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"We all pull together". Relational Values in Consumer Motivations in Swiss Community Supported Agriculture Cooperatives

GEO 511 Master's Thesis

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Abbreviations

- CSA Community Supported Agriculture
- Solawi Solidarische Landwirtschaft (solidarity agriculture)
- FAO Food and Agriculture Organisation (of the United Nations)
- BFS Bundesamt für Statistik (Swiss Federal Bureau of Statistics)
- AFN Alternative Food Network
- RV Relational Values

0.0 Abstract

There has been a recent growth of community-supported agriculture (CSA) cooperatives in Switzerland as consumers become increasingly sensitive to production realities. This paper studies the motivations and relational values of Swiss CSA members on food, nature, and community, and explores how CSA uniquely reconnect consumers with the realities of food production and the environment. Because of CSA's strong focus on solidarity and mutual relationships, a relational values approach was chosen to describe members' motivations to join the CSA, what relationships they have and how these relationships affected members' values. 21 qualitative interviews with CSA members were conducted to accomplish this. They were analyzed with qualitative coding using both inductive and deductive codes.

Results show that members join CSA primarily for the high-quality organic food offering, transparency of methods and financing, consumer participation and decision-making, as well as the community experience. All these attributes add to food appreciation. Social values of supporting local farms and helping with a meaningful project were also strong motivators for membership. Values regarding environmental protection were common and CSA offered a platform for realizing these values through work practices. Through work participation, members experience the efforts and realities of the production process first-hand and consequently form a positive personal relationship with the producers, the food, and the farm itself. As a result, previously abstract intrinsic and instrumental values are complemented with strong relational values. Members perceive themselves as part of the picture and relate to the CSA directly. Respondents reported greater sensitivity regarding the environmental impacts of their actions and a change in their consumer behavior. Confrontation with work realities also creates increased practicality regarding sustainability and environmental conservation in members. Further, members' personal understanding of nature is expanded and partly repopulated with human activity as they are confronted with agrarian values. Overall, CSA offers them a platform to realize and implement their environmental ethics and connect to nature.

In conclusion CSA relational values are present and highly important for Swiss CSA model to motivate and retain members. CSA affirm people's agency in shaping and interacting with their environment and provides a working platform to connect local community, small farmers, and environment. Values are dynamic and plural, with the results showcasing how lived experiences can change values and beliefs. Values compel practices as much as practices generate values. I believe that further research on practices as source of values could benefit a variety of environmental and social fields.

CSA are a promising alternative to the conventional food industry that repopulates and shortens production chains and brings tangible benefits for both farmers and consumers by re-embedding economy into social norms and human interactions. CSA focus on building a trusted relationship between producers and consumers answers an unspoken consumer need for transparency and connection long neglected in regular grocery stores. The primary drawback of CSA is the high demand on member time and effort that limits its mass-market viability. As such I believe CSA could become a lighthouse project for greater consumer integration in production and become part of a possible future diverse food regime.

1.0 Introduction

The current conventional industrial system of food production, processing, transport, distribution, and consumption today is heavily shifting under the influence of environmental and social problems, processes of globalization and digitalization of trade, as well as changing technologies (FAO, 2018). To increase production agriculture has become increasingly industrialized and reliant on agrichemical inputs like fertilizers and pesticides. Mass production is characterized by specialized farms growing monocultures with minimal biodiversity. As land becomes degraded or runs at the limit of what it can grow, demand for more agricultural area rises, leading to deforestation and land-use change. This has severe negative impacts on the environment and the health of surrounding areas, as well as the sustainability of this industry (FAO, 2018). Local and national food sectors are also forced to adapt to an increasingly competitive globalized food market, leading to a concentration of power in large corporations at the expense of smaller local providers. These problems alongside several food scandals have shaken the trust of consumers in the conventional food system regarding environmental sustainability, health, animal welfare, and fairness (Hvitsand, 2016).

Community Supported Agriculture

In response to these issues, consumers have grown increasingly sensitive to ecological and social costs of consumption and are turning to alternative food networks (AFN) like farmers' markets, subscription box schemes and Community supported Agriculture to provide them Fresh and organically grown products (Hvitsand, 2016). Among them, Community-Supported Agriculture (CSA) is one of the more successful platforms allowing small local producers to market and sell their products directly to consumers, bypassing the conventional product chain (Perez et al., 2003) and granting them independence from (world)-market prices and growth imperatives (Kunzmann, 2015). CSA operates by allowing consumers to subscribe to a membership and regularly receive food from the farmers. As members of a CSA organization, they gain the opportunity to be involved in the decision-making process of the production and have a voice in the farm's future development. This allows CSA to bridge the various forms of "distance" created by industrialization, globalization, corporatization, and financialization as described by Clapp (2014) and helps re-establish alienated food values of the consumers. Farmers in turn gain a guaranteed taker for their goods and have a secured yearly income. This arrangement also means that consumers and producers share the financial risk of a bad harvest.

While this serves as a foundation of the concept, the exact implementation, organizational form, or adaptations of this concept are highly diverse globally and details can change depending on area and farm. But overall, local food networks like CSA tend towards smaller, locally embedded farms offering more diverse products and operating with a network based on mutual trust. This contrasts with the commercial system based on big, specialized farms, large corporations, and impersonal supermarkets. CSA programs offer consumers, farmers, and communities the power to shape the development of their local food system (Hvitsand, 2016). As such CSA programs were found to help economic growth in local communities, increase the adoption of sustainable agricultural practices, and reconnect people with their food and their community (Chen et al., 2019).

This paper explores the Motivations present in Consumers of three Swiss CSA Cooperatives called "Solidarische Landwirtschaft", or Solawi. These Swiss CSA features mandatory participation of members in the production as part of the subscription. This serves as both a social and educational aspect for consumers that further helps build personal connections to producers and as the basis for a shared Cooperative community. Participation in farming, processing, and distribution of products to other members serves to add appreciation and meaning, I.E. Values, to both the food and the membership to the CSA itself (Hvitsand, 2016). Consequently, to understand the motivations of Solawi Members these intangible added values need to be addressed. Moreover, these values and

experiences associated with the CSA have an impact on consumer behavior that is worth exploring. While there have been quantitative studies on consumer motivations regarding CSA initiatives in the USA (Chen et al., 2019; Perez et al., 2003), these US CSA lacked the heavy focus on member participation of Swiss CSA.

Relational Values approach

When it comes to values of food most research on consumer preferences utilized an economic perspective that derived preferences from observed purchasing choices. The instrumental framework of this approach works by ascribing value to objects through their utility but runs into several sharp limitations. It assumes that preferences are unchanging, and financial limitations and context are not accounted for. Further, it assumes perfect information on both product and personal preferences, while research suggests consumers find their preferences through experimentation (Lusk & Briggeman, 2009). Furthermore, it is oriented around the primary interaction of purely monetary transactions. While this framing remains useful and well-liked to policymakers due to its simplicity and comparability, and with care, it can be stretched to engage with cultural or social values, its limitations remain in that it assumes commensurability. The absurdity of such valuation frameworks in the face of the sacred or personal is illustrated by Martinez-Alier (2015): “The Niyamgiri hill is sacred to the Dongria Kondh. We could ask them: How much for your god?”

Purely instrumental or financial evaluation of preferences and values is an oversimplification of a multifaceted subject for both customers and producers whose decisions are deeply rooted in situational context, social, environmental, and moral values (or “underlying preferences”) that are difficult to quantify or even resist valuation and are therefore often omitted (Chan et al., 2012; Lusk & Briggeman, 2009; Spash, 2008). Consequently, these frameworks easily miss large factors that contribute to the decisions and underlying motivations of these actors (Chan et al. 2016; Chapman 2019).

To overcome the limitations of instrumental value frameworks, relational values introduce a new, more inclusive approach that captures a broader suite of values than just instrumental and intrinsic would alone. Derived from a long history of human and sociological sciences, relational values are “preferences, principles, and virtues associated with relationships, both interpersonal and as articulated by policies and social norms” (Chan et al., 2016). As such they are functions of relationships to people, community, land, and place and made visible in landscapes through the actions driven by them (Chapman 2019). Unlike instrumental values which tend to reduce complexity and assume substitutivity or intrinsic values which often separate human actors in a strict nature/culture divide, relational values bridge these differences by acknowledging how human meaning overlays and tie together objects to imbue them with additional value and importance (Chan et al., 2016). As such relational values represent a step towards more complex relational ontologies that understand values as dynamic rather than static. For example, farmers identify and value themselves as active stewards of the land they own, in a two-way relationship that is intrinsically tied to the idea of a “good farmer” (Burton, 2004) which has deep cultural and social roots (Carlisle, 2015). Consequently, these farmers rejected conservation programs that would infringe on this stewardship value. In Carlisle’s (2015) case study of farmer’ participation in organic certification, it was found that behavior and participation were stronger affected by social and intangible values than economic incentives and controls. Summarized, the relational values approach allows for a more complete picture of the values that inform decision-making, which gives a new perspective to understand the motivations that drive CSA members.

Suitability of relational values

Relational values have been used successfully in the context of uncovering motivations and perspectives of agricultural producers participating in nature conservation and sustainability programs (Allen et al., 2018; Chapman et al., 2019; Home et al., 2019; Mann, 2018). I believe relational values to be uniquely suited to understand CSA members compared to other value frameworks due to the focus on reconnecting consumers and producers. CSA in Switzerland and Germany especially differentiate themselves with their high amount of consumer participation in production (Schümperlin, 2020). These relationships allow social and intangible consumer values to be expressed and communicated more directly. As values are often complex and intertwined, motivations also touch on attitudes and values associated with nature, lifestyle, the food industry, and its alternatives. While there are several papers exploring consumer motivations in CSA (Bernard et al., 2020; Chen et al., 2019; Perez et al., 2003), or AFN generally (Schrager, 2018), this paper is the first to explore the relationships present using a relational values framework in a Swiss case study.

Paper Overview

Following this introduction is the research question of this paper. Chapter 2.0 theory begins with a brief overview of the current food industry and Swiss agriculture. This is then followed by the background on community supported agriculture and details on the relational values framework. In chapter 3.0 methods, the three selected CSA communities, the sample group, recruitment process, type of interview and my own positionality are described. In chapter 4.0 the results of the 21 qualitative interviews are presented. In chapter 5.0 discussion, the results are first compared to similar studies on member motivations in Norway and the US and then analyzed using various literature to present the role of relational values for CSA membership. And finally, chapter 6.0 conclusion summarizes the findings, speculates on future developments, offers reflections on this paper's use, and suggests further research.

1.1 Research Question:

The research question that guided this paper is as follows:

1. What motivates people to become CSA members?
2. What relational values are present within the CSA cooperative and how are they connected?
3. What influence have these relational values on CSA members?

2.0 Theory & Background

2.1 The state of the modern industrial food system

Today the currently dominant modern food industry and its processes of production, distribution, and end-use of food face many challenges of environmental impact and social injustice. Agriculture and food trade are heavily influenced by the ongoing developments of globalization and increasing worldwide Industrialization (FAO, 2018). Consequently, we see increasing numbers of monoculture development, growing agrochemical inputs like fossil fuels, pesticides, and fertilizers, increased land and water resource usage, and growing reliance on international transport and trade. These developments have tripled global agricultural production since 1960 in what has been termed the "Green Revolution". Meanwhile, demand for alternative energy sources like biofuels to combat climate change have paradoxically only increased demand for natural resources and created an interdependence between food, non-food, and energy markets (FAO, 2018). Despite all this today the growth rate of the agricultural sector is slowing. And questions of food security (to be able to produce enough food for the population) as well as food sovereignty (for people, communities, and countries to be sovereign regarding their food production) are commonly discussed. Furthermore, the ongoing processes of digitalization and the increasing competition of online shopping are powerful developments affecting this industry sector as well. The conventions and way we produce, distribute, sell, and eat food; the food system, continues to change as it innovates and adapts to solve these problems.

Environmental Impacts of Industrial agriculture

One of these developments is the alarming negative environmental impact. Today we are faced with widespread deforestation, as nearly half of the world's forests have disappeared (FAO, 2018). The high demand for Water by agriculture creates severe water scarcity in the near east, Africa, and central Asia, including India and China. Chemical pollution of soil and water through pesticides and fertilizers threatens biodiversity and human health. Decreasing biodiversity risks the collapse of local ecosystem services, threatening to make areas inhospitable. Vast CO^2 output and energy usage of both production and transport accelerate climate change (FAO, 2018). Ongoing global climate change increases the frequency of extreme weather events. These Impacts pose a direct threat to human health and livelihood as according to FAO (2018) nearly one-third of all agricultural land is degraded and any expansion of farmland area would come at great social, environmental, and economic costs. Worryingly, the growth of yields in rice, maize, and wheat have stagnated to under 1% per year, with many regions already at their maximum potential (FAO, 2018). According to the FAO (2018), this downward spiral will continue without bold investment and broad change towards more sustainable methods such as organic agriculture, agroforestry, agroecology, and conservation agriculture to decrease resource demand and regenerate environments. Here the FAO focuses on policy research and technical solutions. This mirrors the split in research between policies of farmer participation in new methods and more comprehensive transformation of food networks that Forney (2016) notes.

Bigger, Powerful Organizations

This structural shift can be characterized by an intensifying shift towards fewer, but bigger and more powerful organizations. Historically, massive scales of production and vertical integration have always allowed big companies to produce at lower costs than smaller competitors. This advantage has only increased in today's globalized world of international trade. Massive enterprises that span multiple countries benefit from various network benefits, influence, and resources that more locally or nationally operating businesses do not. This grants them a competitive advantage against any smaller company that operates at local scales. For example, internationally 65% of the global seed market is dominated by just 10 different Companies (FAO, 2018). This upsizing is very much required for

continued economic growth as well as sheer survival in the increasingly fierce price competition in the international market. The FAO (2018) states that the demand in the retail space is one of the drivers for these developments in the food sector and that changes here could propagate far up the production chain.

Small Family businesses are disappearing.

All this is a positive effect for the end consumer who wishes to buy cheap food and provides many jobs "downstream" in processing, packaging, and delivery of products in the global food market chain. But these developments also create strong barriers for smaller family-run businesses and farmers who traditionally operated on a local or national level (FAO, 2018). If this structural transformation is a net benefit for society depends on context and country. These barriers exist because capital-intensive modern industrial farms are more efficient at providing the standardized commercial crops sought after in modern supermarkets than small-scale farmers with their more labor-intensive methods (FAO, 2018). However, even well-adapted big agricultural firms are straining due to increasing price competition, the increased use of agricultural goods and lands in the financial sector, the stagnating yields per ha, and environmental degradation. Consequently, smaller family-run stores, companies, and farms are starting to disappear. Overall the current systems of industrial food production and distribution favor globalized actors strongly over smaller, local ones (FAO, 2018). As such many smaller farmers are put into fierce competition to grow and consolidate capital to remain viable in the face of intensifying markets and more powerful actors around them. While some undoubtedly will emerge as winners in these life and death economic struggles, most family-run farms today are facing a precarious situation (Groh et al., 2016).

2.2 The Situation in Switzerland

Shifting Swiss agricultural structures

These greater global developments can also be felt in Switzerland. Currently, Swiss agriculture is somewhat unique in Europe due to a history of protectionist measures, as well as economic and topological considerations that have prevented the transformation towards big agricultural firms holding large areas of land as seen in other countries (Contzen & Crettaz, 2019). Instead, Swiss farming is dominated by many small family-run and owned farms, with more than 79% of all agriculture workers being family members of the main farm operator (Contzen & Crettaz, 2019). According to the BFS (2021b), the number of active farms in Switzerland has halved, going from 111'302 farms in 1975 to 49'363 in 2020. However, the average size of each farm has similarly doubled to about 21 ha per farm. These statistics align with the predictions of the FAO report in a structural change towards fewer, but bigger, actors in the agricultural sector. But compared to even other EU nations, Swiss agricultural structures are small and at a production deficit (Contzen & Crettaz, 2019).

As such Switzerland relies on food imports to feed its growing population, its production only filling 57% of the domestic demand (BFS, 2021). Due to the inability to grow mass amounts of "cash crops" due to a lack of land availability and mountainous terrain, half of Swiss agriculture consists primarily of livestock production. Only about 23% of farms, mostly situated in the lowlands, specialize in crops. This has made Switzerland famous for its more premium dairy and meat products. This also has influenced the Swiss agricultural landscape, which is primarily (70%) fields and meadows (BFS, 2021). Further, the limited land available as well as the expansion of settlement areas are creating a large pressure on agricultural land in the lowlands (Groh et al., 2016). As such the agricultural structure of Switzerland is different than the usual images of massive fields of monocultural crops that the idea of industrial agriculture conjures. Consequently, the environmental impacts are different as well.

Swiss Environmental Problems

Regarding environmental problems in Switzerland, agriculture contributes 23% of the greenhouse gases of the entire Swiss economy, mainly from fertilizers and cattle (BFS, 2021). The biggest environmental problem however is the reliance on fertilizer and pesticides polluting soil and water. Excess nitrogen hit its peak in the 1990s with an excess of 81 kg/ha per year that remains an excess of 68 kg/ha in 2018. Similarly, the average purchased pesticide amount has remained at an average of 2000 tons in the last ten years with only minimal reduction in the last three years to 1950 tons per year (BFS, 2021). There are however other environmental factors to consider not put into the statistical report, such as the effects of the production of these agrochemicals and their transport, land-use change, and the ongoing long-term costs of pesticide pollution on biodiversity and human health. Switzerland parallels the FAO report, in that there needs to be a rapid and bold rethinking towards the adaption of new sustainable methods. The good news is that 15% of all farms are certified organic (BFS, 2021) with labels like Bio Suisse, Migros Bio and Bio Natur Plus. This is above average in Europe, and the sector remains steadily growing with 66.2% of consumers back in 2016 regularly buying organic products several times a month, and 35.4% even multiple times per week (Groh et al., 2016:105)

Alpine farmers financial trouble

Notable is the gap in average farmer's income between regions, with lowland farms having up to 30% higher income than colleagues in mountainous regions. An entire third of a Swiss farmers' income is non-agricultural, and the remaining income includes federal direct payments (Contzen & Crettaz, 2019). Swiss farmers are independent and operate without many safety nets company-employed people enjoy. While poverty is rarely discussed in a western context, these poorer Swiss farmers have on average higher indebtedness than other independents, a higher chance to fall under the poverty line, problems with liquidity to pay bills due to their capital being bound in their farms, and deprivation of holidays and material goods standard to the Swiss lifestyle (Contzen & Crettaz, 2019). As a result, roughly 15% of farmworkers cannot afford an unexpected 2500 Fr. bill, and 10% of farmers cannot afford a two-week holiday. While poverty is by no means widespread, this confirms how the current market structure has many small farmers disadvantaged even in Switzerland.

The Swiss market is dominated by the two retail giants Coop and Migros. Coop especially buys and sells 46.5% of all organic products in Switzerland. Migros retails 27,5%, while 20% of the market is distributed among various smaller detailers and the last 5.4% are direct sellers (Groh et al., 2016). As such the market can be imagined as an hourglass with many producers and consumers at the top and bottom of the production chain respectively and the supermarket companies in the narrow center. This means that consumers have few choices who to buy from, and producers have little choice who to sell to. In effect this central position allows Coop and Migros, and other similar enterprises abroad to set prices to their advantage.

