Universität für Bodenkultur Wien

Comparing Community Supported Agriculture in Vienna and Vancouver

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Statutory Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this work. No assistance other than that permitted has been used. All quotes and concepts taken from unpublished sources, published literature or the internet in wording or in basic content have been identified as such. This written work has not yet been submitted in any part.

Vienna, February 2018

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Elena Wohlmacher

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Abstract

Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is an alternative model of organising the production and distribution of food, that contrasts strongly with industrial agriculture and the conventional food system. Farmers and consumers work together to establish a system dedicated to sustainable agricultural practices and in which food is de-commodified, exchange is based on moral values, and communities are reinvigorated. CSAs are still rare in Austria, while they have spread widely in North America. This thesis offers insights into the reasons why CSA saw a weaker development in Vienna, Austria than in Vancouver, Canada. I conducted qualitative interviews with a total of 16 experts in both areas, asking them which factors they perceived as influencing the development of CSA, taking into account the point of view of farmers and consumers. The experts from both areas regarded practicing agriculture following own values and ideals, and achieving financial security as important motivations for farmers to establish a CSA. Yet, the interviews revealed differences in the implementation of the CSA model. While most CSA farmers in Vienna practice CSA as an alternative to the predominant market economy and value community involvement, many farmers in Vancouver use CSA as a business model to access premium markets. According to the experts, consumers in Vienna have strong idealistic and political motives such as social responsibility and protesting the current food system, whereas consumers in Vancouver mainly join a CSA to access local, seasonal and organic food. The results also indicate that the development of CSA may be dependent on the broader context, i.e. the perception of the industrialisation of the regional agricultural and food system, and the availability of local and organic food in mainstream sales channels.

Key words: community supported agriculture; development; influencing factors; Vienna; Vancouver

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

1.1 Industrialisation and Globalisation of Agriculture

During the industrial revolution, starting in the middle of the 19th century, motorisation, mechanisation, mineral fertilisers and chemical pesticides were introduced to agriculture. From the 1950s onwards, agriculture in developed countries experienced a shift towards intensification, rationalisation and specialisation based on progresses in industry, biotechnology, transport and communication (FAO, 2000). Progress in biotechnology generated high-yielding plant varieties and animal breeds that were adjusted to the newly established production practices (FAO, 2000; Woodhouse, 2010). The use of chemical fertilisers has not only led to increased yields, but also substitutes livestock manure, compost, and nitrogen-fixing crops. Further, pesticides replaced the former crop rotation system used to control insects and diseases (Altieri and Nicholis, 2005; FAO, 2000). Overall, agriculture became more and more simplified and specialised, resulting in monocultures that allow farm holdings to focus on their most profitable production processes (FAO, 2000).

The advent of motorised transportation by truck, train, plane or boat facilitated long-distance procurement of agricultural inputs as well as sale of agricultural products in large quantities. Communication improvements enabled distant trade and the organisation of large-scale administrative, financial and trade structures (FAO, 2000; Woodhouse, 2010).

All those efficiency-driven innovations allowed for very productive and competitive farming systems. However, this transformation into a system that favours large-scale and specialised production, mono-cropping and mechanisation also entails a variety of negative effects (Altieri and Nicholis, 2005).

On the ecological side, the use of selected seed varieties in monocultures and the required high levels of chemical inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides can lead to soil degradation, acidification or salinisation and water contamination (Kimbrell, 2002; Picone and Van Tassel, 2002). Crop monocultures lead to a loss of biodiversity and are linked to the instability and susceptibility of agroecosystems to pests. As a consequence, ecosystems are destabilised and therefore less resilient to climate change and other environmental threats (Altieri and Nicholis, 2005; Kareiva et al., 2007; Picone and Van Tassel, 2002).

In addition to these ecological concerns, agricultural modernisation has also brought changes to agrarian societies. Modernisation is highly capital-intensive as farm holdings are continually pushed to invest into new, more efficient technologies, improved seed varieties and agrochemicals to increase productivity and reduce unit production costs, so as to be able to compete on world markets (Woodhouse, 2010). However, the resultant debts make farms financially vulnerable (Pretty, 2002; Woodhouse, 2010). The high degree of mechanisation and larger farms have increased the land managed per worker, while at the same time reduced the number of farms and farm workers (FAO, 2000). In many rural areas, this has led to high agricultural outmigration and to a decrease of population density, which makes it difficult to maintain services such as schools, health care or shops and to preserve local social life (FAO, 2000).

Agricultural modernisation as well as new processing technologies furthermore initiated rapid changes in the food supply chain. Efficiency gains increased food production and allowed for cheap, standardised and highly processed food for the masses (Schermer, 2014). Supported by improved transportation, food sourcing shifted from local to regional and on to global supply points, making food sourcing spatially and temporally independent from each other (Lang,

2004). Campbell (2009) describes this as shift from 'food from somewhere' to 'food from nowhere'.

Changes in the food supply chain also include a shift of power from the manufacturers towards food retailers. Before World War II, the food supply chain was dominated by manufacturers, with retailers having the role of marketing the products manufacturers produce at prices the manufacturing sector established (Burch and Lawrence, 2005). From the 1960s onwards, as demand for high-quality products in industrialised countries increased, the food retail market became highly competitive and increasingly concentrated and globalised. Food retailers gained the power to displace the manufacturing sector from the organisation and management of the food supply chain (Burch and Lawrence, 2005) and now control the product chain from farm to shelf (Fuchs et al., 2009). By exercising high purchasing power, food retailers place their suppliers into dependent relationships and extract value from them (Burch and Lawrence, 2005). They put further pressure on farmers by demanding high quantities and setting private standards, i.e. for food safety or environmental and social responsibility, which usually are costly to implement and require certification (Fuchs et al., 2009). These requirements favour large-scale farming systems and lead to limited market access for small-scale farmers who cannot meet the requirements (Fuchs et al., 2009).

All these developments seemingly made food cheaper. However, food in fact did not get cheaper as the real, hidden costs of industrialised agriculture are not considered (Altieri and Nicholis, 2005; Pretty, 2002). These hidden costs include costs arising from environmental damages and social disruption. They are not borne by the polluters, i.e. the producers, but by society. The costs of using natural resources as inputs or using the intact environment as a sink for pollution are thus externalised (Pretty, 2002). Hidden costs further include health care expenditures arising from the high toll of diet-related diseases, which are linked to the consumption of highly processed food (Burch and Lawrence, 2005).

The transformation of agriculture has been promoted by international institutions and agreements, especially by the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Barker, 2007). Indeed, the introduction of the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) resulted in a more liberal, market-oriented agricultural policy. The rules of the AoA require countries to convert import quotas into tariffs which must be reduced over time; domestic price support and production subsidies must be cut back, and the level of export subsidies is bound to WTO rules (Barker, 2007; World Trade Organization, 2011).

1.2 Alternative Food Movements and Civic Food Networks

To oppose the industrialisation and globalisation of agriculture and the food system, alternative food movements emerged. Between the 1970s and the 1980s organic agriculture spread as a sustainable alternative to the prevailing industrialised and globalised agricultural and food system and contributed to environmental protection and conservation of biodiversity (O'Hara and Stagl, 2001). Alternative food movements have been studied in a large body of literature under different conceptual headings such as alternative food networks (Allen et al., 2003; Jarosz, 2000; Renting et al., 2003), local food systems (Fonte, 2008; Hinrichs, 2000) or short food supply chains (Ilbery and Maye, 2005; Marsden et al., 2000). They are broadly defined as „forms of food provisioning with characteristics deemed to be different from, perhaps counteractive to, mainstream modes which dominate in developed countries" (Tregear, 2011, p. 419) or „newly emerging networks of producers, consumers, and other actors that embody alternatives to the more standardised industrial mode of food supply" (Renting et al., 2003, p. 394). Yet, these movements mainly focus on the supply chain, direct-selling and marketing activities initiated by producers. Further they do not take into account the role of citizens in

agri-food governance mechanisms and they often lack attention to social inclusion and justice issues (Renting et al., 2012).

Civic food networks are a more recent concept that „ignores the traditional binary distinction of producers and consumers as being situated on opposite sides of the supply chain. Instead, a picture emerges where both producers and consumers are working together in opposition to the conventional food system“ (Schermer, 2014, p. 122). The emergence of such networks is an expression of civil society's transformation from passive, self-interested consumers into active food citizens. They shift their focus beyond their private needs and desires towards a more socially accountable consumption and the public good in general (Lyson, 2005).

By engaging in civic food networks, food citizens take political action and reclaim influence on the governance triangle of market, state and civil society (Renting et al., 2012). In the prevailing industrialised food system, agri-food governance is mainly focused on market-regulation and state-intervention. Civil society plays only a minor role within these governance mechanisms. Being food citizens, farmers and consumers together establish new forms of cooperation based on political and social motivations that go beyond traditional economic exchange (Renting et al., 2012). Thereby they raise awareness and shape food production, distribution and consumption systems favouring local and seasonal foods, offering fair incomes to farmers, providing quality food for all income levels and promoting organic production methods (Renting et al., 2012).

The ideas of civic food networks can also be found in the international food sovereignty movement. Food sovereignty was first proposed by the international peasant movement La Via Campesina in 1996 (Nyéléni Europe and European Coordination Via Campesina, 2011). It is defined as "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (Nyéléni, 2007, p. 1). Food sovereignty aims at "supporting all peoples in their right to produce their own food, independent of international market conditions, and to consume local foods" (Nyéléni Europe, n.d.).

Examples for civic food networks are community supported agriculture (CSA) (Renting et al., 2012), the French Associations for the Support of Peasant Agriculture (AMAP - Associations pour le Maintien d'une Agriculture Paysanne) (Lamine et al., 2012), solidarity purchasing groups such as the Italian GAS (Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale) (Grasseni, 2014), Spanish agro-ecological consumption cooperatives GAK (Grupos Autogestionados de Konsumo) (Montiel et al., 2010) and food cooperatives (food co-ops) for example in the UK, Germany (Renting et al., 2012) and Austria (Jaklin et al., 2015).

1.3 Community Supported Agriculture

CSA originated in the 1960s and early 1970s in Japan, where it is called 'Teikei', meaning 'partnership'. The movement started among a group of urban mothers bringing up small children who were concerned about food safety considering the rapid industrialisation of agriculture in Japan. They organised themselves and formed partnerships with farmers who adopted organic farming techniques (Kondoh, 2015). At the same time, in the late 1970s the first CSA emerged in Switzerland (Henderson and Van En, 2007).

Within the framework of civic food networks, CSA represents one model of organising the production and distribution of food that reaches beyond producer-led direct-selling activities. It is set in an economic structure that opposes industrial agriculture with its liberal market structures, economies of scale and short-term profit maximisation goals. Instead, CSA enables civic actors to develop a system in which food is de-commodified (Feagan and Henderson,

2009), exchange is based on moral values, relationships between farmers and consumers are built and familial and community culture are reinvigorated (Feagan and Henderson, 2009; Hinrichs, 2000; Kloppenburg et al., 1996).

In the literature (Bougherara et al., 2009; Abbott Cone and Myhre, 2000; Farnsworth et al., 1996; Henderson and Van En, 2007) CSA is described as a contractual agreement between a farm and a group of consumers, mostly referred to as members, shareholders or subscribers. In late winter, before the start of the growing season, farmers develop a budget that usually includes the estimated costs for inputs and labour as well as their own wage. This budget is then divided into shares which members buy at the beginning of the season. By doing so, members provide upfront interest-free working capital and a guaranteed market for the farm, enabling farmers to focus on food production and gain more autonomy from financial markets. In return, farmers provide a weekly share of fresh, often organic, produce to their members (Abbott Cone and Myhre, 2000; O'Hara and Stagl, 2001; Paul, 2015). The weekly shares are either delivered to the members' homes, or picked-up directly at the farm or at central distribution sites. Members often have an active role in deciding on crops and growing practices (Henderson and Van En, 2007).

CSAs have developed differently in North America and Europe. In North America, the CSA movement successfully spread from the middle of the 1980s (Henderson and Van En, 2007). In Europe, some CSAs emerged in Switzerland and Germany between the late 1970s and the 1990s, but the movement gained momentum only from the year 2000 onwards (Weckenbrock et al., 2016). Since then, CSA has experienced considerable growth in many European countries like France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom and Spain (Weckenbrock et al., 2016). In other parts of Europe, for example in Austria and Eastern European countries, the movement is still in its infancy (Weckenbrock et al., 2016).

1.4 Research Objective

The present thesis contributes to the existing literature by offering insights into the reasons why CSA develops more successfully in certain regions than in others. In particular, the thesis focuses on the timid development of CSA in Austria. Indeed, in Austria, the first CSA has been established only in 2011 and currently 26 CSAs are operating nationwide (Engel et al., 2016), three of them are located in the metropolitan area of Vienna (Metro Vienna) (Nyéléni Austria, 2016).

To understand the late and slow development of CSA in Austria – focusing on Metro Vienna – I will compare it to the development of another metropolitan area where CSA has been visible for a long time, namely Vancouver (Metro Vancouver) in Canada. In Canada, the first CSA has been established in the 1980s (McCracken, 2012) and there are currently 38 CSAs in Metro Vancouver (Farm Folk City Folk, 2016). These two metropolitan regions are comparable in size, affluence of consumers and environmental orientation.

The metropolitan area of Vienna[1] comprises the city of Vienna and 183 municipalities, 21 of which are in the core area and 162 of which are in the outer area (see figure 1). They are spread across an area of 4,975 km² and include 2,457,913 inhabitants (Stadtregionen.at, 2016).

[1] There is no uniform definition for the metropolitan area around the Austrian capital Vienna (which is also a province) as the surrounding municipalities are governed autonomously and belong to the provinces of Lower Austria and Burgenland. In this thesis, I refer to the definition of 'Metro Vienna' presented in the project 'Stadtregionen.at' (cityregions.at) carried out by the Austrian Centre for Public Administration Research and the Austrian Association of Cities and Towns.

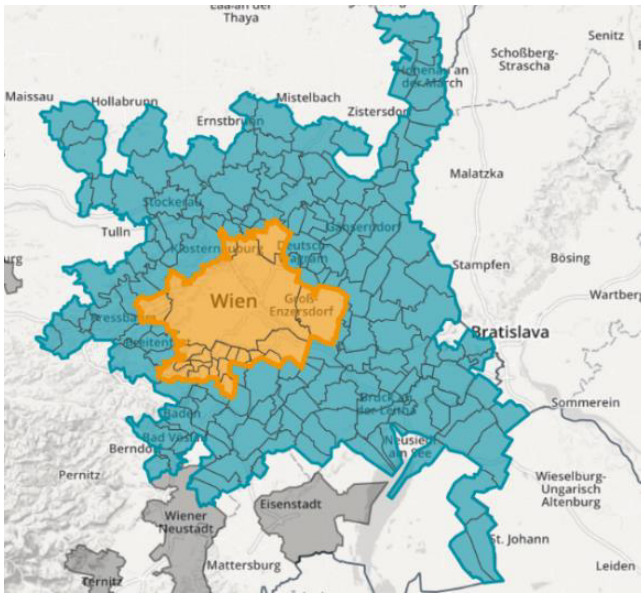

Figure 1: Map of Metro Vienna
(source: stadtregionen.at)

Metro Vancouver comprises 21 municipalities, one Electoral Area and one Treaty First Nation (see figure 2) in the Canadian province of British Columbia. Metro Vancouver covers 2,883 km² (Statistics Canada, 2012) with a total of 2,447,093 inhabitants. These municipalities are governed by the Metro Vancouver regional district (Metro Vancouver, n.d.).

