her aware about these events. She argued that she learned about things and became aware of global problematics she would not have encountered in her daily life. "'*We are what we eat' and this is important to know. To know in which world we are and to feel responsible. You learn this in the Acequia. What you consume and what you waste*" (Rosana). The volunteer working experience on permaculture projects moved Mauricio, too, towards a stronger consciousness regarding his entire way of living. "*I think it changed my living style very much. I perceive things that I didn't perceived before. I don't know, for example that when I buy a coffee, I don't buy a to-go mug to walk ten meters with it. Instead, I ask if I can take the glass with me and then bring it back. Such daily things of life changed.*" Actually, many members told how their activity in CSA opened them new worlds also through the people they meet: "*You get to know to move in other spheres, other alternatives. For example... I knew vegetarian and vegan people. But I was shocked when I got to know about*

the raw-veganism, I heard it the first time", told me Mateo. Furthermore, through the organisational form of the association, people get also to know new worlds or gain more experience into them. Indeed, members appreciate a lot the political and human value that the association taught them. "*At a political level, it was a political school, no, a school of life. To work the consensus, how to organize yourself into a group… it has given me a lot*" (Alberto). People learned and experienced ways of working together they were not necessarily used to, thanks to the decentralised group organisation and the work in assembly. "*It is not my case, but for many people, the first assembly they took part was within the Acequia. And this is no little thing. And it was not people which were 20 years old, but people that were 50 and experienced their first assembly. And I think that this means a lot*", says Tadéo. Indeed, this form of organizing work left its mark on different people. For example Rosana values a lot this aspect: "*I didn't study at university, so I am not used to any assembly, nor reunions, nor doing things by consensus, nor to lead such debates. Therefore, it was a new world for me and I liked it.*" Actually, after some discussions, I realised in myself how the Acequia taught me new values of working together. I had not assisted at assemblies but I already participated at other associations' reunions. However, I had never taken part in such a big association nor debated within a frame of consensus. I realised only afterwards, when I came home, how I had internalised the value of consensus when I had to take jointly decisions within another working frame. Furthermore, people also took along the way that working in groups with the conditions the association sets, demands lots of effort and the engagement of everybody towards the same aim.

People participating for a longer time within a CSA project showed greater attachment to the project and attached a high importance to their activity. For example, Clara who had only taken part for a period of some months stated that her motivation was rising since she came in, because she sees the implication of the others and feels more and more part of it. Taking into account the development of the motivations to participate in CSA and the ways participation shaped the life of participants, show how values are dynamic, as exposed in chapter 4.3. Performing within CSA let arise new values and deepen others towards one's activity.

7.2.2   One's 'little grain of sand': constructing another world
"The Acequia can be a drop in the ocean, but it is a very important drop." (Alberto)

The political dimension of the association is decreasing with the years, as I explained in chapter 6.4 and as Tomás emphasised when talking about people's motivation to participate. However, most of the people implicated in CSA see their activity not only as a contribution to themselves (7.2.1) but also as an important contribution to the world. The volunteer Mauricio dreams how a world of *community economies* would be: "*Then everybody is fine. The world of the plants, the world of the animals, the world of the people, everybody feels good. I dream about that.*" The interviewees actually imagine a world, how it ought to be – sustainable and just – and they want to work towards it, within the frame of their CSA activity. Working in CSA means for many to give their contribution for a better world. "*For me it is very important, if you have an ideal, a life philosophy that aspires at such things. To take part in such a collective is a key element for me. It is a fundamental socio-political role that I have as a person in Cordoba, in the world, it is important*" (Alberto). It is important to embed the rather narrow activity on the field and within the association into a wider societal context to understand the value that work takes for its participants. "*For me the Acequia is primarily a political project. I find it great to eat healthy and fresh vegetables, I like the work on the fields and I find it relaxing. However, for me it is not all an end in itself but my "granito de arena" (little grain of sand), that I contribute in order that the society changes*" (Tomás). Actually, the meaning that people give to their activity recalls what theories of *community economy* say. The content of work should be reshaped towards a more holistic goal than capital accumulation, aiming a sustainable well-being of all people and of the environment. Indeed, different interviewees expressed that attaching this value to their CSA-activity makes them happy. Leo for example feels personally more realised in his voluntary work than in his paid job: "*First, I feel useful and then I learn a lot. I feel useful because I fight for the world I wish, all with ethic and social ecology. Everything is oriented towards this. And in this way you feel more fulfilled. I feel more fulfilled than in my job, this gives me a lot.*"

Also Miriam, doing ecologic vegetable baskets, explains that while she likes the pure activity of growing vegetables, she especially values it and it makes her feel good because she can take this activity back into a context of striving for a collective well-being. "*I cannot see it [her activity] as something isolated. I always saw it as something within a major movement – ideologic, political, of social transformation. Therefore, if I only stay with the satisfaction that gives me the garden, it falls a bit short. I like my work because I see it in from a wide perspective, that it is a necessity of the society. I need to feel that what I do has a meaning, in a social or political context. For example, last weekend I participated at a reunion of the network for food sovereignty, where I am taking part. So, all makes more sense in this way. I do that, and I go back to the fields happy.*" Striving for the world's well-being is therefore at the same time a fulfilment of one's own well-being.

On one side, people engaged in such projects – from La Acequia to Marinaleda over Somonte – termed the world they imagine and they are fighting for as a "utopia", therefore a rather unrealizable dream. To the other side however, they were realizing that with their activity they are jointly building this world on a tiny scale here and now. "*It is a space to unit people with other objectives in life that aims more sustainability and less impact to the planet. (…) We are a little world within another world, because we are not a hundred percent convinced that what we have now is the best. It is a microsociety within a society. And especially this, that people... how to say it... it is not all about money, in contrary, it's about sharing and helping each other in the group. It is a bit a utopia of how we would like that the rest of the world ought to be*" (Maira). Whilst accepting difficulties, controversies and insecurities in this process towards a utopia of *community economy*, they feel their community is already performing to a certain extent as a sustainable society. They value this role of their activity. "*The Acequia in general terms contributes to this, a model of a different society on a tiny scale. To be an example that shows that another way of producing and consuming is possible*" (Alberto). This shows that members are proud about having realised to a certain extent human economic relations and a space of well-being improvement. Leo emphasizes the value and importance he ascribes to the association's activity of being a successful example to the outside world: "*To me the Acequia matters because (…) we can present ourselves to other people, and say 'look, I have a model that functions, you can eat in another way'.*" To this extent, the association is enlivening activities Gibson-Graham talk about in the *diverse economy* approach, performing and recognizing the "collective project of construction" of *community economies* (Gibson-Graham 2008) (see chapter 4.1).