2.3 Consumers kept at a Distance.

Invisible Agricultural Landscapes

From the consumer perspective, all these developments and realities of production are invisible and hidden, as they only interact and see the shelves of their local supermarket or the store page on their browser. For the average consumer, this structure has led to an increased sense of detachment to the origin of the food they buy. Food products have become commodified into common, standardized goods only differentiated by marketing brands and the occasional organic or Fairtrade label. This is a consequence of the complexity and distance, both mental and physical, in modern supply chains. This means that the processes, impacts, and realities of food production are unknown and opaque to the consumer. This is termed "distant agricultural landscapes" or just plain distance by Clapp (2015). This

lack of connection renders agricultural landscapes and producers abstract to the consumer. This disconnect has led to growing social anxiety regarding industrial food, its origins, quality, and the consequences of its consumption (Schrager, 2018). Further compounded by several food scandals and environmental damage shaking trust in the conventional food system (Hvitsand, 2016).

In addition, distanced products hold no connection to the farmers and growers which could add additional value and meaning. The only interaction possible for the consumer is monetary trade. farmers and workers are similarly alienated from the non-monetary values of their work and food products. Typically, farmers never interact with the people who will eat their products. Consumers in turn cannot see their money contribute to the livelihood of a real person or gain an appreciation for the difficulties of the work required. This results in the multifaceted value of the food being replaced with its market price.

Disconnected feedback systems

According to Clapp, (2015), This distance makes it difficult to trace accountability to specific actors in the production chain. This limits the effectiveness of negative feedback mechanisms regarding environmental damages, unjust working conditions, and social costs in the production of goods. With increased distance the chance of consumers to become aware of and demand such issues addressed decreases. This means that negative feedback fails to motivate improvements and that social or environmental costs remain externalized from production. In comparison, a local producer is more sensitive and proactive regarding environmental damage and bad working conditions because their feedback mechanisms can reliably link Information of the effects of their actions to the relevant actors (Clapp, 2015). Partly this is because consumers have a stronger relationship and associated values to the local region and communities than an unknown and foreign landscape thousands of miles away. This greater accountability means that local producers must adopt new innovative and sustainable practices much faster than large industries which resist changes.

2.4 Alternative Food Networks and Moral Economies

New consumer demand for better industry and alternatives

In the last decades, people have increasingly become more aware of the ecological and social problems of the industrial food system. A growing number of consumers now search for a better alternative: more sustainable, ecologically sound, and socially just. This is motivated by a growing awareness of regional and global impacts of their consumption on both nature and people. This often includes the interest to support local small-scale enterprises and farmers who struggle in the conventional market system. These ethical consumers use practical knowledge to navigate a variety of ethical considerations regarding their everyday food consumption (Schrager, 2018). in doing so they have to navigate conflicting demands on their time, money, and care to “vote with their wallets” in support of their solidaristic, humanitarian and environmental commitments. In doing so they shoulder increasing responsibility as a political actor to buy “ethical” products to support companies and products which satisfy their demand for ethical consumption (Schrager, 2018).

Alternative food networks innovate

With this new awareness, (and growing knowledge of climate change) the development of alternatives to the industrial food System has accelerated in recent years. They are called Alternative Food Networks (AFN), an umbrella term encompassing a wide variety of new approaches to “…trading, production, and consumption of food.” (Carlisle, 2015). “Alternative” in this context has over the years become a catch-all term for diverse and progressive food economies that run counter to the conventions of the industrial food system (Schrager, 2018). On the production side, we find various new approaches on how to produce food more sustainable: agroecology, conservation agriculture,

agroforestry, organic agriculture to name a few (FAO, 2018). On the consumer-facing side, we see various direct marketing approaches like CSA or farmers markets, cooperatives, direct-to-institutions, or urban gardening (Carlisle, 2015). Common to all is that they overcome the distance by operating locally and establishing a shorter, more direct, and transparent value chain that includes social, economic, and environmental dimensions (Carlisle, 2015). They are characterized by smaller farms, networks based on trust, and empower farmers, consumers, and local communities to shape their development (Hvitsand, 2016). AFN today remains a dynamic space allowing experimentation and is the subject of academic debate on its merits and drawbacks (Carlisle 2015).

Integrated AFN innovations

However, Innovations in AFN are not necessarily incompatible or opposed to being implemented by the greater industry. In fact, as Carlisle (2015) points out, "previously informal designations-such as organic-have become formalized, standardized, and institutionalized…" and integrated into the food system with great success. Most obvious are the various food certifications that make production standards visible and allow vendors to differentiate their products with labels. This not only increases transparency for the consumer but also gives a certain reliable quality standard. This allows these items to be sold at a higher price premium, which allows more expensive or more labor-intensive organic or sustainable farming practices to somewhat compete in the conventional market. The disadvantage is that this integration into the industry erodes the previous links to the region, the seasonality of food and passes the responsibility of supporting these developments onto the consumer (Hvitsand, 2016). Nevertheless, this shows that innovations of alternative projects can and do filter back into the mainstream market and can effect lasting change. As such AFN can serve as a compass for possible future developments.

It also shows that AFNs should not be seen as idealized solutions but rather the result of continual conservation, struggle, practices, and networking of diverse actors. As such AFNs are "unfinalizable, contested, imperfect yet powerful" (Carlisle 2015). Powerful, in that they create room for new ideas and values that can no longer be found in conventional markets. As they emerge from small local scales, they are highly individualistic, and the local context is vital to understanding them (Groh et al., 2016). This makes a comparison between AFN from different regions tricky as the political, social, and economic histories that shape them need to be considered.

Moral Economy

AFN contradicts simplistic models of economic market values using perfectly rational actors. As Carlisle (2015) points out in his case study AFN more closely models according to principles of moral economies. A moral economy is "a popular consensus as to what is legitimate and what are illegitimate practices, grounded upon a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community." (Carlisle 2015). Or put differently, Economic practices are social practices and as such beholden to social, cultural, and political norms of acceptable behavior. As such it includes questions on what an acceptable price is for a particular good, how it should be sold, and how it should be produced. Historically such moral economies served to organize practices of resistance by smaller actors. But they can also organize markets to create systems of mutual assistance and risk. A recent example would be the successful resistance of small farmers in India to an agriculture reform in 2021 (Chatterjee, 2021). Where the main point of contention was the deregulation of a minimum guaranteed price for crops that would risk many small farmers losing their livelihood to bigger operations. This showcases, as Carlisle (2015) elegantly put it: "At its core, then, the theory of moral economy emphasizes that resource governance is a matter of social negotiation and that even state-backed laws and powerful elites must draw on popularly-held notions of legitimate practices."

This is demonstrated in Carlisle's (2015) case study of a value-based supply chain in the USA's northern great plains. Instead of financial factors and institutions as primary upholders of organic standards, farmers are embedded in various clubs and organizations of peers that offer mutual support, expertise, and oversight instead. Interesting is that such organizations merely serve as a vehicle for the underlying moral economy of shared sustainable values. Time and effort are invested if they fit the shared values and dropped once an organization lost touch with them. Farmers would then reorganize into a new vehicle. As a result, Carlisle (2015) concludes that people shape and use institutions according to their values and beliefs, and not the other way around. A fundamental part of this is that economic practices are re-embedded as interactions between people within a community and as such are part of relations between them. Consequently, purely financial, or economic calculus cannot explain AFN success and research must take a more holistic look at consumer and producer values.

This contrasts with Agrawal's (2006) results of the changing environmental sensibility of Indian villagers through regulation and institutions. Agrawal flips the usual dynamic of beliefs motivating actions (such as in Carlisle's (2015) farmers switching organizations or in Chapman et al. (2019) study of value conflicts) in favor of examining how practices influence and change beliefs. Values and beliefs are maps with which people navigate a complex world. These mental models are a constant work in progress that are revised and reorganized when reality challenges these beliefs and values through our daily experiences. This acknowledges beliefs as dynamic and people embedded in social and cultural context. This change even works when these practices are at first only complied with because of regulations, contract, or social pressure, until in time people experience the values and recognize the benefits tied to that practice. As a result over a surprisingly short amount of time lived experiences can change long held values (Agrawal, 2006).

Key to reconciling these different accounts lies in Agrawal's acknowledgment of the villagers' agency and power to both defy and shape how regulations and institutions are implemented. In the Indian case study environmental protection was only adopted once conservation was embedded in local village collective practices and traditions, the forests acknowledged as theirs to protect as regulatory power was decentralized. Prior to that, conservation effort failed as villagers refused to comply with regulations and saw the forest irrelevant to their livelihood except as exploitable resource. In both cases practices served as a foundation of environmental consciousness: shared organic farming practices in a farmer's network, and a shared responsibility to maintain their own forests in a local village (Agrawal, 2006). Supporting the idea of moral economy, regulation failed when in defiance of local practices and worked once it was reworked to redirect existing flows of power for new goals.

2.5 Community-supported Agriculture

CSA by other names

One such growing new alternative food network (AFN) model is community-supported agriculture or CSA. The primary goal of CSA is to bring together local food producers and consumers in a shared community to allow more social and ecologically sound agriculture. The common idea present in all CSA is sharing the responsibility of agriculture across the community to provide ecological and local products at a fair price to both consumers and producers. The most straightforward definition is «Food producers + food consumers + annual commitment to one another = CSA and untold possibilities» (Schümperlin, 2020). However, a more complex working definition for collaborative research is presented by the Urgenci CSA research group. Urgenci is a widespread international grassroot network promoting and providing resources for agroecological and solidarity- based consumer-producer partnerships. In the book *Overview of community supported agriculture in Europe,* CSA is defined as follows: "CSA is a direct partnership between a group of consumers and producer(s) whereby the risks, responsibilities and rewards of farming activities are shared through long-term agreements. Generally

operating on a small and local scale, CSA aims at providing quality food produced in an agroecological way." (Groh et al., 2016)

The exact implementation of this idea differs with each CSA and region. As such CSA is best understood as a broad categorical term for a variety of different economic and social organizations and initiatives instead of a rigid definition. As such there is a multitude of different terms for them: *CSA* internationally, *Teikei* in Japan, *Solidarische Landwirtschaft* (Solawi) and *regionale Vertragslandwirtschaft* (RVL) in german-speaking Switzerland and A*griculture Contractuelle de Proximité* (FRASC) in French-speaking regions (Schümperlin, 2020). These largely correspond with various organizations in Switzerland with the same name (RVL, Solawi.ch, FRASC and Italian Conprobio) that provide support, resources, and networks for prospective CSA projects. While there are certainly differences in the details, the various concepts act to complement each other rather than contradict. As such while the individual terms can refer to specific projects in the local context, the terminology is still fluid. In my opinion, the differences are better explained through individual context and history than categorization. Because CSA has become the internationally most common and inclusive term this thesis will use it interchangeably with the ones mentioned above.

While CSA existed in some form since the 1980s, their number has increased dramatically in the last ten years worldwide. According to Chen et al., (2019) in 2015 there were 7398 CSA farms in the USA. in Germany, there has been a recent surge of CSA with at least 166 active CSA farms and 113 founding initiatives in 2019 (Wahle et al., 2019). A notable growth to the previously reported 60 farms in 2015 (Falk & Madsen, 2015). In Switzerland in 2016 there were roughly 60 operating CSA programs, primarily clustered around densely populated and urbanized regions in the flat lowlands. that number is expected to grow as several new initiatives started since then, including recent pilot projects of Berg-Solawi Surselva and vegetable cooperative Fairdura in the alpine canton Grisons. While these numbers are modest, they are a growing niche with the potential for more widespread adaption.

Common CSA Features

Most commonly CSA achieves its goals through an alternative food subscription scheme where members pay an annual or monthly subscription cost in exchange for regular deliveries of the produced goods. This has several advantages compared to the regular market:

First, this helps to increase the financial stability of smaller family farmers by becoming independent of subsidized (world)-market prices and growth imperatives. The direct-sale subscription model gives them guaranteed takers and better prices for their produce as they bypass large processing and distributor chains. The upfront liquidity also allows them to better manage their finances and unexpected payments (Kunzmann, 2015). As such small farmers become less vulnerable to outside influences or market shifts (Hvitsand, 2016). Further helping that is that risks are shared between producers and consumers as they pay for the work itself, not the goods. This means that unexpected damages or crop losses do not cause devastating financial loss for a CSA farmer. This makes CSA attractive for small family-run farms that want financial stability.

Secondly, the direct sale model allows farmers to experiment and employ sustainable agricultural methods that would normally be economically unviable. This frees them from the need to conform to methods common in more industrialized and capital-intensive agricultural production meant to supply standardized supermarket goods. Going further, products that would be rejected due to slight blemishes or cosmetic damage can still be distributed to the consumers instead of thrown out as food waste. By servicing the local region, transport and production costs are lessened and regional networks and communities are strengthened. As such, according to Wahle et al. (2019), CSA has the potential to be a long-term viable path towards agricultural sustainability incorporating health, justice, and food security for local communities.

Third, farmers and members are connected in a shared community. As such feedback and communication regarding product quality, consumer satisfaction, production problems and more is quick and efficient. Further, consumers can take care of work that farmers would have to shoulder alone otherwise. This also allows members and farmers to gain access to expertise and social connections within the CSA community they wouldn't have otherwise. Wahle et al. (2019) noted that in addition to land and starting capital, this community aspect featuring clear communication within and outside the community is critical for the success of a new cooperative. Hvitsand (2016) also notes the importance of different social and educational events organized by CSAs and the opportunity to reengage consumers to make decisions about economy and production.

These points show CSA step towards presenting an alternative to the conventional market economy by reorientating away from satisfying simple economic demand in favor of a moral economy that addresses various intangible human values (Carlisle, 2015) . Membership in a CSA coproduce not only food, but also farms, biodiversity, landscapes, culture, and community. CSA has a strong democratizing effect in that it "rethinks economics *by, with* and *for* citizens." And where it "puts economy back in its place as a means for human life and not as its ultimate goal." (Groh et al., 2016).

Agroecology influence

As part of that, most CSA operates under the agroecological concept or incorporate aspects of it (Hvitsand, 2016). This approach builds long-term soil fertility for sustainable organic production by using knowledge of natural ecological cycles. As such "an agroecological system is a *redesigned* production system, […] playing on the same team as nature". What sets agroecology apart from a standard organic approach is the inclusion of social benefits, learning, and quality of life into the production methods (Hvitsand, 2016). As such agroecology often involves participation and active practices. Another advantage is that agroecology's focus to be adapted to local conditions instead of providing fixed solutions and tools fits with CSA individuality (Groh et al., 2016).

Solawi: Swiss CSA and member participation

The three CSA studied in this paper all used the term Solawi for themselves. In German-speaking Switzerland, the term "Solidarische Landwirtschaft" or Solawi, can be understood as a term for a local CSA that incorporates a greater focus on solidarity and participation (Bauer, 2014). These CSAs are typically organized as cooperatives where both farmers and consumers are members. Every member has a democratic vote in the general assembly regarding the future direction of the cooperative and can bring ideas forwards that benefit it. The cooperative is administered by volunteer staff recruited from said pool of members (Groh et al., 2016). However other forms of organization are possible, such as NGO's or individual initiatives and features described here are by no means exclusive to them and can be found in other CSA projects (Groh et al., 2016). What's important is the usage of the term in the local Swiss context to refer to a CSA with strong consumer participation.

This participation means that in addition to the subscription price, members must contribute labor as part of a subscription agreement. This usually takes the form of several half-days shifts of work per year, depending on the type of subscription and cooperative contract. These workdays are a fundamental pillar for these Swiss CSA as the primary point of contact between consumers to producers. During the workday, consumers do various tasks that are required on the farm or garden: from seeding, harvesting, maintaining, packaging, and finally delivery of food to various drop-off depots in the region. From these depots, members can pick up their weekly bags of products. During this work, members meet with the farmers and workers that organize, assign tasks, provide expertise, and work together with other members of the community in a shared space. This blurs the line between consumer and producer. Through this participation, they aim to build a sense of community, teach consumers the realities of food production, and bridge the distance with producers by bringing

them together. This obligatory participation for a subscription is the most important difference between the three Swiss Solawi CSA case studies this paper discusses and the commonly used term for CSA which don't necessarily include that.

This participatory approach also has several disadvantages compared to the standard supermarket model. For one, it demands time and effort from the consumers. The selection of products, their quality and quantity are fixed by the weekly production and cannot be changed. Subscriptions cannot be canceled during the year or paused for vacations or absences, making the system inflexible. While the price of the food is competitive due to a lack of middlemen, the up-front investment required is higher than the alternatives. Overall CSA require a high degree of commitment from their members. However, despite these drawbacks, CSA projects are growing due to the increased added intangible values compared to supermarkets.

2.6 Relational values

Origins of relational values

Central to understanding the motivations and connections of CSA Members is the theory of relational values (RV). Value is a term with multiple definitions in different scientific fields. In this paper, I use the definitions of values of the relational values framework by K. M. A. Chan et al., (2016), which was first developed in the context of interdisciplinary research on nature and landscape conservation during several IPBES and UNESCO workshops (Chan et al., 2018). The term relational value is strategically chosen to be as multifaceted as possible to "give a common framework for ideas long studied in a range of disciplines and fields"(Chan et al., 2018). This serves to make relational values inclusive to diverse approaches of different social sciences, which allows the term to evolve and draw on rich work from multiple fields and humanities. While there are many different categorizations of values (Arias-Arévalo et al., 2017), the relational values framework primarily concerns itself with overcoming the limitations of instrumental values and intrinsic values by defining a third category called relational values. The goal of relational values is to make room for more qualitative science in environmental management and expand the discussion regarding human-nature relationships beyond the narrow scope of what nature does for us (instrumental) or what is nature worth (Intrinsic) (Chan et al., 2018) (Arias-Arévalo et al., 2017). With all this, Relational value theory is not an innovation, not a new way of thinking or social technology, but rather a set of tools used to better study, perceive, analyze, and understand what has always been there. An acknowledgement of the value of interactions, relationships to specific places and things, and of complex, dynamic values that change with experience.

While "valuing" can be understood as "desiring", in environmental science values are more broadly understood to mean importance and meaningfulness (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020). Values can be carried by physical objects, landscapes, or people, but also ideas and relationships. As such values are beliefs attached to objects and directly inform decision-making and actions (Allen et al., 2018). This means that people act according to their values and resist things that conflict with them. Shared values are also important for groups or organizations to form and create their own identities. As such they can be "push or "pull" factors that repulse or attract people respectively. Projects and regulations can fail due to not taking these immaterial values into account, signaling intentionally or unintentionally incompatible values that are rejected by the people concerned, as seen in Carlisle's (2015) study on moral economy discussed earlier, where a platform was abandoned in favor of a new one once it drifted too far from the shared values of the organic farmers.

Instrumental Values

Instrumental values are the best known and easiest to understand. Something is valued because it is useful. It is an instrument or tool that sparks joy, satisfies a need, or fulfills a desire. Today they are extensively used to assess ecosystem services and other conservation approaches to make its worth visible to the economy. A defining characteristic of instrumental values is that the valued object is replaceable with something that fulfills the same function. It does not necessarily have to be financially valued. For example, Anna values the tradition of Christmas because it brings the family together but has no special Christian appreciation for the event and would have no problems replacing it with another family-event in December.

This replaceability is also a limitation for instrumental values as the framework struggles to properly account for intangible, emotional connections, or social networks. Often, they are expressed with monetary price, which while useful for policymakers, lacks consideration for the context, location, and history that make things unique and valued. Or as Spash (2008) put it, “That fresh air lacks a price does not mean it has no value.” From a purely instrumental perspective, a forest used for relaxation and jogging can be torn down and replaced by a park with trees. Or old tools inherited from a grandparent replaced by a new set. Or trusted services replaced by a new unfamiliar provider. These examples illustrate the limitations of instrumental values in that they are blind to many considerations not quantifiably measurable. Also problematic is that values are often seen as simply given and unchangeable, while evidence suggests them to be dynamic and changeable (Spash, 2008).