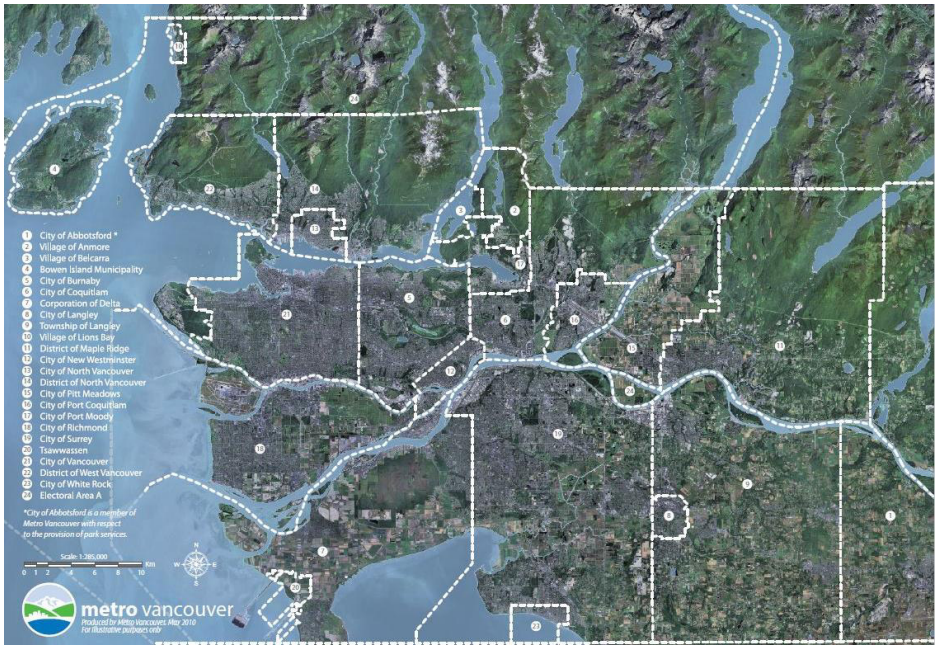

Figure 2: Map of Metro Vancouver
(source: Metro Vancouver)

Vienna and Vancouver are not only comparable in size and number of inhabitants, but also in various aspects which contribute to a high standard of living. In the past years, Vienna and Vancouver have been rated top cities for overall quality of living. The international consulting

firm Mercer annually assesses the quality of living conditions in over 440 places in the world, considering different factors in the fields of political, social, economic and socio-cultural environment, medical and health considerations, schools and education, public services and transportation, recreation, consumer goods, housing and natural environment (Mercer, 2017). From 2010 until 2017 Vienna has been ranked number 1 and Vancouver has been number 5 of most liveable cities in the world (Mercer, 2017).

2 Material and Methods

2.1 A Qualitative Approach

This thesis has a qualitative research design. In contrast to quantitative research, which works with large quantities and strictly standardised methods, a qualitative approach allows to investigate the topic of the thesis in a more open and more involved way (see Flick et al., 2004, p. 5). Indeed, qualitative research aims at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of individuals' social and material circumstances, experiences, perspectives and histories (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 3). Data collection methods involve close contact to the research participants, they are interactive and developmental and therefore allow for emergent issues to be explored (Snape and Spencer, 2003, p. 5). By applying qualitative data collection methods, I could collect detailed and information rich data which I could then interpret to produce descriptions and classifications, to identify patterns of association and to develop explanations (see Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p. 5). Qualitative research focuses on theory formation and therefore requires openness towards new hypotheses and theories, which have not been considered in presuppositions, as well as methodological flexibility (Bortz and Döring, 2016, p. 67). This thesis followed a step-wise research process, meaning that I first completed a literature review and then proceeded to empirical data collection, first in Metro Vienna and then in Metro Vancouver.

2.2 Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review was to achieve a better understanding of different factors which could have an impact on the development of CSA in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver. For this I reviewed existing literature on CSA, focusing on challenges farmers face when implementing CSA and consumers' motives to participate in CSA. I also reviewed structural factors in the broader context that might influence the development of CSAs, such as agricultural policy, farm structure, legal frameworks for CSA and the retail structure in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver.

Based on the information gathered through the literature review, I compiled a list of factors that might influence the development of CSA in the two research areas (see chapter 3). As these factors guided the structure of the interviews, they were grouped into categories, depending on whether they concern famers or consumers and whether they have a positive or a negative influence on the development of CSA.

2.3 Collecting Empirical Data

2.3.1 Interviews

To understand which of the factors that I identified in the literature actually influenced the development of CSA in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver, I conducted semi-structured interviews with experts in the field of CSA (see section 2.3.3). For the semi-structured interviews, I used an interview schedule (see annex 1) which not only served me as a guideline during the interviews and data analysis, but also facilitated the content-related comparability of the interviews (see Bortz and Döring, 2016). The interview schedule comprised a list of open-ended questions and its structure was sufficiently flexible (1) to alter formulations according to the interviewee and the situation and (2) for me to be responsive to new topics the interviewee raised and to ask follow-up questions spontaneously (see Bortz and Döring, 2016, p. 372). This enabled me not only to ask questions that encouraged the interviewee to

talk freely about his/her views and experiences, but also to manage the course of the interview to ensure that all topics were covered to the required depth (see Legrand et al., 2003, p. 147). To achieve depth of answer, I used follow-up questions and probes that facilitated the exploration and explanation of the interviewee's opinions (see Legrand et al., 2003, p. 141).

The interviews took place in Metro Vienna as well as in Metro Vancouver, five of them via Skype as three of the Austrian interviewees were not available before my departure to Vancouver and two of the Canadian interviewees were not in Vancouver at the time I conducted the interviews. On average, the interviews lasted approximately one hour. To ensure accurate data analysis, I recorded all interviews with a digital recorder. Before the interviews took place, I provided each interviewee with a signed data protection declaration (see annex 2). Each interviewee confirmed his/her consent to participate in the research towards the thesis and to being recorded by signing a consent form (see annex 3).

2.3.1.1 Open-ended Questions

The first part of the interview comprised open-ended questions (see annex 1). I started the interview by asking the interviewee about his/her background in relation to CSA. This question served as a warm-up and at the same time to gain detailed insights into the interviewee's experiences with CSA, e.g. since when and in which way s/he has been involved in the development of CSA. After that I moved on to the main questions. I asked the interviewee which motivations farmers and consumers in the respective research area have to participate in CSA and what might keep them from doing so. By using probes, I strived to cover a wide range of aspects such as, on the farmers' side, personal and political motives, structural framework conditions, laws, alternative marketing channels or agricultural policy; and, on the consumers' side, personal and political motives, convenience or the availability of local and/or organic food. At the end of the interview, I asked the interviewee if s/he has presumptions why CSA started to develop around the year 2011 in Austria/in the 1980s in Canada. With this question, I intended to learn more about incidents or pioneers that played an important role in the development of CSA in the respective research area.

2.3.1.2 Scoring Exercise

The second part of the interview was a scoring exercise (see annex 1). It aimed at identifying explicit, numerical results (Abeyasekera, 2005, p. 1) about which factors most influence the development of CSA in the respective research area. Scoring is a quantitative tool which offers the possibility to (1) rank the factors according to their relevance and (2) measure the distance between the relevance of the factors (Abeyasekera, 2005, p. 5).

For the scoring exercise, I prepared a set of printed cards with one card for each influencing factor as identified in the literature review. The purpose of using cards instead of a list of factors is two-fold: (1) to bring diversity into the interviewing situation by adding a haptic activity and (2) to facilitate the selection of the most influential factors by e.g. shifting and ranking the cards. The cards had different colours, depending on whether factors concern farmers or consumers, to make it easier to distinguish between the two groups. Within each group there were positively (printed in green) and negatively (printed in red) influencing factors. I first attempted for a balanced number of positive and negative factors in each group. However, this attempt resulted in a partial thematic overlap of factors. Thus, it made more sense to have a varied number of factors. There were originally 12 positive and five negative factors on the farmers' side and seven positive and five negative factors on the consumers' side. In some cases, the interviewees mentioned factors in the first section of the interview which were not included in the cards. I added these factors on blank cards before I started the scoring exercise.

The scoring exercise consisted of three steps:

1. In the first step, I presented the interviewee with the cards and asked him/her – separately for farmers and consumers – to select two positive factors[2] and one negative factor which in his/her opinion have the most influence on the development of CSA in the respective research area (see figure 3).

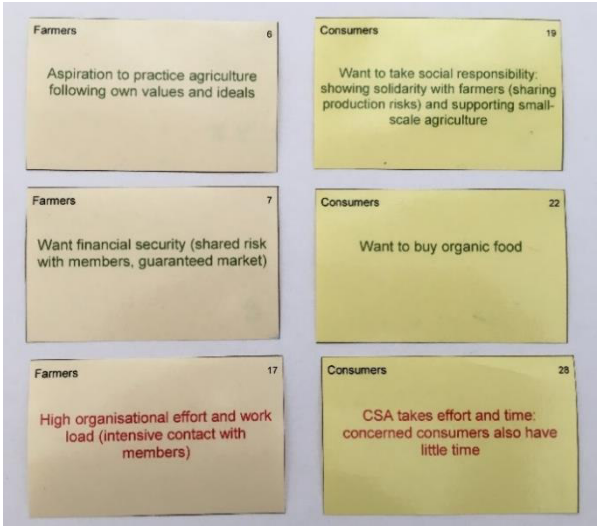

Figure 3: Example of selected factors

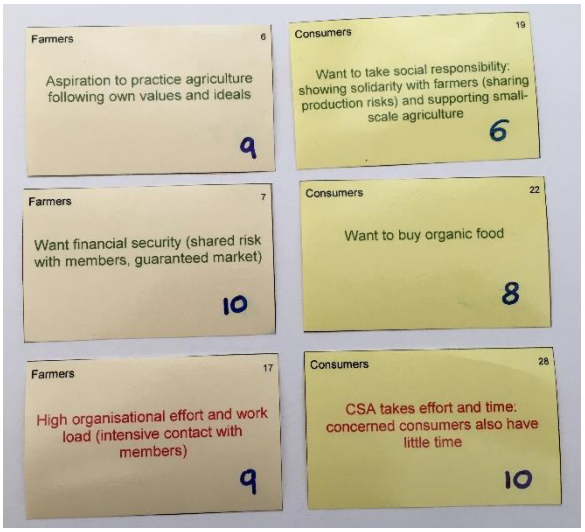

Figure 4: Example of rated factors

2. In the second step, I asked the interviewee to rate each of the three chosen factors independently with a score between zero and ten (see figure 4), as proposed by Maxwell and Bart (1995, p. 2). The higher the score, the higher the factor's influence on the development of CSA. After the interviewee finished scoring, I asked him/her to explain his/her evaluation of each factor.
3. In the third step, I asked the interviewee to look at the scores of the six chosen factors (two positive and one negative factor each for farmers and consumers) together. By doing so the interviewee had the opportunity to review his/her rating regarding the relation in which the scores stand to each other. If the interviewee wanted to change the scores, s/he had the possibility to do so. Again, I asked the interviewee to explain his/her reflections.

2.3.2 Selection of Participants

I conducted interviews with experts in the field of CSA. The term 'expert' describes individuals who have a special perspective and knowledge about one or more of the various aspects of CSA due to their focal points of research or work (Meuser and Nagel, 1991). Experts are not the object of investigation, but rather the medium of knowledge transfer (Meuser and Nagel, 1991).

I initially set up a list of potential experts for each research area by searching the internet for representatives of different organisations who have a direct link to CSA. Furthermore, I recruited experts via the snowball system, i.e. I asked the experts I already interviewed if they can recommend other potential experts. In Metro Vienna, the group of experts turned out to be

[2] Since in both groups the number of positive factors to choose from was higher than the number of negative factors, I decided to facilitate the selection of the most important factors by letting the experts choose two positive factors of each group.

very small and therefore in most cases the already interviewed experts recommended the same four to five people for further interviews.

All experts I interviewed for this thesis remain anonymous. For data analysis, I solely provide a description of their expertise (see tables 1 and 2). To allow linking the quotes to the area of expertise, I use a pseudonym.

Table 1: Description of experts for Metro Vienna

Pseudonym	Area of Expertise
VIE1	• Projects of an international globalisation-critical movement, among other topics working towards food sovereignty • Study trips to well-developed CSAs in Germany and Switzerland • CSA networking activities in Austria
VIE2	• Research about CSA in Austria • CSA networking activities • Working group member for the establishment of an Austrian CSA
VIE3	• Working group member for the establishment of an Austrian CSA • Public relations work for CSA in Austria
VIE4	• Working group member for the establishment of an Austrian CSA • Advisor for newly started CSAs
VIE5	• Projects of an international globalisation-critical movement, among other topics working towards food sovereignty • Study trips to well-developed CSAs in Germany and Switzerland • Research about CSA in Austria • CSA networking and communication activities in Austria • Employee at a CSA
VIE6	• Projects of an international globalisation-critical movement, among other topics working towards food sovereignty • Projects of an international movement working towards food sovereignty • CSA networking activities in Austria • International exchange project for CSA in Europe • Study trips to well-developed CSAs in Germany and Switzerland • Research about CSA in Austria
VIE7	• Employee of an international organisation working towards a peasant-based alternative model of agriculture • Projects of an international globalisation-critical movement, among other topics working towards food sovereignty • Study trips to well-developed CSAs in Germany and Switzerland
VIE8	• External lecturer at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna • Research focus on organic agriculture and regional development

Table 2: Description of experts for Metro Vancouver

Pseudonym	Area of Expertise
VAN1	• Works for a non-profit organisation working towards a local, sustainable food system • Founding member of several CSAs
VAN2	• CSA farmer • Business mentor for new and young farmers
VAN3	• Food activist • Research in community development and planning

	• Founder of a non-profit organisation working towards a local, sustainable food system • Food policy consultant
VAN4	• Working group member for the establishment of two CSAs • Sales coordinator for a CSA
VAN5	• Member of the Vancouver Food Policy Council • Director of an organization working towards healthy, just and sustainable food systems in British Columbia • CSA member
VAN6	• Food activist • Director of a non-profit environmental organisation working towards urban sustainability in British Columbia • Member of the Vancouver Food Policy Council • Food security consultant
VAN7	• CSA farmer • President of an organisation dedicated to urban farming in Vancouver
VAN8	• Social planner for the City of Vancouver, department for food policy • Member of the Vancouver Food Policy Council

2.4 Data Analysis

To analyse the data, I partially transcribed each interview. Partial transcription is a time-saving alternative to full transcription as it allows to transcribe only highly relevant passages and to summarise the remaining content of the interview (Bortz and Döring, 2016, p. 583). I am aware that partial transcription bears the risk of taking material out of context (Powers, 2005, p. 25) or of leaving out passages which are relevant for answering the research question (Bortz and Döring, 2016, p. 583). I strived to avoid these problems by selecting the passages to be transcribed following the list of influencing factors (see table 6).

