Seeding change through Community Supported Agiculture?

The prefigurative potential of CSAs in South-Holland, The Netherlands

Annelise Pap

**LUCSUS**

Lund University Centre for
Sustainability Studies

Seeding change through Community Supported Agriculture?

The prefigurative potential of CSAs in South-Holland, The Netherlands

Annelise Pap

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Lund University International Master's Programme in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science

Submitted May 12, 2024

Supervisor: Kimberly Nicholas, LUCSUS, Lund University

Abstract

Conventional agrifood systems significantly contribute to environmental degradation. While Community Supported Agriculture initiatives (CSAs) may provide insights into alternative agrifood systems, few studies have investigated challenges to their engagement with prefigurative processes. Through a case study of nine CSAs in South-Holland, the Netherlands, this thesis explores the extent to which CSAs can overcome challenges to their prefigurative potential. Research is grounded in theories of prefigurative processes and characteristics by Yates (2015) and Schiller-Merkens (2022a) respectively. Data is obtained through interviews with CSA representatives. None of the CSAs studied display all five processes of prefiguration, but six show all three characteristics of prefigurative organizing. Although many CSAs aim for systemic change, they avoid political meaning-making and diffusion due to fear of polarization and repercussions, public disinterest and time scarcity. Addressing these challenges and increasing collaboration may allow for bottom-up initiatives like CSAs to contribute more meaningfully to agrifood system transformations.

Keywords: Community Supported Agriculture, processes of prefiguration, characteristics of prefigurative organizing, challenges, strategies, the Netherlands

Wordcount: 11997

Acknowledgements

A number of people have made writing this thesis both a great learning experience and an enjoyable process. I am very grateful for the supervision of Kimberley Nicholas, who has provided me with insightful feedback and guidance throughout. I am also very appreciative of the support from my thesis team, Jenna & Julia, who have been patient peer-reviewers and great mental health advocates. In addition, this thesis would not have been possible without the help of the 9 inspirational CSA-representatives that were willing to share their knowledge and experience with me.

I want to thank all my LUMES friends for providing some much-needed distraction and writing support throughout, and Roman for always being there to listen. I also want to thank my friends from the second floor, with whom I got to talk to about anything but this thesis.

Finally, I would not have been able to start or complete this thesis without my ever-supporting parents. I can never be thankful enough for all the opportunities they have given me and all the times they have encouraged me to pursue my goals.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

List of Abbreviations

CSA   Community Supported Agriculture

CSAs   Community Supported Agriculture initiatives

RQ   Research question

1 Introduction

The ability of the Earth to maintain conditions supportive of human wellbeing is under threat (Richardson et al., 2023). Anthropogenic activities have significantly accelerated warming of the planet and degraded the environment (IPCC, 2023a; Richardson et al., 2023). Associated impacts include more frequent and intense extreme weather events, biodiversity loss and sea level rise (IPCC, 2023b). Continuous emissions of greenhouse gasses and aerosols, changes in land use, unsustainable exploitation of natural resources and the use of chemicals, synthetic substances and radioactive materials continue to push the Earth beyond a stable threshold deemed safe for humans (Richardson et al., 2023). Impacts of global warming are already significantly affecting agrifood systems, consisting of agriculture, aquaculture, forestry and fisheries sectors (Campanhola & Pandey, 2019; IPCC, 2023b). Associated reductions in crop yields and qualities are likely to increase if greenhouse gas emissions are not drastically reduced in the next decades (IPCC, 2023c). The sectors may also face global warming-related exacerbation of social vulnerabilities, including poverty (IPCC, 2023b).

Conventional agrifood systems significantly contribute to global warming and environmental degradation (IPCC, 2023b). The agriculture, aquaculture, forestry and fisheries sectors emit various greenhouse gasses that significantly contribute to raising Earth's average temperatures (IPCC, 2023a). Within these, agricultural emissions fulfill the largest share (IPCC, 2023a). Other negative impacts include water pollution, biodiversity loss, freshwater depletion and air pollution (IPCC, 2023a; Nemecek et al., 2016; Ritchie et al., 2022).

In response to the social and environmental problems of current agrifood systems, alternative food networks have arisen to contest conventional ways of organizing these (Bonfert, 2022; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Michel-Villarreal et al., 2019; Zoll et al., 2023). Although not uniformly defined, several common characteristics of these alternative networks include short supply chains, close consumer-producer relationships, and local embeddedness (J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023; Michel-Villarreal et al., 2019; Verfuerth et al., 2023; Zoll et al., 2023). They generally aim to provide more socially and economically just food systems that impact the environment less negatively than the conventional systems they oppose (Verfuerth et al., 2023).

Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is an example of an alternative food network that has gained increasing scholarly attention, specifically regarding its potential for change in the agricultural sector (Verfuerth et al., 2023). Although characteristics of CSA initiatives (CSAs) are context-dependent (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Egli et al., 2023; González-Azcárate et al., 2023), overarching features include short, local value chains; direct consumer-producer relationships; and risk-sharing among

2

farmers and customers (Geissberger & Chapman, 2023; J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023; Pedrosa & Xerez, 2023; Turunen et al., 2023; Voge et al., 2023). CSAs are often organized through member or subscription systems, whereby participants make advance payments for a share in harvest (Pedrosa & Xerez, 2023; Zoll et al., 2023). Other common elements include member participation in food production, environmentally friendly cultivation approaches, and prevailing values of solidarity, trust and reciprocity (Bellamy et al., 2023; González-Azcárate et al., 2023; Medici et al., 2023; J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023; Pedrosa & Xerez, 2023; Schilling et al., 2023; Turunen et al., 2023; Voge et al., 2023; Zoll et al., 2023). CSAs may, for example, contribute to changes in conventional agrifood systems by strengthening pro-environmental values in consumers, generating dietary changes in participants and acting as prefigurative spaces (Bonfert, 2022; Geissberger & Chapman, 2023; Hvitsand, 2016; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Standal & Westskog, 2022; Voge et al., 2023). As prefigurative spaces, CSAs are political tools that imagine and showcase how future agrifood systems can organize in alternative ways (Bonfert, 2022; Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Egli et al., 2023; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Turunen et al., 2023).