Furthermore, getting involved in CSA not only multiplies activities of *community economy*, it also already strengthens believe in change and possibilities. Clara takes part in the association "*to believe that there are people doing things, to be more positive in this topic. Next to all bad, someone doing good things. For me I think it is a very positive impact and it makes me very happy.*" Seeing and engaging in constructive processes provokes positive emotions. I felt these emotions, too. Moving for three months between people thinking and acting diversely, introducing me to their dreams, their problems and their fulfilments, engaging with so many different projects, calmed, reinforced and inspired me a lot. How Gibson-Graham postulate in their approach, taking an open posture of hope and positive feelings produces creative spaces for new ideas and activities. This fosters the movement towards *community economy*.

7.2.3 Interiorised and embodied practices
"*The Acequia is a project. Well, also a bit a form of life.*" (Lucía)

Working in CSA change and strengthens perceptions and convictions, thereby leading to the interiorisation of an ontology of *community economies*. Some members termed certain ways of organizing activity as being "natural". Maira perceived the way of organizing themselves within the group democratically as a natural way of doing it. Tadéo shared this position, and showed that not within all "worlds" such values are constructed as natural, though: "*It [the association] looks for things that are pretty natural, like horizontal relations between humans are pretty natural, despite what "they" are trying to say to us.*" This recalls the ontologic shift that Felber proposes in his theories. He says that human values should be reintroduced also as economic values (chapter 4.1). Participants consider other characteristics of *community economies* and not of capitalist relations

as natural. For example, when talking about the activities within the association, often members put their individualism aside. They emphasised their feeling of being a part of the whole group, without trying to highlight and valorise their additional roles and to rest on their laurels, as I already exposed in chapter 6.3.3. "*I wouldn't say that I have a role… but rather a role within a little group*", says Maira for example. Further, people realised that one explanation why it is always more difficult to win members for the association is that there is always more offer for ecologic vegetable than in the beginning. Especially, there is a variety of models, including "easier" channels like buying baskets. However, nobody talked about it in a negative tone, perceiving it as a concurrence. Rather they welcomed the positive development in the region towards their joint aim of building *community economies*. Finally, I also realised within myself how my positionality towards the relation between price and product changed whilst performing within diverse markets. I realised that by paying the contribution to the association once a month, I did not related the price to the specific quantity I received per week and within a month. I rather perceived the price as a contribution in order that the association can exist and its costs are covered. Nobody really counted his or her money per received vegetable. At the time where the vegetables had to be distributed, they were divided in just terms but not with mathematic precision. We allocated the vegetables following an approximation and the goodwill and wishes of all the colleagues. My relation to price was neither the same as in the supermarket when I bought external ecologic products to the producers that came occasionally to sell their products through our network (see chapter 6.7). I never thought too much time about the "correctness" of the price, I trusted the producers. Other values emerged as a priority in such moments, as for example the quality of the product, the support to a sustainable project and the personal relationship to the seller. These examples show how the positionality towards economy is another while acknowledging *diverse economies*.

People emphasised how the participation in the association took with the time not only an important, but also an integral part of their life and of the definition of their self. "*I integrated it in my life. If I wouldn't have it now, it would be strange (…) I wouldn't know what to do Thursday night (she laughs). People ask me… for example a friend from work, she remembered exactly and she asked me 'how are you, is the garden fine?' I am Maira from the garden; I wouldn't know who I am*" (Maira). Maira and Alberto both said that it often naturally pops up as a topic when talking to other people, because they represent their activity. "*In the discussions, it always comes up… with friends, they know that I am in the project, so in some way you always spread it… everybody eats and then the topic of the garden always pops up*" (Alberto). I recognised how people have interiorised their activity as fundamental in their life, when they started to talk how it would be, if the Acequia would not exist anymore. Several people realised that they could not imagine themselves anymore buying vegetables in the supermarket. "*When this big crisis took place and it was not so clear anymore if the Acequia would continue to exist, I said to me, if the Acequia do not exists anymore then we will for sure find another solution within some people. I don't know if the Rehuerta still exists and it would take us or if not, we would do something else in some kind of form. I don't want to miss that anymore in my life. I cannot imagine my life without something like the Acequia*" (Tomás). People showed often a strong feeling of attachment towards their participation, for example recognizable by the last statement of Tomás saying that he does not want to miss it anymore. The association means a lot to the people involved, because it fulfils different elements of their well-being, as this chapter shows.

Following the *diverse economy* approach, doing and enacting transformative economic practices lead people to interiorize values of *community economies*, therefore embodying them. This ontological shift through practice is recognizable through Tadéo's words, expressing the impact of the work on the fields on him: "*I would say that the major impact is that I do not want to stop touching a garden. I think this is the major impact, to bring closer what is agriculture and to say wow, it would be very difficult to live now… so alienated. To come so close to the fields, makes, that I realize how alienating the supermarket is. And suddenly, going back to alienate myself (laughs). And not everything I buy comes from the garden. I continue to buy t-shirts or eggs or what else is not coming from the fields. However, this is like a little paradise, where the lettuce I am eating at home comes from the same land I am working. I think this is to reclaim a bit… it is like a little empowerment*

over our lives, to go back to… In the city we are a bit of plastic, in a sense that everything can be bought. We obtain everything through money and it comes from places we don't know. I think that the Acequia gives us back the contact with nature a little bit, where everything comes from. And you have to remember it every day. Especially, in order to stop being annoying (he laughs)." This shows how it is through embodying practices that new values are created and so ontologies can be shifted towards a "taking for granted of *community economies*". This goes along with the studies of Hayden & Buck (2012), highlighting that long-term embodied participation in tactile spaces can affect participants in their ethical stance. I also lean on Carolan & Hale (2016) studies that show the creation of new values on personal and organisational level through embodied practices below ground in CSA. I recognize new and enlivened values as a creative method to reshape ontology of work, what Gibson-Graham propose as a way to act *community economies* within a frame of *diverse economies*. Tadéo could neither imagine to start to buy an ecologic vegetable basket - a model sustaining similar principles, but lacking important values of life that he can only experience in a model such as the one of the Acequia: "*For me, on a level of social relations and of the society in which I would like to live, I want an Acequia, I don't want to buy a basket – even if I valorise the basket and the place it has now in this era. However, I prefer an Acequia, with all its faults, its assemblies that do not progress – it does not matter.*"

I experienced the embodiment of values and shift of ontology to a certain extent on my own example, too. When I came back from my three-month fieldwork, I realised what Acequian members feared in the case that they would not have the association anymore. Where should I buy my vegetables? I entered the supermarket and I did not feel comfortable at all nor did I want to buy anything I saw. I was pretty conscious about ecologic food and agroecology also before I went to fieldwork, however apparently I did not experience it as much as an embodied feeling and necessity. Through the active participation in the association however, I think that I started to embody these values more and more. I had suddenly a feeling of powerlessness facing my old respectively new shopping style. Suddenly, without being embedded in the network of *community economies* like in Spain I faced more problems where to get food sustainably. However, I also realised my possibilities as economic actor. I know now that I could try to become again the same economic actor as I was in Spain taking back at least my own economic relations, doing and enacting *community economies*.