Intrinsic Values

Intrinsic value is when something has value independent of personal usefulness. It is appreciated for the sake of itself and its non-value properties. Intrinsic values are impersonal as the valuer is not important for the value itself. Most intrinsic values take the form of moral or ethical principles or rights. Like instrumental values, intrinsic values are not specific but are general beliefs that apply to a whole category. Intrinsic values are difficult to translate into actionable policies, which is why most efforts to evaluate a landscape or ecosystem service often leave them aside in favor of the easier quantifiable instrumental values (Chan et al., 2016). For example, Ben donates to a charity to protect an endangered eagle species simply because the world would be poorer without them. Ben has never seen the eagles with his own eyes and is indifferent which population his money supports.

intrinsic values suffer from a similar issue as instrumental ones in that they lack specificity. They are usually formulated as universal principles attributed to broad categories: Whales should be protected; people should be honest. This tree should not be cut. By understanding these things to have value in and of themselves, Subjects automatically remove most personal connections to these values. This makes them abstract, non-specific, and easy to dismiss. Policy solutions in environmental conservation using intrinsic values often separate humans from nature as something other and harmful. This means many mutualistic interactions between people and the environment are lost, and local populations’ cultural and social connections to their environment are disregarded.

Relational values

Relational values are tied to relationships and connections between a valuing subject to a specific object. They are “preferences, principles, and virtues associated with relationships” (Chan et al., 2016). Where the relationship itself imbues the object with additional meaning. To explain further: Preferences are desired outcomes or ends. Principles are ideas on the means or “the right way to do things”. Virtues refer to the appropriate and “correct” traits carried by actors such as honesty or reliability. RVs hold the advantage that they do not reject intrinsic or instrumental values, but rather embeds those values into the context of a relationship. As such relational values can resemble both intrinsic and instrumental values but are differentiated by the objects not being substitutable. Each relationship is unique and specific to a person and object. Further, these relationship values are

created and maintained through regular interaction. Because of this relational values understand values "…not as abstract principles to be maximized, but as pluralistic and multifaceted complexes embedded in culture and (re)created through action." (Allen et al., 2018). A typical example of a relational value would be the appreciation we feel towards our own home, the special connection to a cherished childhood item, or the difference between a familiar town and a foreign one. A valuer must actively maintain the relationship these values are rooted in. Because of this, relational values can be understood as eudaimonic values, which are values that "contribute to human well-being by supporting a good flourishing life" through the satisfaction and sense of belonging in engaging in an mutual partnership (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020). The idea of eudaimonia or a full life differentiates itself from simple hedonistic satisfaction of desires by carefully reflecting on and selecting which desires contribute to a full and meaningful life.

The ABCD of Relational values

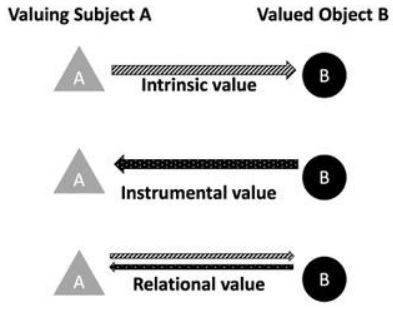

Figure 1: Directionality in environmental valuing (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman 2020)

A useful framework to organize values in understandable configurations is the ABC model developed by Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman (2020) for empirical research. In this model, values are understood in the context of how they connect valuer A to object B. These connections are called *valuing relations* and their type impacts how people relate to an object and what values are ascribed to it. As seen in figure 1, they are depicted as directional arrows connecting Valuer A to object B. The directionality depicts the different contents of valuing or how values are oriented. Instrumental values are depicted with a unidirectional arrow pointing towards the Valuer A←B as the values of Object B is directed towards A. For intrinsic relations, the connection is A→B, as care and values are oriented towards object B.

In the case of instrumental values, the content of that connection is *usefulness*. For intrinsic it is the object's *properties* for which it is valued. In the case of relational value, the content of the connection is a *relationship*. Because a relationship features both values that contribute to human well-being and personal satisfaction (instrumental) and regard for the valued object (intrinsic), relational values are depicted as bi-directional between object and subject A⇆B. (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020).

Indirect and mediating value relations

An innovation made by the ABC model is the concept of indirect and mediating value relations. An indirect value relation is a valuation from person A to a third object C solely due to its importance to the directly valued object B. Without object B, C would hold no value to A. This is the recognition of connections between objects of valuation by the valuer. For example, a farmer directly appreciates and likes songbirds in his garden. The songbirds value birdseed and bushes instrumentally for food and shelter respectively. Because of that connection the farmer also values the bushes for their instrumental importance to attract the birds. The indirect value between B to C can be of any type and can be different from the connection between A to B too. Through indirect values, people can adopt or learn other values held by people and objects in their environment. This also highlights how values are dynamic, as it is quite feasible that an originally indirect value could solidify into a direct one over time.

Mediating values are slightly different in that they are objects which mediate, modify, or enable value relations with other objects. In the case of mediating values, object D (usually a place or activity) serves as part of the relation or contributes to the practices that connect valuer A to the valued object B. the mediating object D can be seen as part of the relationship itself, a facilitator that is not easily replaced,

and that is appreciated for its purpose of facilitating a relationship to B. Without B, the mediating object D would lose most of its worth, but without D, the relationship to B would fade. For example, Bea appreciates a local café where she can meet neighbors for a chat on Saturday. Without that café's inviting atmosphere, it is doubtful they would meet so regularly, and likewise without an arrangement to meet up every week Bea wouldn't bother going to that café on her weekends.

Limitations and clarifications

To note is that this model depicts the values of subject A exclusively. The direction of the valuing process is always from subject A to object B and cannot be reversed due to the completely different roles they serve. The three types of relations have different patterns because are not inversions or combinations of each other but distinct ways to value something. As such, intrinsic values should not be misunderstood to mean that object B values A instrumentally. In addition, because of the interconnected complexity of values, value relations are not exclusive to each other. A tree can be valued instrumentally for its shade on hot days, intrinsically for its great age and appearance, and relationally as a familiar resting place all at the same time (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020). In practice values often interweave or overlap in complex networks and are not as clear and easy to classify. Consequently, this complexity means that while this model allows an overview of how people relate to the world around them, it needs to be used together with a written description to be comprehensive. The ABC framework of (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020) serves as an excellent and intuitive way to visualize and learn relational values. As work continues and deepened its usefulness to display complex interwoven relationships diminishes, but the separation of content and relation is highly useful to properly categorize often very similar value expressions.

3.0 Methods

This chapter begins with the description of the three CSA cooperatives I approached for this paper. Then details the type of qualitative Interviews and the questions used. Respondent sampling and recruitment are explained next. I reflect on how my positionality could have influenced the data. The chapter finishes with details on my analysis method.

3.1 Research area and the three cooperatives

I began my data gathering in Zürich during Summer 2021 by visiting Solawi.ch, a site of the "Kooperationstelle für solidarische Landwirtschaft" here in Switzerland, which is an online networking platform for Swiss CSA farms and members. This organization provides resources and information for establishing and marketing CSA for consumers and producers both and featured a map displaying CSA programs in German-speaking Europe. I selected three cooperatives in canton Zürich from that map and contacted their respective info emails. The aim was to select different types of CSA to get a broader sample size. The CSA selected are all located in settlements nearby city Zürich and accessible via public transport. These three CSA cooperatives are labeled CSA A, CSA B, and CSA C from this point on. The places where these cooperatives produce their goods are referred to as farm A, farm B, and farm C for ease of use, even if strictly speaking they are not farms and refer to rented plots or a market garden in the case of farm C. CSA A was selected due to its unique offering of dairy products. CSA B was selected due to its size, age, and variety of products offered. CSA C was selected due to its social and cultural programs aimed to service more than just providing food.

CSA A is in Dietikon and specializes in dairy products. Their farm has several milk cows as well as small cheesery. Aside from the married pair of farmers farm A employs several cheesemakers, as a result, farm A has the most conventional employees out of the three case studies. Due to the hygiene standards and knowledge required for dairy production, the cooperative positioned itself primarily as a distributor and sales partner to the independent farm A. This was governed by a contract that specified a fair milk price of 1 Fr. per liter. According to Interviews, this price allows the farmers to work as ecologically as they desire without compromises. As such members were not directly involved in the production process itself, but instead worked Fridays and Saturdays to portion, package, and deliver cheese, milk, and yogurt to different depots throughout the region for pickup by the members. As such CSA A had the most relaxed work participation requirements, only requiring four half days of work for a basic subscription. This meant that several consumers joined CSA A in addition to B or C to get dairy products. However, while on paper the CSA and farm appear to be strongly separated, during my visit I experienced a very relaxed and open atmosphere between CSA members and farmworkers. CSA A represents a more relaxed and casual approach to CSA that does not demand as much commitment as the others.

CSA B is the oldest and biggest of the three selected with about 250 serviced subscriptions or about 500 members according to member interviews. Located outside Dietikon, CSA B is unique in that it has recently acquired farm B which it has previously worked with and rented land from. This has occurred due to the previous farm holder retiring and selling the farm. CSA B democratically voted on the acquisition. The necessary funding was secured by members pooling investment money. Due to Swiss farmland law prohibiting cooperatives to own agricultural land, this was a complex undertaking and involved the creation of a GmbH that officially owns the farm, but who are all members of the cooperative. The exact legal technicalities are irrelevant for this study however, as in practice farm B is still operated by a pair of farmers with the technical knowledge required. It does show however how CSA B can uniquely form workgroups of interested and motivated members to tackle specific problems and issues. As CSA B has access to the entire farm, it has the most comprehensive selection on offer: Vegetables, fruits, eggs, flour, and bread. They offer different subscriptions for each at different prices and obligatory work commitments. 12 to 14 half days of work per year are required for a weekly bag

of vegetables. Unlike in CSA A, the participatory work is diverse, and members are expected to carry out tasks around the farm and fields under the direction of the farmworkers or on their own depending on experience. As such members do most farm-related tasks from sowing to harvesting, packaging, and delivering, but also maintaining equipment and so forth. All this is primarily done by hand and according to a strict organizational plan.

CSA C is located more centrally in Affoltern and primarily provides vegetable products to its members, as well as tea, herbs, and pickled goods. It differentiates itself by strong involvement in various educational, social, and research programs in Zürich. These range from testing new Ecological methods, educating school classes on agriculture, and at the time of writing, training agricultural workers and increasing local biodiversity through bees. CSA C does not have a farmstead in the traditional sense but maintains a vegetable garden and various patches of agricultural land scattered throughout Zürich. Like CSA B, work shifts are under the organization of trained workers and members are involved in production from beginning to end. At the time I conducted my study in Summer 2021, a series of hailstorms had ruined the harvest for several weeks. CSA A was mostly unaffected, CSA B seemed largely optimistic, and CSA C was the worst affected due to a concurrent disease that rotted their tomatoes. As such my visits to CSA C were characterized by a downcast mood and the need to rebuild. This also showcased the benefits of the CSA model as the workers involved were not put in financial jeopardy, and the edible but damaged foods could still be distributed to members, minimizing food waste. This showed the resilience of the CSA model. I perceive CSA C to be a more typical example of a smaller, less established CSA than B, with good connections to various institutions in the city.

3.2 Qualitative Interviews

For this paper 21 semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted using a pre-prepared interview guide that was refined throughout the data gathering period. This type of interview was chosen due to the interest in subjective meaning and emotions of the informant regarding their relationships and values in their participation in the CSA. A mix of open and unstructured questions allows for room for experiences and personal perspectives, while the interview guide offers probes to refocus the direction in case of unproductive tangents. The questions made inquiries to the following topic categories that I identified as possible holders of relational values: General motivation, food, work, nature, and social connections.

The duration of these interviews ranged from 40 to 80 minutes, depending on the time constraints of the respondent. Interviews were held in Swiss German and transcribed in standard German for readability. When necessary, Swiss-German sentence structures were changed while taking care to preserve the original tone and meaning. Initial interviews were conducted in standard German, but feedback from native Swiss German respondents reported being more comfortable speaking about themselves in their native language. Subsequent interviews were held in Swiss German to accommodate that.

Recruitment and interviews were held in summer 2021 in May, June, and July. Respondents were recruited directly by asking them in person while visiting the CSA farms. After initial recruitment at the CSA farms, Interview dates were arranged using phone calls. Most interviews themselves were conducted using online communication platforms like Zoom, Microsoft Teams, and Jitsi. Two interviews were traditional phone interviews, and five were onsite at the CSA farms outdoors. The online meetings had the advantage of greater flexibility in scheduling and minimizing traveling during the Covid-19 pandemic. This granted more viable timeslots and allowed respondents to make themselves comfortable at home. Compared to traditional phone interviews online meetings had the advantage of featuring a video connection that allows a face-to-face experience. The drawback was that audio and call quality were dependent on the respondent's hardware setup. The requirement of

a stable internet connection as well makes this approach less reliable than personal interviews. Despite the increased digitalization of life in recent years, a video screen remains a barrier that was absent during the five in-person interviews I conducted. In part due to the complete lack of the normal pre-interview rituals of arrival, greetings, and setup. This made online interviews somewhat abrupt in comparison. Nevertheless, I found online meetings a perfectly viable way to conduct interviews, despite the added challenge during transcription due to uneven audio quality and background noise. However, if a study relies more heavily on expressions, tone of voice, gestures, or emotional content, in-person interviews remain preferable.

Pandemic Safety and Privacy.

Interviews and research were conducted adhering to the safety mandates dictated by the Swiss government during the Cov-19 pandemic: 2-meters distance, wearing protective masks where necessary, preferable outdoors or in well-ventilated settings. Before and after contact hands were disinfected. The meeting date and time of the interviews were noted down. The Cov-19 pandemic did impact my study in that it made me focus more greatly on online interviews.

All personal information of CSA members has been anonymized. Any specific relations were generalized for the analysis. This study hasn't gathered critical health-related data nor targeted a particularly vulnerable sample group for interviews.

3.3 Recruitment Methods and Sample Group

Recruitment methods

My research utilizes a **purposive sampling method**: The interview group must be members of a CSA in canton Zürich, must be over 18 years old, and must not be a primary producer or farmer. Aside from that, it aimed to target the most diverse group possible: from all ages 18 and up, of all genders, from largely uninvolved to highly active members, can be part of the cooperative's volunteer staff, and with different lengths of membership time in the CSA. The goal was to capture the greatest diversity of members from multiple CSA. In practice, my selection was largely random and contingent on the person's willingness to do an interview. As a result, CSA C is slightly underrepresented. Sampling for ex-members who had left a cooperative was considered for contrasting perspectives but was discarded early on due to difficulty finding contact information and lacking direct relevance to the main research questions.

The respondents

ID	CSA	Gender	Age Group
1	A	M	18-30
2	B	M	31-50
3	A	F	18-30
4	B	M	50+
5	A	F	50+
6	A	F	31-50
7	C	M	31-50
8	B	F	50+
9	A	M	50+
10	B	M	31-50
11	B	F	18-30
12	B	M	31-50
13	B	M	50+
14	A	F	31-50
15	B	F	31-50
16	C	F	50+
17	B	F	31-50
18	A	F	18-30
19	C	M	50+
20	B	F	18-30
21	C	M	18-30

Table 1: List of respondents with ID number, CSA affiliation, gender, and age group.

As seen in Table 1, of the 21 final respondents, 11 were female and 10 male. Seven were active in CSA A, ten from CSA B, and four from CSA C. Several people were subscribed to both CSA A and B as mentioned before. Backgrounds were varied. Most held some sort of office, academic, or service job. Jobs featuring physical labor was rare or unmentioned. Several of them had experience with housing or food cooperatives before joining. Most of them were concerned about sustainability and fairness for producers. This group captures different membership times as well, ranging from 5 months to six years, with an average Membership time of three years. Ages were varied as well, with six aged 18 to 30, eight 31 to 50, and seven above fifty years old.

Sample limitations

While this sample captures a diversity of people, it must be noted that CSA members are a small and specialized pool of candidates to select from. The most obvious bias is that more engaged and CSA positive members are more likely to volunteer for an interview in the first place. People who were dissatisfied or found issues with CSA would simply leave and are not in the sample pool as a result. Consequently, my sample only includes people who are satisfied with the CSA offering. As such a more critical perspective is lacking and would be very valuable in future research. The other is that the three CSA contacted all came from the same rough geographical location, Zürich and Dietikon. As such results from this study should not be generalized to necessarily apply to CSA in other regions, as CSA are embedded in local contexts, as was explained in chapter 2.5.

3.4 Positionality

Regarding my positionality, I am a 27-year-old Swiss white man from a middle-class background who grew up in a rural village in Graubünden with roughly a population of 3000 people. While I have no prior experience working in an agricultural setting, I do hold an interest in developments regarding food sustainability, waste reduction, and agrochemical usage. I did not experience any great hindrances in making contacts or conducting interviews due to my positionality, however, I admit ignorance regarding the day-to-day processes and requirements of farm work, perhaps marking me as a detached academic to some. Despite this, I was welcomed openly and warmly by members and workers at the CSA farms. That makes sense as CSA workers and members are experienced in dealing with new people that lack prior knowledge or experience. It must have helped that I took an open-minded approach in my interviews, took care not to disturb their work too much, and sometimes compensated their time by bringing baked goods for work breaks. I also helped with minor tasks during my visits In CSA A and C.

3.5 Interview Questions

The order of the questions in the interview guide (see Appendix A) depended on the direction that the interview was going, and sections were reordered to better fit the flow of the interview. Similarly, additional more context-specific questions were asked for more detail when possible.

Part 1 begins with a request for a self-introduction as an icebreaker, and how respondents learned of and later joined a CSA cooperative. This serves to set the tone for the remaining interview and engages respondents to tell a story of their experiences. Following that specific story are questions on what personally motivated them to join CSA initially. With a follow-up question what particular experiences or people convinced them. This allowed respondents to recall what aspect of CSA offering called to them most and reveals different values and topics that can be further explored. Respondents are also asked if there was something particular about CSA that made them choose it, and a question on any drawbacks they had found since joining. This shows how respondents reflect and evaluate the CSA and see how they compare it to other options.

Part 2 begins with questions on what activities they do at the CSA, their experiences during that, and if they are interested in the production itself. This shows how deeply they are invested in the CSA and how the connection between consumer and producer looks. This also grants context to the next question on how the CSA community motivates them to remain CSA members. Including if they made new contacts or friends through the cooperative and how important that aspect is to them. These questions are meant to reveal how important close personal relationships between members are and what the general social atmosphere at the CSA is.

Part 3 focuses on how respondents view and understand food and its attributes, how they buy, consume, and think of food, and how important CSA food is. This reveals what attributes and values for food are important to members. It also shows how important instrumental values are compared to intrinsic or relational values. Respondents are also asked how CSA food differs from store-bought. This simple question shows how food is evaluated and compared.

Part 4 covers the more abstract, broad topic of nature. Here I asked how they define nature themselves, and what their personal connection to nature is. The topic is deepened by questions on their worldview regarding nature and agriculture, and the issues of sustainability. This is meant to reveal how relevant environmental concerns are for their membership and how they understand and relate to their environment.

Part 5 focuses on questions regarding the relationship between farmers/agricultural workers and members and how this contact changed their perspective. Respondents are asked what they learned since joining and what surprised them. This section also asks them their opinion on the participatory work and their experiences with it. Particularly what makes it satisfying. Because of the variety of topics this section often connected back to other topics like food and nature.