Considering the potential for CSAs to display more democratic, sustainable and de-commodified alternatives to conventional agrifood systems (Bonfert, 2022), this thesis explicitly focuses on their role as prefigurative spaces. The research is subsequently grounded in theories of prefigurative processes (Yates, 2015) and characteristics of prefigurative organizing (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). In the context of social movement studies, Yates (2015) argues that prefigurative movements show processes of (1) experimentation, (2) collective norm creation, (3) political meaning-making, (4) norm consolidation, and (5) diffusion. Schiller-Merkens (2022a) holds that prefigurative organizations (a) reject harmful forms of organizing, (b) realize alternative principles and (c) aim for social transformation. Importantly, CSAs are named as examples of both prefigurative movements and prefigurative organizations (Bonfert, 2022; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Schiller-Merkens, 2022a)

The Netherlands is one of the countries that could benefit significantly from insights into alternative agrifood systems, especially regarding the agricultural sector. The latter occupies approximately 54% of the country's land area (CBS, 2021a) and has the highest livestock density of any country within the European Union (Berkhout et al., 2023). The Dutch agricultural sector was responsible for 16% of the country's greenhouse gas emissions in 2021 and is specifically associated with high nitrogen and phosphate emissions that pollute air, soil and water (Afrian et al., 2020; Berkhout et al., 2023). The potential for alternative agrifood systems to reduce these negative impacts is especially recognized in the province of South-Holland, where the government aims to normalize regional food chains (Provincie Zuid-Holland, 2020). Transforming the agricultural sector in South-Holland is deemed

essential to combat biodiversity loss, increase climate resilience and maintain agricultural production (Provincie Zuid-Holland, 2020).

1.1 Research gap and questions

To holistically address several research gaps, this thesis focuses on challenges CSAs face in fulfilling their potential role as prefigurative spaces and the strategies CSAs have adopted to overcome these challenges (Bonfert, 2022; Furness et al., 2022; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). Importantly, Schiller-Merkens (2022a) has identified a need to study various different prefigurative organizations to uncover factors that inhibit and promote the diffusion of their practices. In addition, Mert-Cakal & Miele (2020) and Sulistyowati et al. (2023) specifically remark upon insufficient insight into challenges that CSAs face in participating in policy decision-making and those imposed by existing laws. Further research into factors that inhibit activities of prefigurative organizations is believed necessary to uncover how these initiatives may be scaled up to stimulate transformations of dominant forms of organizing (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a).

In this thesis, I utilize a case study of CSA initiatives in the province of South-Holland, The Netherlands, to answer the overarching research question: *'To what extent are Community Supported Agriculture initiatives in South-Holland able to overcome challenges to their prefigurative potential?'*. The aim is to explore both the challenges CSAs in South-Holland face in their potential to act as prefigurative spaces, as well as the strategies they have adopted to address these challenges. Exploring these strategies is especially relevant where Schiller-Merkens (2022a) has identified a need for more knowledge on how prefigurative practices can be maintained despite faced obstacles. Where the literature portrays the diversity in CSAs regarding both their characteristics and objectives (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Egli et al., 2023; González-Azcárate et al., 2023), it is important to initially establish whether CSAs in South-Holland actually (want to) function as prefigurative spaces. Consequently, I answer the overarching question through the following research questions (RQs):

(1) Which prefigurative processes and characteristics do Community Supported Agriculture initiatives in South-Holland show?
(2) What are the challenges to prefigurative processes in Community Supported Agriculture initiatives in South-Holland?
(3) What strategies do Community Supported Agriculture initiatives in South-Holland use to overcome challenges to prefigurative processes?

The questions are answered through interviews with nine representatives of CSAs in South-Holland.

1.2 Contribution to Sustainability Science

This thesis contributes to Sustainability Science by offering an improved understanding of the challenges that inhibit the influence and proliferation of spaces in which conventional agrifood systems are challenged and reconfigured to address their social and environmental problems (Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Schiller-Merkens, 2022a; Spangenberg, 2011). The research is linked to Sustainable Development Goals 2 (zero hunger, through production of local and seasonal food), 12 (sustainable consumption and production, through consumption and production of produce cultivated in accordance with agro-ecological principles) and 15 (life on land, through use of nature-inclusive structures) (United Nations, n.d.). I aim to offer applicable solutions for CSAs in South-Holland that aim to inspire change in conventional agrifood systems, by creating insight in potential strategies to obstacles they face (Kajikawa et al., 2014; Spangenberg, 2011).

2 Background

2.1 Agriculture in Netherlands

The agricultural sector occupies approximately 54% of the land area in the Netherlands (CBS, 2021a). Livestock density is high, with the Netherlands having the highest livestock densities of any country within the European Union (Berkhout et al., 2023). Animal husbandry is mainly focussed on chickens (97.5 million), pigs (11.3 million) and cattle (3.8 million) (Berkhout et al., 2023; CBS, 2021b). Cultivated land is used for grass (53.7%), field crops (29.6%), animal feedstock (10.8%) and horticulture (5.9%) (Berkhout et al., 2023). The most prevalently cultivated field crops include wheat, maize, potatoes and sugar beets (Berkhout et al., 2023), with only 4.5% of land cultivation being ecologically certified (CBS, 2024). The environmental impacts of the Dutch agricultural sector are primarily associated with high ammonia and phosphate emissions that contribute to air, soil and water pollution (Afrian et al., 2020; Berkhout et al., 2023). In 2021, the sector was responsible for 16% of greenhouse gasses, and 88% of ammonia, emitted within the Netherlands (Afrian et al., 2020; Berkhout et al., 2023). Moreover, the agricultural sector is the primary source of heavy metals and pesticides that pollute domestic freshwaters (Berkhout et al., 2023).

2.2 CSA in Netherlands

The most recent estimate finds that approximately 100 organizations in the Netherlands describe themselves with the translated terms for CSA (*'gemeenschapslandbouw'* or *'pergola-landbouw'*) (CSA Netwerk, n.d.-b; Land & Co, 2008; Van Kampen, 2020; van Leeuwen, 2001). CSA was first introduced in the country in 1996, with the consolidation of initiatives gaining momentum around 2012 (L. M. Van Oers et al., 2018). Although their approaches and designs are diverse, most CSAs are initiated by the farmer in charge of cultivation activities and require their members to obtain produce through self-harvest (Van Kampen, 2020; L. M. Van Oers et al., 2018). Others work with the collection or delivery of produce in bags or boxes (L. M. Van Oers et al., 2018). The size of the farms often does not exceed two hectares and a variety of crops are cultivated simultaneously (L. M. Van Oers et al., 2018). Several guiding principles for Dutch CSAs have been put forward by the national CSA network (*CSA Netwerk Nederland* translated as *CSA Network The Netherlands*) that was established in 2020 (CSA Netwerk, n.d.-a; Van Kampen, 2020). These principles include an agro-ecological approach to food production, sovereignty, solidarity and economic independence (CSA Netwerk, n.d.-a). Membership of the network is, however, voluntary and does not determine whether an organization can be considered a CSA initiative (CSA Netwerk, n.d.-a).

In this thesis, I consider the term 'CSA' to include so-called *Herenboeren*-farms (from here translated as '*Gentlemen Farmers*'). Similar to Van Kampen (2020), I view *Gentlemen Farmers* as particular forms of CSA. However, they can also be viewed as separate types of food cooperatives. Different from regular CSAs, *Gentlemen Farmers* require 250 households to organize in a cooperative and become collective owners of a farm (Herenboeren, n.d.-b). Subsequently, one or multiple farmers are employed to cultivate the land, whereby members of the cooperative are encouraged to participate in cultivation activities (Herenboeren, n.d.-a). The produce are never sold and financial means are only obtained through member investments and membership fees (Herenboeren, n.d.-b).