7.3 "They just come for vegetables": negotiations between vision and reality

According to different interviewees, there are always less and less people that prioritize the participation in the association in comparison to their other life activities. Tadéo says: "*Perhaps, we have put it aside in our project of life. Perhaps in certain moments it was something we considered part of our life project and then it converted into an option of consumption. It converted into a… it is very representative when we go to the fields, myself first, we go like 'I have to go to the fields' and then when we come back we say 'ah, how wonderful… going to the fields and to disconnect a bit'. We know how good it does, and even though we do not do it that much. (…)*" I already explained the general drop in participation and its reasons in chapters 6.2.2 and 6.3.2. There was though a recurrent topic arising in discussions, when talking about changes in implication and prioritisation, pointing to a clash between types of participants – those "feeling it" and those who do not, the latter apparently rising in number. Many participants were telling me about the fact arising in the last time that in their eyes there are many people entering the association not feeling the same values as they attach themselves to the activity. I realised that a discourse about "the principles" was strongly present and discussions around how much to stick to them or not arose all along. The principles refer to the ones listed in chapter 3.3 and discussed in their application in chapter 6. However, in the discourse "principles" were finally representing the embodied utopia, summing the values put in relation to work in CSA. Many members repeatedly said that there is today many people that "just come for the vegetables", meaning for them that they do not care that much and participate less in the organisation and that do not "feel" the higher meaning of the participation. "*I think that one of the biggest problems is that there are many people, which enter like 'so nice to eat ecological products', but which in reality are not taking part for the principles so much. So, as I said before, it makes that there are people coming, which instead of going to the supermarket can take home good*

products here for few money. This makes that people are less bounded emotionally with the garden, and therefore get involved less to work, to organize parties, to look for new members. This is one of the problems, like that they enter… not really that they just pass by – because maybe there is people that pass by and are more involved than those who take part since ever – it is more, that there is people who enter and are not involved. It weakens the group, because the people that feel it a lot… we who are feeling it a lot…" (Maira).

As the value that many people attach to their activity in CSA goes beyond the production and consumption of vegetables, they are disappointed by the impression that more and more people "just come for vegetables". On the other side however, as the association is facing problems with having more participants and enough financial income, they realize that the terms of participations have to turn more flexible, hurting to some extent the utopic vision of how the association ought to function according to the members. Therefore, I perceived a constant negotiation taking place between one's visions and the given realities. According to Leo, they are "*desperate*" to find at the moment people that want to engage themselves and that is why the association is taking more and more people that are not committed that much to the ideas. "*It's complicated. Unfortunately, we need people, which pay in order to pay Antonio. To the other side, if the principles are those who interest us the more, we should not valorise more that we have people but who those people are. (…)What would I prioritize: the principles. That people that enters, turn to the principles, because they want to. We are not "desperate" to have people paying. There is a strange balance. Between what we would like to be – and we were talking about that different times at the assemblies – and what we have to be. (…) This point is complicated, sometimes polemic, because there are people that feel the Acequia a lot, where it takes part of their lives. Maybe it bother them that someone enters only for vegetables*" (Maira).

Personally, I struggled for some time "finding" these people "just coming for vegetables", as it was an impression that all interviewees told me, excluding therefore themselves from this role. I first thought that I therefore had to talk with newer members as some members emphasised it is rather the new people that are less committed: "*The new and the old members clash a bit. Well, there is people that enters new and are super committed. But we are in a delicate situation*" (Maira). As explained in chapter 7.2 values of participation were constructed with time, through the very activity. To a certain extent, it makes therefore sense that newer people have developed less closeness to the project because they have not experienced as much. However, I talked more in detail with two new members. One was very exalted by the brighter political and societal vision of the association, saying: "*For me it makes sense. I believe a bit in self-autonomy, that we are capable of… or in participation in general. (…) I find it nice that it's us working physically in the model of cooperative that we want to have. If I wouldn't be interested in participation, I could go to an ecologic store that also sells ecologic vegetable baskets. However, participation is very important, also to build something with other people is important. It is very important. Because if you want to have ecologic vegetables but without a group as the Acequia, there are possibilities. However, this seems more fulfilling to me*" (Clara). While another new member told me that that she has other priorities in life than the participation in the association, but which does not mean that she does not want to fulfil her commitment. However, she sees it as an option between others that can change if she finds another that fits her life rhythm better. I think that to a certain extent I surely had more difficulties to meet people which were not involved a lot and taking into account the required commitment – if new or old or visionary or not. This is due to their less participation and interest to the association's activity and therefore fewer possibilities for me to enter in contact with them.

During my fieldwork, the negotiation between principles and realities had been negotiated concretely and especially during the discussion about how to solve the acute crisis they faced during summer. As I already explained (see chapter 6.3.2 and 6.8), members decided to introduce new modalities of participation, which are more flexible, in order to attract people that are not willing to enter the association with the existent terms of participation. Especially, the economic support basket that demands only an economic commitment but no working implication (no assemblies and no fieldwork) was partly in conflict with the principles, according to many members. Tomás told me: "*I think it was really like, either it happens now something and fast. I was*