After the transcription, I analysed the interviews according to structuring content analysis (Mayring, 2015). The object of structuring content analysis is to extract and summarise certain topics and contents from the data material (Mayring, 2015, p. 103). This is a deductive procedure as it requires to establish a category system before coding the data material (Mayring, 2015, p. 103).

The formation of the category system involved the following steps (see Mayring, 2015, p. 97): First, I established categories based on the influencing factors I identified in the literature review (see chapter 3). To account for openness and the exploratory character of this research, I also inductively added new categories for factors, as they were named by the interviewees. Once the category system was set up, I went through the data material, marked all relevant text passages (Mayring, 2015, p. 99) and assigned content-related passages to the categories (Mayring, 2015, p. 103). Tables 7 and 8 in chapter 3 give an overview of the original factors as well as the ones I added inductively. For this analysing process, I used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 11.

To contrast and compare the analysis of the answers to the open questions in the interviews, I also quantitatively analysed the results of the scoring exercise. I transferred the scores into a Microsoft Excel table (see tables 7 and 8) and totalled the scores to assess the impact of the factor on the development of CSA.

I analysed and interpreted the results of each research area separately, divided by whether they concern farmers or consumers and whether they have a positive or negative influence on

the development of CSA. For each research area, I analysed the categories regarding commonalities and differences between the experts' statements. Afterwards I discussed the results of these analyses in respect to the research question, identifying reasons for the different development of CSA in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver.

3 Results from the Literature Review: Context, Motivations and Challenges Linked to CSA

CSA is built not only on idealistic, political or philosophical motivations (see section 1.2), but also practical ones (Cox et al., 2008). However, it is important to view motivations to participate in CSA in a wider context when analysing the development of CSA. In this chapter, I first give an overview of the structural context in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver, before summarising farmers' motivations to participate in CSA as well as the challenges they face when implementing the concept; and finally, summarising consumers' motivations to become members of a CSA. Based on this literature review, I compile a list of factors that might have influenced the development of CSA in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver.

3.1 Structural Factors

3.1.1 Agricultural Policy

After the Second World War and through the 1970s, Austrian and Canadian agricultural policies followed a state-assistance paradigm (Krammer and Scheer, 1978; Wiebe and Wipf, 2011). Agricultural policies were characterised by a variety of policy instruments to (1) increase productivity by encouraging mechanisation and specialisation and (2) to support domestic farmers' market power and protect them from international market forces (Krammer and Scheer, 1978; Hofreither, 1995; Skogstad, 2008; Skogstad, 2011).

In Austria since 1995 (when Austria became a member of the European Union) and in Canada since the late 1980s, agricultural policies shifted to a neoliberal paradigm (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2011; European Commission, 2013; Wiebe and Wipf, 2011). This shift resulted in large structural changes: In Austria, the total number of farms declined from approximately 282,000 farms in 1990 to approximately 166,000 farms in 2013. Over the same period the average farm size increased from 24 ha to 37 ha (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 165). Similar changes can be observed in Canadian agriculture. While there were approximately 280,000 farms in 1991, the number declined to approximately 206,000 farms in 2011 and the average farm size increased from 242 ha to 315 ha (Statistics Canada, 2015).

The amount of public support payments farmers receive might play an important role when it comes to farmers' pressure to seek alternative farming models that provide them a more stable income. Public funds from the European Union make a substantial contribution to the income of Austrian farmers. In 2015, public funds accounted on average for 78% of farm income (i.e. family income from agriculture and forestry) (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 173), which may contribute to stabilising farm income. However, one should note that public funds from the European Union vary greatly depending on the operating forms of farms. For example, in 2015 funds for beef farms exceeded their farm income by 96% (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 180), funds for feed farms made approximately 96% of their farm income (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 179) and cropping farms received approximately 74% of their farm income (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 177). Whereas poultry farms received only approximately 17% of their income through public funds (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 182). Also, 55% of Austrian farm businesses are operated as part-time farms (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 166), meaning that farm operators work more than 50% of their working time in an off-farm job (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 239) and therefore might be able to sustain part of their livelihood trough their off-farm income.

In Canada, in 2014 public funds accounted on average only for 10.9% (Statistics Canada, 2016c) and in British Columbia only for 6.4% (Statistics Canada, 2016b) of farmers' net operating income. Thus, farmers in Metro Vancouver might feel higher pressure to seek

alternative farming models such as CSA to achieve more financial security. Also for farms in British Columbia, off-farm work is a significant source of income: In 2014, off-farm work accounted for almost 60% of farm operators' total income (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

3.1.2 Farm Structure

Austrian agriculture remains dominated by small-scale structures. On average, an Austrian farm comprises 37 ha of agricultural and forestry land (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 165). When Austria entered the European Union, market regulation measures were abolished, resulting in producer price drop and the fear of Austria being flooded with cheap foreign products (Schermer, 2014). To meet these challenges, various strategies were implemented to support small-scale farmers (Schermer, 2014) and to promote "consumption patriotism" (Sassatelli and Scott, 2001, p. 233). Alternative direct marketing and diversification activities were mainstreamed by removing legal impediments and by installing new support measures (Schermer, 2014). This encouraged direct marketing activities, including farm gate sales, roadside stands, farmers' markets, box delivery schemes, delivering to gastronomic businesses and farm shops. In 2016, 27% of Austrian farmers (about 36,000 farms) sold part of their produce through these new distribution channels and thereby made on average 34% of their agricultural income (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 50). The most important form of direct marketing in Austria is farm gate sale with 77% of all direct marketers using this distribution channel (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 51).

Although direct marketing possibilities, especially farmers' markets, also exist in Metro Vancouver, organisers and farmers face various operational and regulatory restrictions. One overall obstacle for farmers' markets in Metro Vancouver is the fact that market locations must apply for annual leases and are subject to relocation risk as the market space could be withdrawn by the city for other uses (Hild, 2009). This lack of market permanence makes it difficult to attract quality farmers and leads to increased advertising and administration costs when the market is relocated (Hild, 2009). Other barriers include signage and parking restrictions which impact the market's ability to attract customers (Hild, 2009). These circumstances could make CSA an interesting alternative for farmers. Only in the past years, public institutions have recognised the need to ease regulatory barriers to facilitate access to alternative local markets and to meet consumers' growing demand for local food procurement. The Metro Vancouver 2011 Regional Food System Strategy therefore developed a strategy to expand farmers' possibilities for direct marketing activities and to reduce restrictions for farmers' markets (Metro Vancouver, 2011).

3.1.3 Legal Framework

Since CSA is a relatively new development in Austria, CSAs – depending on their legal structure – might operate in legal grey zones and face risks in terms of labour law (Rappersberger, 2016). As Rappersberger (2016) explains, one important issue for CSAs operating as farm operations is how to handle members' work on the farm. Employers must register employees with health insurance for legal protection in case of accidents. Even if members work at the farm voluntarily, farmers would have to do so, because work in exchange for e.g. produce can be regarded as an employment relationship (§ 33 ASVG Abs. 1). However, this risk could be eliminated if the CSA operates as an association. If members work at the farm in course of voluntary activities of the association, this is not regarded as an employment relationship, providing the reimbursement does not exceed € 900.- per year (Pausz et al., 2014).

Furthermore, CSAs face uncertainties when it comes to the tax classification of their operation. Depending on the type of production and area productivity, tax authorities classify CSAs either

as farm operations or horticultural businesses, which influences the obligation to keep records and the amount of tax dues (Rappersberger, 2016). For farmers, it is not possible to determine the tax classification of their operation and therefore they might be confronted with additional book keeping efforts and higher tax burdens (Rappersberger, 2016).

3.1.4 Retail Structure and Diversity of Alternative Forms of Food Provisioning

As a form of civic food networks, CSA is based on civil society's desire to take political action. Consumers want to become active and contribute to a socially accountable food system (see section 1.2). Due to different framework conditions, there might be a difference between consumers in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver in their desire to regain control over the food system. Therefore, it can play a role which possibilities consumers have to express their resistance against the dominant food system. Such possibilities might be 'competition' for CSA as they influence the (relative) attractiveness of CSA for consumers.

Consumers who may just be interested in purchasing local, organic food, but do not want to actively participate in shaping the food system, may be happy to buy their food at a food retailer. Jaffe and Gertler (2006) addressed the issue of consumers simply swapping one type of commodity for another (i.e. conventional food for organic food) without rethinking social relationships of production and exchange. While the organic movement could have been a springboard to changing the food system, it is now more of a marketing instrument than a holistic approach to environmental and social challenges (Jaffe and Gertler, 2006).

Obtaining regional and organic food in Metro Vienna is very easy. Austria is a leading country regarding organic agriculture as 21% of Austria's agricultural area are farmed organically (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 48). There is also a high density of food retailers (442 food retailers per 1 million inhabitants (Statista, 2017)) and the vast majority offers organic and local food. In fact, in Austria 70% of all organic food products are sold through mainstream food retailers, 15% through speciality organic retailers and 6% through direct marketing (Größ, 2015). Austrian farm products are associated with connotations like 'organic', 'traditional', 'regional', 'mountain' and 'small-scale' (Matscher and Schermer, 2009). To support this image and earn consumers' trust, almost all food retail chains sell organic food under their own brands and promote regional, traceable product origins as signs of quality (Schermer, 2014). By doing so, they provide consumers an optimistic (Schermer, 2014) or even romanticised image of agriculture. The extensive distribution of organic food via food retailers satisfies consumers' basic demand for organic and regionalised food and decreases their demand for buying directly from farmers (Wellner and Theuvsen, 2016).

The Canadian market for organic food products is the fourth largest in the world (MacKinnon, 2013b). However, organic and transitional farms represent only 2% of Canadian agriculture (MacKinnon, 2013b), indicating that most organic food products are imported. Although representing only 13% of the Canadian population, British Columbia accounts for 22% of organic food and beverage sales in the country, making it the most important organic food products market in Canada (MacKinnon, 2013a). In British Columbia, the density of food retailers is lower than in Austria (243 food retailers per 1 million inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2016a)), which could influence the different market share of alternative distribution channels. In British Columbia, only 45% of all organic food products are sold through mainstream food retailers, whereas 29% are sold through natural health stores and online retailers and 13% through direct marketing (MacKinnon, 2013a).

Moreover, CSAs have to compete with other forms of alternative marketing channels. These may be attractive to consumers who are critical of supermarkets and thus want to buy their food directly from farmers, but without having to actively engage with farmers or on-farm

activities. Vienna and Vancouver offer these consumers a variety of convenient options to do so, such as farmers' markets, delivery box schemes and farm gate sales. Farmers' markets seem to be especially popular, there are 31 in Metro Vienna (Bauernmarkt.at, 2017; Energie- und Umweltagentur Niederösterreich, n.d.) and 30 in Metro Vancouver (BC Association of Farmers' Markets, n.d.).

Finally, CSA might have to compete with other alternative forms of food provisioning characterised by high consumer involvement (Schermer, 2014), thus classified as civic food networks (see section 1.2). As shown in table 3, civic food networks emerged in both regions, whereas CSAs are far more popular in Metro Vancouver. Food co-ops seem to be more appealing to consumers in Metro Vienna.

Table 3: Civic food networks in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver

Civic Food Network	Metro Vienna	Metro Vancouver
CSAs	3 (Nyéléni Austria, 2016)	38 (Farm Folk City Folk, 2016)
Food co-ops	19 (Foodcoops.at, 2016)	3 (Food Secure Vancouver, n.d.)
Community gardens	63 (Gartenpolylog, 2017)	110 (City of Vancouver, 2017)

3.2 The Farmers' Perspective

To understand CSA from farmers' perspective, it is necessary to look at their motivations to engage in CSA and to consider the difficulties that come along with implementing and running a CSA. The following section provides an overview of the literature about quantitative and qualitative studies of farmers' motivations, whereas these motivations are of both practical and idealistic character. Despite their manifold motivations, farmers also face challenges which could influence the success of their CSA.

3.2.1 Motivations for Farmers to Engage in CSA

Cox et al. (2008) found that CSA-farmers' main objective is providing fresh, seasonal and organic produce to their members. Practical benefits such as a guaranteed market for their produce and financial support are further motivators to participate in CSA (Devlin and Davis, 2016; Sharp et al., 2002; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005). However, studies (see table 4) also show that motivations go beyond these merely practical uses (Wells et al., 1999; Sharp et al., 2002; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005; Ostrom, 2007; Devlin and Davis, 2016). Idealistic visions and their conviction that a change in the conventional food system is necessary motivate farmers to contribute to a larger social cause (Ostrom, 2007). They are committed to educating consumers and building stronger communities (Wells et al., 1999; Sharp et al., 2002; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005; Ostrom, 2007; Devlin and Davis, 2016).

Table 4: Summary of studies of farmers' motivations
(source: own representation, wording maintained from original sources)

Quantitative Studies		
Authors and Year	**Research Area**	**Ranking of Motivations**
Tegtmeier and Duffy (2005)	USA	1. Closer relationship with consumers of product 2. Assured markets for products 3. Developing ties within the community 4. Guaranteed price for products 5. Source of production financing
Pabst (2015)	Austria	1. Different kind of economy 2. Resource-saving and sustainable production 3. Lifting anonymity and closer relationship with consumers 3. Financial security 4. Practising meaningful agriculture 4. Education
Devlin and Davis (2016)	Canada	1. Providing higher quality food to consumers 2. Financial viability of the farm 3. Quality of life / enjoyment of life 4. Educating customers about the reality of food production 5. Localisation of food
Qualitative Studies		
Authors and Year	**Research Area**	**Motivations**
Sharp et al. (2002)	USA	• Building stronger community and environment • Larger market for production • Financial interest
Ostrom et al. (2007)	USA	• Change conventional agri-food system • Contribute to social cause • Protecting and restoring the environment • Address food security issues • Economic issues • Lifestyle
Cox et al. (2008)	USA	• Providing fresh food • Providing organic food • Producing for local people
Kraiß and Van Elsen (2008)	Germany	• Having freedom to practice agriculture following personal values • Liquidity and financial security • No marketing activities • Sharing risks and responsibility • Optimum usage of produce • Building personal relationships and community

3.2.2 Challenges in Implementing the Principles of CSA

Sharing the risks associated with farming is an important aspect of CSA. CSA farmers employ crop diversification and membership as risk hedging strategies (O'Hara and Stagl, 2001; Ostrom, 1997; Paul, 2015). But sharing risk, meaning that everyone gets less if there is a poor harvest, and receiving working capital up front can also put psychological pressure on farmers. They might feel obliged to provide a 'normal' share of fresh produce week after week regardless of the growing conditions (Galt, 2013). As Galt (2013) and Bougherara (2009) show, farmers often tend to supplement the weekly shares with produce purchased from other farms when their own production is lean or not sufficiently diverse. Sharing the bounty of farming, but not being reciprocal and taking economic losses when production is not going well, contradicts the original idea of CSA.