2.3 CSA and transformations

Based on a literature review, here I propose three ways in which CSAs could contribute to transformations of conventional agrifood systems. Discussed are CSAs' potential to (1) reduce environmental damage, (2) influence values, mindsets and behavior and (3) serve as a transformative movement.

2.3.1 Substituting conventional agriculture

CSAs may contribute towards more sustainable agrifood systems by substituting conventional agricultural production with more environmentally friendly means of farming (Egli et al., 2023). CSAs may have less negative impacts on the environment than conventional agricultural farms and may therefore act as 'sustainable alternatives' (Egli et al., 2023; Sulistyowati et al., 2023). The systematic literature review of Egli et al. (2023) has suggested that CSAs may be characterized by comparatively more resource efficiency and fewer greenhouse gas emissions. Others have noted potential lower production inputs of fuel and pesticides, reduced food transport and reduced food packaging (Medici et al., 2023). In addition, Voge et al. (2023) identify potential lower quantities of food loss and waste in CSAs compared to conventional and organic agriculture, based on a recent case study in Germany. Research regarding comparative ecological benefits of CSAs is, however, not conclusive. Despite observing a positive trend in the comparative ecological benefits of individual CSAs over conventional reference farms, Egli et al. (2023) concluded that their data was insufficient to generate a reliable evaluation. Research into soil health, crop yield, diversity and slow on-set processes, such as changes in soil structure, seem absent (Egli et al., 2023). The benefits of CSAs are likely dependent on the specific characteristics of the analyzed CSAs and the farms they are compared to (Medici et al., 2023).

2.3.2 Influencing values, mindsets and behavior

CSAs may facilitate shifts in values and mindsets of participants (Geissberger & Chapman, 2023). Three observed effects include: (1) the cultivation and reinforcement of pro-environmental values and mindsets (Geissberger & Chapman, 2023; Hvitsand, 2016; Medici et al., 2023; J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023; Standal & Westskog, 2022; Turunen et al., 2023), (2) the strengthening of connections to food, farmers and agricultural landscapes (Geissberger & Chapman, 2023; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023; Turunen et al., 2023; Vaderna et al., 2022; Verfuerth et al., 2023), and (3) the increase of awareness of supply chain operations and consumption impacts (Blättel-Mink et al., 2017; Cox et al., 2008; Furness et al., 2022; J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023; Plank et al., 2020).

Participation in CSAs may also generate more sustainable behavior (Egli et al., 2023; Furness et al., 2022). Bonfert (2022) has, for example, shown that the renewed connection between members and their food can inspire dietary changes and increase participants' environmental commitments. Other scholars have similarly observed CSA' participants adopting diets that are more plant-based (Hvitsand, 2016; Standal & Westskog, 2022; Voge et al., 2023), seasonal (Hvitsand, 2016; Voge et al., 2023) and generally associated with lower environmental impacts (Bellamy et al., 2023; Egli et al., 2023). Geissberger & Chapman (2023) noted that increased awareness of agricultural processes in members led to a decreased willingness to waste food.

2.3.3 CSA as a transformative movement

CSA may be perceived as a transformative social movement in the way it allows for the imagination of radical alternative agrifood systems (Bonfert, 2022). CSAs give prefigurative insights into the design of future systems by enacting them in the present and showcasing that they can already function on a small scale (Bonfert, 2022; Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Turunen et al., 2023). CSAs may portray a more democratic, sustainable and de-commodified alternative to the current way in which agrifood systems are organized (Bonfert, 2022). Arguably, the use of a de-commodified and ecologically sound production process directly opposes the capitalist system and guarantees better food quality (Blättel-Mink et al., 2017). Mert-Cakal & Miele (2020) have shown that CSAs can locally empower communities and may ultimately lead to influence on policy-making.

It can, however, be questioned whether CSAs can portray systemic alternatives to conventional agrifood systems (Bonfert, 2022). For one, the concept is criticized for being inaccessible to low-income households and may therefore not represent the average population (Bonfert, 2022; Egli et al., 2023). Second, diffusion of the concept seems limited by challenges that prevent them from scaling up,

participating in macro-level decision-making and replicating (Bonfert, 2022; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Turunen et al., 2023). According to Meyer and Hassler (2023), CSAs are unlikely to impact the agricultural market significantly. They identify multiple barriers that prevent people from becoming members, and thus limit CSAs from covering big market shares. Examples include high share prices, risks of bad harvests and limited choice in produce (J. M. Meyer & Hassler, 2023). In addition, the economic viability of CSAs is still uncertain (Egli et al., 2023) and critics consider CSAs' transformative potential limited by their focus on individual consumer responsibility (Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020). Consequently, Meyer and Hassler (2023) consider the most favorable future scenario as one in which the CSA scene grows and conventional farms adopt comparable features, such as direct producer-consumer relationships.

3 Theory

The research is grounded in theories of prefiguration, within which prefigurative groups are viewed as attempting to generate broader societal change through altering day-to-day activities (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a; Yates, 2015). The concept of prefiguration originates from Boggs (1977), who developed the term 'prefigurative politics' in the context of communist movements (Yates, 2015). In contrast to Leninists and structural reformists, Boggs (1977) described prefigurative communist movements as seeking to directly embody their revolutionary aims in contemporary society. More recently, the theory has become embedded in the analysis of newer social movements (Yates, 2015), and is increasingly applied in organization studies (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). It is generally associated with the attempt to enact societal transformation through a form of politics that refrains from confrontational action which directly demands changes from the state (Monticelli, 2021; Schiller-Merkens, 2022b). Instead, focus is on raising experimental critiques by showcasing alternative activities and ways of organizing (Schiller-Merkens, 2022b).

3.1 Processes of prefiguration

Yates (2015) has proposed an important analytical framework to distinguish between prefiguration and other (non)-political actions in the context of social movement studies. This framework sets out the five processes that prefiguration consists of. These include (1) joint experimentation, (2) internal conception, development and circulation of political perspectives, (3) establishment of new collective norms, (4) reinforcement of these new social norms within the material environment or social orders of the movement, and (5) spread of orders, devices, practices and perspectives beyond the movement (Yates, 2015). Social norms are thereby equated with the codes of conduct that guide the movement and its participants (Yates, 2015). The processes, and examples of how these processes materialized in social centers studied by Yates (2015), are displayed in Table 1. Throughout this thesis the processes of prefiguration will be referred to as (1) experimentation, (2) political meaning-making, (3) collective norm creation, (4) consolidation, and (5) diffusion.