partly thinking in summer that now it is really the end. Then you really have to try everything, in order that it continues. And therefore, I accept the decisions. If the situation wouldn't be that dramatic, I would be against. In some way the philosophy of the Acequia that we say, we are producers and consumers. When the Acequia stabilize itself, I would welcome to undo this modality. The question is, if it will be possible. Well, I can live with it. If this is the price that the Acequia continues to exist, then I find it okay." Members see the new modalities rather in conflict with the idea of the association; however, they accepted it as a compromise. Also Tadéo wants to believe that this flexibilisation of the model helps to restart the project, although he thinks that the real problem that goes beyond economic difficulties will not be enough addressed with these measures. "*I am of those "it goes against the principles" people. It is very complicated. Even if I am of those, I prefer to trust into that this can help the better the situation of the Acequia, that's why I didn't put my veto. (...) I think it can help to resolve the economic problem. But the crisis of the Acequia is not an economic problem. So if we continue to point at the moon that is not the moon, we are condemned to die.*" Clara shares the opinion that it is not very in line with the vision of the association; however she also emphasizes that those people who provide only economic support through the basket modality may also understand and support the principles of the association. There are people entering with the new modality that embody the values of the association. "*I understand that it breaks a bit, I don't know if with the principles of the Acequia, but with the raison d'être. And how I emphasised before, it is so important that it is something where we build together with the assembly, the work and so on, and in this way there are people coming that only pick up their basket like if they would go to the shop. What happens? That the people entering with this modality, are people that are implicated in the project, as Luís in our case [he was a pioneer of the project and came back with this modality]. That entered because they believe in the principles of the Acequia. So, I think it is good we limited the number of these baskets, in order that it does not go out of hand. As a necessary measure because of the crisis. And then even with people that were sustaining us already before or that we will convince over time.*" Even though in the association Hortigas such economic support baskets are not formalised as alternative modality of participation, the association applies the concept temporally in cases of necessities. "*We have always less people and therefore less financial incomes (...). It varies also a lot, so in summer we especially have problems. Therefore, we have the illegal baskets [meant to be baskets, which are sold occasionally to people that are not members and therefore neither work for the cooperative], as we have for example many Erasmus students [that are not present over summer]*" (Estefania).

This leads to a problem of disappointment and disillusion. First, members struggle to realize all their commitments every month and are therefore often disappointed with themselves for this reason (as already seen in chapter 6.2). Second, as I discussed above, they are also disappointed when they have to relativise the realisation of the principles when less vision-bounded people enter the association. These people expressed and shown to be sometimes a bit disillusioned because they do not achieve completely the vision they have, the principles they set. Many members repeatedly mentioned that this lead them to be "*quemado*" – meaning to feel "burned-out". Saravia Ramos (2012) reproduce this expression too, saying that the feeling of being burned-out would be an exhaustion of participation because of a disequilibrium between "super-militant" and "sceptical" members (395). For example Miriam, the former farmer, says that the actual model of the Acequia aims too much, from professional production to a high volunteer implication in the organisation, that there is a continual feeling of dissatisfaction: "*The feeling is of tiredness, that you don't move forward. (...) If really the most important is the human: the social relation, to learn, how to be autonomous, a school of consensus and of decision-making, then take away the weight of the production, otherwise you are always there with the thing of 'we don't reach it, we don't reach it, we don't reach it'. (...) Decisions have been taken here and there, but staying with the old model, putting some new things. But the sentiment is of continuous dissatisfaction.*" In contrary to many acequian members, that exactly recognize the value in their participation on the field, she has the opinion that this way of work organisation creates an unnecessary workload to the farmer and an unnecessary expense of work energies in things that could be done more efficiently. This would not be a problem, as long as it fulfils all participants' well-being, for example because the association represents much

more than a production site. However, it does not in her opinion, because of this constant dissatisfaction, which cannot be fruitful in time.

Therefore, independently from the question if this decrease in commitment to the principles is harmful or not, the general discourse about it, shows that members perceive negatively the divergence among participants in what the association's vision should. This leads to a state of dissatisfaction in the association, and weakens participants' motivation.

7.4   "Let's reform the constitution!": reconciliation of values and realities and the constant rebuilding of models

"Look, once a year we touch such topics... it's like saying, 'let's reform the constitution!' (He laughs.) It costs a lot of work but it is like to reform the principles. Well, I think that sometimes we aspire to impossible principles." (Luís)

Taking into account the different aspects that sometimes make the full realisation of the principles difficult (see chapters 6 and 7), there are members saying that this has to be faced by adjusting the demands. If there are issues that are not only temporarily difficult, but that are putting a brake to the functioning of the association over a longer time, they should be addressed more consistently in order to achieve a more productive and satisfying situation. As explained before, some flexibility has been introduced in the terms of participation in order to survive as association but the discourse is still present between many members saying that such measures go against the principles. This creates a certain sense of dissatisfaction counterproductive for feeling well and to the very survival of the association, according to different interviewees. Some members advocate for a change of posture towards the principles. Antonio, the farmer, thinks that if after some time people see that something does not work as one has imagined, then the solution should be to adapt it: "*There are principles and so on. However, if a collective has a charter with principles, they will have their norms, but if with the time you notice things that are not working, you could try to ameliorate them. It is like a constitution of a country. If you see that there are some problems... The point is to find some solutions to the problem, isn't it? (he makes nod with the head) The charter of principles... (...) It will have this point, this point and this point. But if we are seeing that there is one that is not possible, either you reform it or it is probable that the garden or the association dies with the time*." Members' propositions show that principles should be put in relation with the actual realities faced. Luís embraces for example the new participation modalities which have been introduced, because he thinks that change is necessary while facing problems and that this flexibility allows new positive dynamics within the association: "*To make a change, it needs to change, no? I think this is the principal problem, because look at the crisis it had… if it would not be thanks to the new postures adopted… (...) I think it's that. Why not having different modalities? It's a way that opens the access to more people*." The new participation modalities have therefore introduced some flexibility into the practice of the association. I would argue that this does not even strictly go against principles actually, because members are still aiming them through their activity, while introducing some practices that are not totally reproducing the ultimate vision of what the association ought to be for some people.

Actually, some interviewees argue it is not about forgetting one's vision and values, but rather about not feeling cramped by them. They should serve as a guidance and a self-defined positionality or stance within and towards work, but not as an imposition debilitating work and the development of the activity. Rosana expresses this opinion: *"We are self-sustained and self-managed. When such questions arise… There is not written nowhere 'We cannot sell vegetables'. Let's see. Somewhere is there written that we have to organise a party? If we decided to do the party in order to [raise money] … and the principles… I mean, at the party we sell vegetables. Our vegetables. That we buy, take at home, prepare it, cook it. We spend time and money, other products… and then we bring it and sell it. We are doing it!"* She shows how it depends on the members themselves, how they define implementation strategies according to their common vision. If the situation requires certain measures that do not fully represents the higher vision one's have of how the association should run, one has

to balance their utility. How does they help doing sustainable economies and growing values? Therefore, I argue that it is people's own decision how creative and active they want to be here and now, reconciling realities and visions towards their own and the others' well-being.