CSA is an opportunity to re-establish a sense of community among the members and to strengthen their relationship with the farmer and the land where their food is grown. Many CSAs try to extend interactions between members and farmers beyond the weekly pick-up days by organising seasonal festivals, volunteer work-days, cooking classes or children's activities (Hinrichs, 2000; Lass et al., 2003; Schnell, 2007). CSA has the potential of successfully reinvigorating communities and fostering commitment to the farm (Lass et al., 2003; Schnell, 2007). However, the importance of developing community is ranked much lower among members than the desire for fresh, organic and local produce (Abbott Cone and Myhre, 2000; Lang, 2010; O'Hara and Stagl, 2001; Ostrom, 1997; Pole and Gray, 2013). The lack of active member participation can put an additional burden on the farmer which can overwhelm small-scale operations and can lead to an unsustainable system. Therefore, CSA developed into two directions: farms that are more market oriented and only require payment from their members and farms where member participation is an essential part of the concept (Hayden and Buck, 2012).

CSA faces the challenge that farmers may feel that they are not earning an adequate income and that there is a gap between their own and their members' income levels (Hinrichs and Kremer, 2002; Lass et al., 2003; Ostrom, 2007; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005). While CSA enables farmers to cover operating costs, CSA share prices are often based only on these costs and estimated members' willingness to pay, but may not include farmers' wages. Galt (2013) used the term 'self-exploitation' to describe the situation in which farmers undervalue their own work in monetary terms. He argues that self-exploitation and thus the underestimation of the value farmers create to their members and to society, should not exist as the original CSA concept insists on fair wages for farmers. It has also been found that many CSA farmers have to pursue off-farm work to maintain their livelihoods (Lass et al., 2003; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005), that they do not have insurance or retirement provision (Galt, 2013; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005) and often struggle with capital investments (Ostrom, 2007).

Making fresh, nutritious food available to people of all incomes and at the same time charging the true cost of food is another challenge for CSA. Given the cost of a membership, CSAs tend to serve people with high incomes, which makes the membership rather elite (Abbott Cone and Myhre, 2000; Hinrichs and Kremer, 2002; Perez et al., 2003). To address this inequality and to make CSA accessible to low-income people, CSAs have developed several strategies (Galt, 2013; Guthman et al., 2006; Henderson and Van En, 2007; Lang, 2010; Lass et al., 2003):

- Participatory budgeting: In late winter, at the beginning of the season farmers submit the farm expenses and their wages to their members who then pledge what they can afford until the budget is covered.

- Sliding-scale shares based on income: Rather than a flat share price, members are asked to pay more if they have the financial means, which helps to subsidise the reduced share costs for low-income members.
- Deferred payment: Low-income members have the possibility to pay their share in instalments spread across the growing season.
- Fund raising and collecting donations to subsidise share costs for low-income members.
- Trade for labour: Low-income members are offered to work off a portion or the entirety of their share.
- Donating to food banks: CSAs donate unclaimed shares or a portion of the harvest to food banks.
- CSAs accept food stamps or other entitlements.

CSA is dedicated to sustainable agricultural practices (nutrient cycling, nitrogen fixation and pest-predator relationships), i.e. practices that maximise the productivity of the land while seeking to reduce off-farm and non-renewable inputs, as these have the potential to damage the environment or harm farmers' and consumers' health. These practices include cropping patterns that are compatible with the productive potential and environmental constraints of climate and landscape; productive use of the biological and genetic potential of plant and animal species; integrated farm management and the conservation of soil, water, energy and biological resources (Pretty, 1995). Most CSAs engage in organic farming practices. Researchers, e.g. Cone and Myhre (2000), Farnsworth (1996), O'Hara and Stagl (2001), Perez et al. (2003) or Schnell (2013) have found that obtaining food that has been produced using organic farming practices is one of the most important reasons for joining a CSA. Yet, CSAs often forego the costly organic certification (Farnsworth et al., 1996; Ostrom, 2007; Perez et al., 2003). Instead trust is generated through the personal relationship with the farmer (Bougherara et al., 2009; Henderson and Van En, 2007).

Retaining their members is a challenging task for CSA farmers. Goland (2002) and Ostrom (1997) found that one reason for high turnover rates revolves around eating patterns. Members often find it difficult to deal with the influx of foods they may not like or receive in quantities that do not match their consumption, which sometimes results in food going to waste. Having to incorporate unfamiliar foods into their diet and having to adjust their cooking and eating habits to the rhythms of the farm also impact membership retention. Dissatisfaction with the product quality as well as the burden of picking up their share from the farm or the distribution point are further reasons for some members to drop-out. These challenges could partially be met by providing information sheets about new produce and recipes for their use, offering more choice about the composition of weekly shares and by offering a home-delivery of the boxes. To retain members in the long run, however, it is necessary for CSA farmers to emphasise the core values of CSA to new members, to target those people who show concern about and commitment to social and environmental issues and to show them how those concerns can be acted on in a CSA (Goland, 2002).

3.2.3 Plurality of CSA Structures

Within the general framework of characteristics and values of CSA, it is important to note that CSA is practiced in many variations, not least as an attempt to address the various challenges in implementing the principles. Depending on their spatial and cultural contexts (White, 2015), available resources and the participants' ideals and needs (Groh and McFadden, 1997; Saltmarsh et al., 2011), CSAs have different approaches to achieve their goals.

CSAs can be either farmer- or consumer-initiated. In farmer-initiated CSAs, the most common form of CSA, the farmer organises the CSA, seeks out for members and makes most of the

management decisions (Goland, 2002; Pilley, 2001; Saltmarsh et al., 2011). Farmer-initiated CSAs can also be organised as farmer co-operatives where several farms cooperate to supply a greater variety of produce to their members (Pilley, 2001). Consumer-initiated CSAs are owned by the community through a co-operative or similar structure (Saltmarsh et al., 2011). A 'core group' takes responsibility for the organisation of the CSA, recruits members and a farmer and makes management decisions (Goland, 2002; Pilley, 2001). CSAs can also be run as farmer-community co-operatives where land and other resources are co-owned, and farmers and members work more closely together to produce and distribute food (Pilley, 2001).

In terms of legal forms, CSAs are commonly organised as associations, co-operations, non-profit organisations, non-governmental organisations or some even operate as informal groups (Henderson and Van En, 2007; Weckenbrock et al., 2016; Schumilas et al., 2012). Yet, it is also possible to operate a CSA as an agricultural or horticultural business (Rappersberger, 2016).

CSAs vary in how they operate and show vast differences in their size, the number of members they serve and whether they produce only for members or sell produce also on farmers' markets, in farm shops or to local restaurants (Goland, 2002; Lass et al., 2003; Pilley, 2001; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005; Schumilas et al., 2012).

CSAs also differ in their production range: While vegetables are the most usual produce, CSAs may also offer fruit, meat, fish, eggs, dairy, cereals, flowers and value-added products such as bread, honey or wine (Devlin and Davis, 2016; Weckenbrock et al., 2016).

Apart from having pick-up days at the farm, shares may also be distributed at central sites, farmers markets or delivered to the members' homes (Devlin and Davis, 2016; Goland, 2002; Pilley, 2001; Tegtmeier and Duffy, 2005).

Another variation is whether members are required to work at the farm. Many CSAs organise voluntary work days at the farm and sometimes offer members to work in exchange for a reduction of their share price (Goland, 2002; Henderson and Van En, 2007; Schnell, 2007). But it is also possible that CSA membership includes mandatory work or sometimes CSAs do not require any work from their members at all (Goland, 2002; Henderson and Van En, 2007; Schnell, 2007)

3.3 The Consumers' Perspective

3.3.1 Motivations for Consumers to Engage in CSA

Consumers' motives to join a CSA have been researched in several studies (Abbott Cone and Myhre, 2000; O'Hara and Stagl, 2001; Goland, 2002; Sharp et al., 2002; Perez et al., 2003; Cox et al., 2008; Bougherara et al., 2009; Lang, 2010; Pole and Gray, 2013). The strongest motivators for consumers to join a CSA seem to be the practical use of obtaining fresh, seasonal and organic produce as well as idealistic motivations to support local and small farms and to care for the environment (see table 5).

Table 5: Summary of studies of consumers' motivations
(source: own representation, wording maintained from original sources)

Quantitative Studies		
Authors and Year	**Research Area**	**Ranking of Motivations**
Cone and Myhre (2000)	USA	1. Concern for a healthy environment 2. Source of organic produce 3. Source of fresh produce 4. Support of local food sources 5. Knowing how and where food was grown
O'Hara and Stagl (2001)	USA	1. Fresh vegetables 2. Organic vegetables 3. Support local farms 4. Concern for environment 5. Eating vegetables in season
Goland (2002)	USA	1. Fresh produce 2. Eat produce in season 3. Health/dietary reasons 4. Knowing where/how food is grown 5. Organic produce
Perez et al. (2003)	USA	1. Organic produce 2. Support or buy local 3. Fresh produce 4. Support organic (farms/farmers/agriculture) 5. Quality produce 5. Convenience
Tegtmeier and Duffy (2005)	USA	1. High quality, fresh and healthy food 2. Knowledge that food was produced in an environmentally safe way 3. guarantee of food safety 4. opportunity to take part in production of food
Ostrom (2007)	USA	1. Obtaining fresh, nutritious produce 2. Buying local produce 3. Supporting small-scale farmers 4. Obtaining a source of organic produce 5. Caring for the environment
Bougherara et al. (2009)	France	1. Freshness and taste of vegetables 2. Supporting local farming, personal relationships 3. Environmental considerations
Lang (2010)	USA	1. To obtain locally grown produce 2. To obtain organic produce 3. To support local farmers 4. For environmental reasons 5. To support small farmers
Pole and Gray (2013)	USA	1. Freshly picked fruits/vegetables 2. Eat locally produced food 3. Seasonal fruits/vegetables 4. Organic fruits/vegetables 5. To build stronger sense of community
Pabst (2015)	Austria	1. Supporting local and regional farmers 2. Obtaining quality produce 3. Obtaining organic produce

		4. Supporting ecologically and socially viable food production 5. Consuming domestic food
Qualitative Studies		
Authors and Year	**Research Area**	**Motivations**
Sharp et al. (2002)	USA	• Support for local food system • Acquire quality products
Cox et al. (2008)	Scotland	• Concern for the environment • Accessing quality foods • Supporting local farmers
Kraiß and Van Elsen (2008)	Germany	• Obtaining high quality and safe produce • Being connected to agriculture • Supporting ecological and sustainable agriculture • Having the opportunity to actively take part in shaping one's environment • Building personal relationships and community

3.4 Summary of Influencing Factors

Based on the information gathered through the literature review and presented in the sections 3.1 to 3.3, I identified the following factors (see table 6) which could potentially either positively or negatively influence the development of CSA in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver. I used these factors for the scoring exercise which was part of the interviews.

Table 6: Influencing factors for the development of CSA

Factors concerning farmers	
Positive influence on the development of CSA	Want to build community with consumers (more than 'just' direct marketing)
	Want to educate consumers about agriculture
	Want to be independent from distributors and/or food retailers
	Want to change and shape the food system
	Want to produce demand-oriented (e.g. to avoid food waste)
	Aspiration to practice agriculture following own values and ideals
	Want financial security (shared risk with members, guaranteed market)
	Financing production costs through advance payments by members (independence from financial markets)
	Additional distribution channel (e.g. to direct marketing or distributors)
	Possibility to avoid pressure for specialisation and growth
	Possibility for young people to take root in agriculture (especially for people without agricultural background)
	Possibility to earn a fair income
Negative influence on the development of CSA	Public support payments are an important source of income (provide financial security)
	Well established and clearly regulated forms of direct marketing (no need to find alternative models)
	Well established alternative sources of income (incl. off-farm jobs through proximity to Vienna/Vancouver)

	Legal and taxation risks (CSA might operate in grey zones)
	High organisational effort and work load (intensive contact with members)
	Factors concerning consumers
Positive influence on the development of CSA	Want to actively take part in food production, e.g. deciding how and what is produced (e.g. rare varieties) and/or work on the farm
	Want to take social responsibility: showing solidarity with farmers (sharing production risks) and supporting small-scale agriculture
	Want to express their ideals and values through their CSA membership
	Want to protest the food system and want to change it
	Want to buy organic food
	Want to buy local and seasonal food
	The CSA farm or pick-up location is close to home (convenience)
Negative influence on the development of CSA	Consumers who are critical of supermarkets have many other options which 'compete' with CSA (e.g. farmers' markets, farm gate sales, farm shops, delivery box schemes)
	There are many other possibilities to actively take part in food production which 'compete' with CSA (e.g. self-harvesting parcels, community gardens)
	Supermarkets have an abundant offer for consumers who 'just' want organic and/or local food (CSA has little additional value)
	CSA takes effort and time: concerned consumers also have little time (and Vienna has a concentration of supermarkets)
	A share of the harvest is most of the times more expensive than buying the same amount of food at the supermarket or through direct marketing

4 Empirical Results from the Interviews

In the following chapter I present the empirical results from the interviews I conducted in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver. The main goal of the interviews was to determine which of the factors that I identified in the literature review were perceived as having influenced the development of CSA in the two research areas. These results are, again, structured by whether the factors concern farmers or consumers, and whether they were seen as having a positive or a negative influence on the development of CSA. In the interviews, the experts did not raise all the factors that were identified in the literature review and they talked about some factors more than others. In the following sections, I focus on those factors that were discussed most and received the highest points in the scoring exercise.

4.1 Results from the Interviews in Metro Vienna

4.1.1 Positive Influencing Factors Concerning Farmers in Metro Vienna

4.1.1.1 Financial Security

Achieving better financial security is a main motivation for farmers in Metro Vienna to engage in CSA. Although originally split into separate factors, the interviews in Metro Vienna revealed that financial security is an interplay of advance financing of production costs, risk sharing, having a guaranteed market, avoiding specialisation and growth, as well as being independent from distributors and/or food retailers. While these factors can be distinguished analytically, in practice they are closely interrelated, as indicated in the responses by the experts. Thus, I merge them under the heading of financial security.

In times where many farmers are faced with the decision to *"get big or get out"* (VIE1 and VIE8), the CSA model is a possibility for small-scale farmers to withstand economic pressures. One expert explained: *"If their production methods are a little bit more alternative, farmers are often in a very precarious position, because they can't support themselves"* (VIE2). Indeed, the stories of several CSA farms the experts referred to are rather similar: Since the revenue they achieved through different forms of direct marketing was not sufficient to cover their production costs or due to competition through the steadily growing organic sector in retail stores, they were forced to look for alternatives. *"What can we do? Do we quit? No, we try a CSA!"* (VIE3).

Having a group of customers who provide a guaranteed market and finance the production costs in advance allows these farmers to be independent from the market-driven system and to maintain their small-scale structures, diversified product range and their – often labour-intensive – production methods, but still have an economically viable operation. Expert VIE5 mentioned that CSA is not only a way to become independent from distributors and/or food retailers, but also from consumers' arbitrariness, i.e. consumers' buying behaviour at markets. Especially on markets, farmers face the risk of making financial losses if they are not able to sell their produce, e.g. when unfavourable weather conditions prevent consumers from going to the market. In the CSA model, if members do not pick up their shares, the risk of financial losses is cushioned through the advance payments. Beside this existential aspect, the advance financing provides farmers with a certain freedom: *"CSA farmers have the security that all costs are covered at the beginning of the season and then, for the rest of the year they can concentrate on what really matters – namely farming itself"* (VIE1).

Another expert indicated that CSA can also be a unique selling point, which contributes to financial security (VIE6). Farmers who sell their produce in Metro Vienna face high competition, such as farmers' markets or organic supermarkets, which makes it necessary to bind their customers to their farm, for example by saying: *"Ok look, these are my strengths, this is the focus of my work and if this is also important to you, please let's become partners"* (VIE6).