Table 1. Five processes of prefiguration (text rephrased from Yates (2015))

Process of prefiguration	Example from the social centres studied by Yates (2015)
1 **Joint experimentation** **(experimentation)**	Activities were treated as opportunities to reinvent the manners in which practices[1] could be carried out in the future. The participants experimented with their social practices as well as their political practices. The practices were thereby reflected on in communal assemblies or informal conversations.
2 **The conception, development and circulation of political perspectives among participants** **(political meaning-making)**	Participants were stimulated to think and learn about ideological positions through organized debates, seminars, conferences and the distribution of media such as pamphlets.
3 **The establishment of new social norms shared by the collective** **(collective norm creation)**	Participants often decided upon collective codes of conduct via consensus. Debate and discussion of collective norms occurred based on political perspectives and experimentation. The reinterpretation of rules was encouraged and normalised.
4 **The reinforcement of the new norms within the material environment and social order of the movement** **(consolidation)**	The consolidation of the experimental nature, collective norms and political ideologies could, for instance, be noticed from the seating arrangements in debate and the manner of land cultivation. An example of success of the prefigurative social movement is when this consolidation is no longer temporary or curtailed.
5 **The spread of objectives, practices and perspectives beyond the movement** **(diffusion)**	The social centres circulated alternative media, organized public seminars, workshops, conferences and held informal events where alternatives were publicly performed.

[1] Practices are considered the short-term activities that the social movement/group does together, which are mostly realisable.

The processes that distinguish prefiguration from the sheer development of alternative social relations in contemporary society are (3) collective norm creation, (4) consolidation and (5) diffusion (Yates, 2015). Yates (2015) argues that combining collective norm creation with consolidation or diffusion signifies the existence of a collective vision and preparedness to act. In contrast to subcultural or counter-cultural groups, prefigurative movements specifically wish to be an inspiration for change and spread perspectives (Yates, 2015).

3.2 Characteristics of prefigurative organizing

Building on Yates (2015), Schiller-Merkens (2022a) observes that different conceptualizations of prefiguration exist throughout various research fields. The three conceptualizations identified include prefiguration as means to an end, direct politics, and construction of alternatives. As means to an end, prefigurative movements readily act in accordance with the values and relations they envision (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). The practices they adopt immediately express their political ends or imagined activist outcomes (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). As direct politics, prefigurative organizations are reflect the means-end conceptualization while emphasizing that change envisioned without relying on state reforms (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). As construction of alternatives, prefiguration is less temporal and considered a bottom-up approach in which alternative organizations and communities are created in free spaces of contemporary societies (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). Prefiguration as such can combine both short-term, confrontational protests with extended, non-confrontational activism (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a).

Schiller-Merkens (2022a) builds on the three identified definitions to propose a framework for distinguishing prefigurative organizations from alternative organizations. They contend that prefigurative organizations show three characteristics. As displayed in Table 2, these include (a) the rejection of harmful forms of organizing, (b) the construction of forms of organizing that realize alternative moral principles, and (c) the aim of contributing to a social transformation. Prefigurative organizations reject the capitalistic system or other forms of organizing that oppress people or nature (characteristic a). These dominant forms of organizing are often viewed as threatening principles of equality, responsibility, democracy and solidarity. Instead of projecting alternative moral principles into the future, prefigurative organizations directly enact them (characteristic b). Schiller-Merkens (2022a) builds on Yates (2015) to conclude that prefigurative organizations distinguish themselves from alternative organizations by their aim of diffusing their values, practices or beliefs beyond the confines of the organization (characteristic c).

Table 2. Three characteristics of prefigurative organizations (text rephrased from Schiller-Merkens (2022a))

Characteristic of a prefigurative organization	Description
a **The rejection of harmful forms of organizing**	Dominant forms of organizing are negated. The rejection is often directed at the capitalistic system, but it can also be aimed at other forms of organizing that oppress people or nature. The negated forms of organizing are viewed as threatening principles of equality, responsibility, democracy and solidarity.
b **The construction of forms of organizing that realize alternative moral principles**	Instead of projecting alternative moral principles into the future, these are realized within the contemporary society.
c **The aim of contributing to a social transformation**	The objective is to aid in materializing a social transformation of the society and economy. There is a drive to motivate others to adopt similar practices and alternative models.

While the two theories overlap, the theory of Schiller-Merkens (2022a) arguably contains a more general framework applicable outside of social movement studies.

3.3 Operationalization of theories

I operationalize the theories by Yates (2015) and Schiller-Merkens (2022a) in tandem to answer RQ1. As features and aims of CSAs diverge (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Egli et al., 2023; González-Azcárate et al., 2023), I use these theories to evaluate whether the CSAs under study currently function as prefigurative spaces. This is done by assessing whether they engage in the five processes of prefiguration and/or show the three characteristics of prefigurative organizing. In line with Yates (2015) and in light of the overarching question governing this thesis, the CSAs are considered to fulfill their prefigurative potential when they engage in all five processes of prefiguration. I use Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) three characteristics to contrast the findings under RQ1 regarding Yates' (2015) prefigurative processes with a theory that is arguably more generally applicable outside social

movement studies. This seems important where CSAs are named as examples of prefigurative movements, as well as prefigurative organizations (Bonfert, 2022; Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). Where the theories show overlap, I use Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) theory mostly to reflect on the objectives of the CSAs (characteristic c). Yates' (2015) has noted that an extension of their theory with a reflection on movements' aims could explain differences between comparable initiatives. I use both theories to inform the frameworks for data analysis under RQ1 (section 4.4). However, considering that I only discovered Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) theory later in the process, the questions used for data gathering under RQ1 are solely based on Yates (2015) (section 4.3).

Subsequently, I operationalize the theory by Yates (2015) individually to answer RQ2 and RQ3. I use the theory under RQ2 to evaluate the challenges the studied CSAs face in carrying out practices relating to the five prefigurative processes. I use the theory under RQ3 to explore the strategies that the studied CSAs adopt to overcome the observed challenges. The theory has informed both the questions used for data gathering (section 4.3) and the approach to data analysis under RQ2 and RQ3 (section 4.4).

4 Methodology

4.1 Research Design

4.1.1 Positionality

The research is designed in a way that allows the researcher to largely rely on participants' views in answering the research questions (Creswell, 2009), but it must be acknowledged that the data is somewhat shaped by the researcher who interprets it (Gray, 2018). Relevant thereto is that the researcher is a Dutch national, raised in South-Holland, with previous exposure to CSA through the participation of family members therein. Interest in the topic increased when a CSA initiative known to the researcher was forced to terminate its activities.

4.1.2 Qualitative design

The research employs a qualitative approach to increase insight into conditions that limit prefigurative initiatives, as deemed essential by Schiller-Merkens (2022a). I focus on CSAs because of their potential to rethink conventional agrifood systems that are associated with significant negative environmental and social impacts (Bonfert, 2022; IPCC, 2023b; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020), and because of specific research gaps regarding their legal impediments and inhibitions to engage in macro-level decision-making (Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020; Sulistyowati et al., 2023). A qualitative approach is considered appropriate as it allows for an exploration of variables that are not yet well-known, regarding a topic that has not yet been studied within a particular group (Creswell, 2009; Schiller-Merkens, 2022a).