The interviews ended by asking respondents to briefly summarize their own most important points for CSA and to provide feedback on remaining limits and possible improvements for their CSA cooperative.

3.6 Analysis

Qualitative Analysis approach

I analyzed the transcribed interviews using the methodology outlined in the methods sourcebook *Qualitative Data Analysis* by Miles et al. (2014) as inspiration. This combines a primarily ethnographical approach with influences from grounded theory. Ethnographic meaning it is a naturalistic form of questioning that is focused on individuals' perspectives and interpretations of their world, with little pre-structured instrumentation, that concerns itself with both unusual and day-to-day events (Matthew B. Miles, Micheal A. Huberman, 2014). Grounded theory's influence is felt in how the interviews are repeatedly coded and reflected on to create memos and categories to develop broader conclusions and theories. This method leads to descriptive results, in that many different data points are summarized to find overarching trends or patterns. As such, any result can be traced back, or 'grounded', to a particular sentence or datapoint. The challenge lies in the analytic choices of what to highlight, interconnect, leave out or prioritize during the analysis process itself. This is not helped by the fact that the reality of social life is often messy, contradictory, inconsistent, and resists simplification into neat logical theory. This is also what gives qualitative data its richness. In conclusion, the results of qualitative analysis are always a subjective interpretation by the researcher (Matthew B. Miles, Micheal A. Huberman, 2014). The benefit of the grounded theory approach is that this interpretation is built on a solid foundation of data with logic that can be followed.

Coding

My analysis uses a combination of deductive and inductive codes. My deductive codes are based on commonly held ideas and values found in CSA literature and advertisements that informed my interview guide. These can be confirmed or debunked by the interviews. Examples of these deductive codes would be "paying fair prices" or "working with nature". As I refine my codes in the analysis process these codes changed as well. Most of my codes however were inductive, meaning they were derived directly from the words of the respondents themselves. These are the important things that filled out the categories and gave them added nuance based on the real day-to-day experiences of the respondents. These inductive codes are vital in that they fill in the gaps and blind spots in the researcher's analysis. An example would be the titular code "everyone pulls together" which describes an appreciation for being part of a well-functioning community. These codes also informed the categorization. These were as follows: nature and conservation, ethical consumption, food values, Production standards including justice and sustainability, community connections, CSA workdays, and lastly CSA limitations. All these categories hold different values that motivate or are important to CSA members.

Relational values in coding

Following my coding, I sorted my codes into instrumental, intrinsic, or relational values. with the ABC model in mind identifying the different types of relations and objects of value was straightforward and intuitive for some codes, and difficult for others. With this additional layer of information, more connections could be displayed. Several simple ABC graphs were made, and codes associated and used to describe and flesh out the given value relation. These mind mapped figures helped with the analysis and later in structuring my findings. The ABC model also proved useful to display how values changed over time, as it separates connections, and differentiates between mediating direct or indirect value relations. However, the ABC model is an illustrative tool that cannot stand on its own and needs to be complemented with the descriptive text due to the interconnectedness of values and codes. Also, because objects and values can be important in multiple value relations a single illustration displaying a complete network of values proved unworkably complex and unreadable. Instead, my results feature a series of figures describing individual value constellations, followed by complementary descriptions.

4.0 Results

4.1 Self-aware ethical consumers

First, my results largely confirm my hypothesis regarding the shared traits of CSA members as mindful consumers. Regarding shopping, most respondents spoke of careful deliberation regarding the choice of product by looking at various certification labels for organic or local production. These choices are motivated by standards on fairness to producers and environmental protection that derive from the respondent's values.

> *Well, when I go to a normal store, so Migros, Coop or whatever, to buy things I'll usually look that it's vegetarian or vegan. And then comes the cumbersome part where I have to read all the fine print. [laughs]. Then shopping becomes difficult. But when I have time then I'll take my time anyway and do it. For example, I look that there's no palm oil in it, cause of the clearcutting. Or that they are more or less from the region or at least Europe. Doesn't work so well with coffee. Then I check if there's a Max Havelaar (Fairtrade) label on it."* – Quote 1, Interview #2

This illustrates how consumers use practical skills to navigate an increasing number of factors demanding their attention. Understandably this constant vigilance can be wearying, with 3 respondents expressing how a switch over to a weekly delivery of goods from the CSA felt like a relief as they no longer had to navigate the shopping experience. Regarding the retail stores themselves, opinions were mixed, with some expressing that they do not mind shopping there, others lamenting that sustainable products were underrepresented.

> *"No actually, I find it very freeing to no longer have to think about what I should buy. Instead, you just get what you need. As a rule, most people probably like that. That you can just pick it up*." – Quote 2, Interview #6

However, this goes beyond merely value calculus in the shopping aisle. Most respondents are aware and worried regarding the impact of their consumption on the environment. This took on several aspects. The first is a critical stance on the necessity of modern materialist consumption in general with a sentiment that there must be a general change in how goods are consumed today. This went beyond food, as the necessity of air travel, meat, mass production, water use, and waste were discussed. Several spoke of their aim to further sustainability and conscious consumption in the mass market. Others were more skeptical of such ambitions and instead shopped consciously because of personal principles. This shows how some respondents understand themselves as a connected part of a greater whole, and that their own actions are taken in hopes to enact a lasting change. This can be seen in the two following quotes from interviews 18 and 12.

> *"Yes, I think so. There are two sides: on one side I completely agree that every shopping bill is also a voting paper. By aligning your own consumption more sustainably you can achieve a lot as a single person. But the idea to simply say -everyone just has to consume sustainably and then the world will be better- is a bit short since I think nations and political entities also have a big responsibility."* – Quote 3, Interview #18, on a question regarding personal responsibility.

> *"Those are the things that I think about. That I'm mulling over. How can we manage it to make sustainable products sexy? To teach people that it's not about getting fifteen pieces of meat, but that you maybe eat a good cut once a month. And then spread that out over two days together with good potatoes. Then it'll work out. And we're back to quantity. How much do we eat, when do we eat, under what conditions, under what quality?"* – Quote 4, Interview #12

Six interviews further mention what I coined "the price of wealth". The awareness that due to the expected living standards and necessities of modern life in Switzerland a truly 100% sustainable life is impossible. And the difficulties in adjusting a lifestyle with minimal environmental impact. This was elaborated on with the earth-resource model, which describes how many earths worth of resources it

would require to live sustainably at a given level of prosperity. Their CO^2 impact was also mentioned. Topics included clean water, rescue services, air travel, housing standards, social safety nets, and car ownership.

> *Well, I try to minimize my CO^2 output. That's what I really try. But I don't want to go without some things. There's always a compromise somewhere. But I think we leave behind… well we use our resources. And I use up more than what's my due. But I also think I only live once, and I don't want to give up everything. But I really try to live so that it's somewhat sustainable. Even if it's not perfect."* – Quote 5, Interview #6

This showcases the ongoing struggle to reconcile modern living standards with environmental responsibility. Sentiments generally are that despite this they would continue to reduce their environmental and social impacts, even if the scale of the problem appears to dishearten some of them. No one spoke of decreasing these living standards however or "going backward" as it were, instead there was a desire to find a way to lower costs on the environment or find a compromise they could reconcile with their environmental values.

To summarize, when it comes to their position as consumers, the respondents I interviewed were aware of their role and impact and placed great value in alternative products that promise a more sustainable or fair production. For them, consumers, goods, and production are all connected parts of a whole. Their choices in the store reflect the values they hold for themselves. As such their motivations and underlying values are multi-layered and interconnected. They are overall skeptical and questioning regarding the food industry's practices. As such their purchasing choices are not merely motivated by taste and price, but also a desire to enact change by financially supporting the right actors. All this leads to a strong desire to know and understand the production chain of their food in greater detail. To know where food comes from and that it is produced sustainably and fairly. The CSA Cooperatives are attractive to them because they offer this transparency.

4.2 Member motives to Join a CSA

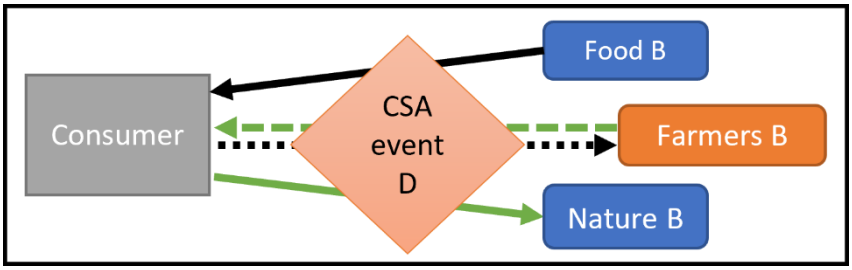

Figure 2: ABC diagram on Joining. Centrally important is the mediating CSA event D for all three relations. During it A) food quality is tasted and instrumentally judged, B) a mutual relationship with the farmworkers begins, and C) intrinsic values regarding sustainability and nature conservation are shown and affirmed.

Nearly all respondents told me that they first heard of or encountered CSA through word of mouth by close friends and family. Some heard it from their neighbors who were already members, others by chance conversations. Other discovery methods mentioned were finding CSAs while looking for alternative markets like farm stores or by finding a flyer or internet website. However, most respondents decided to definitively join only after attending an event and speaking to various members and workers personally.

> *"So, two representatives from Cooperative B held a presentation one evening at an event. How the vegetables are produced, and the slave-like conditions like from Spain. They explained their motivations, keyword food sovereignty. Then presented their concept of solidarity agriculture with high work participation. That distinguishes Solawi here in Zurich. That the member/prosumer is strongly involved in planting, harvesting, and the logistics too. Right from the start I really liked that."* – Quote 6, Interview #7

A reason often cited was a combination of good food and members and/or farmers' enthusiasm that convinced them. Nearly all respondents mentioned that the quality and taste of the food have been important in convincing them to join. Fundamentally people join groups or communities that share their own values. The personal connection appears to be the key factor to bring in new members. A conversation with another person allows potential members to engage with the topic, ask questions, get a measure of the cooperative workers, and erode preconceptions and suspicions. By comparison, information printed on paper or seen on websites can be easily misplaced and forgotten since it is a passive non-event. This satisfies the consumer's desire for authenticity and transparency mentioned before. They get to know the local farmers they wish to support, that CSAs are a viable concept, can see where their money goes, and learn where their food comes from.

> *"To get more insight and learn how that model works, what the risks are, what the idea is, did I meet with one of the founders of Cooperative B in Zurich. He explained everything to me at great length. it was a very interesting conversation. Following that, I visited the farm. There I talked to the farmers and thought, -Yes this works- and joined up."* – Quote 7, Interview #13.

in these encounters, the core concept of CSA, to bring producers and consumers together, is demonstrated and experienced by the potential members. In doing so other factors rather than financial calculus can convince newcomers to join: the warm social atmosphere, the character of the cooperative members, the honesty about the CSA project, the quality of the food, and the interesting conversations.

> *"They were looking for people who were interested in helping build up the cooperative. Did a presentation on the farm to draw interest. I went there and it was tons of fun, with the people there too. I instantly felt connected to and at home in that community. That was an important point. From then on, I got constant information per Mail on what's going on, on meetings and I went sometimes."* – Quote 8, Interview #17

Type	**Value**	**Examples**
(Intrinsic) Member → farmers	Supporting small farmers	*„I know that the money I pay directly goes to the producers and not to some middlemen who, in my opinion, don't contribute anything to the quality of the product. Especially when you hear how Migros has a forty percent profit on milk prices. "*
(intrinsic) Member → landscape	supporting sustainability	*„I think it's generally important to support biological agriculture. Not just for healthy food, but also for the cultivation methods. Because industrial agriculture strains soils, water, plants, and animals, the entire biodiversity, very strongly. So, I find a CSA and how things are done there a useful contribution."*
(Relational) Member ⇆ farmers	Know where the food comes from.	*„In a store, you'll maybe find something labeled ‚by family Koebel '. But then you'll first have to be interested about where that farm even is, and who these people are. Here [at the CSA] you just know. You simply know who made it. "*

Table 2: Three examples of values motivating people to become CSA members.

Table 2 is a shortened and incomplete list of values that contribute to the initial joining. The exceptions where respondents joined up right away only seem to confirm the rule since they either knew the farm before the switch to the CSA model (interview #3, #8, #13, #17) or had previous experience and interest with alternative food markets (interview #1, #5, #10). In the first case already established personal ties to farmers in the same region/town were a strong motivator to support the new cooperative. Either simply to continue getting the goods they previously shopped at the farm store (instrumental), to see a sustainable and fair project succeed (intrinsic), or to simply support the locals they know (relational).

4.3 Social connections to other members and farmers.

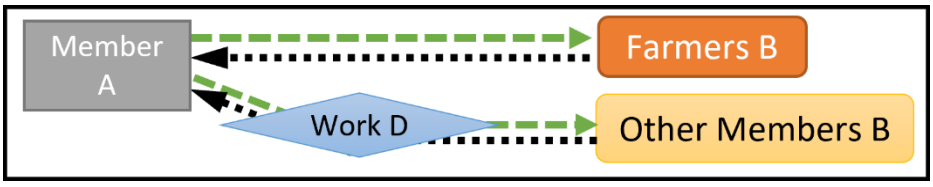

Figure 3: Value relations regarding CSA members and community. Note that the relationship with other members is mediated by practical activities of work at the CSA. The relationship with the farmers and farm workers is more direct and was mentioned even outside the context of CSA participation.

Interesting is that while personal judgment and connection appear to be vital in joining up, nearly all respondents stated that the social perks and community within CSA is secondary to getting food products. There is an unexpected distance between CSA members, with other members generally described in collegial but friendly terms. I suspect that this is due to, barring deliberate meetings or events, the small chance to regularly see the same people at workdays. This is because of the large number of members and the few workdays required per year for each. This makes the chance for two members' schedules aligning to meet again very small. Few meetups between members were mentioned outside of workdays or CSA events. As a result, only two interviews mention making closer friendships through their contact in the cooperative. Some stated that they have no interest in reaching out in the cooperative due to them having other social cycles. Others were motivated by and appreciated this feature of the cooperative as an opportunity to meet new and interesting people every time they go. The CSA is not a leisure club meant to foster friendships and acquaintances, but a place where work is done. This showcases the role of participatory work as a context-giving and mediating activity between members. From this grows both a group identity as CSA member and a connection to the farm and cooperative. CSA's primary purpose of producing food remains central. Despite this, members feel comfortable at their CSA due to the pleasant social atmosphere mentioned in the quote below.

> *"They are happy with my work, even when I only do it 80% perfectly. Nobody ever told me -you didn't clean this good enough. - Never a critique but actually always a positive compliment: nice that you did that, great, I'm glad. I notice they're happy about the things I do there. I get the recognition. And that's very important*." – Quote 9, Interview 15

While it appears that the aspects of personal connection between members themselves to not be a major motivation to stay in the CSA, being part of a group of like-minded, friendly people is still important. Getting positive recognition for their work is important. This led to an overall very relaxed atmosphere at these CSA that I personally experienced during my visits.

The relations between members are strongly contrasted by the strong appreciation for the farmers and workers employed at the cooperatives. All 21 Interviews show a positive relationship to the farmers mentioning their openness to questions and concerns, respect and trust in their expert knowledge and experience, and a deep appreciation for their planning and work at the farm. Even at CSA A, with its distinct separation of responsibilities between members and farm employees, this held true. As such shared work experiences are not as critical to the relationship as it is between members. For members, knowing the person their efforts are supporting adds additional meaning to both food and work and was part of why they joined. Unlike other members, farmers are typically always present at the farm and hold informal positions of authority. They interact with members more regularly because of this. Respondent #15 mentioned this expansion in the usual job requirement of a farmer to include organizing, teaching, and leading people. They present the organizational and social pillars for the CSA cooperative. Interviews often mention learning more about the specifics and realities of

farm work from them. This is often coupled with the disillusionment of impractical or romantic ideas regarding farming. This is aided by the difficulties experienced during the hands-on work.

4.4 Rooted in Practicality.

Speaking of practicality, when prompted to talk about the factors for the success of the CSA model, respondent 4 mentioned the pragmatic streak of the members as one of the main reasons.

> *"It's a generation that's less ideologic, it's noticeable and very pleasant. Like I said, well educated, no existential fear, not radical. Not everything has to be done instantly. For example, we had bad luck with an electro-van and had to buy a diesel. Nobody made a big deal about this diesel. Priority is making it work."* – Quote 10, interview #4

This "new generation" of CSA members, span diverse ages from university students to retirees and is defined by a good education, stable living situations, financial stability, strong ideals, and enough time to be involved in a cooperative. While less explicit than in quote 10, many respondents spoke of how members tend to fall into this group. My personal observation and respondents sample appears to agree on the common features of financial stability, environmental consciousness, and higher education. On a side note, several older respondents positively mentioned the cooperative as a place to bridge generational gaps and connect with different age groups. Respondent 4 saw many cooperative projects in the 70s and 80s fail and attributes CSA's success to the pragmatic ability to compromise ideals with reality to make the project work.

In my interviews, I come across this pragmatic streak several times as the CSA was discussed. Especially the necessity to fulfill a weekly production target, the open communication within the cooperative, and the direct relation to the farmers are key to root the cooperative as a functional business first, as opposed to a movement, charity, or social club. As such there are expectations of performance and accountability and above all functionality of the endeavor.

> *"We have members who pay an annual subscription and expect things for that. I try to bring that to the fore again and again that we must bring a certain performance and deliver a certain result. Because the cooperative can't function without the member's fees. We can't say our primary goal is to have the most beautiful garden possible or whatever other idealistic ideas. We have a performance mandate towards the members in that we must provide a weekly quota of vegetables."* – Quote 11, Interview #19

This can be seen in quote 11 when the obligation to fulfill contracts is spoken of. Here we can also see how the type of work directly influences the perspective of members, as respondent #19 is active as an administrative volunteer staff at CSA C. However, they are not alone as respondents #1 and #2 similarly take a more economic perspective. This extends to the responsibility for fair worker pay and the shared obligation for members to carry production risk. From what I can conclude, most respondents perceive a CSA cooperative as a food provider first, a small local business second, and social and environmental group third. This is reinforced by the clear statements of most interviews that good food is the primary reason they stay, and that the various social and environmental benefits are extras to that goal.

4.5 Inclusive community and sense of belonging

> *"Yes, that you also help to develop the business. That you can vote on whether to expand a new product or not. Or if we do expand or... or even the decision because of the pandemic. On how we can still ensure production and so on. That you always can take part. Also, the transparency of finances and so on. That I really know where my money ends up."* – Quote 12, interview #9, on what motivates them.

Many members noted how easy it was to openly approach and talk to farmers and workers in the CSA, or how well they are informed on plans regarding changes. This is further enhanced by the democratic decision-making in the cooperative and the room to bring new ideas in. This ties members to the cooperative as seen in the quote from Interview 9. This very open communication builds a relationship based on trust and transparency that demystifies production for members. Some respondents mentioned their initial curiosity regarding the details of the production method and how they learned the background on how food is made, and how cooperatives work.

> *"But when I have visitors, I gladly say -look, there's my farm. - I can really see it from my window. And I do call it 'my farm' since in any case I do feel connected there."* – Quote 13, interview #20

Because of this, members mentally include themselves in the production and organization. The farm itself is mentioned as a positive place and the language used showed a sense of belonging where they speak of the cooperative as theirs: "my farm", "we at the Solawi." and so on, as shown in interview #20. This connection is both social as part of the group and pragmatically as an investor in a business. As a result, many mention reluctances to switch CSA for other alternatives due to already knowing the people and being comfortable there. This means that most members, barring a change of residence, stay at the first CSA they encountered. As such they no longer just *buy* good food produced sustainably; they help *produce* good food sustainably. As such members become active in shaping not only their own diet but the future of a small community and business.