However, financial security is not always just about receiving an adequate amount of money for the food they provide. In one expert's opinion CSA farmers, like 'conventional' farmers, are also striving to market their products at the best possible price: *"In the context of CSA this is actually something one shouldn't really say, because CSA has a very high aspiration to be different from the usual marketing strategies. And if one implies just a little bit that one's goal is to sell the products at the best possible price, this is something one is not allowed to do. This is a taboo"* (VIE5). The expert expected that in the future conflicts within the CSA movement will occur if profit motives become more important and CSA moves from its alternative business approach towards becoming just another form of marketing.

4.1.1.2 Practicing Agriculture Following Own Values and Ideals

Five experts considered farmers' aspiration to practice agriculture following their own values and ideals to be very important for the development of the movement in Metro Vienna. These values and ideals are manifold. A critical questioning of the economic system in general and particularly the capitalistic and market-oriented agricultural system as well as an interest in a socially oriented economy are essential prerequisites *"[…] for the correct implementation of the idea of CSA. If this is missing, then it is not a CSA"* (VIE4).

Most of the values and ideals the experts discussed related to a responsible relationship with nature, such as the cautious management of the soil. When producing for the conventional market, farmers often find themselves in the dilemma of being pressured to produce maximum yields to be able to make a living and as a result having to leach out soils and neglecting ecologically important practices such as crop rotation. Ecological ideals also include the wish to fulfil their high expectations regarding own seed production, choice of seeds, preserving open pollinating seeds and diversity of varieties. CSA allows to farm ecologically, without having to make compromises due to market constraints (VIE1) and therefore to be more connected with nature and peasant agriculture (VIE3).

Expert VIE6 summarised: *"It's about being able to make experiments and not having to produce for the consumer come hell or high water, but instead having the opportunity to try different seed varieties or methods of pest control. Instead of just using the strongest poison, you could try if it also works with stinging nettle manure or horsetail tea. And if it doesn't work, it isn't too serious, because you share the risk with your CSA members. Ideally, through CSA you have the freedom to experiment, to try different things and to learn from it. This is a possibility you won't find in any other form of agriculture"* (VIE6).

The interviews showed that farmers' values and ideals also include having a closer relationship with their consumers. On the one side, the wish to build a community and to maintain an intensive exchange with their environment is a social component. It can also be an important selling proposition: *"Vienna is a market where you have to specialise your business in some way. And I think the best thing you can do is having a close relationship with your customers. Of course, this is also true for businesses on the countryside, but in the city, it is vital"* (VIE6). By connecting with their members when they pick up their harvest shares, at farm events, during voluntary work days or through newsletters, farmers can create a special experience and thereby bind their members to their CSA.

4.1.1.3 Changing and Shaping the Food System

Three of the eight experts considered the aspiration to change and shape the current food system as an important influencing factor for the development of CSA in Metro Vienna. Yet, it seems like this factor is rather the result of motivations regarding financial security and following own values and ideals, than being an explicit driving force. *"Of course, the origin of this [the aspiration to change and shape the food system] is the thought that one doesn't want to support the capitalist market economy anymore and instead one tries to get out of the product-price relationship. […] Because the price is an abstract number that has nothing to do with the actual value the product has for the consumer. You can see that in industrial agriculture where one person can feed a whole lot of people by using monocultures, machines and fertilisers. And that leads to the fact that there are less and less small farmers and instead big operations which don't work sustainably, environmentally friendly or socially acceptable, but can produce very cheap food. […] The CSA model is trying to get out of that system"* (VIE2).

Reflection on these topics by farmers eventually leads to a critical questioning of the current agricultural and food system on a political level which could then be a motivation for farmers to act and to involve consumers, *"to make it also their problem […] so they understand that they have an active role in changing the agricultural system*" (VIE7). As expert VIE8 pointed out, Metro Vienna is a good place for establishing a CSA, because there, farmers have easy access to critical consumers who are concerned about the food and agricultural system and who are willing to participate in CSA.

4.1.2 Negative Influencing Factors Concerning Farmers in Metro Vienna

4.1.2.1 High Organisational Effort and Work Load

Running a CSA is associated with many tasks such calculating the size of the harvest, and managing the distribution of the harvest shares, organising and preparing meetings and voluntary work days, hosting on-farm events, or writing newsletters including farm updates, recipes and the like. Furthermore, finding and retaining members requires farmers to have good communication skills.

The interviews clearly showed that the high organisational effort and work load is by far the most important factor hindering farmers to establish a CSA. CSA is a fairly new development in Austria and it is still a challenge for farmers to break with traditional values and to adapt to the core principles of this new concept (VIE8). In this context, the experts discussed two aspects that are most deterrent for farmers.

First, the exceptionally high work load for the operation of a CSA which farmers face on top of the daily farming routine is a huge burden that only few farmers are willing to take on. Thus, if their operation is financially stable, they have no economic incentive to shift to CSA (VIE8). *"These extra tasks won't be appropriately compensated, in the sense that they are not recognised as work. It is something that simply has to be done and therefore CSA requires a lot of open-mindedness towards the additional amount of work"* (VIE4). The experts agreed that it is essential for a successful CSA to have a core group of committed members who acknowledge the effort a CSA takes and volunteers to help bearing those organisational tasks.

Second, CSA requires a high degree of communication. In the early stages of a CSA, farmers have to spend a lot of time and effort on communication to convey the philosophy of CSA to the public and to convince consumers that CSA is not only beneficial for farmers, but also for consumers. Also in the daily business, farmers should maintain the high degree of communication to stay closely connected with their members: "*You have to keep your members*

informed about what is happening on the farm, so they really have the feeling that they are a part of this. Also about what is happening in the surroundings and how other CSAs develop" (VIE5).

As one expert put it: *"The ideal CSA farmer is a communications coach who has studied and can give you a five-minute summary of the principles of organic agriculture. The perfect CSA farmer just has a qualification profile that only few farmers meet and that is an obstacle"* (VIE6). Expert VIE3 also pointed out that those communication skills are not necessarily what makes a good farmer. For the future, it therefore might be more expedient if CSAs were initiated by interested consumers who wish for an alternative form of agriculture, are willing to set up the CSA and then find a suitable farmer (VIE3). At the moment, the CSAs in Metro Vienna are farmer-initiated, and the movement depends on *"communication geniuses who run around and unify people"* (VIE3) which might be a challenge that prevents many farmers from switching to CSA.

4.1.2.2 Access to Farm Land

In the original set of influencing factors, I did not include difficult access to farm land as a negatively influencing factor, but added it as two experts considered it to be very important for the current situation of CSA in Metro Vienna.

The problem of accessing farm land concerns mostly new farmers and applies not only to CSAs, but also conventional farms. *"If you want to practice agriculture, but don't inherit a farm you have a big problem"* (VIE3). Continuously increasing land prices, especially in metropolitan areas make it almost impossible for new farmers to take root in agriculture. Also leasing a piece of land, provided it is affordable, can be problematic: *"In many cases the lease is for a limited time and one day you just lose the contract, because this piece of land is rededicated to building land which is of course a lot more profitable for the owner. Then you have to find a new piece of land which is extremely difficult"* (VIE2). For expert VIE3, a viable possibility for new, landless farmers who do not have the financial means to buy land would be non-family succession of farms, but in Austria this is very uncommon and therefore difficult to put into practice.

4.1.2.3 Legal Risks

Relating to legal risks, the experts explained that a main problem is the fact that there is no legal form in Austria that allows CSAs to involve their members in farming activities: *"The most difficult thing is […] that there are legal regulations which restrict […] members from working voluntarily on the fields and in return taking home some vegetables. Legally [if the CSA is organised as an association] this is regarded as payment although the voluntary work is a support of the association. According to labour law it is simply not possible"* (VIE2).

However, despite this being an obstacle the experts thought that it does not keep convinced farmers from establishing a CSA. Instead, they are trying to find their place in the legal grey area to make the CSA model work. Expert VIE6 added that CSAs in Metro Vienna might face higher risks than CSAs in rural areas: due to the higher competition in metropolitan areas, there might be envious competitors pointing out irregularities and/or controls might be stricter.

4.1.3 Positive Influencing Factors Concerning Consumers in Metro Vienna

4.1.3.1 Social Responsibility

In the experts' opinion, showing solidarity with farmers and supporting small-scale agriculture is a major motivation or consumers in Metro Vienna to become a member of a CSA. The motivation for being solidary with farmers is often a result of the personal relationship consumers have with the CSA farmer: *"They become a member of a CSA, they get to know the*

people who produce their food, they have a close connection to them and after a while they say 'hey, those guys are amazing, I want to support them, and I want to be a part of this'" (VIE2).

Expert VIE6 observed that this motivation is often an urban phenomenon: *"Compared to rural areas, urban citizens have a stronger reference to social responsibility. I have the feeling in the city there are more idealists who might not have much direct contact to farmers, but who have this romantic idea of small-scale agriculture and how a farmer works, and they would like to support that. In the countryside, it is more likely that people know a farmer and then they get their products anyway […], it is a lot closer"* (VIE6).

Expert VIE3 connected consumer's motivation to behave in a socially responsible manner with the collapse of the idea that technical and economic development made the world a better place. Instead, the idea that farmers' work should be 'machine-supported' rather than 'machine-dominated' gains more and more importance among consumers and is certainly a concept that supports the CSA movement. *"It has a lot to do with emotions… People are hardly attracted by a high-tech industrial farm. Whereas a small-scale farm and the possibility to get in touch with it are very appealing"* (VIE3).

4.1.3.2 Active Participation in Food Production

There are two principal reasons why consumers wish to actively participate in food production. On the one side, there are political motivations for becoming a CSA member. Expert VIE1 explained that *"co-determination is an important point, because many people are fed up with supermarkets where they are presented with a fait accompli and have no chance to participate in deciding what kind of products are sold. With CSA, they become co-producers and co-decision makers and a lot of people like that, also from their political understanding and how they would like to shape the world. Having this greater scope for action is surely motivating"* (VIE1). Expert VIE7 emphasised that being a CSA member and therefore a co-producer has a highly educational effect and makes consumers part of the food sovereignty movement.

On the other side, CSA members – especially urban citizens – appreciate having access to a farm where they and their children can learn about and connect with agriculture, might even be able to help on the fields and *"get their hands dirty"* (VIE1). They also enjoy being part of a community of like-minded people (VIE1 and VIE4).

4.1.3.3 Expressing Values and Ideals

Originally, 'expressing values and ideals' and 'protesting and changing the food system' were different factors. During the interviews, I realised that it was not always easy for the experts to make a clear distinction between these two factors. As the wish to protest and change the food system arises out of certain values and ideals, I present these two factors together.

The experts agreed that the values and ideals that motivate consumers to protest the current food system – and consequently motivate them to become CSA members – are based on ecological and ethical moral standards or generally speaking on the concept of sustainability: *"The main argument is certainly saving the world, to say it boldly. I think people find it important to know the origin of their food, that there were not many CO_2 emissions involved, how the food has been produced and that ethical standards were met. Yes, sustainability is a huge point"* (VIE5). Although they were separate factors, the experts also included the demand for high-quality organic, local and seasonal food when they talked about sustainability.

The idea of sustainability leads to a critical attitude towards conventional agriculture and the current food system*: "I think the aspiration to eat sustainably, to find a holistic approach and not to buy*

food in the supermarket plays an important role for CSA-consumers. They are critical of the market power of big corporations, so they are trying to cut out distributors and instead get in touch directly with the producers" (VIE8).

4.1.4 Negative Influencing Factors Concerning Consumers in Metro Vienna

4.1.4.1 Time and Effort

The interviews showed that the time and effort that a CSA membership requires is the most important factor hindering consumers in Metro Vienna. The experts described several aspects of a 'time and effort' which can deter consumers.

Consumers need to take action and inform themselves about what CSA really means and where and how they can join one (VIE2). *"It is not like in supermarkets – you can find them on every corner, you just walk in and there is just this one product-money relationship that we are used to. Instead, you have to be willing to do it differently, to search for an alternative. And I think this is the biggest obstacle. I would say that already eliminates 99% of the consumers"* (VIE7). This challenge is also pointed out by expert VIE5: *„A really serious reason for why people don't want to become a CSA member is the fact that it is inconvenient compared to the usual and very comfortable ways of food procurement such as shopping at supermarkets or subscribing to a box delivery scheme. That makes CSA unattractive for people who want everything to be as convenient as possible"* (VIE5).

A CSA membership also requires a break with the usual way of conceptualizing the value of food: *"In a CSA, you don't buy a certain amount of vegetables with your membership fee, but you buy a share of the harvest and sometimes it is more, sometimes it is less. That is unusual"* (VIE3). Moreover, it requires shifts in how cooking is planned: receiving their weekly share of vegetables requires members not only to have a rather settled life (VIE5), but also to be flexible enough to handle the amounts and kind of vegetables they get (VIE6). Indeed, the CSA is a contractual commitment for usually one season and therefore it is less flexible than being able to go to supermarkets at any time of the day and being able to choose from a variety of food products.

The commitment also involves spending time on their membership, because (1) members have pick up their shares directly from the farm or a distribution site and (2) CSAs would like their members to be actively involved in the CSA, whether it be with organisational tasks or work on the fields. Expert VIE1 described it the following way: *"I think it scares people that they have to get involved. Many people are like 'I have enough to do as it is, and I don't want any extra effort. I just want to buy good products, so I pay a little bit more and subscribe to a box scheme where they deliver the food directly to my doorstep'"* (VIE1).

Expert VIE6 also made the experience that engaging with the concept of CSA makes some consumers uneasy, as membership *"raises a lot of questions and consumers who just want to consume are permanently confronted with a guilty conscience, because they have the feeling that they never do enough. Many people indicate that as a reason for quitting"* (VIE6).

4.1.4.2 Well-established Organic Sector and Competing Alternative Shopping Options

Farms in Austria are small-scale and Austria, and direct marketing has been an important sales channel for Austrian farmers for a long time. These topics came up in several interviews and led the experts to the conclusion that this could be one reason why CSA is not yet well-established in Austria: *"I think the significance of the CSA concept is not as obvious in Austria as for example in France, Germany or North America, because our agriculture is very small-structured.*

Everybody who would like to get in touch with agriculture can find a small farm and there are probably a lot more farmers' markets than elsewhere" (VIE3).

Moreover, with over 20% of the utilized agricultural area being certified organic, a wide range of organic products is available in almost all Austrian retailers, and the presence of dedicated organic supermarkets in Vienna, makes it very easy for consumers to satisfy their need for organic food at affordable prices. *"Austria is a prime example for organic agriculture worldwide, that's why you have less pressure to organise alternatives. On our study trip to France we asked ourselves how it is possible that over 1000 CSAs popped up in such a short amount of time. And in conversations with French CSA farmers we found out that it must have something to do with the difference in the organic sectors"* (VIE6).