Case study

The research is a case study of CSAs located within the South-Holland province of the Netherlands (Creswell, 2009). A case study approach is deemed appropriate where it allows for in-depth analysis of the context-specific impeding conditions that may be faced by these organizations (Tight, 2022). It allows for verification of existing observations regarding challenges to prefigurative organizing when combined with additional case studies (Maxwell, 2022; Schiller-Merkens, 2022b).

Case selection

Case selection is based on an identified gap in peer reviewed literature, limited insight into numbers of operational CSAs and specific provincial policy contexts. The research focus is generally motivated by a limited availability of international peer-reviewed literature on CSAs in the Netherlands (L. Van Oers et al., 2023; L. M. Van Oers et al., 2018). The case was subsequently bound by place to CSAs within

South-Holland (Meyer & Mayrhofer, 2022), due to a lack of verifiable information on the number of CSAs currently in operation throughout the country. This narrowed scope was based on research of the *Randstedelijke Rekenkamer*, an independent body that supervises provincial policies (Randstedelijke Rekenkamer, 2022). This research has identified South-Holland as one of the frontrunners in providing support for sustainable transitions (Randstedelijke Rekenkamer, 2022). The provincial government has directly expressed the wish to increase short-chain supply and demand in order to reduce transport movements, and has specifically named *Gentlemen Farmer*-initiatives as inspirational (Provincie Zuid-Holland, 2020). South-Holland was thus selected on the basis of presumed favorable conditions for CSA proliferation, to ensure the presence of a sizeable population that could be sampled from.

Further delimitation of the case occurred through the inclusion criterion of self-identification. All organizations identifying themselves with the term CSA, or its Dutch equivalents, were considered within the boundaries of the case. Absence of subscription to the national CSA network was not considered an exclusion criterion, as this is not a prerequisite for being a CSA. Collective organizations of CSAs within South-Holland were also included, as these could potentially provide aggregated knowledge regarding CSAs within the province.

4.2 Sampling strategy

The sample of CSA initiatives and their representatives was identified through a combined purposive sampling and snowballing approach (Meyer & Mayrhofer, 2022; Robinson, 2014). Initially, sixteen individual CSAs and one regional *Gentlemen Farmer*-network, were identified through deployment of the search string '*gemeenschapslandbouw OR pergola-landbouw OR herenboeren AND Zuid-Holland*' ('*community agriculture OR pergola agriculture OR gentleman farmers AND South-Holland*') in Google. The results were compared with the initiatives contained within the databases of the national CSA network and the national *Gentlemen Farmer* organization. This generated an additional two initiatives. One subsequent initiative was identified through a snowballing method (Meyer & Mayrhofer, 2022; Robinson, 2014), in which interviewees were asked about other CSAs in the province they were familiar with.

All twenty CSAs were asked to participate in the research through a standardized e-mail sent in the second half of February. Follow-up e-mails were sent when a response was not received within the first two weeks. It was discovered that one CSA was no longer operating due to financial reasons. Out of the final sample of nineteen currently existing initiatives, nine representatives were willing to

participate. Only one of the participants specifically represented a *Gentlemen Farmer* initiative. The 9 CSAs are dispersed throughout South-Holland (Figure 1). Their characteristics are described in Table 3.

Figure 1. Location of the sample (Google Maps (2024), circle added by the author).

Table 3. Characteristics of the 9 studied CSAs.

CSA NO.	Start year	Land size (ha)	Current number of members	Annual share price (€) per share (S) or one adult household (HH)[1]	Number of weekly volunteers	Member of CSA Netwerk Nederland
1	2014	0,21	26	85 (S)	14	No
2	2020	0,5	150	347 (HH)	40	Yes
3	2014		100	375 (S)	100	Yes
4	2023	0,5	65	405 (S)	25	No
5	2018	0,5	87	262,50 (HH)	50-65	Yes
6	2024	5	12	400 (S)	1 intern	Yes
7[2]	2019	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Yes
8	2015	0,2	130	340 (S)	34	No
9	2018	0,6	150	314 (S)	10	Yes

Specific notes.[1] A price per shareholder implies that the shareholder can determine how many people to feed from their share. A price per household implies that the share may only be used for the number of people specified. [2] CSA7 is an overarching, regional organization, of which none of the other studied CSAs are a part.

4.3 Data collection

Data was gathered through nine semi-structured interviews with representatives of CSAs in South-Holland (Roulston & Halpin, 2022). Initial guidance questions were designed in correspondence to Yates' (2015) five processes of prefiguration (Appendix A). Participants were asked additional questions where required to fully understand the meaning of their answers or to guarantee a smooth transition between subjects. The first interview was regarded as pilot interview, to assess whether the questions were formulated in a comprehensive manner (Turner, 2014). The only alteration made to the remaining eight interviews was the addition of an example under topic two on the development of political perspectives, to provide the interviewees with more clarity.

The interviews were held in the native language of both researcher and interviewees (Dutch) to reduce language barriers. The interview questions designed in English were subsequently manually translated and included in an interview protocol, of which the English version is attached as Appendix B. The interviews were held from mid-February to mid-March 2024, and took place online.

4.4 Data analysis

All interviews were recorded and thereafter manually transcribed to guarantee data privacy and allow for an initial exploration of identifiable themes (Widodo, 2014). A denaturalized approach to transcription was taken, as the data required mainly concerned content of speech (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019; Widodo, 2014). Where transcription involves a level of interpretation (Nascimento & Steinbruch, 2019), it is important to refer back to the researcher's positionality (see section 4.1.1).

The NVivo coding software was used to prepare the interview data for qualitative content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Schreier, 2012). A largely inductive coding approach was used to allow for findings beyond the set frameworks, through which codes were obtained from the data itself (Schreier, 2012). The only deductive codes started with were based on the three research questions and included 'characteristics' (RQ1), 'objectives' (RQ1), 'challenges' (RQ2) and 'strategies' (RQ3). The final coding set that emerged is attached as Appendix C.

The data was subsequently summarized and the inductively obtained results were reflected upon in light of the theories by Yates (2015) and Schiller-Merkens (2022a). I used the theory by Yates (2015) in tandem with the theory by Schiller-Merkens (2022a) to inform analysis under RQ1. I developed several guiding questions to assess whether the five processes of prefiguration (Table 4) and three characteristics of prefigurative organizing (Table 5) could be observed in the 9 CSAs within the sample. Subsequently, I used the theory by Yates (2015) to inform analysis under RQ2 and RQ3. This analysis was performed by relating the observed challenges and strategies to the five processes of prefiguration identified under RQ1.

Table 4. Framework for analysing processes of prefiguration under RQ1 (informed by Yates (2015))

Process of prefiguration	Questions for data analysis under research question 1
(1) Experimentation	Are new practices tried and reflected on to find ways to carry them out in the future?
(2) Political meaning-making	Are members and volunteers encouraged to think about, learn about and discuss political ideas/perspectives?
(3) Collective norm creation	Are members and volunteers directly involved in decision-making regarding the codes of conduct (norms) according to which the CSA initiative operates?
(4) Consolidation	Are the new norms reflected in the social order and material environment of the CSA initiative?
(5) Diffusion	Are objectives, practices and (political) perspectives shared beyond the CSA initiative?