Miriam envisions a more radical change still. She emphasizes how CSA is in constant change adapting to necessities, life situations and possibilities. Therefore, she thinks that if one CSA model is not working anymore, it does not mean that the vision is not working, but that it will evolve to other models that in new circumstances could satisfy more. "*It came a moment where it ran out [the model of prosumer-cooperatives]. Well, these are things where we are learning, we go from one project to others, and necessities will change, satisfiers that have served during a time. Other models are being created that serve better.*" She emphasizes, that a "model that serves", means to her a model that functions and that functions over time, being at the same time productive as well as including all values and visions, in order that it can fulfil participants' well-being. "*I don't want to appear as if I would be someone that just wants to sell vegetables, no. I want models that function. And all the rest, values and principles, that they function, too. For sure. I don't want a market for capitalist use, and neither a simple buying-selling relation. I repeat that for me human relations value. However it is very important for me that a project endures and that it is something sustainable that satisfies, to those who consume as well as to those who produce.*"

Seen in such a larger context, day-to-day problems in fulfilling principles does not mean a failure of them but rather a constant renegotiation and rebuilding of its realisation within the frame of the actual society. The realisation itself fulfils not only a far-off vision but also the present well-being. Many interviewees argued that all of what has been constructed and performed during the existence of the project has created values. That means that many people gained inspiration from it and are embodying values in their daily lives (as explained in chapter 7.2). Additionally, people that left the association brought the seeds taken in the association to germination in new contexts, eventually even building new projects. Many people told me the example of one of the farmers who gained first experience in the Acequia and then started her own project producing ecologic baskets in a guarantee system. These are reasons enough for the 12-year existence of the association, according to different members. They therefore argue that even if they would be sad if once the Acequia has to stop existing, it would not mean an end. "*I am open to see what will happen. I also say that it would be a pity for sure, but it would not be a tragedy if the Acequia would not survive. It exists since 12 years, it inspired many people, I had a very nice time in the Acequia. And if it would stop to exist, then something new would grow*", says Tomás and Maira adds: "*it can evolve.*" Therefore, according to them, their activity has not only produced values, but the vision will be taken further in new ways and forms. Tadéo resumes this with a nice allegory, while thinking of the possibility that once the association could stop to exist: "*I hope that from the ashes new flowers will grow.*"

8 Thinking Diverse Economies

This chapter will apply the discussions, issues and findings outlined in the last two chapters directly to the theoretical framework. I look at the analysed case study through the lens of Gibson-Graham's theory of *diverse economy*. Applying this theoretical perspective can contribute to the understanding and development of CSA. Hence, the analysed data is interpreted taking a *diverse economy* stance. In this way, I respond to my third research question (see chapter 2.2).

8.1 Taking back work

Structures, principles and methods for working in CSA presented and discussed in chapter 6, show that the analysed CSA case study "*take back work*" (Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013) largely. By "*taking back work*", Gibson-Graham mean the actions and decisions people take concerning their work, in order to feel pleasure and meaning as well as contributing to the well-being of societies and environments (xiii, 17).

First, a shift in goal setting takes place. Producing vegetables does not pursue the aim of maximizing capital accumulation and productivity. The economic activity of CSA sets holistic criteria for work, aiming at sustainability, well-being and the fulfilment of individuals and society, as proposed by the theory *economy for the common good* (Felber 2012) in line with the theory *diverse economy* (Gibson-Graham 2006). Proposing different structures, contexts and work goals directly shapes the way of working. Indeed, chapter 6 showed that principles of work set in the studied association foster horizontal relations, inclusive decision-making processes, and spaces for self-initiative and re-socialised economic relations based on trust and mutual solidarity, opening access more and more to different actors. Furthermore, the empirical material discussed in chapter 6 addressed problematics arising when organizing work as such. Responsibility dilution, inequalities and inefficiencies in decision-making and work organisation take place as well as one's personal negotiation with work conditions and the loss of personal bonds, the latter leading to a loss of solidarity and work motivation. These hindered a good realisation of the visions of a *community economy*. However, different tools and strategies have been developed over time, to come closer to the goals of the activity. Even if performing within *diverse economies* and trying to construct spaces of *community economies* can be challenging, my case study showed how simply by being active economic actors, people are day to day and for years, constructing *community economies* and therefore taking back the economy and work to a certain extent.

As the results presented in chapter 7 have shown, *community economies* have direct impacts. Values of sustainability and *community economies* are created and embodied. They have an impact beyond organisational problems but propose a fulfilling and sensed activity, as well as they change perceptions and lives of participants. According to chapter 7.2, working in CSA let participants first develop or strengthen values about their activity. Values that they attached to CSA activity multiplied and get stronger while participating. This shows how values are contingent to space and time and to economic and social performances. The value attached to work in CSA, offering a place to learn, a place to meet people, healthiness and to do something useful, contributes to the goal of happiness in *community economy*. Taking into account the development of the motivations to participate in CSA and the ways participation shaped the life of implicated people, show how values are dynamic, as exposed in chapter 4.3. Performing within CSA creates new values and deepens others for people concerning their activity. Consequently, it shows to a certain extent that working within CSA reshape ontology of economic relations and of what is taken for granted. I showed how principles of working together in CSA were perceived to a certain extent as natural for human beings and that being implicated in such economic relations was for many people something unthinkable to give up in life. Hence, ontology shifts through practice. Following the *diverse economy* approach of Gibson-Graham (Gibson-Graham 2006; Gibson-Graham, J. et al. 2013) as well as acknowledging the effects on the unconscious and emotional level of people's perception emphasised by Carolan (Carolan & Hale 2016; Carolan 2013a), I argue that doing and enacting transformative economic practices lead people to reframe their economic discourse and practice. They interiorise and personalise an ontology of *community economies* on a level of emotions and bodily feelings,

therefore embodying *community economy* values. Participation in CSA does also foster positive emotions towards "the possible". To see how to some extent *community economy* can exist here and now on a small scale, incentives people to believe and to act. Seeing an example of what is possible awakens the economic actor in people who would otherwise be passive consumers, allowing them to act creatively to *take back* the economy. This let *community economies* grow.

8.2   "Starting from where we are"

One important tension existing in the association expressed by the members is about the divergence of the visions some people are setting and the realities they are facing, entailing a certain range of economic activities. As I outlined in chapter 6.1, in the first years of the existence of the Acequia, participants were discussing if they should formalise the collective to an association, therefore "being part of the system" to a certain extent but in this way having access to social insurances. After heated and long discussions, they decided to do so. While acknowledging this performance within "the system", it especially brought the advantage of dignified working conditions and therefore contributed even more to the world they envisioned. This dynamic takes place today, too, according to a similar principle-based discussion. As explained in chapter 7.3, the feeling of being torn between realities and visions exists among participants. These mixed feelings are directed towards the legitimacy of participants with less engagement and towards modalities of participation allowing a less vision-bound participation, questioning their accordance to members' economic values. This situation lets develop a dissatisfactory feeling of "not achieving the vision" among participants, described in chapter 7.3.