However, experts VIE4 and VIE7 criticised that 'organic' has become a marketing tool that seduces consumers into *"buying a good conscience"* (VIE4). *"That dependencies for farmers still exist, that's something consumers don't see. If they can get every organic product they want in a supermarket, they are satisfied. They have the feeling that they don't have to give it another thought because they bought the organic milk and now they know that no animals were tortured. But it is not visible that organic farmers still get very low milk prices"* (VIE7). In the opinion of expert VIE4, currently the majority of Austrian consumers is not yet critical enough of 'mainstreamed' organic food from retailers to further develop CSA. Yet, expert VIE6 also saw that there is an increase in questioning by consumers, which might benefit CSA: *"now, as the 'conventionalisation' of organic products is well progressed, the CSA model gains importance"* (VIE6).

Overall, that Austrian agriculture remained small-scale, that direct marketing is well-established, and that Austria has a leading role in organic agriculture has led to a development of the food system which did not make the CSA movement 'necessary' (VIE6 and VIE8).

4.1.5 Results from the Scoring Exercise in Metro Vienna

In the second part of the interview the experts chose three factors (two positive and one negative) each from farmers' and consumers' perspective which they thought had the strongest influence on the development of CSA in Metro Vienna. They subsequently rated each of the chosen factors with a score of up to ten points. Overall, the eight experts picked nine factors concerning farmers and nine factors concerning consumers (see table 7). They scored them with three to ten points, mostly awarding between eight and ten points. The results of the scoring exercise underpin the experts' statements from the open-ended questions in the first part of the interview.

On the farmers' side, the experts chose six out of the 12 positive factors (see table 7). The positive factors 'practicing agriculture following own values and ideals' and 'financial security' clearly stood out. Five experts each chose these two factors and valuated them with the highest amount of points, namely 42 and 40 points. Besides those two main aspects, three experts chose 'changing and shaping the food system' as an important factor for the development of CSA. However, the experts had different opinions regarding the weighting of the factor. One expert awarded it nine points and the other two experts only three and four points. The remaining positive factors were chosen by only one expert each, whereby the factor 'avoiding specialisation and growth' received nine points, 'independence from distributors and/or food retailers received eight points and 'additional distribution channel' received five points. The experts did not consider the factors 'building community', 'educating consumers', 'producing demand-oriented', 'opportunity for young farmers' and 'fair income' to be important for the development of CSA in Metro Vienna.

Table 7: Overview of all factors and their scores - Metro Vienna, indicating the number of experts who selected that factor, and the total score the factor received

		Selected	*Total score*
Positive influencing factors concerning farmers	practicing agriculture following own values and ideals	5	42
	financial security	5	40
	changing and shaping the food system	3	16
	avoiding specialisation and growth	1	9
	independence from distributors and/or retailers	1	8
	additional distribution channel	1	5
	building community	-	-
	educating consumers	-	-
	producing demand-oriented	-	-
	advance financing of production costs	-	-
	opportunity for young farmers	-	-
	fair income	-	-
Negative influencing factors concerning farmers	organisational effort and work load	5	46
	access to farm land *	2	18
	legal and taxation risks	1	8
	public support payments provide financial security	-	-
	well-established forms of direct marketing	-	-
	well-established alternative sources of income	-	-
Positive influencing factors concerning consumers	social responsibility	6	49
	active participation in food production	4	29
	expressing values and ideals	2	17
	demand for local and seasonal food	2	14
	demand for organic food	1	8
	protesting and changing the food system	1	8
	convenience	-	-
Negative influencing factors concerning consumers	effort and time	5	42
	competing alternative sources of local and/or organic food	2	12
	availability of local and organic food in supermarkets	1	8
	competing possibilities for active participation in food production	-	-
	CSA is expensive	-	-

* factor the experts added during the interview

Regarding the negative influencing factors for farmers, the experts chose two out of the five negative factors and added one factor (marked with *) which was not included in the original set of factors. With 46 points, 'high organisational effort and work load' turned out to be the most important reason for why farmers in Metro Vienna would not want to participate in CSA (see table 7). Five out of eight experts picked this factor and scored it with eight to ten points. This result is in line with the experts' statements from the first part of the interview, which they illustrated with several examples. The two experts who added 'access to farm land' to the set of factors and awarded 18 points. One expert considered legal and taxation risks to be the most hindering factor and scored it with eight points. The experts did not consider the factors 'public support payments provide financial security', 'well-established forms of direct marketing' and 'well-established alternative sources of income' to be important for the development of CSA in Metro Vienna.

On the consumers' side, the experts picked six out of the seven positive influencing factors (see table 7). Six out of eight experts scored 'social responsibility' with seven to ten points, and 49 points in total which makes it the most important positive influencing factor for consumers. With 29 points four experts rated consumers' wish to 'actively participate in food production'

as the second most important influencing factor. Two experts rated 'expressing values and ideals' with 17 points and two other experts rated 'demand for local and seasonal food' with 14 points. However, in the first part of the interview, I noticed that the experts talked much more about 'expressing values and ideals' than about the 'demand for local and seasonal food'. Only one expert each considered the 'demand for organic food' and 'protesting and changing the food system' as important motivations for consumers and scored these two factors with eight points each. Solely the factor 'convenience' was not chosen at all.

Regarding the negative influencing factors for consumers, the experts selected three out of the five possible factors (see table 7). According to the experts, the biggest barrier that deters consumers is the required time and effort a CSA membership takes. Five experts awarded 42 points to this factor, with an individual valuation between six and ten points. Two other experts had the opinion that the existence of 'competing alternative sources of local and/or organic food' in Metro Vienna has a negative influence on the development of CSA and awarded this factor a score of six points each and 12 points in total. One expert awarded eight points to 'availability of local and organic food in supermarkets'. None of the experts chose the factors 'competing possibilities for active participation in food production' and 'CSA is expensive'.

4.2 Results from the Interviews in Metro Vancouver

4.2.1 Positive Influencing Factors Concerning Farmers in Metro Vancouver

4.2.1.1 Financial Security

According to the experts, achieving financial security is a main motivation for farmers in Metro Vancouver to engage in CSA. Although originally split into two separate factors, I present the results regarding 'advance financing of production costs' and 'financial security' together as the experts VAN4 and VAN8 explained that 'advance financing of production costs' positively contributes to 'financial security'.

Receiving money at the beginning of the season to finance their production costs is essential for the viability of many farms *"because most farmers I know are not in the position to get money from financial markets. If you are a wheat grower, corn grower, or dairy producer financial markets can provide you capital. But I don't know anybody in the Fraser Valley and Metro Vancouver area who is that big that they would actually get that"* (VAN1). Expert VAN2 described advance payments not only as an opportunity to improve the financial viability of a farm, but emphasised that these payments also provide some income for farmers who would normally have to borrow money or use their savings until they receive some revenue, e.g. from the farmers' market. Advance payments can also be a safety net for new farmers who do not have a lot of capital and do not have access to loans (VAN4). However, expert VAN6 remarked that in her view, most CSA farmers also have other ways to finance their operation: *"They can't put their whole production costs on a CSA. They have got to have another stream, I think. […] My thought is that it would be very foolhardy to assume that you get 100%"* (VAN6).

Compared to farmers' markets, having a guaranteed, predictable demand and therefore enjoying higher financial security makes CSA an attractive model for farmers in Metro Vancouver. Indeed, although farmers in Metro Vancouver can achieve good prices for their produce at farmers' markets, it is a risky sales outlet (VAN5): *"With a CSA, it's easy to plan your season and make sure your produce has a place to go. […] It's not stressing out like 'What are these people going to buy this week at the farmers' market? If it rains at the farmers' market and there is half the number of customers and I am going to have that much more produce to take home.' And it's not like you can store fresh produce for the next week or whatever"* (VAN4).

In the opinion of expert VAN5, the benefit of getting the commitment from members has greater priority than receiving money up front: *"It's often said you get the money when you need the seeds and whatever else. Most CSAs I know, because the business is competitive, they don't expect you to pay everything all at once. […] It is more consumer friendly, but still working for the farmer"* (VAN5).

4.2.1.2 Practicing Agriculture Following Own Values and Ideals

For three experts, the aspiration to practice agriculture following their own values and ideals was an important underlying motivation for farmers to establish CSAs, but might not always be a conscious one (VAN3). Expert VAN6 was certain that CSA farmers are very concerned about the environment and deeply identify with the principles sustainable agriculture: *"I see the people that are doing the farming in Vancouver as coming from a different age, but sharing some of the values of people that 'went back to the land' in the 1960s and 1970s, many of whom became farmers, but without the tremendous support of the consumers now. That, I think, allows a lot of people to not just eat off their own land, but provide a source of good food for other consumers"* (VAN6).

It is also the freedom of being able to make decisions regardless of market pressures and being able to practice agriculture in a more traditional way that makes CSA attractive for famers (VAN8). Expert VAN4 observed that especially new farmers are very critical of the industrial agricultural system and have idealistic views of how they would like to practice agriculture. This idealism eventually leads to a generation of new farmers who are motivated to change and shape the food system (VAN4).

4.2.1.3 Additional Distribution Channel

In the opinion of four experts, many farmers in Metro Vancouver use CSA as an additional distribution channel, especially to protect their operation from fluctuations in their market sales. The typical development trajectory of small-scale farms in Metro Vancouver would be to start selling produce at farmers' markets to establish a customer base and then – as the farm matures – expand to a CSA programme (VAN4). The interviews revealed that farmers in Metro Vancouver appreciate the CSA model especially as a way to access the premium market: *"They look for the easiest way they can see for marketing their product. […] And consumers, as they are getting [in] close contact with producers, will be willing to pay a higher price. [T]here aren't any other places where they are willing to pay that extra premium"* (VAN3). As an additional distribution channel, many CSA farms also supply restaurants (VAN5).

Expert VAN4 observed that in Metro Vancouver, or North America in general, the definition of CSA has become broader. The initial idea of a community programme where the community supports the farmer and in return it receives whatever has been harvested turned into *"what we would really call a box subscription programme in which the members get a little bit more if it is a good year, but because the farmers have other sale outlet channels, they don't give members a ton of extra stuff"* (VAN4). Yet, expert VAN4 added, this model can safeguard members from losses, because even if it is a bad growing year, they would receive their share and the farmer would shorten the supply for the other distribution channels.

4.2.2 Negative Influencing Factors Concerning Farmers in Metro Vancouver

4.2.2.1 High Organisational Effort and Work Load

The experts rated the high organisational effort and work load that comes along with running a CSA as an influential deterrent for farmers in Metro Vancouver. Thereby they discussed two main aspects.

First, CSA requires farmers to be *"organised as hell"* (VAN1) to successfully manage the planning, packing and communication with members (VAN1). Expert VAN2 explained that the logistics of CSA are often underestimated, especially for CSAs which deliver to many different distribution sites. Furthermore, communicating with members can be a lot of effort that farmers need to make time for in their schedules: *"People never read all the instructions and all of a sudden they do their first delivery and everything they explained in email gets asked again as a question by twenty different people. Next thing you know is spending a lot of time sitting in front of the computer managing things like that"* (VAN2).

Second, CSA farmers in Metro Vancouver often have difficulties finding and retaining members because *"everybody knows what a farmers' market is, but not everybody knows what a CSA is"* (VAN5). So, for a CSA to be successful, farmers have to invest time into advertising and promotion, time that many farmers find difficult to make: *"A lot of that happens during the winter, but farmers are generally very, very busy. So, it's hard to take time away. What comes first, the members or the farm? You get tied up in like 'well, I'm trying to grow all this food', but if you don't have the members… That's difficult"* (VAN4).

The experts VAN3 and VAN4 concluded if farmers already have a well-established operation with good sales through other forms of direct marketing, they have little incentive to take on this additional work load.

4.2.2.2 Access to Farm Land

The second factor that the experts considered to be hindering the development of CSA in Metro Vancouver is the difficulty of accessing farm land. Land prices in this area are at a premium (VAN8) which makes it extremely difficult for new farmers to afford farm land, especially because the CSA model is not competitive with other uses of farm land (VAN7). Sometimes renting is the only option and, as experts VAN6 and VAN7 report, in the city of Vancouver there are farmers who access private individuals' front or back yards and run their CSA as an urban farm since they cannot get access to 'real' farm land.

In this context, expert VAN6 sensed a certain rebellion among young people who wish to take root in agriculture: *"[I]t's just completely ridiculous, the idea that somebody would want to farm in Vancouver and, yet I see 60 young farmers that come to one of our programs to talk about problems that they are having and to learn about best practices. And I just shake my head with admiration and wonder"* (VAN6). These young farmers show a large degree of conviction and persistence, otherwise they would not go up against the large barrier of land cost (VAN6).

4.2.3 Positive Factors Concerning Consumers in Metro Vancouver

4.2.3.1 Demand for Local, Seasonal and Organic Food

In the original set of factors, 'want to buy local and seasonal food' and 'want to buy organic' food were separate factors. Since the experts' answers regarding those two factors sometimes overlapped, I present the results together.

The experts closely connected the high demand for local food with consumers' distrust in imported and industrially produced food and considered it an important driving factor for the development of CSA in Metro Vancouver. Starting in the 1970s and 1980s, *"when we really saw the industrial food system crank up and the commodification, centralisation, disconnection that happens in the food system and the erosion of some of the local supply chains"* (VAN5), a change in the perception of the food system took place. Consumers became aware of the significant health and environmental problems that are associated with the globalised and industrial food system

(VAN4) and counter movements demanding an alternative to the *"faceless, distancing, industrialised, global food system"* (VAN5) emerged. These movements caused *"an incredible shift of the food literacy"* (VAN4) and, as expert VAN2 explained *"Vancouver is a very unique place for that. There is the demand and the continued interest in local food, in CSA, in farmers' markets […]"* (VAN2). Being a CSA member offers consumers the opportunity to *"connect their food to a face and a place"* (VAN4). The experts also explained that having transparency of how the food is produced and learning about the seasonality of food are aspects that consumers find important.

In most cases, CSAs in Metro Vancouver satisfy consumers' demand for organic produce because "*CSAs are often more connected to the organic movement. If not the organic movement, [then they] are farming more sustainably and [they] are small farms as well"* (VAN4). Experts VAN2, VAN3 and VAN5 observed that consumers often prefer local and seasonal rather than imported organic food: *"Sure, [they] might value organic produce from California because of the impact on the earth, but actually I think there is something inherently value-based around 'local'"* (VAN5). Expert VAN4, however saw the value of 'organic' being paramount for consumers in Metro Vancouver. He further criticised that 'organic' became a well-marketed word that conveys *"a whole imagery of what is involved in local food, healthy food, what a farm looks like"* (VAN4). It is also used for products that originate from industrial organic agriculture and have nothing to do with being local or seasonal (VAN4).

4.2.3.2 Social Responsibility

Four experts referred to social responsibility through supporting a local farmer as another important motivation for consumers in Metro Vancouver to become CSA members. Sharing risks and showing solidarity are what differentiates supporting a CSA from buying at the farmers' market (VAN5). But consumers often find it hard to articulate the values behind 'social responsibility' (VAN6). For them "*it just feels like a good thing to support [a] local farmer and that's kind of the level where [they] realise [they are] sort of saying 'show solidarity with farmers'"* (VAN6). Expert VAN1 added that wanting to take social responsibility through a CSA membership is not limited to supporting a local farmer, but also involves supporting the local community: *"It generates money in the community, the food is distributed in the community, everything stays in the community"* (VAN1).