Table 5. Framework for analysing the characteristics of prefigurative organizing under RQ1 (informed by Schiller-Merkens (2022a))

Characteristics of prefigurative organizing	Questions for data analysis under research question 1
(a) Rejection of harmful forms of organizing	Does the CSA initiative negate dominant forms of organizing?
(b) Construction of alternatives	Does the CSA initiative embody alternative moral principles different from those in dominant forms of organizing within the agrifood system?
(c) Aim for social transformation	Does the CSA initiative aim to generate a broader change of the economy and society through inspiring others to adopt similar models and practices?

4.5 Ethical considerations

Several steps were taken to guarantee the anonymity, privacy, voluntary participation and confidentiality of participants and their data (Knott et al., 2022; Nii Laryeafio & Ogbewe, 2023). Interviewees were informed about research objectives, data use and rights in the initial request for participation. Once interviews were agreed to, each participant was asked to sign a consent form that repeated the purpose of the study, stressed its voluntary nature, stated the potential harm and

informed about opportunities to withdraw participation (Knott et al., 2022). A translation of the consent form is attached as Appendix D. To ensure confidentiality, CSA names and locations were not included in the final thesis, transcripts were anonymized and identifiable links to organizations were removed (Knott et al., 2022). Throughout the thesis, interviewees are referred to as I1 to I9. To reduce possibilities of identification, this numbering does not correspond to the numbers accorded to the CSAs (CSA1 to CSA9).

5 Results

5.1 Prefigurative processes and characteristics

This section sets out the results to answer RQ1. I first analyze the data related to Yates' (2015) prefigurative processes (from 1 to 5). Subsequently, I discuss the data related to Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) characteristics of prefigurative organizing (from a to c).

5.1.1 Processes of prefiguration

Between all nine studied CSAs, each prefigurative process has at least been observed once. A separate paragraph will here be dedicated to observations under each process. However, a general understanding of the processes as reflected within the practices of the CSAs is displayed in Figure 2.
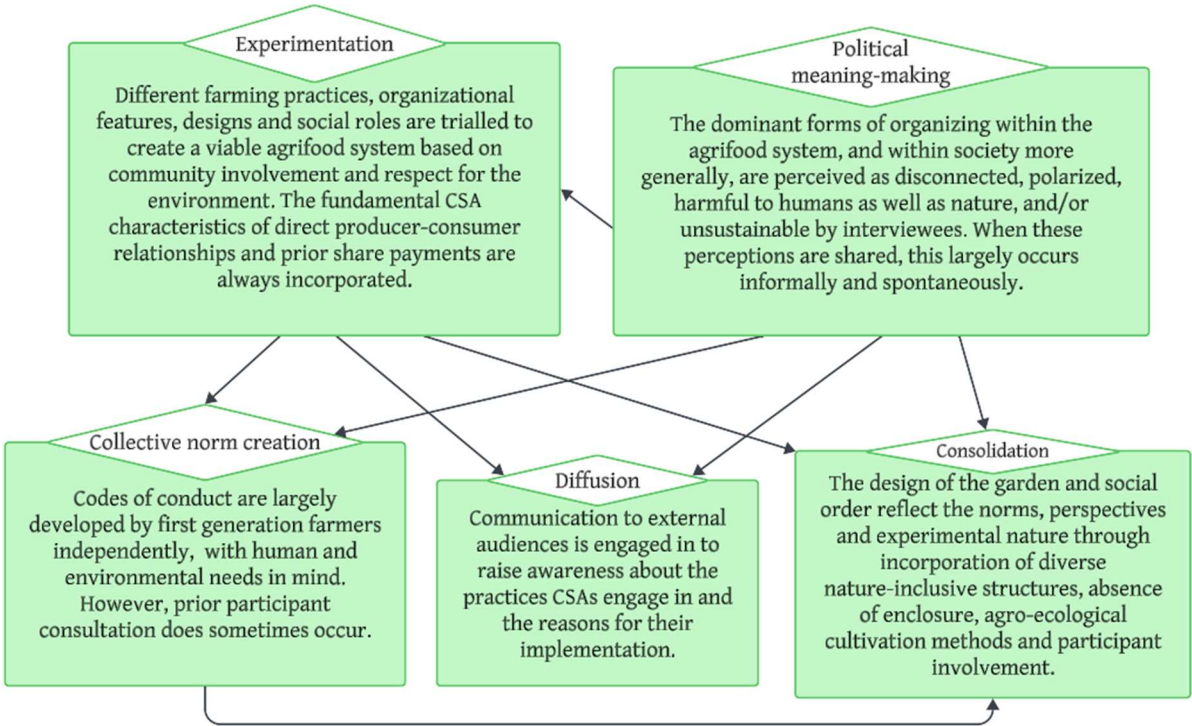
Figure 2. Understanding of prefigurative processes in 9 studied CSAs.
Note. The arrows signify which other processes a particular process informs.

None of the CSAs show all five processes of prefiguration (Figure 3). Only (1) experimentation and (4) consolidation can be recognized in the practices of all CSAs. (2) Political meaning-making, (3) collective norm creation and (5) diffusion are not always fully engaged in. The discussion of, and reflection on, political perspectives is only actively encouraged in CSA9. In four other CSAs, conversations about future agrifood systems and societal debates occur spontaneously (CSA2, CSA5, CSA7, CSA8). Collective norm creation is only fully engaged in by CSA3 and CSA7. In these, decisions are based on prior