> *"It is important that people try [to work together], that people connect in small communities, try to do something meaningful together. That they are working on something that will make them richer. not financially, but more prosperity. That they have access to food in this way. To meet great people. and above all that you try many things without knowing whether they will work."* – Quote 14 interview #12.

One of the motivations often mentioned when asked why they stay a member is an interest to work together in a group and help share the financial risk with others. Many found the idea of solidarity very attractive. Some spoke of their motivation to take contribute to a good cause and to do meaningful work, a desire that ties into wanting to see and feel the effects of their own actions at a human-friendly scale. As such, they can relate the success of the CSA and the food they receive directly to their own actions. Initial skepticism of how well cooperative ventures would work was also present. Several respondents spoke on how impressed and surprised they were with the number of people working together. Or as respondent 2 put it:

> *"[It surprised me] That so many people, around five hundred, all pull together, all want to go in one direction despite all their differences. People with completely different jobs, in completely different life phases."* – Quote 13, interview #2

This is a powerful impression only made possible by working directly together. This also touches on the challenge of building a focused community that new CSA must face, as a cooperative would not work as well without the involvement and expertise brought in by the volunteer members.

4.6 Workdays connect people to the CSA community.

And indeed, workdays are perceived by the interviewed members as integral parts of the CSA, with members feeling more connected and part of the community the more work they have in a year. For example, a basic subscription at cooperative A to get dairy products only necessitates four workdays a year, and activities are limited to product packaging and distribution to depots. Members with memberships in two CSA almost always cited the bigger vegetable Solawi as their primary cooperative, simply due to being more engaged in the work. It is also likely that the type of work plays a part as well. There are several less physically strenuous tasks in delivery and administration that are usually reserved for members with physical limitations as well as members of the volunteer staff that no longer work physically at all. Different types of work lead to different perspectives on the CSA as a whole. For example, members of dairy CSA A generally had a weaker connection to food produced there or any nature experience at the farm than people who work the fields at CSA B or C. However, what remains strong is the connection to the farm and community itself created by working.

This connection is seen in Interview #4, #13, and #20, where they extensively talked about the farm infrastructure, discussion, and upcoming plans in familiar detail. Interview #17 and #20 directly stated it to be "their" farm. Interview #21, who was the newest member interviewed with only five months membership time directly spoke how through repeated involvement they gained a better understanding of the production effort required. This goes so far that when asked if they would make participation optional or compensable with a higher price, responses were mixed to negative as seen in quote 14.

> *"The basic idea of our cooperative is that you participate. If you can waive the participation with a contribution, then the participation gets a price tag and loses the cooperative idea. Because then those who have a little more money say "yes, I'd easily rather pay a little more and don't have to work for it.". And people who are less well off financially go to work because they can't afford that. And if you stick to this cooperative idea that we produce vegetables together, then that is a stronger motivating factor for me than if you say that this work can be waived with a higher price. That's why I'm really sticking to this basic idea that this cooperative is based on working together and not buying your way out."* – Quote 14, interview 19

This appeared to be a commonly discussed topic. Those more in favor of the idea often also cited problems with time management or how such arrangements would allow the CSA more members. Most respondents however rejected the idea: work participation is understood as a key part of the CSA concept that should not be compromised or diluted. It appears members understand Solawi to cater to a specific consumer base. A few pointed to other AFN or CSA projects in Zürich as an alternative for those who cannot make room for these workdays. Summarized, the number of workdays and the type of work performed is key in tying members to the CSA in question. The participatory work serves as a vital mediating function in a CSA.

4.7 Limitations and trade-offs of CSA Membership

However, to say that increasing participation always improves things is overly simplified. Two of the most prominent limitations mentioned in the interviews can also be directly tied to the workdays. First is the required time commitment and how the frequency and schedule of working at the farm can be managed. Nearly half of all the interviews mention having to adapt their schedule in some way for CSA. As such their ability to engage with CSA is directly tied to their current life situations and free time available. Five respondents mention the strain on their schedule and that the primary limitation on joining a second CSA was time. This is also a point of differentiation, as certain cooperatives require different numbers of workdays. CSA A for instance offers a basic subscription of milk and cheese products at a relatively low time commitment at four half-days per year. As a result, I met several members who could subscribe to CSA A and another at the same time. Members more in tune with the volunteer staff and production side also mentioned the drawbacks of relying on volunteer workers, and the problem that arises when timeslots cannot be filled, or people miss their workdays. Attendance cannot be forced after all.

> *"It's important for me that I don't have an hour or half just to get from A to B. That its nearby me. And that the fridge of theirs is also close nearby. That is relevant for me still."* – Quote 15, Interview #14

Tying into this is the second drawback seen in the quote above. The necessity to travel to the farm also adds the criteria of travel distance to the time commitment required. No respondent lived more than an hour's travel away from the farm. And some expressed doubt if they would have joined if it were farther away. As such CSAs look bound to remain a local project. With people from further areas more likely to join alternatives closer to home. As it is, compared to the organic aisle, farmers markets, specialty stores or direct sale, CSA is the least convenient option to get organic food. But overall, all 21 respondents said that the excellent products and benefits make it worth it. However, it appears logical to me that these inherent drawbacks of the CSA concept are a strong entry barrier that limits membership numbers to a specific niche demographic. After all, the people who were not satisfied with the CSA offering and left were not interviewed. As such the community and value-building benefits of more workdays must be carefully balanced against the limitations that limit accessibility to the Solawi overall.

4.8 Living the production, understanding farmers, changing consumer behavior.

The direct involvement in the food production, to be able to see the entire process "from seed to table" has a profound effect on members values regarding work justice and consumerism. Several members liked the opportunity to learn more about food production every time they visit, and most mention being taken aback at first at the intensity of work being done at the CSA. By intensity I mean the pace of work and precise planning necessary to produce goods for all members every week. Also, the difficulties and setbacks experienced while working themselves influenced them. As a result, members have stated to have become more sensitive regarding the effort required to produce food and how its priced in regular stores.

> *"So, in 2015, I was working my very first workday in the pouring rain and with howling wind. I was supposed to harvest salad at farm B for four hours. That was a moment of, understated, humility. I was freezing and fighting for that salad. And then it really starts. You start to get engrossed; you look outside and watch the weather report, you worry when it's hot for too long, you worry when there's hail. You live with the crops. And that caused an effect that every purchasing choice was suddenly under scrutiny. Not just food, but also other expenses like holidays, transport and shopping."* – Quote 16, Interview #7

As quote 16 showcases, the workday experiences can have powerful transformative impacts on the consumer practices of members. A common finding is that through work members become sensitized to the realities and struggles of the production and feel the effects of nature on it. An example was members of cooperative C becoming much more aware of the impacts of adverse weather. As I conducted my interviews in July, hail and disease had destroyed many crops in farm C. Every respondent from C felt the impact of this event and was understanding of the losses. This is not just greater awareness of the weather, but also extends to pests and diseases that can affect production. Having a good two to three weeks of work destroyed by natural weather brings members a more nuanced perspective on nature as well.

> *"…And [the work] also gives you a perspective. It's beyond anything once you experience it. Imagine how it must work, how much the vegetables cost when you go to the wholesaler. It really can't be. From the amount of work we cooperative members do and the money we pay. You notice how absolutely crooked the system is. The financial-economic system, especially in agriculture, is not correct at all. There is no one-to-one link between price, wage, or cost. It's all kind of artificial. It seems very, very artificial to me."* – Quote 17, Interview #17

> *"I once talked to someone who I think works in BioSuisse. She told me how the acceptance contracts are. If a vegetable producer delivers a basket of vegetables, he has to announce it a long time in advance. 'Yes, I deliver so and so many kilos.' And if it's not ready on the right day, or somehow has faults, they have to pay fines and can't sell it at all. And if it's not pretty enough, they don't take it either. I think that's a gnarly position for the producers. They are extremely disadvantaged because the big distributors have so much power. And I think if you're part of solidarity agriculture, you can help do something about it there."* – Quote 18, interview #18

This fits into the overall motivations of members regarding fairness and standards when it comes to economic markets. Many confessed dissatisfaction or disappointment with the situation of farmworkers on conventional retail markets. This expressed itself as sympathy for low prices clashing with their understanding of food value as seen in quote 17 above. Common sentiments that farmers should be compensated for the work they do, not the product, as the effort invested is the same. Especially members of cooperative A spoke of a new understanding of cheese prices after they learned just how much milk 100 grams of cheese requires. This is coupled with a general aversion to giving money to "middlemen" retailers that are seen to have no impact on product quality. A negative impression that is not helped with various reports on retail's economic power over farmers. As such, there is a desire to take part in a fairer, more transparent market where economic exchange benefits both parties (see quote 18). Respondent #1 mentioned this as their primary motivation for joining and how a personal connection to trade partners fosters honesty. To respondent #1 and several others, their money is perceived not just as payment for goods, but as an investment into the right actors and methods. This would lead to a better product and allow farmers greater flexibility to use the production methods they want. This showcases that even from a purely economic perspective, relational values and principles are important factors for consumer decision-making.

4.9 Appreciation of food & rejection of food waste.

Figure 4: ABC diagram of member relation to CSA food B, mediated by work activities D.

In addition to the struggles of producers themselves, workdays also shift the relation of members to their food itself. The most obvious factor is that members found food produced by CSA to be better simply due to having experienced the effort it took to produce it. Many mentioned more appreciation for the food they themselves have planted and harvested. Notably, members from CSA A, where members are not involved in the dairy production itself, reported more instrumental appreciation for the products compared to the other two CSA offering vegetables and farm goods. This directly showcases how effort and involvement can add value to food. The relational value of food is directly mediated by the work experience as seen in quote 19 below.

> *"After I spent three hours pulling black salsify out of the clay soil and having the worst sore muscles in my entire life the next day, I would say that now every black salsify I have seen and prepared since has been treated with so much love and respect as if they were made of pure gold. Because I just think that's such a backbreaking job. So much time and effort that goes into it, you really have to appreciate it."* – Quote 19, interview #20

On the topic of food and the question of what qualities make food good, every respondent noted that it should taste good and nourish them as the first and most immediate priority. This is the direct instrumental function of food. It is good then that nearly all respondents noted the high quality and tastiness of CSA products compared to things in stores. Some even would be willing to expand their membership and eat entirely from CAS sources if it were not for time limitations. Roughly half also expressed that food should be healthy and joined the CSA to receive more healthy vegetables and in particular cases, to force themselves to adopt healthier eating habits. As such for most members pricing appears secondary to other metrics and was rarely mentioned or outright stated to be secondary.

> *"So, it's different from the past where I bought a salad and it just stayed there. Supermarket, refrigerator, and then compost. But now I don't do that anymore. Because it's... I've known the salad since the salad was a baby. [laughs] How could I put the lettuce in the compost now?"* – Quote 20, interview #11

In addition to the perceived better quality, the most mentioned change regarding their relation to food is the utter unwillingness to waste or throw it out (see quote 20). This is either motivated in respect to all the effort that went into producing it, but also due to the quality of the food itself and that it should not be wasted. Interesting is that the food does not have to carry their personal effort for this to happen, as food produced by other CSA members is similarly valued. This also only seems to apply to food produced by the CSA itself, and not all food in general, showing that this is very much a relational value. Their relation to nature plays a role as well, as many spoke of accepting what nature gives, and allowed imperfections like bruises or rotted spots on their products. Instead, these become accepted and even add to the organic authenticity for members. This rejects the typical notions of food quality employed in retail stores, which demand pristine products. It is clear that participative work at the CSA imbues food with many different intangible values that improve its value to the members.

4.10 Working connects to nature

Figure 5: ABC diagram of member relation to Nature B, mediated through work experiences D

The work itself is generally described by members in positive terms. As many of the respondents hold office or student jobs, workdays represent for many a pleasant break from weekly routine and a way to reconnect to nature after long office hours. Some mentioned its benefits as a good exercise to stay healthy as well.

> *"To work and take part is simply fulfilling. You know and are convinced that -hey I do the right thing- and that satisfies. And then there's also a very nice aspect: when I can stand outside in the field for an entire afternoon, feel the fresh air, and catch some sun, it's very pleasant. To spend a day outside, not at home in the office. That's just good and nice. And you are in nature, I like that."* – Quote 21, Interview #10

Often mentioned aspects were fresh air, simple physical work with soil, the satisfaction of a good day's work, and working together with others. Most felt the work very satisfying and rewarding if exhausting at times. These values appear to mirror those typically held by farmers and contribute to the satisfaction and personal wellbeing of members. This makes CSA work comparable to how five respondents spoke about their personal gardens. Gardeners feel a relational connection as stewards that both give and receive from their work. A few even mentioned the work has over time become a perk of CSA for relaxation or exercise instead of being part of the payment. As such CSA work contributes to member wellness.

> *"Yes, so when I go into nature or when I go hiking in the mountains, everything calms down. Then everything becomes so relative. When things keep me busy at work or in the family I go out into nature and can just let my thoughts flow. And then suddenly solutions come to mind, and my thoughts stop always repeating themselves. you get other ideas. Or you can just* be *for once. It's also very meditative for me. I can just take it in. I find that wonderful. "*– Quote 22, interview #14

Aside from the benefits of physical exercise, this ties into the personal connection to nature that members have. Overall, most respondents' personal experiences with nature are very positive. Outside of the CSA context, nearly all respondents spoke of regularly going hiking or doing outdoor sports in natural environments for the purpose of relaxation, recovery, and stress relief. This serves as a break from the usual routine of city life. As a result, Swiss landscapes, mountains, lakes, and forests are appreciated and to be protected. These activities are partly instrumental because they draw enjoyment from the nature experience, but also are partly relational in that some speak of specific places they connected with. Overall, CSA participation fits in as another outdoor and nature activity for members, as quote 23 below shows.

> *"When I stand outside in the fresh air in the field for a whole afternoon and, depending on the weather, can even soak up some sun, that's just nice. Just a day outside, not at home in the office. That's just good and beautiful. And you're in nature, I like that."* – Quote 23, interview #10

This means that CSA participation work helps mediate members' relationship to their environment. First, it fosters a relational connection to nature by personally working with plants and soil outside at a specific time and place. This reaffirms nature as having a part in human life. Agriculture in particular dispels romanticized ideas about nature by showcasing the negative impacts it can have on their efforts, such as pests and adverse weather. As such members gain a more well-rounded understanding of nature and direct experiences with it. This ties back to the close sense of belonging members develop with the CSA farm mentioned previously. Second, working is part of a constructive practice

that allows members to tangibly contribute to environmental sustainability. Nearly all respondents mentioned a desire to help support more sustainable and organic agriculture. Several respondents spoke of giving back to the environment in a more equal relationship. being directly involved and personally seeing the results of their efforts at the CSA is an important value for most members, one that is achieved through the workdays.

4.11 Worry for the future.

Most respondent expressed dissatisfaction regarding the conventional food industry, with many emphasizing the shortsightedness and damage of monocultures, pesticides, clearcutting, international shipping, and soil degradation.

> *"There are agricultures that, in my opinion, do not fit into nature at all, although they work with soil and air and water. Without those, there is no agriculture. But of course, you can have a monoculture or agriculture that is based on, for example, clearing. And you know exactly in ten years you have to move on because everything is washed out and nothing grows anymore. These ways of doing business are far from sustainable and have no future. I mean that in the truest sense of the word "no future". It's not just the business that no longer works, but you have millions of hectares of agricultural land that you simply can't use anymore and that with a growing population. And at some point, you don't have enough to eat in the end. And that is just one problem of agriculture: as I said, we need to eat from somewhere and we cannot only extract full tilt. If we eat everything up, at some point there will be nothing left." –Quote 24, interview #2*

About half of the respondents perceive the current path of modern industrial agriculture as without a viable future. There are deep worries about food security and food sovereignty in the future due to the environmental damage caused by highly extractive methods. Either that production degrades, and people run out of food or that human health, or biodiversity is lost. The industry mentality to "take and extract" and "to get as much out as possible" is often mentioned and critiqued. Consequently, non-organic products (and in a few cases the farmers and consumers who respectively produce and buy conventionally) are not seen in a good light. Especially chemical pollution featured prominently, which makes sense as it is the primary environmental problem of agriculture in Switzerland. Other examples of recognized issues within Switzerland were urbanisation, soil and water pollution, health concerns, and land use change. All this reveals a strong sense of responsibility to not only the environment, but also for their children and future generations. Overall, the adaptation of more sustainable agriculture and a rethinking of mass consumerism is largely understood as inevitable. Because respondents understand nature as the foundation of human life, they perceive these problems as directly threatening human wellbeing in general. As such the environment is a powerful relational and instrumental motive for positive action. Or put differently, they were worried *About* nature, not *for* nature.

But while most respondents speak of the happenings in faraway rainforests or distanced fields of others, respondent #11 places these issues much more tangibly and closer to home by remarking on the expansion of the city she noticed over the years.

> *"I always think about the Solawi nearby. In the beginning everything was fields. But now the road is bigger and there's this big construction nearby. there is also a building materials depot nearby. And I always think: how long will the Solawi stay? Because I think in ten years or more the whole city will just eat up the Solawi. And for me that's… to have all this infrastructure costs us something. And if you just look around... yes. In recent years I can see more and more construction."* – Quote 25, Interview #11

There is unease not just about the food industry, but urbanisation and expansion of human industry into new landscapes in general. Worry about the invisible cost of infrastructure and what is lost with it. The loss of green landscapes known personally regrettable and keenly felt. Here I find that, at least

for some, the CSA has become associated or partly a symbol for fields, greenery and nature that carries these relational values.

4.12 Desire for a more mutual relationship to nature

> *"I'll start with the bio-plus-plus. The first plus stands for the high proportion of manual work, few machines, but also the possibility of being able to grow rare varieties that are now not grown in normal organic cultivation because they are difficult to store and transport. The second now stands for virtually no pesticides and a lot of hand weeding. And then the third plus, but that's not so important for the quality now: that everything is harvested now, that a field is harvested in its entirety and not just the nice and straight ones. everything is harvested and hopefully consumed."* – Quote 26, Interview #7

Most respondents have a strong sensibility regarding nature protection. They purchase organic products seasonally, monitor their own energy use, and pass these practices down to the next generation. They typically hold several standards for food production: production should be from within the region and produced in the rhythm of the seasons. Food waste must be minimized from seed to plate. The soil should be kept intact for future generations. Animals should be treated well. No chemicals should be used, and no natural environment destroyed. These standards were almost always mentioned in some form when asked what makes a food good. This shows how strongly nature, production, and food are interwoven in member motivations. The exact mixture of these values varied from person to person.

> *"To be honest I must say that I'm not part of Solawi out of ecological reasons alone. For me, it's mainly about the relationship with the producers, not necessarily about nature conservation. I'm not convinced that you necessarily get the most ecological variants and cultivation methods via Solawi. I think the producers who are ready for Solawi are also more open for ecological agriculture, but that doesn't have to be the case."* – Quote 27, Interview #1

It must be noted however that some respondents were less concerned about the environment and instead put priority on more immediate benefits like product quality, supporting the local community, or the transparency of knowing where their food comes from, for example. Similar to people who put less stock in the social experience in CSA, for them the environmentally friendly production methods employed by the CSA are a bonus feature or a means for good food products. Important and liked, but not critical to them. Nevertheless, close involvement with a generally environmentally conscious CSA community creates indirect values regarding nature protection and sustainable methods, simply from learning and working together with farmers, farmworkers, and other members who do care. Such is the case for respondent #9, who trusted the experts in the cooperative to do a good job. This shows that all members cannot be painted with the same brush and that reasons for joining can be diverse.