4.2.3.3 Expressing Values and Ideals

The values and ideals that lead consumers in Metro Vancouver to join a CSA are rooted in their dissatisfaction with the current food system and its manifold consequences. There are two main aspects, the experts discussed in the interviews. First, consumers in Metro Vancouver attach great value to being able to reconnect with their food by having a direct connection to a specific farm:

"I think the story that comes along with getting food from a local farmer is really important. You tell yourself, you tell your friends that this food is from this neighbourhood or it's grown by someone I know, I was able to shake their hand" (VAN8).

"There is something more than just getting a delivery of food because they are choosing actively not to be able to choose what they are getting often. So, they are getting this box and they are having to deal with it. Some people wear that as a badge of honour, like 'I'm out there with the farmer!' and they love getting the updates and emails. It's a way of expanding their commitment from going to the markets to

actually doing something more. Some people see it as a social investment, some see it as getting some sort of alliance with a farmer" (VAN2).

Second, many consumers in Metro Vancouver became increasingly conscious of the environmental impacts of industrialised agriculture and realised that *"we have come too far in our disconnection from nature to the point where we are forgetting that the air we pollute is the air we breathe, the water that we degrade is the water we drink, the food that we create out of synthetic products is that which is nourishing this body that we live in"* (VAN6). For those consumers CSA might feel like a possibility to be involved *"in the better good of the world"* (VAN4).

Expert VAN8 summarised *"They want to be able to talk about it, they value health, they value wellness, they value local economy, they value sustainability and they can do all those things by purchasing a CSA membership"* (VAN8).

4.2.4 Negative Influencing Factors for Consumers in Metro Vancouver

4.2.4.1 Time and Effort

The interviews showed that the time and effort a CSA membership takes is the most important factor that keeps consumers in Metro Vancouver from joining a CSA. There were two main aspects the experts addressed in this relation.

First, for many consumers, the accessibility of a CSA could be an initial obstacle. Expert VAN4 explained that *"there is the disconnection between hearing about [CSA] or learning about it and then the step to actually doing it"* (VAN4). Advertising is very important for CSA farms to make this step easier for consumers, especially for those who are not very computer or internet literate (VAN4).

Second, consumers who are used to the convenience of a *"24/7 model of grocery stores"* (VAN5) often find it deterring to have to pick up their share at a specific point at a specific time every week, as well as not knowing what they receive in their box. Expert VAN2 experienced that consumers often would like to become CSA members, but then their high expectations regarding convenience are incompatible with what most CSAs offer. Being a CSA member therefore requires a change of behaviour, also in respect of what people are eating and how they are cooking (VAN7). Furthermore, dealing with the amount of vegetables they receive is a common challenge for CSA members and a potential reason for why they stop subscribing to the CSA (VAN2).

4.2.4.2 Competing Sources of Local and/or Organic Food

Consumers who seek out the most convenient way to procure their food and buy directly from farmers often prefer farmers' markets over CSAs (VAN6). Additionally, CSAs now face competition through mainstream distribution channels as they started selling local and organic produce in response to the growing demand (VAN5 and VAN6): *"There is the perception that they offer just as good or just as much or just the same quality. And there are people who think that CSAs have little additional value"* (VAN1). In this regard, expert VAN4 criticised that food retailers often present consumers with a misleading image of what seemingly is 'local' and 'organic'. As an example, he referred to the delivery service SPUD (Sustainable Produce Urban Delivery) which operates in Metro Vancouver and three other Canadian cities: *"SPUD is sourcing from local farms, but they are also selling everything from everywhere. They have an image of being sustainable and being local, but they are not as local as they claim to be"* (VAN4).

4.2.5 Results from the Scoring Exercise in Metro Vancouver

Out of the 29 factors, the experts picked 12 factors concerning farmers and eight factors concerning consumers (see table 8). They scored them with four to ten points, mostly though between four and ten points.

Table 8: Overview of all factors and their scores - Metro Vancouver, indicating the number of experts who selected that factor, and the total score the factor received

		Selected	*Total score*
Positive influencing factors for farmers	advance financing of production costs	5	36
	practicing agriculture following own values and ideals	3	20
	changing and shaping the food system	2	19
	additional distribution channel	2	17
	financial security	2	14
	opportunity for young farmers	1	9
	building community	1	4
	educating consumers	-	-
	independence from distributors and/or retailers	-	-
	producing demand-oriented	-	-
	avoiding specialisation and growth	-	-
	fair income	-	-
Negative influencing factors concerning farmers	organisational effort and work load	3	24
	access to farm land *	2	18
	competition through other food sources and retailers *	1	6
	well-established forms of direct marketing	1	6
	financial viability of the CSA model *	1	5
	public support payments provide financial security	-	-
	well-established alternative sources of income	-	-
	legal and taxation risks	-	-
Positive influencing factors concerning consumers	demand for local and seasonal food	5	40
	demand for organic food	4	30
	social responsibility	4	29
	expressing values and ideals	3	26
	active participation in food production	-	-
	protesting and changing the food system	-	-
	convenience	-	-
Negative influencing factors concerning consumers	effort and time	3	23
	availability of local and organic food in supermarkets	2	14
	CSA is expensive	2	11
	competing alternative sources of local and/or organic food	1	10
	competing possibilities for active participation in food production	-	-

* factors the experts added during the interview

On the farmers' side, the experts in Metro Vancouver chose seven out of the 12 positive factors. According to the scoring, 'advance financing of production costs' is the most motivating aspect for farmers to engage in CSA. Five out of eight experts scored this factor with 36 points, whereas the points ranged between five and eight. As described in section 4.2.1.1, the experts regarded 'advance financing of production costs' as part of 'financial security'. The experts discussed both factors in the first part of the interview and the scoring too shows their importance, as seven experts picked either of these two factors and assigned a total score of 50 points. With almost identical scores of 20 and 19 points, the experts considered 'practicing agriculture following own values and ideals' and 'changing and shaping the food system' as further motivations for farmers in Metro Vancouver. Whereas three experts scored 'practicing agriculture following own values and ideals' with six (two experts) and eight (one expert) points. Two experts assigned nine and ten points to 'changing and shaping the food system'. These

factors are followed by ‘additional distribution channel’ which two experts scored with 17 points. One expert regarded CSA being an ‘opportunity for young people to take root in agriculture as an important influencing factor and assigned nine points. ‘Building community’ was the lowest rated factor with only four points from one expert. The experts did not choose any of the factors ‘educating consumers’, ‘independence from distributors and/or retailers’, ‘producing demand-oriented’, ‘avoiding specialisation and growth’ or ‘fair income’.

Regarding the negative influencing factors for farmers, the experts chose two factors from the original set of factors and added three new ones (marked with * in table 8). Three experts considered the ‘high organisational effort and work load’ to be the most important negatively influencing factor for farmers in Metro Vancouver and scored it with 24 points. It is followed by ‘access to farm land’ which two experts added and valuated with 18 points. The remaining factors were chosen by only one expert each. They rated ‘well established forms of direct marketing’ as well as ‘competition through other food sources and retailers’ with six points each. Another expert was sceptical of the ‘financial viability of the CSA model’ and therefore added it to the set of negative influencing factors, awarding five points to it. The experts did not rate the factors ‘public support payments provide financial security’, ‘well-established alternative sources of income’ and ‘legal and taxation risks’.

On the consumers’ side, the experts rated four out of the seven positive influencing factors. The ‘demand for local and seasonal food’ achieved the highest score, with five out of eight experts assigning between six and ten and a total of 40 points to this factor. With a score of 30 points, it is followed by consumers’ ‘demand for organic food’ which four experts chose and rated with six to nine points. Those two factors relate to consumption habits and are followed by two factors concerning consumers’ moral concepts: Four experts considered ‘social responsibility’ as very important for the development of CSA in Metro Vancouver and awarded 29 points. Lastly, but with a rather high score indeed, ‘expressing values and ideals’ achieved 26 points. Three experts picked this factor and rated it with six to nine points. In the experts’ opinion, the factors ‘active participation in food production’, ‘protesting and changing the food system’ and ‘convenience’ did not play an important role as they did not choose either of these factors.

For the negative influencing factors on the consumers’ side, the experts chose four out of the five possibilities. The experts awarded less points to the negative influencing factors than to the positive influencing factors. Yet, one can see that the largest barrier for consumers to become a CSA member is the required ‘effort and time’, which three experts awarded with 23 points, with the single valuation ranging from six to nine points. With 14 points, two experts considered ‘availability of local and organic food in supermarkets’ the second most influential negative factor. It is followed by the argument that ‘CSA is expensive’. Two experts awarded five and six, or 11 points in total to this factor. However, the first part of the interviews revealed that (1) consumers often perceive a CSA share to be more expensive because they pay for it in advance and (2) sometimes a CSA share is cheaper than buying the same amount of food at the farmers’ market or in the supermarket. The last barrier which one expert scored with ten points is ‘competing alternative sources of local and/or organic food’. ‘Competing possibilities for active participation in food production’ was the only factor the experts did not score.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Discussion of Methods

Comparing the CSA movement in Metro Vienna to the movement in Metro Vancouver to find reasons for the late and slow development of CSA in Austria proved to be a successful approach. The comparison facilitated understanding how the different development of the CSA movement relates to the different conditions in the broader context and further showed that CSAs in the two research areas vary regarding their characteristics and philosophy. Also, spending time in Vancouver enabled me to get valuable first-hand impressions of the general food system, the local food movement and the CSAs in this region.

The extensive literature review gave an overview of (1) structural framework conditions in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver, (2) farmers' motivations and challenges and (3) consumers' motivations and challenges. It further provided the basis for the formulation of 29 factors which could have an influence on how CSA developed in the two research areas. To clearly determine which of those factors were relevant in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver, I conducted qualitative interviews with experts in the field of CSA. These interviews did not only clarify which factors played a role and their relative importance, but also provided detailed information about the CSA movement in the respective research area. The numerous practical examples also allowed to illustrate how the factors influenced each other.

When selecting the experts for the interviews, I aimed to identify a group of representatives of different organisations who have a direct link to CSA. In Metro Vienna, this turned out to be difficult as the CSA movement is still in its infancy and only few people have comprehensive experience with CSA. The group of experts from Metro Vienna therefore included mainly people who were active in an international globalisation-critical organisation that promotes food sovereignty and helped the CSA movement to gain momentum in Austria; people who were involved in establishing CSA farms as well as an Austrian CSA network; and people who conducted research about CSA in Austria. Although I contacted them, representatives of a public organisation such as the municipal administration of Vienna or the chamber of agriculture did not agree to an interview, which limited the variety of the views collected in Metro Vienna. The experts from Metro Vancouver had more varied backgrounds which is due to the fact that CSA has played a prominent role in this region for many years and that there are many organisations working towards food sovereignty, food security and sustainability. In addition to their work in various positions and organisations, some of the experts from both research areas were CSA farmers or CSA members which positively contributed to the data collection as they provided valuable insights into the philosophy and operation of CSAs in the respective region.

The structuring of the interviews into two parts was advantageous. In the first part, the open-ended questions gave the experts the opportunity to freely present their views and opinions, without being influenced. Most of them had a broad knowledge of CSA and discussed a wide range of different aspects and conditions that influence CSA. The open-ended questions were also an important tool to check if all the factors the experts mentioned were included in the set of cards for the scoring exercise and if not, to add them on blank cards. The experts mentioned three additional factors, all of them were negative influencing factors concerning farmers. Experts from Metro Vienna as well as Metro Vancouver added 'access to farm land' and two experts from Metro Vancouver added 'competition through other food sources and retailers' and 'financial viability of the CSA model'. While 'access to farm land' and 'financial viability of the CSA model' were new aspects I did not identify in the literature review, 'competition through other food sources and retailers' was very similar to two factors concerning consumers, namely

‘competing alternative sources of local and/or organic food’ and ‘availability of local and organic food in supermarkets’. Yet, the expert considered this factor to be very important not only for consumers, but also for farmers because their access to consumers becomes more and more limited the more local and organic products are available in other sales outlets.

In the second part, the scoring exercise, to enable a comparative analysis, I used the same set of cards in Metro Vienna and in Metro Vancouver, although not every factor might be relevant for CSAs in Metro Vancouver. Generally, the scoring exercise was well accepted, and several experts positively commented on the haptic element. Only two experts had difficulties choosing a limited number of factors and remarked that making generalised statements is difficult because every CSA is different.

The scoring exercise showed two particularities. First, sometimes the experts discussed certain topics in the first part of the interview, but did not chose the respective factors in the scoring exercise. For example, several experts from Metro Vienna discussed ‘advance financing of production costs’ in the first part of the interview, but none of them chose this factor in the scoring exercise. A reason could be that the experts regarded ‘advance financing of production costs’ as part of ‘financial security’. Also, almost every expert from Metro Vienna mentioned ‘competing alternative sources of local and/or organic food’ and ‘availability of local and organic food in supermarkets’ in the first part of the interview, but only three of them selected the factor in the scoring exercise.

Second, there were fluctuations in how the experts scored the different factors. Most factors received relatively high scores from many experts, such as ‘social responsibility’ in Metro Vienna (six experts awarded between seven and 10 points) or ‘demand for local and seasonal food’ in Metro Vancouver (five experts awarded between six and ten points). Other factors, however were scored very differently, e.g. ‘changing and shaping the food system’ was rated by two experts with three and four points and a third expert rated it with nine points. This shows that the experts had different perceptions of the relative importance of certain aspects of the CSA movement in the respective research area.

5.2 Discussion of Results

5.2.1 Discussing the Farmers’ Perspective

The interviews revealed that CSAs in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver have evolved differently regarding the implementation of the original concept of CSA. The experts from Metro Vienna emphasised that most CSAs in Austria have the high demand of practicing CSA as an “*alternative to marketing and not as a marketing alternative”* (VIE5), meaning that CSA is ideally not a business model, but an alternative that strongly contrasts the predominant market economy and places high value on community involvement. These demands are also anchored in a mission statement which a group of CSA farmers, members and activists developed during a meeting of the Austrian CSA network. This mission statement addresses all current and future Austrian CSAs and captures core values in three pillars: (1) community of farmers and consumers, (2) sustainable use of resources and (3) commitment and fairness. The third pillar states, among others, that CSA is not a profit-oriented business model (Vernetzung für Gemeinschaftsgestütze Landwirtschaft in Österreich, 2015).

Although the original principles of CSA have great importance for Austrian CSAs, many also have other sales channels. In her survey of 14 Austrian CSAs, Rappersberger (2016, p. 19) found that only three CSAs obtain 100% of their income through CSA. On average, CSA makes almost 68% of the surveyed farmers’ income. Their other sources of income are farmers’ markets, restaurants or selling seedlings and honey (Rappersberger, 2016, p. 30).

In Metro Vancouver, it appears that the business aspect of CSA is paramount for many farmers. Here too, the experts explained that CSA is often one of several distribution channels and it is especially valued because it facilitates access to premium markets. This leaves the impression that CSA farmers in Metro Vancouver might not only choose to do CSA because of their personal ideals and values, but also because it is a profitable sales channel. The results of a survey Devlin and Davis (2016, p. 17) did among 100 CSAs across Canada mirror the results from the interviews I conducted. According to the study, 86% of the CSAs market their products through additional channels such as farmers' markets, farm gate stands and restaurants (Devlin and Davis, 2016).