consultation of participants. Where CSA1 and CSA5 involve participants in some decisions, others merely provide opportunities for feedback. Five CSAs actively inform external audiences about their political perspectives and alternative approaches (CSA4, CSA6, CSA7, CSA8, CSA9), and thus fully engage in diffusion. Others merely communicate about their practices, mainly to attract more members (CSA1, CSA2, CSA3, CSA5).
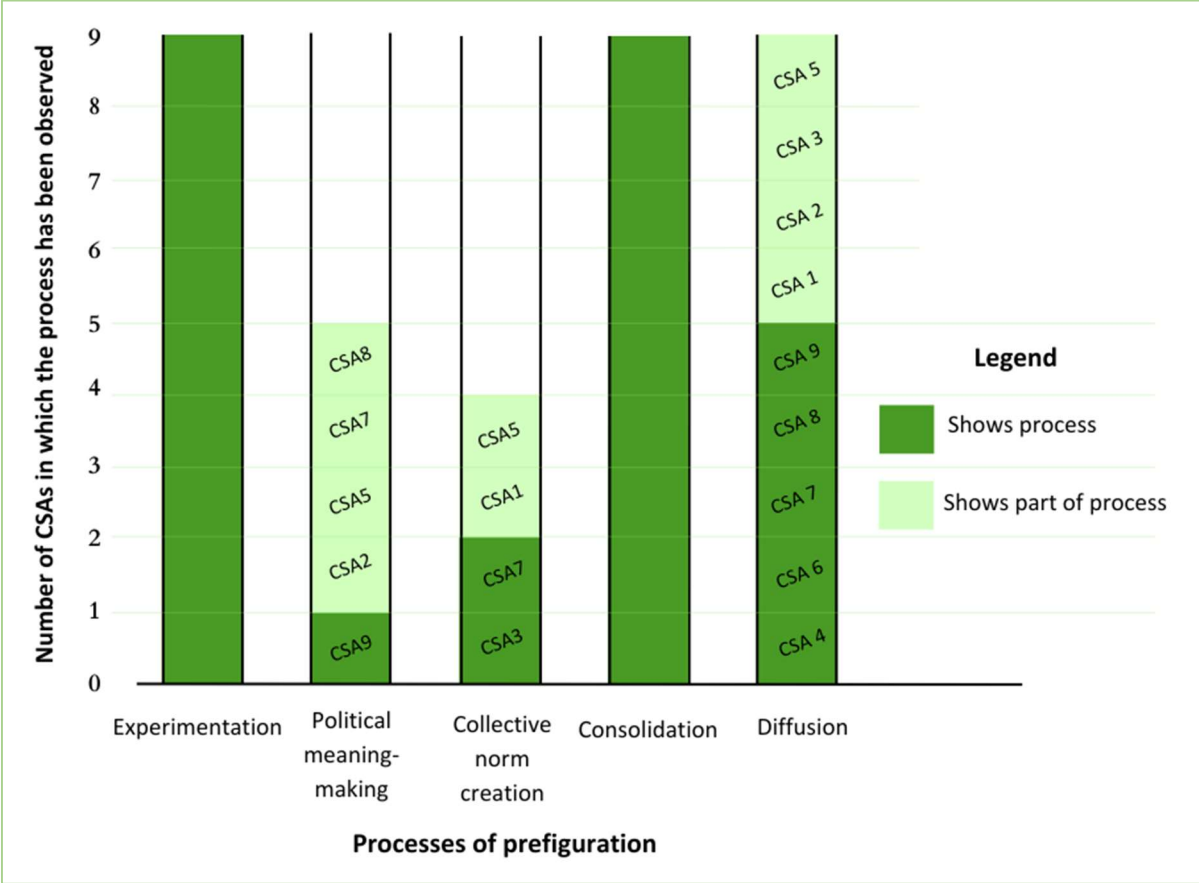
Figure 3. Prefigurative processes observed in nine studied CSAs.
Notes. Displayed is how many, and which, CSAs show the prefigurative processes. Regarding political meaning-making, 'shows part of the process' means that internal discussion only occurs spontaneously. Regarding collective norm creation, 'shows part of process' means that decisions are only sometimes informed by prior participant consultation. Regarding diffusion, 'shows part of process' means that external communication is only focused on spreading awareness about practices (and not about political perspectives).

Experimentation

Experimentation materializes in all CSAs through trial of, and reflection on, different farming approaches, social practices, organizational features and infrastructural designs. Most interviewees gather input from members each harvesting season to consider desired changes for next year (I2, I3, I4, I5, I6, I8). This happens through surveys (I3, I6), meetings (I3, I4, I8) and conversational inquiry (I2, I5, I6). Examples of changes made include adjusted share prices (I3), specification of rules for volunteers (I7), changes in farm design (I2), implementation of new nature-inclusive structures (I4),

changes in pricing models (I8) and establishment of a foundation for the CSA to become a part of (I2, I7). Importantly, trialed practices diverge between the different CSAs and I1 stressed the experimental freedom managing farmers have (see quote below). Some experiment with less common CSA-features, such as agroforestry and animal husbandry (I5, I9). Others are trying out solidarity payment models, allowing participants freedom to decide on the share price they are willing to pay (I2, I8, I9). As an outlier regarding participant input, I1 explicitly encourages volunteers to implement their own ideas. Experimentation is considered necessary to develop CSA into a professional business model (I8, I9), find ways to replace conventional agriculture year-round (I4, I5, I8) and include more people in cultivation (I1, I2, I3, I5, I8).

> *"I have the freedom to trial anything I want [in my CSA]."* (I1)

Political meaning-making

While only CSA9 fully engages in political meaning-making through organized discussion, others partially engage in this process through spontaneous internal exchanges of views on conventional agrifood systems and broader societal debates (Figure 3). Interviewees expressed a general apprehension to the conception, development and circulation of political perspectives on CSA premises. Most interviewees merely exchange views through informal conversations with volunteers (I2, I3, I4, I5, I6) and one directional information exchanges (I2, I3, I4, I6, I7, I8). One interviewee explicitly hopes to create a 'miniature society' in which the problems of conventional agriculture are discussed within their CSA. However, conversations are limited to interested members, with others solely coming to the CSA to harvest. One directional information exchange occurs through newsletters to participants (I2, I3, I4, I8) or when inquired after by members (I6, I7, I8). Spontaneous exchanges of views between volunteers also happen (I1, I2, I5, I3). Several interviewees considered the establishment of their CSA, and engagement therein, to be political acts in and of themselves (I3, I4, I7, I8). They perceive CSA as a critique of the contemporary politics of the agricultural sector through a bottom-up movement (I3, I7, I8).

Collective norm creation

Collective norm creation is only fully engaged in within two CSAs and rarely contemplated by others (Figure 3). Decisions on codes of conduct are primarily made by the farmers (I1, I2, I3, I4, I6, I8, I9) or overarching board (I5). Input from stakeholders is often limited to retrospective feedback at the end of a harvesting season (I3, I4, I6, I8) and collective codes of conduct are thus not frequently debated

nor discussed. According to I8, the latter may lead to absence of reflexivity and improvement of approaches within CSAs. As outliers, I5 and I7 establish norms with members collectively through discussion and reflection. Moreover, two interviewees partially engage in collective norm creation by initially having consulted the surrounding community to establish norms (I1) or consulting participants in approaches once a general framework is established (I2). No interviewee seemed to question the way in which their codes of conduct materialize.

> *"If we want to be an actual solution, we might have to take a more critical look at ourselves." (I8)*

Several interviewees specifically remarked upon the freedom CSA-farmers have in re-inventing the norms (I1, I4, I5, I7, I8). This is partially associated with independence from supermarkets (I5, I7, I8) and the fact that most CSA-farmers are first generation farmers (I1, I4, I8). Codes of conduct diverge between the initiatives and most try to limit the number of rules (all but I7). I7 is an outlier, who has adopted a strict 'workday schedule' with set rules on clocking in, break hours and task distribution. Notably, I5 and I8 considered their norms equal to norms of ecologically certified farms.