> *"Respectful. That the processes, animals, plants, and life processes are respected for once. Even if you don't know them exactly. It's good to know them better. What do birds or insects need to live? And then take these processes into account. […] Human intervention and leaving nature alone have to be balanced somehow."* – Quote 28, Interview #15, on how nature should be treated.

Nearly all respondents held an appreciation for our natural world as a place with inherent worth. "Nature" is much too big a term of course, but it animated respondents to reveal different imaginings: most related nature to familiar landscapes they knew since childhood: forests, fields, mountains, and lakes. The animals and plants that live there. Others thought of the ocean and storms, nature as a primal force beyond control. And others still rejected nature as something outside and defined it as a complex system that they themselves were part of. What they all had in common is the understanding of nature as something bigger than themselves that yet was connected with them. Nature takes the form that they have experienced or learned of personally. Noticeably absent was the idea of nature as something fragile or weak. Similarly, the idea of dominating, steering, or controlling nature was rejected as harmful and foolish.

> *"This goes back along the lines of the previous question about the needs [nature connection] fulfills. So, when I say partner, it's like this: Is it actually the communication, the exchange that takes place then. A give and take, a back and forth. A get and give. That would be the opposite of saying "I am me and I am the most important thing, and I set the tone now and everything I want has to happen somehow." That would be the opposite. It's the urge for exchange."* – Quote 29, interview 15

This leads to the question of how nature should be treated. The desired relationship to nature for the respondents is one of equal standing and mutual respect and benefit. A balanced give and take without one side becoming dominant. Respondents spoke of "giving back", "leaving nature some space" or "doing as little harm as possible" while still continuing to work with and live with nature. Complete separation of nature from humans was rejected as well. Instead, several instead mentioned greater restraint and respect. This shows how respondents' values are oriented relationally to their environment, as they consider and worry about not just the instrumental utility they would lose, or the loss of biodiversity in general, but more fundamentally about how the relationship to nature should look like. This relational perspective is confirmed by the answers given to what title or role they would give themselves in regard to nature. the most common answers were by far enjoyer (7), part of nature (4), or partner (4). "Enjoyers" passively enjoy benefits and meaning from nature, "part of" was similarly passive but more neutral to opinion, and "partners" saw themselves more active in a mutual relationship with their environment. Titles suggesting a more powerful or dominant position like a protector, manager, or user were mostly rejected due to not fitting their own self-image or beliefs on how a relationship to nature should look like. Outliers were respondent #19 as they understood "manager" as someone tending and working with nature sustainably for future generations. In summary, for CSA members humans are part of nature, hold responsibility regarding it, and should strive to attain a sustainable balance with it.

4.13 CSA as a platform of change.

> *"On the one hand, the vegetable subscription for sure. On the other, to contribute or participate in something that I feel makes sense. From the project they do or the social cooperation or how they approach agriculture."* – Interview #21, on why he joined the CSA.

Another motive for joining and participating in a CSA is the desire to support a meaningful environmental or social cause. The satisfaction of contributing and making a difference was mentioned by nearly every respondent. For most this was the satisfaction of helping others, others were fulfilled by taking up responsibility for certain tasks or plans, and for a few it goes further in wanting to contribute to a better society overall. This reaffirms members as active agents in the CSA that can experience the effect of their own actions. How important this difference is can be seen in how respondent #9, who donates to a rainforest charity, feels no connection to that and answered: *"I'm not active there, I'm just a member. Would be nice, but it's difficult*." This shows the limitations of operating on donations based on intrinsic values alone, as respondent #9 felt disconnected in comparison to CSA membership being an active part of his life.

> *"I think it is fundamentally important to promote organic farming. Not only because of the healthy food but above all for the cultivation methods. Because industrial agriculture puts a lot of strain on soil, water, plants, and animals, i.e., biodiversity. I think Solawi (CSA), and how it is done there, is a meaningful contribution."* – Quote 30, Interview #13

Contrasting the bleak outlook on the food industry mentioned earlier is the belief that CSA presents a viable and better way to do agriculture. All respondents agree that the CSA serves as a positive example of how sustainable agriculture can be done. The methods used by the CSA fulfill and influence their food values. This often overlaps with other aspects like work justice, food quality, and work satisfaction. Consequently, some respondents see CSA as a model that will grow in the future, while

others see it primarily as a space for experimentation and a lighthouse project that inspires and influences others. In both cases several respondents spoke of wanting to support CSA in the future in the hopes of enacting a greater change in society and industry.

> *"It doesn't always have to be produced on a small scale. I know food technicians who work in larger production facilities such as Migros. I learned from them that the things that are now being produced on a large scale are actually quite good. That the things that are almost always in our food are of good quality, at least in Switzerland. And it is exactly this good quality of the food that I appreciate. So, it doesn't always mean that only the small producers, only the homemade jams are better."* – Quote 32, Interview #15

Interestingly, while the environmental and social impacts of the conventional industry is seen negatively, several respondents recognized the worth of large-scale food production and that "it has its place" to feed the world population. I found no objections to big farms, technology, retail grocers and the idea of industry itself. Nearly all respondents still buy from normal grocery stores. Organic products, certification labels and new production methods are seen positively. This connects back to the sense of pragmatism that recognizes CSA and agriculture as a functioning business first and acknowledges the very real drawbacks of CSA already presented earlier. The most common sentiment is that the problems must be solved with sustainable reforms and innovation. Respondent #12 recognized and discussed the difficulties of reconciling sustainable, local, and organic production with the demands and large scale on which the food industry currently operates.

> *"Where do we draw the line for industrial scale, and where do we stop the romanticization of local products? When it's about producing outside a situation of prosperity, in which I and many who live here quite clearly are and where it's easy to say we'd like a better world. We could all bake our bread ourselves and give it all away. But when they all fire up their ovens at home, it costs a thousand times more energy than when a large bakery does it." – Quote 33, Interview #12*

The CSA then, serves for such forward thinking members as a lighthouse project for future developments, as an alternative business model for small farms, and as a place that holds many positive relational values to them.

5.0 Discussion

5.1 Relational values are core of CSA member motivation

Motivations summarized.

Most of my results show that CSA member motivations feature strong relational values. Members value CSA high quality food as its produced by personal effort and transparently. In return, they feel obligated to not waste it. Members know, work with, and appreciate the producers and learn the challenges required to produce food. In return, they feel responsible to provide fair working conditions and prices. Members meet interesting new people and work together in a community. In return they are engaged in seeing the CSA successful and doing their part. Members enjoy outdoor nature experiences in a green environment where they can reconnect to nature. In return, they treat their environment respectfully and try to minimize negative impacts. Overall, members feel satisfied after helping at the farm, due to personal achievement, being part of a motivated group, or putting their values and beliefs into practice. All these values are specific to a particular CSA and cannot be transferred or replaced by another. They are mutually beneficial and embedded in a particular relationship between member and object. While such motivations can be described in an instrumental or intrinsic framework, doing so would lose much of the nuance inherent in this give and take where both directions contribute to member motivation. The results overall confirm that CSA's focus on relationships overcome the limitations of purely working with intrinsic and instrumental values.

Member motivations are pluralistic and based on relationships.

Respondents' values include instrumental values for high quality food and good prices, social values such as helping small farmers, taking part in a community, working together on a project, and environmental values such as reconnecting to nature, helping with sustainable agriculture, and seeking an alternative to the conventional food industry. So far, these results overlap with other studies on CSA consumer motivations. Both my results and other studies found values that include instrumental usefulness, intrinsic appreciation, and relational connections all as important factors. As such they are plural values, in that not any single value or motivation defines CSA membership, but rather the combination of many. This allows for some diversity within the target demographic, as it depends on the individual person how important each value is. Values are plural in that they build on each other to be more than the sum of their parts. None of them should be ignored. As such, while there is a high level of altruism and environmental sensibility found in my sample group, nearly all of them would find social and environmental motivations alone to be insufficient and stressed the importance of receiving good food as the foundation for their membership. Similarly, just getting good food at the farmers market or even the grocery wouldn't satisfy respondents either as food from there would lack all the added values present in the CSA. Food from the CSA is seen as simply better not just because objective criteria but because it carries the experiences and values associated with the CSA membership. Being a member is also highly fulfilling as it aligns with the desire to contribute meaningfully to something worthwhile, of being appreciated, helping others, and doing good for the environment. I conclude that mutual give and take relationships are desired and important for the sense of living a good life.

A human economy.

Literature implies that relational values shift how business is understood and practiced. The CSA achieves this partly by reorientating the economy as a *means for* instead of the *goal of* human interests (Groh et al., 2016). In doing so the CSA community rejects the mainstream economic approach to instrumental pricing and valuation. Member's relational values found in my results seemingly address Spash's (2008) six principled arguments on the problems of purely instrumental valuation for environmental issues point for point: 1. members hold to several untransferable ethical commitments

(not everything is commensurable), 2. uphold collective values and solidarity within the cooperative (group values are underprioritized In favor of individuals), 3. recognize and express non-monetary values (market approach cannot recognize certain values), 4. root themselves in concrete social context (context lost due to overly abstract methods), 5. encourage learning and agency by acknowledging values as dynamic (assume values are pre-formed), and 6. understand the CSA as part of a broader economic and political movement (technical "gaze" disempowers political action) (Spash, 2008:261). This shows the strengths that CSA have in forging their own path. Overcoming these problems with their solidarity focus not only makes Swiss CSA places of economic innovation but reduces potential blind spots which could lead to problems.

The topic of price in my interviews revolved about enabling farmers a better livelihood and there was a willingness to pay more for food in general to achieve good social and environmental ends. Similarly, during my visits both members and farmers alike were not stressed about growing the business or maximizing production. This is in part explained in how they evade harsh market competition through their direct sale to members. Instead of solely profit, the three case studies optimized also for sustainability and social justice. Related to that are the community wide consensus on legitimate practices and methods to employ, personal food waste, participating in the work and general fairness that show the CSA operates as a moral economy of shared values (Carlisle, 2015). All of these positive actions strengthens member's identity as ethical consumers and shapes the community as a good place to live (Hvitsand, 2016).

Food as an example of value complexity

Food is a striking example of how values can interconnect, be pluralistic and enrich lives. Both literature and my findings agree that membership at a CSA remains the practical desire to buy good quality organic foods from a trustworthy source at its core. I believe based on respondents' answers that without that as its foundation the other qualities CSAs offer would not suffice to retain members. However, food, and by extension, the question of how we should nourish ourselves, is a topic tightly interwoven with social and environmental values. With a sole exception, respondents included the reality of its production as part of food quality: It should have a fair price, it should be without pesticides, should be made locally and seasonally. To respondents, food is not isolated from the fields it comes from and the hands that grew it. To them, food as a consumer product is not only meant to satisfy hunger, but also address the anxieties of environmental impact and social injustice. Good food should help nourish everyone involved with it. As noted by Chen et al., (2019); and Perez et al., (2003), these values can arguably be addressed by other alternatives like farmers' markets or urban gardening at similar quality and lower investment required. So why go to a CSA at all? The answer lies in *how* a CSA satisfies these food standards: by creating a direct relationship to the food and producers through participative work and overcoming *food alienation* (Watson, 2020) on both sides. My findings show that CSA food is satisfying because it carries intangible values of the cooperative community, the hands-on production methods, democratic decision-making, and the environmental ethics of the project with it. These values are pluralistic in that they hold equal importance and cannot be reduced or summarized into each other or an overarching value (Arias-Arévalo et al., 2017). Its logical to me that in the face of such rich meaning economic factors such as price or convenience hold less relative weight to members. These added values must outweigh consumer inconvenience, costs, and time requirements of being a CSA member, which was the case for my respondents, but was also acknowledged as the main reason for leaving as well when that balance shifted. Based on my data I conclude that CSA competes with farmers' markets and other alternatives by providing a multitude of values all at once as a package with few compromises. This broad offer also means that CSA can accommodate members with different priorities. As such not every member is necessarily

environmentally concerned or community-oriented and instead could be more interested in simply getting a wider selection of organic food (Hvitsand, 2016).

Being part of the picture

Also contributing to the respondent's satisfaction with the CSA is the constructive approach to overcome environmental and economic injustice. Respondents expressed wanting to become more involved and invested in the products they support. They want to know who produces their food and where their money goes. To do this they are willing to invest themselves personally with solidaric acts of sharing financial risks and shouldering part of the workload. Usually, environmental ethics and consumer behavior is characterized by denying or restricting certain unsustainable or harmful luxuries, such as holiday flights, eating lots of meat, buying certain products or throwing things out. Often such rules are oriented around compensating or negating negative impacts. People can also financially support companies and other groups that address these issues. However, I find that the impacts of these are largely unfelt by their donors compared to contributing personally and locally. As a result, opportunities in actively improving or benefitting sustainability or social causes personally is limited without considerable start-up effort. CSA work contrasts this by orienting itself around ongoing positive development of its own smaller, local goals. These goals are embedded in local context, and the efforts of individuals can be felt tangibly as they are achieved. As a result, members gain a new sense of agency. This also reframes their environmentalism as constructive practices for familiar local landscapes, enhancing their relationship with it. As everything is already organized, and with much less regular attendance required, CSA also has lower barriers to entry than joining a non-profit or other organization as well.

My data shows that the relationship with the CSA allows members to become active agents that see themselves as part of the picture. For them, the CSA is not just a place that provides them food, or they give money to, but rather a place that they are part of, have a stake in and can relate to. This personal involvement enhances the awareness of their own role, impact, and agency. They themselves can now perceive themselves as part of the *production story.* This instills greater environmental and social sensibility as they become active and interested stakeholders (Agrawal, 2006). Members now become active in realizing their values through their actions, where previously they were passive observers or donators. This strengthens their commitment and sentiments regarding self-aware consumption. Analysed through the lens of RV theory, previously intrinsic values regarding the fair compensation of farm work now gain greater immediacy through the shared experience in the fields and direct observation of the struggles. Similarly, abstract farmers become tangible people they know and regularly speak with. Simple being able to see the feedback for their support can be a powerful motivator. This means that Clapp's (2015) distance to the agricultural production is completely overcome as consumers are not only aware and careful of agricultural realities, but instead directly part of that agricultural landscape that has become familiar and populated with people they know. This also allows the three sample Solawi CSA to bypass many negative "externalities" that arise in the conventional free market due to a system-wide lack of accountability (Spash, 2008).

5.2 Participation makes a difference in member values.

I believe that these strong relational values are developed through participation in CSA work. Through engagement with the work, the farmers, and the community, previously abstract general intrinsic values shift to discrete relational values by being linked to a specific context (Kenter, 2016). Or, as respondent 10 put it, they now could put a face to their beliefs. This change can be seen in how respondents begun to appreciate CSA food in particular, and how hesitant they became in throwing it away after they spend time working on growing it. It can be seen in how possessive they speak of the cooperatives and how engaged they were with the CSA's future after spending time there and

contributing to its success. It can be seen in how their consumer behavior changed as they became familiar with the struggle of growing food after talking to farmers, workers, and other members. And lastly it can be seen how they frame environmental issues as a relationship problem, instead of a technical issue to be fixed or something precious to protect. As such the regular participation in workdays is important in explaining the strong relational values found.

This is supported by Hvitsand's (2016) study in Norway where it is noted that members with more participation were more motivated. 67% of the households surveyed in that study worked at the CSA farm, usually harvesting, weeding, sowing, planting, and taking part in various CSA events and get-togethers. Hvitsand's (2016) results strong emphasis on knowing where food comes from, helping the environment, and particular to Norway, having a variety of organic food not found in the grocers. Supporting the farmers and preserving agricultural landscapes were also mentioned. CSA are noted as positive platforms for agricultural change and innovation by highly motivated farmers. They are also important for CSA consumers as a place to put their values into practice and serves as a "spearhead" for lasting mainstream consumer changes in opposition to the globalized food system (Hvitsand, 2016). In many ways this study is remarkably similar to my own results when it comes to member motivations.

The importance of participation for member motivation is supported in Perez et al. (2003) survey of CSA consumers in California where only 5% of members worked at the CSA farm that year. In their results, Perez et al. (2003:3) write "central coast CSAs do not appear to achieve the ideal of close working connections between farmers and members". Moreover, comparing their results for membership motives to my own, I found a much greater emphasis on the social connection to the farmers, interest in the success of the CSA, and desire for sustainable agriculture in Switzerland. The most common motives for US CSA members were split between food quality (organic 62%, Fresh 34%, high quality 14%, convenient 14%), and the desire to support local green businesses (local 40%, organic production 16%.). Overall, this suggests to me a more economic valuation of CSA offering based on benefits for member themselves. Especially the primary motive for many Swiss respondents of "knowing where food comes from" ranked very low in the USA survey at just 7% (Perez et al., 2003). interestingly, the US motive to support CSA to strengthen the local community is completely missing in my results. This can be explained by the proximity of the three Swiss CSA to a large wealthy city making any impact to the local economy largely irrelevant to members. This is also a reminder that any comparison needs to take the local context into account. But overall, I believe that without mandatory work participation USA CSA back then had a weaker emphasis on relational values than Swiss Solawi CSA. It is possible that things could have changed in the last 19 years. Nevertheless, my results show that work participation can have strong impacts on how members value things, and how these values can motivate behavior. But how does this change in value occur?

5.3 Relational values are strengthened through active engagement in the CSA

Interactions shape values

I believe the differences in valuation are result of different participation requirements and member experiences of the respective CSA and are not a given property of US or Swiss consumers. Many of the values which motivate people to join either CSA are initially very similar, but differences emerge upon closer examination and correlating with increasing membership time and involvement. This is because the personal relationships which relational values are based on first needs to be developed through regular contact and maintained over time (Allen et al., 2018). While Swiss CSA members have multiple ways to interact with the cooperative, including the newsletter, general assemblies, events, and activities in project groups, the mandatory workdays are what make Swiss Solawi unique compared to the CSA projects found in California and elsewhere. Members come to the farm, interact with other members and workers, and do various tasks in the fields or farm for half a day. As seen in the results,

this mediates many relationships and adds to the member's sense of community, knowledge of production, and appreciation for food and nature. Burton's (2004) theory of role performance helps explain how, in that similar to how the identity of a "good farmer" is performed through activities, so does the identity of "CSA member" require regular involvement and interaction with the CSA. All CSA serve in part as a vehicle for members to regain agency in how they feed themselves and become active in shaping their own relationship with their local community, environment, and the consumer market. Comparing different studies implies that all the different ways to interact within Swiss Solawi CSA can make that vehicle more effective.

Part of the picture

Being able to see themselves as being part of the mental picture is especially important for member motivation. As established previously, this strengthens commitment to shared community values, gives consumers a platform to practice and affirm their identity as ethical consumers and CSA members, and adds new appreciation for food, effort and people involved. As such workdays are the central pillars of the CSA with a large impact on members perspectives. I understand CSA participation to fit into RV theory as not only a process of value elicitation, but instead of formation and expression (Kenter, 2016). This is shown by the various accounts in my data of how member attitudes to change over time as they engaged with work. This even works when these practices are at first only complied with because of regulations, contract, or social pressure, until in time people experience and recognize the values tied to that practice (Agrawal, 2006). As is the case of participation where at first, it is part of the price of receiving weekly produce until over time it becomes another value-adding part of the CSA member's experience. So, while social and environmental values can provide motivation, the strong sense of belonging and community within a CSA organization that I have experienced in Swiss cooperatives is closely tied to this emphasis on connecting people and practices together.