I argue that Gibson-Graham's understanding of the economy as diverse can help to understand this existing problematic from another perspective and in this way it offers a solution to look beyond it. Actually, as outlined in chapter 4.1, as long as activity cares about people and the environment as a first priority, diverse economic mechanism can be used in order to transform society, including market ones. They argue that what is important is not to have some essentialist notion of a particular model of development but rather to embody the site and place of *diverse economies*, therefore recognizing the entanglement between different economic mechanisms. The distinction entails if "*whether the interdependence is recognised and acted upon or whether it is obscured or perhaps denied*" (Gibson-Graham 2006). Recognizing this interdependence, according to Gibson-Graham's conceptualisation, could offer to the Acequia a way to use strategies and activities belonging to the economy above ground without producing unease.

Therefore, the *diverse economy* approach suggests adapting to the actual situation of people's lives and necessities. Gibson-Graham argue to act towards ethical *community economies* from the "*ubiquitous starting place of here and now*", meaning to start with the situation in which one is at this very moment, in order to be transformative (Gibson-Graham 2006: 194). Because "*what the "start where you are" orientation offers is not only the potential fruitfulness of any particular location and moment, but the requirement to treat obstacles and local deficiencies as resources rather than (merely) as barriers to projects of economic construction. Approaching the existing conditions in a spirit of experimentation and generosity, we are encouraged to view them as conditions of possibility as well as of impossibility*" (Gibson-Graham 2006: 194). This perspective helps to focus on the creativity and possibility of the moment and neglects the opposition between "alternative" and "capitalist", what Gibson-Graham terms as "*reading for difference rather than dominance*" (see chapter 4.1) (Gibson-Graham 2006: 53-54). Following Gibson-Graham, I argue that embodying this positionality of how to do economy would help CSA projects to shift feelings of fear about a visionary setback to feelings of hope about possibilities, and feelings of dissatisfaction and disillusion about an underachievement of principles to feelings of satisfaction about actual achieving.

To a certain extent members already acknowledge the need to accept mechanisms that do not fulfil the ultimate vision right now, but which allow the association to survive and therefore let the vision continue to exist and to develop in the frame of the association's activity. At the moment, this would concern the new modalities of participation discussed in various chapters. However this can be taken further by thinking new working tools that would facilitate work for everybody and increase efficiency and well-being. Problem definitions and

possible propositions are already present among members. For example, as mentioned along chapter 6.4 and in chapter 7.4, members demand a change in decision-making process, proposing the creation of decentralised delegated groups or shorter channels for practical and imminent issues. As well, some interviewees demand a more radical change of model, introducing new dynamics.

Following, Gibson-Graham, performativity "*can offer openings for new becomings*" (2006: 24), meaning that while doing and constructing *community economies* new values and ideas may arise, letting the economy be in constant movement and reframe. Indeed, members of the association see the employed economic mechanisms in constant change, expecting that over time other mechanisms will arise. For example, many members of the association accept the introduction of *diverse economy* methods, namely the flexible modalities of participation, with the idea that they will be transitory until new working relations develop. In chapter 7.2, I also exposed that the understanding of performativity is sometimes present among members. A member expressed the idea that once people participate in flexible modalities, they will develop new values letting perhaps change their priorities. Chapter 7.4 showed how members put forward the performative character of economic activity and its contribution to the creation of *community economies*, acknowledging the need to change models; not meaning an end but an evolution of economic activity striving for well-being.

Moreover, the analysed empirical data showed that there is another tension arising for members working on a voluntary basis of self-provision. As especially explained in chapter 6.2.2, members express a difficulty to fulfil their working commitment for the association, because they have other commitments in life, especially their remunerative occupation, which structure their daily time schedules. This raises the question and problematic if actually people have to less time to engage to the extent the CSA project demands. In chapter 7.4 I presented the opinion of Miriam, saying that such models of CSA, demanding high involvement of consumers, are not effective, because of this never-ending feeling of "not catching up" described by different interviewees as well as because volunteer work is less productive and effective than professional work (an opinion that the farmer Blas also expressed). To the other side as I outlined in chapter 7 however, it is this participation of the members on the fields and in the whole production organisation that add value to their well-being and that members say enriches their lives. Although many members seem not having enough time to engage in such work, it seems exactly this activity to activate an embodied feeling towards nature and food and to give access to knowledge and personal satisfaction, which they esteem. A solution to this problematic remains an open question to a certain extent. Facing this problematic it can be valuable to think through Gibson-Graham's stance of "*starting from where we are*". CSA is very varied in form and practice. Fortunately, it developed in Andalusia to the extent that today consumers have more or less the choice between different CSA projects. They can decide if they prefer to engage in an only volunteer-based self-sufficient gardening project, to buy a vegetable basket in a guarantee system or to take part in a hybrid model - as the one of La Acequia is - joining self-sufficient voluntary work with professional paid work. This variety shows the extended pool of possibilities one has to build *community economies*. According to Miriam, projects should evaluate their priorities: Do they prefer to put the focus on the instructive and explorative role of the project for its participants or do they prefer to put the emphasis on the ecological production aiming food sovereignty on a larger scale? Whereas she emphasizes that middle ways can also be taken. This shows however, that if the first presented possibility is overriding, then incentivising voluntary work in CSA is essential, whereas when the second priority is put forward, developing a model suitable for producers is of paramount importance. They are not mutually exclusive, but complement each other. I argue that this discussion, taking a diverse economy approach, shows it is valuable for a CSA project to evaluate its situation at present – from where one starts – and combine it with the needs and aims of the participants. Finding a balance between these factors, can help to provide a long-term well-being within the project itself, alleviating tensions.

Therefore, this chapter showed that acting economically while being conscious of moving in a world of *diverse economies* can help to overcome some controversies and difficulties that can arise while doing and building *community economies* here and now.

8.3 Striving for well-being

"To me, it gives me happiness. It gives me happiness to produce. That what you produce, you can eat. And as I am sharing my basket, I can give away my vegetables, which I did... 'Take it!' (she laughs)" (Lucía)

While I acknowledge the contribution of CSA to the construction of *community economy*, and its performance within *diverse economy* and people's perception of it, I want to focus on probably the most important question that derives from it. How does work in CSA contributes here and now to well-being? The question was touched throughout all chapters, by topics that arose from data. That is why I will resume the most important findings here, putting them in connection to Gibson-Graham's definition of well-being. As outlined in chapter 4.2, Gibson-Graham emphasize that work in a *community economy* should be organised as such that all human well-beings are addressed and cared in combination - material, occupational, social, community and physical well-being. I argue that these aspects of well-being are interrelated to each other and sustain each others' realisation in most cases.