Like the experts I interviewed, Ostrom (1997) noticed that 'CSA' has deviated from the original idealistic principles and is now often seen as a direct marketing strategy based on an economic transaction of money for produce. The shift of CSA towards the mainstream market logic bears the risk of CSAs becoming competitive and trying to attract customers by undercutting each other's share prices (Ostrom, 1997). Ostrom noted that there are no control mechanisms that could prevent the "appropriation of the CSA concept in the interest of economic profiteering" (Ostrom, 1997, p. 197). However, a mission statement like the one the Austrian CSA network created could be a first step to set standards and to defend them as a community.

The experts from both research areas considered achieving financial security as very important motivation for farmers to engage in CSA. However, there are differences in how the experts described financial security. The experts from Metro Vienna saw financial security as an interplay of advance financing of production costs, risk sharing, having a guaranteed market, avoiding specialisation and growth, and being independent from distributors and/or food retailers. Whereas the experts from Metro Vancouver mentioned only advance financing of production costs and having a guaranteed market as contributors to financial security. The reason why the experts from Metro Vancouver did not bring up risk sharing, avoiding specialisation and growth, and independence from distributors and/or food retailers could be traced back to the different implementation of the model. As many CSAs in Metro Vancouver distribute their produce through several channels, they are already well-diversified. Avoiding specialisation and growth as well as independence from distributors and/or food retailers was not an apparent issue for the experts. Furthermore, as one expert explained, for CSAs that have also other distribution channels, risk sharing often moves into the background because they would substitute the CSA shares with produce they intended to sell through other sales channels.

Although there are differences in farmers' approaches to CSA, the interviews showed that practicing agriculture following own values and ideals is perceived as an important motivation for farmers in both research areas to establish a CSA. In line with the studies I reviewed (see section 3.1), the experts considered the critical questioning of the industrial agricultural system, environmental awareness, and the wish to produce food regardless of any market pressures as farmers' main values and ideals. The findings also indicate that certain values and ideals must exists regardless of the form in which CSA is implemented, otherwise farmers would not be willing to take on the high organisational effort and work load associated to running a CSA which the experts stated as the main obstacle for farmers.

The literature I reviewed did not include accessing farm land as a challenge for farmers. Yet, according to the interviews, it is the second most important factor in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver that hinders the development of CSA. The experts explained that high cost of land in both research areas make it especially difficult for new farmers to access farm land which is why landless farmers alternatively establish their CSA in private individuals' backyards. In their comparative study of CSAs in the Canadian province Ontario and 13 provinces in China, Schumilas et al. (2012) also found that purchasing land is beyond the reach for landless

newcomers to the CSA movement in Canada. They too report that these farmers access land through more 'creative' ways such as leasing small portions of land from other farmers, leasing municipally owned land or land owned by churches (Schumilas et al., 2012).

Three experts from Metro Vienna mentioned legal risks as an obstacle for the development of CSA in this region. The main problem is that members' voluntary participation in farming activities, which is a core value in the original CSA concept, falls in a legal grey area. Despite that, only one expert chose this negative factor in the scoring exercise, the other two experts believed it is an obstacle committed farmers can overcome. In Metro Vancouver, none of the experts mentioned legal or taxation risks associated with CSA, which may be due to the fact that it may be less common for CSAs in Metro Vancouver to involve their members in farming activities.

5.2.2 Discussing the Consumers' Perspective

The results from the interviews showed that consumers in Metro Vienna have partly different motivations to join a CSA than consumers in Metro Vancouver. In Metro Vienna, the experts addressed social responsibility, active participation in food production, expressing values and ideals, and protesting and changing the food system as the most important motivations for consumers. Whereas the experts from Metro Vancouver considered the demand for local, seasonal and organic food, social responsibility, and expressing values and ideals to be the strongest motivators. Especially the high rating of social responsibility in Metro Vienna and the high rating of the demand for local, seasonal and organic food in Metro Vancouver indicate that consumers in Metro Vienna have stronger idealistic and political motives compared to consumers in Metro Vancouver whose main motivation seems to be accessing local, seasonal and organic food.

The difference in consumers' motivations may also be influenced by the different availability of local, seasonal and organic food in supermarkets. Austria has a leading role in organic agriculture (BMLFUW, 2016, p. 48) and puts special emphasis on regionality, along with safety, quality (focussing on organic agriculture) and variety of food in its national food policy, the 'Austrian food model' (BMLFUW, 2014). As a result, local and organic food is well-marketed and widely available, not only through buying directly from farmers, but also at food retailers. The experts from Metro Vienna pointed out that Austria's small-scaled agriculture and the easy access to organic food were reasons why Austrian consumers did not find CSA attractive. Schermer (2014, p. 130) too concluded that the perception of local and organic food as being traditional, as well as its inclusion into the mainstream distribution channels, prevents social movements towards alternative consumer-producer relations from gaining momentum. He further assumed that CSAs emerge only in large numbers when "traditional structures are vanishing, and social groups perceive this as a cultural loss which requires counteraction" (Schermer, 2014, p. 130).

Since local and organic food is taken for granted in Austria, the development of CSA relies on consumers' criticism of the – maybe not always obvious – problems of the agricultural system in general and the progressive mainstreaming of organic food by retailers in particular. However, as it seems this criticism has not (yet) arrived in the wider population which leaves only a rather small group of consumers that is concerned enough to become part of a civic food network like CSA. Thus, as the interviews in Metro Vienna revealed, consumers' motives are not primarily practical, namely accessing local and/or organic food, but political and idealistic. These consumers view their CSA membership as a protesting act against the prevailing food system and as a means to be solidary with farmers and to have a say in how their food is produced.

On the contrary, in Metro Vancouver the experts stated the demand for local, seasonal and organic food as consumers' principal motivation to join a CSA. This demand is a reaction to consumers' dissatisfaction with the industrialised and globalised agricultural and food system and the associated environmental and health problems. The experts also reported that consumers increasingly raise concerns towards imported food products. Indeed, Canada is the world's sixth largest importer of agricultural and agri-food products (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2015, p. 29) and in the retail sector, 63% of all imported foods originate from the USA, with fresh fruits and vegetables being the leading imports (Arbulu, 2017, p. 8). Consequently, also drawing from my personal experience, the availability of local produce in supermarkets is very limited. (Imported) Organic food is, however easily accessible through supermarkets. Like in Austria, organic food has been included in mainstream distribution channels in Canada. The experts described this as misleading for consumers and therefore a negative influence for CSAs in Metro Vancouver.

As a result of the developments that disconnected consumers from their food, the experts perceive consumers in Metro Vancouver as having the strong wish to 'reconnect their food to a face and a place'. Therefore, they seek out alternative sources of food such as CSAs where they have transparency of how and where their food is produced and where they can directly connect with a farmer. Like in Metro Vienna, the experts from Metro Vancouver considered taking social responsibility and expressing their values and ideals through the CSA membership as further important driving factors for the development of CSA. In contrast to Metro Vienna, where these values and ideals are more political, the interviews in Metro Vancouver indicated that the values and ideals mainly revolve around having a connection to a specific farm and eating food that has been produced in an environmentally friendly way.

5.3 Conclusion

CSA is a civic response to environmental, social and economic challenges in the agricultural and food system. The concept has the potential to sustain small-scale agriculture, promote environmentally-friendly farming practices, de-commodify food, reconnect farmers and consumers, and empower citizens to encounter the challenges in the prevailing agricultural and food system.

The comparison of the CSA movements in Metro Vienna and Metro Vancouver uncovered differences in farmers' and consumers' motivations to engage in CSA as well as differences in the implementation of the CSA model. Both, motivations and modes of implementation, are influenced by local structural framework conditions. The CSA model is flexible enough to adapt to different framework conditions which is why CSA evolves differently in every region.

The Austrian agricultural and food system is characterised by small-scale structures, a high share of organic agriculture, well-developed and even institutionally supported direct marketing channels, connotating local and organic food and buying directly from farmers as 'traditional'. Through the integration of traceable organic and local food products into mainstream marketing channels, food retailers further support this image. This satisfies most consumers, leaving CSAs to a small group of critical farmers and consumers who seek an alternative mode of food production and provisioning that contrasts the conventional food system. Thus, CSAs in Austria have a rather strong focus on the idealistic, political and philosophical aspects of the foundational CSA model.

Compared to other countries, the CSA movement in Austria started rather late, namely in 2011. It may have been a combination of three events which took place approximately at the same time: (1) the founding of the first CSA in Austria in 2011, which drew a lot of media attention, (2) the Nyéléni Europe forum for food sovereignty which took place in Austria in 2011, and (3)

the project ‘CSA4Europe’ organised by Urgenci, an international network for CSA, which took place between 2011 and 2013.

In Canada, starting in the 1980s, the protest against the increasing industrialisation and globalisation of the agricultural and food system provided fertile ground for an ongoing vibrant alternative and local food movement. In Vancouver, the local food movement paved the way for the foundation of institutions such as the Vancouver Food Policy Council, Farm Folk City Folk or the Vancouver Urban Farming Society, all working towards a local and sustainable food system. CSA arose as part of this movement and is still popular among farmers and consumers. In the past decades however, CSA has evolved from its ideological beginnings into a more market oriented model. While the underlying values of the CSA concept have not vanished, it is noticeable that the practical aspects of CSA – being an additional distribution channel for farmers, and a way to procure locally and environmentally friendly food for consumers – became progressively more important.

The development of CSA may thus reflect citizens’ perception of their agricultural and food system. While Austrian citizens may be less concerned about how their food is produced, the industrialisation and globalisation of agriculture and food production are a big concern for many Canadian citizens. Hence the different motivations for participating in CSA.

Presently, CSA is a niche concept in Austria that appeals mostly to critical farmers and consumers who regard CSA as a political statement and a possibility to reclaim influence on the production, distribution and consumption of food. To get CSA out of its niche and to promote the advantages of such a civic food network (see section 1.2), a lot of consciousness raising among the broad population is required. For Austria as a country that already puts great emphasis on organic agriculture and a regional food system, the establishment of the CSA movement would be a further step towards its pursued sustainability goals. However, drawing from the experts’ statements, to make the CSA model more attractive, especially for farmers, two important obstacles need to be abolished: First, new landless farmers need improved access to farm land. At the moment, a charitable foundation for the creation and strengthening of commons for a solidary and cooperative economy and way of living is being established. The aim of this foundation is, among others, to provide agricultural land and infrastructure for CSA (RASENNA, 2017). This foundation will be a first step towards enabling motivated farmers to access land and establish a CSA. Second, for CSAs to be able to involve their members into farming activities, and therefore to put the original principles into practice, it needs special and clear regulations that allow this kind of cooperation between farmers and consumers.

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List of Tables and Figures

Annex 1: Interview Schedule

1. Please tell me how and since when you are involved with CSA.

For a CSA to start, it needs both an interested farmer and consumers who would like to become members. I would like to understand both sides: why they want to engage in CSA and which obstacles might keep them from doing so.

2. Let's start with the farmers' perspective, especially in Metro Vienna/Metro Vancouver:

   a) What are, in your opinion, the main reasons for why farmers want to start a CSA? (events, circumstances, motives…)

   b) What are, in your opinion, the main obstacles for farmers who want to start a CSA? (Are there any fears, legal or market uncertainties?)

3. Now we continue with the consumers, especially in Metro Vienna/Metro Vancouver:

   a) What are, in your opinion, the main reasons for consumers to be interested in becoming a member of a CSA? (events, circumstances, motives…)

   b) What are, in your opinion, obstacles for consumers?

Thank you very much for your opinion. While going through the literature on CSA, I have identified different factors [note newly mentioned factors during the interview and add on blank cards after question 3] which could influence the development of CSA in Metro Vienna/Metro Vancouver. The factors are split into categories, depending on whether they concern famers or consumers and whether they have a positive or a negative influence on the development of CSA.

4. Please look through the factors concerning farmers and

   a) choose the two most important positively influencing factors and

   b) choose the one most important negatively influencing factor.

   c) Ok, now you have chosen the three most important factors. Please rate each of these three factors with up to 10 points, depending on its influence on the development of CSA in Metro Vienna/Metro Vancouver. The higher the influence, the higher the score should be. Please explain your considerations: Why was this factor especially important for the development of CSA in Metro Vienna/Metro Vancouver?

5. Now we proceed to the factors concerning consumers (repeat steps a-c).

6. In summary, when you look at these six factors together, do you still agree with how you rated them, or would you change anything?

7. One last question: CSAs in Metro Vienna/Metro Vancouver started in the 1980s. Do you have any idea why it started back then? Was there any special incident or was there a pioneer who played an important role? Were there major milestones in the development of CSAs in Metro Vancouver since then?

Annex 2: Data Protection Declaration

Universität für Bodenkultur Wien
University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna

Department of Economics and Social Sciences
Institute of Agricultural and Forestry Economics

Data Protection Declaration

You have been asked to participate in a master's thesis conducted by me, Elena Wohlmacher, studying at the Institute of Agricultural and Forestry Economics at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences in Vienna, Austria. The aim of this master's thesis is to understand the different development of community supported agriculture in the metropolitan regions of Vienna and Vancouver.

This interview is voluntary. You have the right not to answer any question and to stop the interview at any time for any reason. The master's thesis follows data protection guidelines. Therefore, the recording, transcription, analysis and reporting of this interview require your explicit consent. You can revoke your consent in writing to me (*e.wohlmacher@hotmail.com*) at any time.

After the interview took place, I will proceed in the following way:

1) The recording of the interview is the basis for all further working steps. I will transcribe the recording. While transcribing I will delete or anonymise all personal information that might disclose your identity. I will publish neither the recording nor the transcript. After I completed the master's thesis (planned for October 2017) I will delete the recording.
2) I will include short and anonymised sections of the transcribed interview in the master's thesis and may also publish them in journal articles.
3) I will keep your contact information (name, phone number, email address) confidentially and in a safe place to clarify potential queries during the time I am writing the master's thesis. After completion of the master's thesis I will delete all contact information. I will keep only your signed declaration of consent beyond the duration of the master's thesis. This is to document – in case of a review through the data protection office – that you gave your permission to record and analyse the interview. This declaration of consent cannot be linked with the transcript of the interview.

I am happy to send you a PDF-copy of the master's thesis after completion (planned for October 2017). It will also be available for download on the institute's website: http://www.wiso.boku.ac.at/afo/abschlussarbeiten/

Thank you very much for participating in my master's thesis!

_____ _____

Place, Date Elena Wohlmacher

Annex 3: Declaration of Consent

Universität für Bodenkultur Wien
University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences, Vienna

Department of Economics and Social Sciences
Institute of Agricultural and Forestry Economics

Declaration of Consent

I, ... (name) give permission that the interview conducted by Elena Wohlmacher on …… (date) may be recorded, transcribed and analysed for the purposes of her master's thesis. After completion of the master's thesis (planned for October 2017) the recording will be deleted.

I agree that short and anonymised sections of the transcribed interview will be included in the master's thesis and may also be published in journal articles. I have been assured that all personal information that might disclose my identity will be deleted or anonymised.

Furthermore, I agree that my contact information (name, phone number, email address) will be kept confidentially and in a safe place to clarify potential queries during the time of the master's thesis. After completion of the master's thesis all contact information will be deleted.

I have received a written data protection declaration and I have been informed that I can revoke this consent in writing to Elena Wohlmacher (*e.wohlmacher@hotmail.com*) at any time.

_____ _____

Place, Date Signature