Member agency

More specifically, members are active agents of this transformation themselves. For the members I interviewed the CSA serves as a tool to realize their own values and beliefs into practical actions, nearly identical to the Norway study (Hvitsand, 2016). This also mirrors Agrawal's (2006) findings on the importance of being able to directly relate a particular value back to themselves. In the case of the environment Agrawal (2006) found that belonging and owning part of what you protect, i.e., having a relationship, is vital in motivating engagement and value changes in people. Similarly being excluded from stewardship or decision-making or limiting people's agency overall, quickly leads to rejection and resistance (Chapman et al., 2019). Going further, Carlisle's (2015) case study shows how peer-group networks can serve as control and source of motivation to adopt new practices and overcome problems, while Agrawal (2006) demonstrated how lived social experiences and practices, even by force, can change deeply seated beliefs by confronting them with reality. Combining these insights, CSA provides a community of likeminded people and enforces participation where common values are implemented practically *by their members for themselves*. This is also the reason why taking responsibility and acting on their beliefs was a source of satisfaction for respondents. To clarify: work practice does not change values but rather add to them a new relational dimension. Food remains tasty and useful, but now carries the additional value of being hand grown. Nature remains intrinsically respected, but now members can place themselves in a mutual relationship with it.

Different work, different priorities

This adding of RVs is supported by the lower personal connection to food by members of CSA A compared to the two others. As a reminder, CSA A had the lowest workdays requirement for its subscriptions out of all three of my case studies. As a result, members were primarily employed to package and deliver the finished goods produced by the dairy workers. This is unlike the other two CSA

where members follow their food from seed to table. As a result, CSA A members rarely reported any sort of special relationship to the milk products they received aside from praise for its high quality. This suggests a direct link to participation work and member motives and values. This needs to be qualified as for other values such as social connection, interest in production and worry for animal welfare the low number of workdays did not seem to make much of a difference compared to the other CSA. From personal observation, packaging and delivery work is simple and repetitive work that makes it easy to chat, which can explain how the social aspects of the CSA remain intact. This suggests that the type of work and how its organized is just as important, if not more so, than amount of time spent. Respondents involved in staff or administrative duties took a more economical and grassroots perspective on the CSA's future than members solely focused on fieldwork. I conclude that different types of participation can lead to different emerging perspectives and values for membership.

A balancing act

The main challenge for Swiss Solawi CSA is to balance the benefits of bringing consumers and producers together in workdays with the drawbacks that come with demanding time and energy from members. Too many workdays risk the CSA solely catering to a small niche demographic, making finding new members with time and motivation hard and undermining their educational function by only reaching those already convinced. Too little participation however undermines the social core of a CSA as consumers and producers remain distanced, no sense of community forms, and consumers do not experience any added relational values that make CSA products different from store-bought organic goods. By understanding what participation does, and how specific experiences influence members, this paper hopes CSA can make more informed decisions when striking this balance.

5.4 Relational Values and the ABC Framework

The RV framework matters for decision making

Various Literature explored how understanding motivations through the relational value framework allows for new ideas and more transparency for decision and policy-making (Chapman et al., 2019). They also discussed how value frameworks directly influence how certain decisions are discussed, designed, implemented, and evaluated (Spash, 2008). This logically also applies to alternative food networks work, research, and CSA organizations themselves. For example, the focus of purely economic frameworks to quantify findings in financial terms, often results in the problems as every value has to fit that framework, be comparable as less or more valuable to each other and be capable of tradeoffs (Chan et al., 2012). An overly strong focus on nature conservation and social justice could similarly miss the very real demand for productivity and equal exchange in a CSA that my results have shown to be vital for many members to participate. Many decisions made by CSA staff and members I met alike appear strongly guided by relationships. Through my work I found that RV offer a more complete model of human behavior that understands altruism and the importance of relationship networks. It fits closer to how people talk about their own motivations. By framing the values as part of a relationship, both sides must be looked at. Further, I can confirm that the relation is understood not as simply given, but rather developed and maintained through interactions. This paper expands on that by recognizing how Relationships empower people involved as active agents with individual goals. I believe that is part of the reason why relational values resonate so strongly: This acknowledgement is awarded by mutual care and dedication.

While the mainline Relational values theory (Chan et al., 2018) sees RV as being made out of preferences, principles and virtues, the ABC model (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020) instead sees them as separate emerging consequences of relational values and largely ignores the three. A such I see this as a "chicken or the egg first?" problem. However, the interactions and individual role of each in a relational value connection remains largely unexplored in either literature. During my analysis I

found that virtues in particular mainly attributed to the nature of the relational connection itself, while preferences and principles make up the content of a relationship. Especially vital for the RV are the traits of authenticity and trustworthiness that is the foundation of all positive personal relationships. I found that the consumer's desire for organic food (preference) and sustainable methods (principle) are not enough on their own to lead to establish a relational value connection to, for example, a grocery store, if it feels impersonal or inauthentic. What makes this topic more complicated is the difficulties in classifying values from principles, preferences, and virtues, and how the same idea or trait can take the shape of all three depending on the perspective and priorities of the person in question. For example, "organic" could be a trait or virtue of a particular foodstuff, but its also inherently tied to how it is produced and how good food is achieved, making it also a principle. Eating organic food as opposed to other wares is also a direct preference or goal for many. Such early snarls in definition are to be expected in a new framework and do not detract from its immediate usefulness.

Over the course of my research the relational values framework has proven itself as a useful approach to understand member values and has potential to enrich many other areas of study. Its great advantage is that it empowers consumers and producers alike to place human interest to the forefront. All too often complex environmental and social problems are treated like technical or engineering challenges demanding a solution. This often leaves common people out of the decision-making process in favor of experts. New participation-based approaches have developed in response. Relational values greatly contribute to re-embed local stakeholders as part of the solution. Overall, the relational values framework has great potential to change how actors think and work with grassroots movements, economic sectors, and of course stakeholders.

Relational values help bridge many fields.

Over the course of this research the relational values continued to bridge gaps between various social fields and theories such as distant agricultural landscapes (Clapp, 2015), Environmentality (Agrawal, 2006), moral economies (Carlisle, 2015), Farmer values (Burton, 2004), and conservation (Spash, 2008). The original goal of RV to establish a multidisciplinary and broadly compatible model of human values appears confirmed. Of course, the framework is still new and can only improve as more research uses and refines it. Greatly benefitting it, is that both instrumental and intrinsic values are still compatible and considered within relational values. Similarly, the core of the theory can be applied to multiple different contexts.

Clear focus on relationships changes the focus of research. As a result, Solawi CSA member values could be explored with more nuance, such as their complex relationship to nature and the CSA role in it. This study also found the differences in social interactions between members and to farmers, noted a difference in CSA food appreciation that other frameworks would have missed and explored a connection to environment and nature appreciation that's motivated by deep desire for mutual relationships. The clear focus of RV on relations to specific individual objects was the most useful factor to differentiate between values.

ABC as starting point

The ABC model (Deplazes-Zemp & Chapman, 2020) allows a clean categorization of values by separating the relation from its content and defines both indirect and mediating relations that can also be applied to the other value types. mediating values that sees an object placed as part of another relationship was especially useful in this study, as work at the farm turned out to be pivotal for CSA member values. Similarly, some typical farmers values are also indirectly adapted due to the relationship to the farmers. Discovering and depicting such two-step value sources and interactions would have been difficult without a clear definition and framework. The ABC model a useful tool to categorize and place values in relation to the main subject. However, as research continues its

usefulness becomes limited to describe the content of a specific relation. Similarly depicting the interactions between different value relations, as in how one distinct value relation influences and changes another, is currently not possible in the ABC model. for example, the effect of the positive relationship of members to the farmers on member's food values requires a written explanation as modelling it would require separate diagrams or one specifically to address this interaction. So far, there is potential for complementing the ABC model with another approach such as a top-level network approach mapping an overview over relations between objects and actors. Such an approach formalizes the usual mind mapping of potential relations and objects at the beginning of the research, at the risk of making the ABC model more unwieldy.

5.5 How values change member behavior

Consumerism questioned

This study found that CSA membership has a strong effect on member's consumer behavior. The already present tendencies of ethical consumerism and conscientious buying were reinforced by a like-minded peer group in the CSA community that offered moral and practical support. Increased knowledge of the difficulties and problems of the why and how of production led to a critical reflection of other purchases. Food and other goods are now valued as something produced by people instead of faceless companies. All that means that the power of their buying choices is reinforced and the value of their money to make a difference in someone's life is experienced. This makes members more aware of how consumption is part of agriculture and erodes barriers. Overall, this leads to a reorientation towards more relational and non-monetary values. This mirrors the effect seen in certain economically poorer farmer families, that adopted value ideas based more on social and intrinsic satisfaction of working on their own land, being healthy and happy with family and friends, and taking pride as landscape stewards instead of accumulating riches (Contzen & Crettaz, 2019). While in the case of poor farmer families this adaptation arose out of dire need due to lack of funds, for CSA members its part of a greater critical reflection on the problems of mass consumerism, throwaway products, resource extraction and pollution. Many respondents questioned the culture of materialistic mass consumption and believed it needs to change. There was skepticism towards economic growth in general. Overall, the CSA cooperatives are seen as positive concept in part in that it supports alternative lifestyles and defies conventional wisdom.

CSA demonstrates a viable alternative.

Results imply that Swiss Solawi CSA demonstrate to their members that alternative approaches to economy are not only possible, but also viable and beneficial in ways the regular food regime is not. The annual subscription is particularly important for the farmers as a platform for transforming or bypassing a disadvantageous free market (Schümperlin, 2020). Contributing to this is the non-growth focus of the three case studies which lend themselves for long-term stability. Without shareholder or industry pressure to grow, the three studied cooperatives could place their emphasis on social connections, good working conditions, sustainability and minimizing waste without risking being outcompeted in the market. Instead of maximizing yield to make ends meet, they adjust subscription numbers to fit their output using their desired methods. This leads to a markedly different approach to social atmosphere, organization, and interaction within a CSA cooperative. As a result, most respondents saw the CSA as a good and friendly place to be.

The success of the CSA model stands in direct opposition to the dominant farmers' values of maximizing agricultural or material output (Burton, 2004), the constant need for growth requiring ever expanding investment (Binswanger, 2009), and the model of consumers solely acting on their own interests (Spash, 2008). The last point of consumer egoism is especially disproven for the farmers and workers as one of the driving motives of respondents for membership is to support local small farmers.

Respondents expressed sympathy and knowledge regarding regular farmers' financial and environmental struggles, critique for exploitative and unbalanced power dynamics in the regular market, and of course personal respect and appreciation for them as people. This helps overcome frustrations with "mindless consumers" that can arise from the producers' side. On a side note, this also shows the importance of relational values to overcome one sided instrumental evaluation of consumer motivations.

Growth and scaling deep

This makes the CSA the lighthouse project and possible model for future agriculture for some respondents. A few respondents described themselves as pioneers or Avant Garde for sustainability. Actions taken by ethical consumers often are indicators for practices adopted more widely in the future (Hvitsand, 2016). However, such grand ambitions were only held by a few, and the focus of the cooperatives and most members remained on their own near future. Hindering this is also that while some consumers connect with multiple CSA, the three CSA cooperatives' producers or volunteer staff appeared to not interact much. This aligns with comments on the niche demographic and nearly exclusively local reach of CSA in general. As such while CSA can be seen as part of a grassroots movement, its potential for expansion and mass adaption (to *scale out* to more people as Moore et al. (2015) puts it) is limited by the hesitation to grow by members and workers in fear that they would lose the sense of shared community or have to compromise their principles to do so.

In general, the CSA respondents I interviewed showed little interest in "scaling out" to get more members and land, nor in "scaling up" to affect policies, laws, and systemic factors. Instead, CSA is well suited and focused on "*scaling deep"*: to affect hearts and minds, transform cultural values and beliefs, and ultimately achieve greater societal impact (Moore et al., 2015). This exactly concerns values, relationships, and consumer awareness and combines well with the ABC framework. CSA B is an example how *scaling deep* opens doors to sustainable expansion of a cooperative, as the buy of the farm was only made possible by the democratic support of the members.

However, as noted by Moore et al (2015), a single scaling strategy limits how well a good idea can spread, and a combination of different scaling strategies is better. In addition to the hesitancy to scale up, a few respondents mentioned how each cooperative faced challenges in coordinating the many volunteer members. Further, to my knowledge there was no mention of any approach to policy makers to increase the legitimacy of Solawi cooperatives. However, the overarching organizations of Solawi and CSA are slowly expanding their outreach. My thoughts are that the cooperatives themselves could increase coordination and sharing of knowledge and resources, I.E., networking between them and beyond for Solawi and CSA principles to spread further. Doing this is important because even if slow or unsuccessful, it would still build new capabilities and networks with new resources and expertise in aid of the CSA (Moore et al., 2015). Further, by asking hard questions on how to reach more people or bring about a change in the food system as a whole, the CSA concept and its ambitions are reflected on and refined (Moore et al., 2015). I foresee the biggest challenge for the CSA to be how to expand on its ambitions without compromising its key principles, and the changes in organization that it would require. Here CAS members could provide valuable input to this scaling process or represent a barrier due to dissenting interests and visions for the future.

5.6 Mutual relationship to the environment

Overall, through the interviews I could identify two different types of nature being spoken of, the personally experienced landscapes as is, and the greater "nature problem" of global climate change, resource depletion and biodiversity loss that the world struggles and must adapt to. The first case is filled with relational values held by tangible experiences and places that members could directly relate to themselves, and often featured a positive perspective on nature and what it provides. The second,

the “nature problem” is viewed in part through the lens of the first’s experiences, but thinks about agriculture, industry, and global nature as a fundamentally relational problem. Respondents understand these two scales, local and global, as connected through local environmental disasters, nature loss, and related to these effects through empathy for future generations. Their motives for consumer choices and using alternative food networks is rooted in local improvements that are hoped to grow into global effects.

Already environmentally conscious.

All respondents spoke of an already established relational appreciation for nature based on their own activities and connection to the landscape where they go to relax, do sports, or live in. these activities should not be misinterpreted as instrumental, as the aesthetic and spiritual benefits from nature are experienced without an instrumental end in mind. Instead respondents are in nature and part of it, and act towards the natural environment from a perspective of selflessness (Kenter, 2016). Supporting this is how nature was often defined with the help of natural landscapes they were familiar with, as an important source of wellbeing. When speaking of nature every respondent understood and related nature as important part of human experience and saw themselves subject or in interaction with it. Most members were established environmental subjects (Agrawal, 2006) even prior to joining a CSA. Some spoke of nature in almost spiritual terms of a greater force, or as encompassing system. The remaining others were often more interested in the social and democratic structures in the CSA instead.

The combination of a more well-rounded perspective, concrete interactions with nature and a relational connection to landscapes and farm, made interviewed members become more environmentally conscious. To them, food, fields, and animals carry these values. Even those who were not particularly bothered about environmental problems gained some values indirectly through the contact with other members and farmers. This manifests in greater interest in environmental topics in politics, worry about climate change and degradation of landscapes and soil. As such CSA sees great success in instilling and strengthening environmental values in members by rooting these values in specific places and experiences.

Price of wealth

In one case this increased sensibility also caused an internal conflict with the expected lifestyle in Switzerland. Part resignation and guilt at the impossibility to achieve the desired low environmental impact while living in Switzerland. This “cost of wealth” even caused some feelings of guilt for being too affluent or seeking luxuries and comfort with environmental impacts. This aligns with both the logic of ethical consumers, who see their consumerism as way to support and vote for ethical and sustainable producers, and neoliberal market-logic that sees supply and demand, and individual consumers as societal and political driving forces. in my opinion, while consumer choices are a driving part of the market, such logic is problematic as it shifts responsibility towards individuals with little influence or impact, away from the big institutions and companies that hold considerable agency, power, and responsibility for environmental damages. In addition, voting with your wallet means that the poor do not get a vote. In a broader global context, this means often those most affected and reliant on environment for sustenance have less influence than a single foreign millionaire (Spash, 2008). Furthermore, a consumer in the conventional food system still acts within the constraints of monetary transactions, is influenced by marketing, and must navigate various demands and considerations in the store as Forney explores (2016). A switch to alternative food networks and CSA allows for different ways to interact with the industry. The sense of relief of no longer having to navigate and select food in groceries mentioned by a few respondents supports this. CSAs incorporates democratic decision making and allows involvement in shaping future developments. Ethical

consumers can relax as the CSA has gained their trust through transparency and shared experiences. I believe that the act of contributing and seeing a direct effect also helps overcome this internal conflict of environmental guilt.

Environmentality as relationship to nature

One of the standout findings of this study is how respondents explicitly understood the various environmental and climate problems we face today as fundamentally relational problems between humanity and nature. To them one sided extraction of resources is a big problem. In addition, humans are understood as dependent and part of nature as well, so a complete separation is just as undesirable. Many respondents expressed the importance of sustainability for preserving resources for future generations and people. One of the key challenges of environmental problems is integrating nature into human culture and policies where it previously was irrelevant (Trainor, 2006). The offered solution by the members, and the ideal to strive for is a mutual respectful relationship with our environment. To them, the environment should not just be protected for its own sake, or for the sake of human prosperity and survival, but also out of moral responsibility and respect.

Getting in the way of this was the difficulty for some respondents to nail down a definition for nature. This is understandable since the common use of the term is strongly tied into being the opposite of culture. This often takes the form of a clear-cut dichotomy of untouched and pristine wilderness, and human shaped landscapes and designs. The defining trait for nature is that it is not human. The climate crisis and growing awareness of how people and environment interconnect, conflict with this worldview. This nature/culture dichotomy is well explored in literature. The simplest example would be how respondents say that they are part of nature, while at the same time struggling to see human designs fitting in a landscape as natural. Some respondents rejected this nature/culture binary as unproductive in favor of an undivided worldview. In most cases however the environment remained rather abstract a topic until smaller specifics are talked about. This also highlights the usefulness of a relational values perspective to understand environmental motives.

I find the relationships fostered by CSA participation contribute to overcoming this conflict by serving as a place where members can connect with the nature. Here agriculture workers are key to overcome this conflict as these jobs traditionally strive to balance the interest of people and obligation to the environment, plants and animals (Allen et al., 2018). This expresses itself in various farmers' stewardship values. For most conventional farmers the state of the land they manage is in part self-portrait of their work and values. What it means to be a good farmer and what is considered sustainable has changed over time and depends on the community around them. A previously rich diversity of crops and livestock made way to 'clean' and productive monocultures. This is tied into the identity as a food provider and manager of an organized and productive place (Burton, 2004). Through the CSA, consumers, most often from urban areas and working in offices, can experience agrarian stewardship values firsthand. This means to actively care for the land that you rely on, manage and maintain its health for future generations (Allen et al., 2018). Respondents often spoke of these values. This shows that either directly or indirectly, contact with producers help them find their own position to nature and erodes the separation between nature and culture.

CSA puts Humans back in the landscape

CSA work adds a new dimension to members relationship to nature besides beauty and relaxation: as the source and foundation for human life. The three case CSA support this value by providing transformative work practices where members can experience the growth of nature, learn how human food and environment are co-dependent, and see what a mutual and sustainable path with nature looks like. The agricultural work done by members in CSA B and C expands nature as a partner and sometimes hindrance in food production. Bad weather, pests and diseases could hinder or hurt the

weekly yield of goods for the community. Yet nature remains a vital partner and source of the food and is owed care and respect for it.