Involved people found satisfaction mostly in their occupation in CSA. Volunteers as well as employees appreciate the work in the fields a lot, both as main employment and as balancing-out activity next to other activities, especially if it can be done with other comrades. Mostly, employees and people working full-time in the fields explained how they found their passion in the farming activity. People involved as members told that they like the activities they can do within the association, especially pointing at the activity in the garden, even if sometimes they neglect doing them. Occupational well-being is often related to the fulfilment of all other aspects of well-being. For example, people like the occupation because it is shared with other people. The Acequia and CSA projects in Andalusia offer a fruitful space for building social networks and personal relationships. Data showed how work is organised on structures and dynamics that rely on social bonds and closeness. Additionally, people emphasised that one reason why they appreciate the association is that they meet interesting people and make good friends. In the first years of the association's existence members felt this social well-being however stronger than today. Now, although the association relies on community activities and logics, people witness a loss in close friendship relations. Often related to social well-being, CSA address especially community well-being, as its name indicates. Activity in CSA is done in community and it creates community within and beyond one's association. Contribution to a community well-being happens on the narrow scale of solidary-based activities work within the group relying partly on the personal proximity, but also on a big scale. Indeed, I showed how people valued its activity because they felt fulfilled to contribute to the well-being of the society as a whole. Furthermore, participation in CSA covers through self-provision one of the most basic material needs – food. It guarantees to those employed by CSA a constant material security through the whole year, with decent salaries and social insurances. In this aspect problems arise, first through crises that create instabilities of the employment place. The association has existed for many years and when crises arise, members showed to care about the security of the employees. Second, labour can take self-exploitative characteristics, especially during the first phases of associative working. Concerning the case study explored in this master thesis, the majority of people involved in work do it on a voluntary basis engaging in a self-sufficiency system. According to these people, engagement in such activities is not in order to assure their material well-being, but to fulfil other aspects of their well-being. This type of work has been analysed in detail, in order to learn about these aspects. This analysed model hides to a certain extent how CSA can contribute to a wider extent to material well-being. However, other models of CSA around Andalusia are based on paid work, which address the topic of material well-being through agricultural activity more directly. For example, the cooperative La Verde is a production based cooperative, which means that it is composed of farmers living from this activity and selling their products through direct channels to consumers. The cooperative Humar of Marinaleda is another good and extraordinary example in the region of Andalusia, which especially addresses with its model the securing of a stable and dignified income to its members. Finally, CSA

contributes to a good health, by giving access to a great amount of ecologic food to its participants. Additionally, it also fulfils physical well-being by caring about and creating a sustainable living environment.

This master thesis shows how CSA can contribute with obstacles, difficulties and drawbacks to the well-being of society and nature, as well as to the effective well-being of the people involved. Performing within CSA however, is often only one part of people's life, contingent to many other economic relations where people are involved. That is why it cannot only be assessed if people "survive well" by looking at CSA. In particular, Gibson-Graham do not propose purposefully any specific criteria a *community economy* should follow or fulfil, in order to maintain the stance of possibility. Additionally, experiences are unique, and that is why the evaluation of this specific case study according to Gibson-Graham's vague definition of well-being shall not be a reproducible model for transforming economies elsewhere. This represents indeed exactly the openness that defines the *diverse economy* approach, making it possible to take economy back here and now. Indeed Gibson-Graham say: "*Unlike the structurally configured Economy with its regularities and lawful relationships, the community economy is an acknowledged space of social interdependency and self-formation. Anything but a blueprint, it is an unmapped and uncertain terrain that calls forth exploratory conversation and political/ethical acts of decision. The "emptiness" of the community economy, which awaits filling up by collective actions in place, is what distinguishes the project of building community economies from the related and more familiar project of economic development*" (Gibson-Graham 2006: 166).

9 Conclusions and outlooks

This master thesis showed through an ethnographic exploration of a Community Supported Agriculture association how work is organised and realised and which values workers give to their activities. Some insights over other projects in the region of study have complemented the understanding. This knowledge has then been related into a wider context of *diverse economies*, looking at how and to what extent such an organisation and valuation of work can contribute to the creation of *community economies* and well-being. This chapter outlines the arguments that I derive from the analysed and interpreted findings and it presents an outlook for further research.

In the studied association La Acequia, people come together as consumers and producers (prosumers). They organize themselves in groups, where everybody has to fulfil her/his working commitment on the field as well as in the organisation of the association. With the financial contributions of all members, the costs are covered and one employee for the farmwork is hired. The latter enjoys good working conditions, with a stable contract and social insurance, within an association where members take care of his security and show respect. The dangers that Acequian farmers were exposed to over time tend to be self-exploitative traits when structures of work are still being defined at the beginning of their activities, and less involvement by the members on the field and slow decision-making, rendering work on the fields more difficult.

Working conditions can be derived from the fact that the respect of humans and nature are centre stage for work in the association when the aim is to create just and liveable spaces for all participants. Additionally, the way of working in the association - ranging from the reproduction of seeds to the fieldwork and to the transportation of the vegetables - is done in accordance to agroecological principles, caring about the environment and biodiversity.

Work in the association La Acequia is organised following a charter of principles. Members organize themselves within horizontal and decentralised structures demanding autonomy towards the outside as well as the inside. That allows members to adapt work to their own possibilities, capacities and preferences and to work in small groups. It also offers space for self-initiative. Difficulties arise concerning coordination between all participants, lack of transparency, dilution of responsibilities and when visions clash.

Work is organised on the base of trust and mutual solidarity, where personal relationships between people are valued. Different informal and formal methods shape work through group dynamic and solidarity. Nonetheless, there is potential for more familiarity and proximity in order to realize stronger relations of mutual help and to create even more a sense of community. Sometimes, inequality between members in response to their commitments arise, which diminish for some people the pleasure of work. Overall however, this kind of relation between participants creates a comfortable atmosphere to work and it allows people in different life situations to participate. Joint decision-making by consensus of all participants within the association fosters the understanding of the other and the self, creating a common basis of work. This can, however, also slow down processes in certain situations that demand agility. To a certain extent, an informal network below ground has been constructed, where relations beyond one's structures can be used. However, ties of cooperation in work between projects were stronger before and exist today rather in other, younger projects than my case study. Finally, the terms of participation offer access to different kind of people and the people participating are becoming more and more varied with the years.