With the CSA a new dimension is added to that relationship that satisfies with tangible and intangible rewards, and a greater knowledge of problems and solutions. Many members previously went hiking, did outdoors sports or visited nature as a place to relax. As mentioned in the results, this new requirement to get something more than beauty and peace out of a nature relation creates a practical and human inclusive nature imagination in members. Early nature conservation projects were strongly based on a firm nature/culture divide where nature was seen as untouched and unspoiled, and any human presence seen as disruptive (Chapman et al., 2019). This had negative consequences for local people living in such as stringent conservation guidelines clashed with differing ideas about the relationship between people and nature (Corson & MacDonald, 2012). Echoes of this approach can still be seen in a few members ideas of giving nature space and separating agriculture from other areas. However, I propose that working on a farm, especially using manual and organic methods places human presence back in the environment and demonstrates to CSA members how a non-harmful yet productive relationship to nature can work. Solawi CSA demonstrates to sceptics that sustainability does not need to compromise production ability, and a less divisive perspective on nature opens paths for other industries to become more sustainable as well. In this way the contact with agriculture bridges the Agrarian/conservationist value conflict (Chapman et al., 2019).

5.7 Critical Reflection

A broad focus

This thesis examines a broad spectrum of value topics such as social and community values within a CSA, values, and opinions regarding nature as a place and a problem, values, and dislike regarding the food system and agriculture, and values tied into participatory work at a CSA. While this scattershot approach to topics reflects the pluralistic and overlapping nature of member values, future research could focus more on a single topic, such as the relation to the environment, the farmers, or the participatory work, for more in-depth results in the respective category.

Further Complementary studies.

This Study can be complemented with a more in-depth analysis of the three different CSA, and a further quantitative study like a survey to confirm observed differences between CSA. The exact organizational differences, way of doing things and history of each CSA would give better context for further findings. Especially the marked difference in food appreciation from respondents from Dairy CSA A, that this thesis attributes to the different type of work being done there, is a good topic for a wider respondent pool. In the same vein, the three CSA selected all featured largely similar structures, and a number of other AFN projects were omitted for greater comparability.

While the milk and cheese CSA A was distinct in comparison due to offering a differing product, observed differences between cooperative B and C were minimal, despite B being both bigger and older than C. Initial expectations with CSA C were that the greater focus education and collaborate focus with other city projects would create more differences than it ultimately had. Furthermore, the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and the very socially difficult two years it lasted is crucial context that must not be forgotten. This not only limited my amount of time spent at the different CSA locations, but also disrupted events and meetups of the CSA as well. As a result, the question whether or not the differences between the two-member sample pools are truly minimal remains to be answered.

6.0 Conclusion

This study examined the motivations for consumer membership at a CSA, what relational values are present, and what impact relational values have on the behavior of members. Focus was put on the impacts participation in the production has on member values regarding food, environmental sustainability, and social justice. In addition, the importance of participation for strengthening these values were discussed. Further, the impact of these values on consumer behavior and relations was examined. This last chapter briefly summarizes the findings of this study, then reflects critically on the paper, and ends with an outlook for possible future research.

6.1 Summary of main findings.

Restatement of the main research motivations

CSA are rapidly growing in recent years and offer an alternative to mainstream agricultural industry. While the benefits for both parties are clear, and studies on member motivations are done regularly, this paper aims to plug a research gap to study member motivations by using the relational values framework. Instrumental or even intrinsic frameworks have been shown to miss the importance of relationships and how they inform decision-making processes. Core to this study is a deeper look at how such interactions change the dynamic between consumer and producer, and what further effects these relationships have on members. What makes this study unique is that the three case studies demand work participation as part of their membership as part of their solidarity principle.

Members are ethical consumers.

The typical member of a CSA is a motivated ethical consumer interested in the realities of production and willing to invest time and money on quality to ensure good working conditions and environmental sustainability. To them the goods they consume remain tied to the places and people that created them. Because of this CSA members are skeptical of the conventional food industry and mass consumerism, not helped by various social and environmental scandals involving these industries. In this way the respondents directly showcased the core of moral economy theory: that economy and resource distribution is embedded in social norms (Carlisle, 2015). As ethical consumers they use their purchases to support businesses they believe in, and in the case of CSA, are willing to become directly involved in the production process itself (Hvitsand, 2016). Through this involvement members can see how their money is used, where their food comes from, and who benefits from their involvement. This reconnects these members to the local communities, the smaller producers working there and the landscape itself. Through these relationships they become more aware of the challenges and problems of food production. A distant and abstract value chain is now populated with a community of like-minded people they can connect with. The direct contact fosters trust and accountability on every side. In this way potential conflicts and frustrations between different viewpoints in producers and consumers can be productively overcome. Land and environment previously only appreciated for its beauty is now understood as vital partner needed for people to live. The old model of the self-centered, ultra-rational consumer is rapidly becoming irrelevant, and any business will have to adjust to the growing number of ethical consumers.

Solawi: participation enrich and change member values.

These relationships come to life through the active work participation at the Solawi CSA. By talking and working together they indirectly adopt shared values from the people of the community over time. Agrarian work is well suited to reframe member relationships to nature as a mutual relationship and helps include natural environments into their typically urban lives in a positive way. Because of the impact and importance of this solidarity participation, Swiss Solawi can be seen to go one step further than normal CSA as the term is used internationally. In any case, CSA in general showcase that a

different way of doing production that is small, local, and not growth oriented is not only possible, but beneficial for everyone as well. All of these experiences challenge preconceived notions and leads to a readjustment in beliefs and values that is so important in changing minds (Agrawal, 2006). My results confirm that values are not given, but rather shaped by experiences, social environment, and practices. Participation is understood as key part of Swiss CSA that should not be compromised, but respondents could not really articulate why.

Most striking is how intuitive this is to implement in practice, as the core of a CSA can be summarized in a single sentence: "Local consumers and producers help each other produce good organic food." For Most CSA internationally this remains purely financial however, as they do not include such a strong work participation requirement. Including such could have many positive effects on member motivation, retention, and overall satisfaction of all involved. The price could be a higher organizational upkeep, smaller consumer base, and distribution of decision-making power to group decisions. Even a limited trial could bring benefits. However, it must be said that there is no single best solution, as it all depends on local context, the specific CSA offering, the type of work done by members and most importantly, what the people involved want and if the resulting relationships feel right.

6.2 Living practices instead of speaking values.

Environmental conservation science neglects practices for values

When it comes to the question in how to change peoples' behavior towards better sustainability, the most common idea is to educate them on the benefits of a protected environment and the dangers of its destruction. Once informed and convinced of the science, people would supposedly adapt environmental values and change their practices and behavior to more sustainable ones. I believe my results show the incompleteness of this approach. From personal experience I know there is a large difference between knowing something intellectually by being *told* and being *convinced* of it by experiencing it personally. I believe that a large part why instrumental and economic factors are so favored right now in environmental conservation is their results-oriented approach allows people to directly experience value benefits in their daily lives. For example: an abstract, intrinsic knowledge of the value of fish biodiversity has less immediate bearing on a fisher' life, save perhaps in restrictions that make their livelihood harder, and as such they have no drive to change any behavior aside from social factors (peer pressure, pleasing the researcher, bragging rights etc.), environmental concern or enforcement. Looking at the case study of Agrawal (2006), leads me to conclude that only once a person has experienced the benefits, the beauty, or the value of the environment, and understood how it connects to their own life are environmental values truly integrated. Interestingly enough indirect values, of valuing something because someone else they know care for it, could also hold great potential to foster value changes. Relational values are vital to develop an environmental ethic.

Critical to this are regular interactions, traditions and rituals that maintain the relationship and values to a person as is described in the literature. Negative behavior that damages the environment similarly is rooted in regular practices, and its only logical that stopping these practices also weakens the associated values. However, new values cannot be forced as ultimately each person chooses to change themselves. But interactions can often inspire and encourage the adoption of values and shape them, so informing people of facts is merely the first step in a more involved process to change people's behavior.

Practices first approach

While only a hypothesis for now, this could have widespread implications in policy making. For new policies to be accepted and people's behavior to change for good, policy makers and researchers must also think on what practices any policy will establish, and which ones it will abolish. Focus can also be put into giving enabling new practices for already present values to strengthen them. CSA in particular provide a vehicle for organization, a specific task, and a community that creates a space of learning through sharing experiences and knowledge (Moore et al., 2015). What's important however is the nature of the relationship behind the practice. This is a careful balancing act as overall the new policy must be a net gain for a person or it will face strong opposition, sometimes even due to a conflict with established values. Its vital then to involve stakeholders and establish trust in a positive relationship to overcome opposition to new ideas. I believe such an approach holds a lot of potential for enabling lasting change towards greater environmental sustainability, social justice, and economic responsibility.

6.3 Steps towards a new food regime

CSA has a bright future

It is likely that CSA will remain a niche, but many good lessons can be learned from them. For example, that a singular focus on one aspect, such as cost, alone at the expense of other considerations is counterproductive. AFN often find a growing consumer base by addressing and operating with an understanding of plural values in consumers and producers both. More direct links of accountability and the ability to call on diverse knowledges and skills of members to find solutions to problems give CSA cooperatives stability and ability to innovate. This democratic approach in decision making also smooth conflicts and makes consumer more understanding for production problems. As such CSA offers something unique no other type of AFN can. The abundance of relational values and the principles of solidarity greatly contribute to Solawi's success. But the core of that remains the people involved that make it work.

Overall, this study shows the complex plural motivations of an increasingly self-aware and interested consumer demographic and how important relational values are to the functioning of a CSA. Initial hypothesis of the importance of relational values for CSA members have been confirmed. The results have revealed a connection to participation to values and consumer behavior worth investigating further. The CSA model looks to be a very successful if it can manage to scale without compromising its focus on consumer integration. For this to work well, both producer and consumer members must have a shared vision of what they wish to achieve, make use of their unique strengths, and know their own limitations.

Community supported industries

If current developments in food industry continue, I believe many businesses will start to include consumers more in the production process where possible. Consumers in turn will appreciate being able to engage with the food system more easily and having greater agency on how they feed themselves. CSA could be the first step to more consumer and producer interactions in general. While including consumer participation in production is certainly not viable for most industries due to the expertise required (Schümperlin, 2020). If spread, I can see the core principles of Solawi be adapted to a variety of different smaller industries for goods distribution. Spreading the principles of solidarity and connection is a more viable strategy than simple expanding CSA size (Moore et al., 2015:78). The adaptability of CSA helps find individual solutions. Even hybrid solutions are possible where for example a small bakery could continue normally but maintain a small subscription base for added financial safety. Even without participation being possible, a focus on closer consumer relations

through events, or open house policies would allow consumers to meet the people that create their goods and enrich values on both sides.

While for many the social aspect was a side-benefit and not the reason for CSA membership, this factor nevertheless contributes to the appeal. The importance of the community is a lesson that every other industry can take to heart, as especially online groups form easily and having a dedicated group greatly helps to receive feedback. As time goes on, I see the importance of community as a supporting pillar in any market only grow. In the end members stay because they feel comfortable at the CSA, so if the community aspect is neglected, many other activities become more strained or less effective in building a positive atmosphere. A more active community and involved consumer base also has a strong moderating effect on worker conditions and environmental impact in many industries.

A diverse food system

As for the conventional food regime in the future, I speculate that such community interactions will not be implemented anytime soon as they remain inherently distancing for consumers as companies and farmers must compete in globalized market conditions. Solawi's main advantages cannot be copied by the industry, and in turn the core concept of CSA limits product selection, flexibility, and price that the industry relies on. But already the implementation of sustainability certificates shows how the conventional market is branching out and incorporating other considerations than price/quality in their approach. This is both welcomed and sharply critiqued in literature. In any event this means conventional groceries will likely stay relevant due to their massive advantages in convenience and choice for consumers. CSA principles are sure to spread in the future.

In ideal circumstances, I see potential for a more diverse market with many alternative food networks co-existing as well-known and legitimate ways to buy food in the future. In such a diversified food regime CSA would be one of many options with distinct advantages and drawbacks for consumers to consider. One size does not fit all, after all. The conventional food business would need to transform itself to appeal to more social values. Price and convenience would become just one of many factors to compete with, alongside sustainability, working conditions, transport costs and local production.

6.4 Further research

This study confirmed the presence and importance of relational values to CSA members, and how through participation consumer behavior changes. So far, an assessment of producer's relational values could be valuable to see if this is a one-sided development. For example, what are the effects of consumer connections on the relational values of a CSA producer? And how do CSA farmer values differ from regular farmer values, and if so, why? I hypothesize that there would be a substantial difference from regular farmers due to different social environment, greater financial security, and different criteria for success in CSA. Such a study could also explore the limitations and entry barriers of CSA present for producers. To mind come a limited consumer base in rural areas and increased organizational workload. What leads to a CSA failing, what hurdles and potential problem needs to be navigated?

Another approach could be to deepen research on how different work experiences or jobs lead to different values and perspectives. My results have implied that someone regularly working the fields has a marked difference in values than a volunteer staff that organizes funding, even if both people started from a similar consumer position. Can the same be found in other contexts? How do practices and participation help shape values, and what polices can encourage and relate to people's own interests to create practices that increase environmental sensibility? Such a study could find out how different organizational structures or social environments leads to different values. Knowing more on the practical mechanics of values, practices and decision-making would be valuable in a variety of

fields. One of the key problems facing us is that educating people alone is ineffective in changing ingrained behavior. Such a study would not necessarily need to restrain itself to CSA either and could be conducted in many other areas. Furthermore, how do we install such new practices without encountering resistance from value conflicts?

CSA remains full of potential for new research in the future. Not only for what it already achieved in innovation, but also that it remains a growing and dynamic movement with a large variety of approaches to the question of how people should feed themselves. The contrast to the conventional industry invites new perspectives and ideas on how production and consumption can look. Especially in Switzerland many opportunities to learn remain and should be pursued.

Similarly Relational values have proven full of potential to bridge a variety of disparage fields and allow for novel insights, such as the importance of participation, the surprising lack of community connection between CSA members, the specificity of food and landscape values. Over time I can only see this new way of assessing values gain traction and become a keystone to bridge more and more social, economic, and environmental fields.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Interview Guide v6 Stefan Geissberger

1. Projekt und sich selbst vorstellen

Ich bin Stefan Geissberger, Geografie Student an der Universität Zürich. Für meine Masterarbeit mache ich Interviews mit Mitgliedern von Solawis Gemeinschaften im Kanton Zürich. In diesem Interview möchte ich dir Fragen über deine Meinung und Perspektive zur Genossenschaft, Natur und Lebensmittel stellen.

2. Einverständnisblatt
3. Übersicht über das Interview
4. Erinnerung, dass es sich um eine Erkundung des Themas handelt, und dass es keine richtigen und falschen Antworten gibt
5. Dem/der Teilnehmer/in im Voraus danken
6. Digitales Aufnahmegerät anschalten

Generell

- Kannst du mir erzählen warum dir das wichtig ist?
- Könntest du mehr darüber erzählen, / wie meinst du das genau?
- Was ist der unterschied Zwischen X und Y?

Part 1: Persönliche Motivationen

- Als Einstieg, könntest du mir über deinen Hintergrund und Interessen erzählen?
- Kannst du mir erzählen, wie du Solidarischen Landwirtschaft entdeckt hast?
- Was überzeugte dich Mitglied zu werden?
    - Gab es Personen oder Erfahrungen, welche dich überzeugten?
- Wie lange bist du schon Mitglied?
- Warum hast du diese Solawi ausgewählt und nicht eine andere?
    - Was fandest du für Nachteile in dieser Zeit?

Part 2: Verbindungen Solawi Verbund.

- Was für Aktivitäten machst du bei der Solawi mit?
    - Könntest du mir erzählen, wie das dort genau läuft?
    - Was interessiert dich an der Produktion selbst?
    - Für was übernimmst du gerne Verantwortung?
- Was motiviert dich ein Mitglied zu bleiben?
    - Ist es die Arbeit selbst oder die Gesellschaft?
    - Warum ist [**das]** für dich wichtig?
    - Wie fühlst du dich als Teil der Solawi?
- Fandest du neue Freunde und Kontakte bei der Solawi?
    - Wie wichtig sind dir diese Kontakte innerhalb der Solawi?
    - Kann man offen mit Ihnen reden?
- Was hat dich an der Genossenschaft am meisten überrascht?

Part 3: Einstellung zu Nahrung und Supermarkt

- deine Meinung nach, was ist ein gutes Lebensmittel?
    - Denkst du anders über Lebensmittel seitdem du mitmachst?
    - Auf was genau schaust du, wenn du im Laden kaufst?
- Würdest du, wenn du könntest, dich komplett solidarisch ernähren?
    - Warum, warum nicht?
- Wie stark motiviert das Essen dich bei Solawi mitzumachen?
- Ist es ein anderes Gefühl das zu essen oder kochen, wo man selbst mitgeholfen hat am Hof, als im Laden zu kaufen?
    - Unterschiedet sich Solawi Ware vom normalen im Laden?

Part 4: Einstellung Zur Natur

- Wenn ich Natur sage, wie würdest du das Definieren?
    - Was ist Natur für dich?
    - Wo findet man Natur?
- Deiner Meinung nach, was ist ein guter Umgang mit der Natur?
    - Was ist deiner Meinung nach am wichtigsten, Richtig zu machen?
- Wie ist deine Verbindung zur Natur?
    - Gibt es einen bestimmten Ort, der dir sehr gefällt?
    - Was tut oder erfüllt Natur für dich persönlich?
    - Wofür fühlst du dich zur Natur verantwortlich?
- Könntest du deine Rolle zur Natur benennen?
    - Zum Beispiel als jemand der Natur steuert, als ein Partner, ein Beschützer, Verwalter, Ausnutzer, Teil davon, oder etwas anderes?
- Wie passt Landwirtschaft für dich in die Natur?
    - Könntest du beschreiben wie für dich eine gute Landwirtschaft aussieht?
        - Ist Solawi ein gutes Vorbild?
    - Wo würdest du die Grenzen setzen, ab wann ist es Zuviel menschlichen Eingriff?
    - Wie denkst du wird sich die Landwirtschaft in Zukunft entwickeln?
- Hattest du neue Erfahrungen mit Natur, seit du bei einer Solawi mitmachst?

Part 5: Verbindung zur Produktion selbst

- Kennst du die Bauern und Bäuerinnen? Welchen Kontakt hast du zu ihnen?
- Kann man gut mit den Landwirten reden?
    - Wo sind ihr euch einig? Habt ihr ähnliche Vorstellungen und Ideen?
    - Gibt es auch unterschiedliche Vorstellungen als die Bauern und Bäuerinnen?
    - Könntest du mir ein Beispiel geben?
    - Hat der Kontakt zu den Landwirten deine Meinung oder Perspektive beeinflusst?
- Was meinst du zur Arbeit auf dem Hof? Wie beschreibst du die Stimmung?
    - hast du was Neues gelernt? Was hat dich überrascht?
    - Hast du etwas von den Bauern gelernt?
    - Was macht die Arbeit befriedigend für dich?
- Würdest du den Arbeitseinsatz weglassen aber dafür mehr zahlen?
- Was ist zentral für dich Bei der Solawi?
- Was könnte man bei Solawi noch verbessern?
- Was limitiert die Solawi noch?

Declaration

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.

Stefan Geissberger, 21.04.2022