Consequently, work in CSA shows address to a certain extent different aspects of well-being by creating space for personal development and expression, addressing social relations, and aiming activities towards the community. CSA strives to guarantee dignified treatment of humans and to create value for human and environmental health. This research showed, however, how CSA is not an end in itself for the well-being in work, but rather an actancy with performative aims towards partly unknown *community economies*. It is a little grain of sand, acting for well-being here and now, but at the same time, it is also a space offering transformative, creative and positive thinking, making shift possible in the future in order to try to survive even

better. **In this respect, this master thesis showed that projects that organize themselves by setting principles and structures of work aiming sustainable, participative, inclusive, just and intimate worlds make it to a certain extent possible to** *take back* **work and the economy here and now to our own decisions through ethical action. Whereas it explored that practical methods and mechanisms of application have to be renegotiated over time repeatedly as performative practice, recognizing the diversity and changeability of how to do** *community economies* **makes** *community economies* **flourish.**

Although difficulties arise in the everyday realisation and performance of ethical working principles and methods that are supposed to create good working relations and well-being, work in CSA creates a well-being that goes beyond the daily achieving of vegetable production and association's organisation. Especially decommodified work, represented in the association by the non-employed workforce of the members, helps to visualize and perceive how important values of work that are other-than-monetary contribute to well-being. Participants show to have similar motivations to take part in the association and strengthen all along participation values they attach to their work, which contribute to well-being.

Motivations to be active in the association were often the demand for ecologic food, the contact to the fields, getting to know people and the engagement for a sustainable world. These motivations get intensified with the time, strengthening and adding values to the activity. Actually, participants perceive their work in the association as a very important part of their lives to which they feel attached, shaping and changing their habits, knowledges, convictions and pleasures. First, they appreciate the association as a place of learning for life. For example, they learned to eat and consume according to health and sustainability and how to work in the fields. Participation raised environmental consciousness in general terms and opened the mind to otherness and diversity, thanks to the possibility to establish contacts and friendships with diverse and interesting people. Additionally, members learn to organize themselves and work in groups in horizontal structures with flat hierarchies. Second, they give a high value to their activity because they perceive it as satisfactory, useful and fulfilling. They appreciate that through their work, they can contribute to a more ethical world, building actively a little world of possibilities. Building a world they dream of here and now on a small scale fulfils them and makes them proud. Therefore, working in the association let people to a certain extent create or strengthen ontologies of *community economy*. Indeed, by enacting everyday a "utopia" they internalize its values. Value showed to be performative, especially changing and being strengthened and appropriated through bodily activity and in this way once personalised also acted by the people in their everyday economic relations.

People showed how they perceive working relations existing in the association as natural and how they shape the definition of themselves and their lives. They often cannot imagine a life without such an activity, showing the importance of it to their well-being. **Consequently, this master thesis demonstrated how daily activities in CSA changed people's understanding of the economy and work, as well as of food, sustainability, nature and consumption. These changes can be understood as an ontological shift in people's perceptions creating people's embodiment of** *community economy*.

Even if a certain ontological reframing takes place, people are torn between "reading for dominance" and "reading for difference" (Gibson-Graham 2006: xxxi). Whereas "reading for dominance" means to see one's activity as marginal and threatened by capitalist market and behaviour and "reading for difference" means to perceive the economy as diverse in which one's activity can develop creatively. While appreciating the impact of CSA in the last years and today as well as its evolutional and transformative potential for the future, participants feel sometimes at the back of what work and economy should be. People sometimes have difficulties to achieve what they envision, when compared to its realisation in everyday practices. This is due to different reasons. Partly, people's work in CSA is contingent upon the rest of their activities in life that limit their possibilities. Priorities of people are not always the same and change over time. First, dissatisfaction arises when not achieving their principles. Second, tensions arise when people, who see their participation as integral part of their lives, perceive other participants as being less involved. Gibson-Graham propose to

recognize the interdependence of different economic mechanisms and in this way starting to act here and now with the starting situation one lives in. By putting theoretical lens to these daily problematics of how to structure economy, **this master thesis argues that taking a stance of *diverse economy* instead of capitalistic hegemony (meaning to profit from economic tools of the whole economic palette as long as they pursue the goal of *community economy*) can help to understand problems arising in the organisation and realisation of work in CSA from another perspective. Consequently, the *diverse economy* approach can help to overcome such difficulties and tensions to a certain extent and in this way optimize the production of well-being**.

This master thesis contributes to the current literature about *diverse economies* and about the role of CSA as a space of possibility, trying forms and structures of work as well as creating and reproducing values. Indeed, this master thesis suggests that beyond the strict context of agriculture, acting in *diverse economies* can address necessities of work in order to take it back to the advantage of happiness. Additionally, understanding contributions and challenges in the organisation and realisation of work in CSA should help to understand how methods could be implemented in work relations, in order to address well-being. To do so, further studies in this direction remains interesting and pertinent to tackle. First, by exploring ethnographically the association of production and consumption La Acequia, I gathered information of organisation and values of work about volunteer, self-sufficient activity of CSA. This offered interesting insights into values beyond the commodification of activity. However, it limits the understanding of how CSA can offer a new way of organizing remunerative work, while at the same time addressing as well other aspects of well-being next to the material concerns. Therefore, it would be interesting conduct related research focusing on professional farmers, enriching and complementing in this way the knowledge gained in this thesis. This research would offer the possibility to concentrate on the formulation of labour conditions, to explore existing divergences and tensions between paid and unpaid CSA-work and to understand to which extent CSA can be expanded as agricultural model of production addressing working conditions in a different way than characteristics in Andalusian agriculture.

The latter point leads directly to the second outlook that offers this master thesis. The present exploration helped to understand to a certain extent the entanglement of actors, the problematics and resources in the region of Andalusia and having in-depth access to the field. However, this master thesis could not directly relate its findings about how to organize work and how to set structures and conditions of work with the actual situation of precarity, flexibilisation and difficult surviving in the main agricultural praxis of the studied region. Therefore, it would be valuable at this point to make further studies aiming an interventionist contribution of academic work on the field, in collaboration with different actors on place. These explorations could focus on bringing together activist actors in CSA with institutional governmental actors on different scales, starting from Andalusian cities and the region of Andalusia. The latter would have the aim to formulate policy plans and methods to improve work organisation, employment conditions and the situation in the agricultural sector, thanks to subjective value-based knowledge gathered in praxis and experiences of CSA, in order to improve society's well-being.

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11 Appendix

11.1 Personal declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

18/04/2018

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