Consolidation

In all CSAs, norms are consolidated in material environments and/or social orders (Figure 3). Interviewees highlighted several aspects of design that reflect their alternative norms. The CSAs are small in scale (I1, I3, I4, I5, I6, I8, I9) and have a local focus (I1, I9). In addition, some are characterized by nature-inclusive structures (I2, I4, I8), such as ponds and bee hotels (I4), large empty spaces for walking (I1, I3), natural building materials (I4), standardized harvesting plots (I6, I9), information signs (I9), and meeting spaces (I1, I8), such as benches (I1), indoor spaces (I1, I2) and cooking areas (I1). While I3 mentioned that their CSA should look appealing to create an enjoyable space, others described their CSAs as chaotic (I4, I5, I7). Alternative norms are reflected in social orders through direct, transparent relationships between farmer and participants (all), volunteer-based working systems (all but I9) and aspects of care between community members (I1, I3, I7). In addition, I3 and I8 noted the opportunities for people with labor market disadvantages, and the diversity this adds.

> *'In many ways it is designed as a garden to have experiences in.' (I3)*

As many interviewees are hesitant to engage in public expression of political ideas and objectives, diffusion is only fully present in five CSAs (Figure 3). Although all communicate about their practices, and therefore partially engage in diffusion, interviewees are generally less active in externally communicating their political perspectives. Some do express their political ideas through social media (I3, I4, I6), newsletters (I4, I6) or their websites (I6). I8 largely relies on the national CSA network to spread political ideas. Communication about practices happens through individual websites (I1, I3, I6, I9), social media (I2, I3, I4, I6, I9), interviews in magazines and newspapers (I1, I4, I8), appearances on national TV (I4), flyers (I1), word-of-mouth advertisement (I7), participation in public events (I2, I3, I5), organization of activities open to the public (I1, I4, I5) and education of youth (I1, I4, I5) and adults (I1, I4, I7). Several interviewees are willing to provide interested parties with specific help and advice (I2, I6, I7, I9) and I9 has received a subsidy from the province to share their experiences with other professionals. The latter interviewee has, however, yet to implement a communication strategy to further this objective.

> *'The real question is whether [engaging in political dialogue] is my task. I perceive it as such to some extent, but I do not think I will actively pursue it. (…) I want to focus my energy on the positive.'* (I4)

5.1.2 Characteristics of prefigurative organizing

Six of the CSAs adhere to all three characteristics of prefigurative organizing (Figure 4). All CSAs reject various dominant forms of organizing and can be considered to display alternative normal principles, such as solidarity. Not all do, however, directly aim to generate a broader societal change.
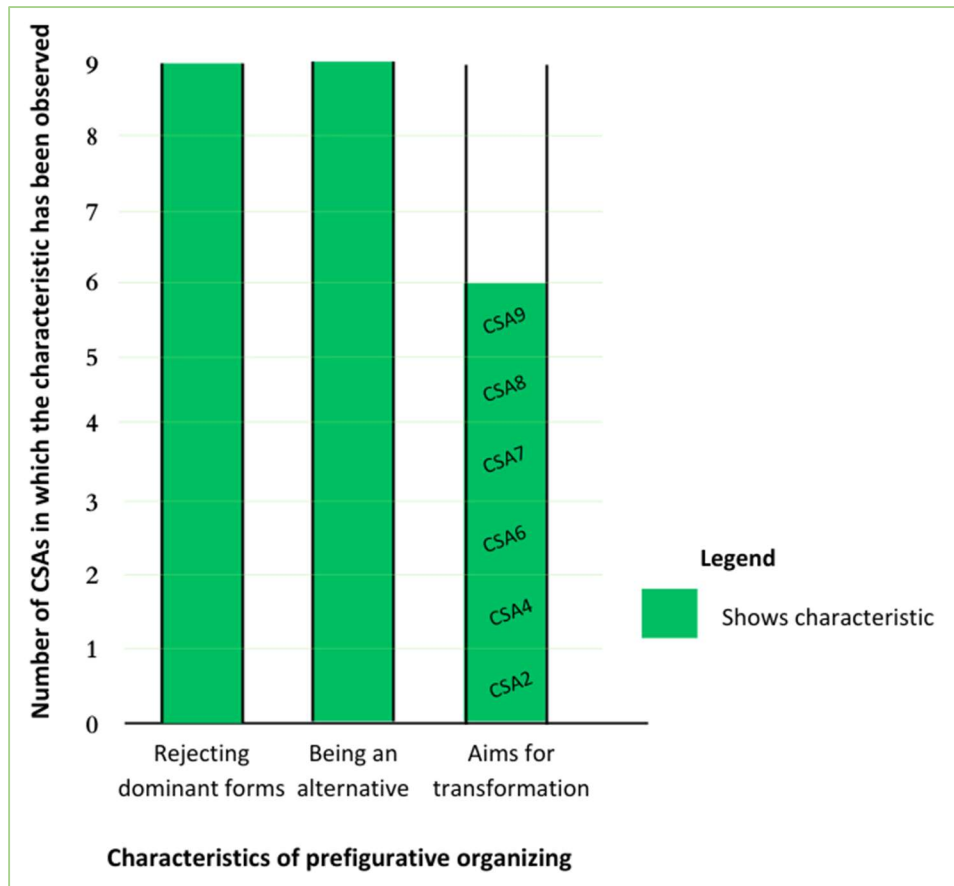
Figure 4. Overview of characteristics of prefigurative organizing observed in the nine studied CSAs.
Notes. Displayed is how many, and which, CSAs show the separate characteristics of prefigurative organizing.

Rejection of dominant forms of organizing

While rejection of dominant forms of organizing occurs in all CSAs through sidestepping supermarkets and distributors via direct producer-consumer relationships, few interviewees explicitly seek to challenge dominant forms of organizing within agrifood systems (Figure 4). Many consider CSAs alternatives that can exist alongside, but not necessarily replace, conventional farms (all but I1). Only two interviewees directly reflected on the dominant role of supermarkets with regards to pricing and the power imbalance in conventional agrifood chains that their CSAs aim to address (I6, I7). Both regarded disconnect between producers and consumers as problematic. In addition, I2 mentioned to avoid auctioning their produce and I4 stressed their independence from feed suppliers and banks.

Construction of alternatives

Similar to consolidation (section 5.1.1), all CSAs embody alternative moral principles through the realization of their farms and the commencement of their social practices (Figure 4). Practices and designs are generally based on freedom (I2, I4), trust (I3, I8), respect for humans, as well as the environment (I1, I4, I5), and community engagement (all). Many attempt to cultivate in harmony with

nature and protect the soil (I1, I2, I3, I4, I7), through, for instance, incorporation of flower strips to attract pollinators (I1, I2, I7, I8, I9), companion planting and crop diversification to combat pests (I4, I5, I6, I8), and use of poultry to prepare plots for cultivation (I9). Moreover, most of CSAs adopt biological (I1, I3, I6, I9) or agro-ecological cultivation principles (I8), partially reflected in the avoidance of pesticides (all but I9) and chemical fertilizers (I5, I6, I8). Some also avoid the use of machines (I2, I4, I6, I7, I8, I9) and tilling the soil (I2, I4). Community engagement occurs through self-harvest and volunteer-based cultivation (all but I9), and food waste is prevented by leaving excessive produce on the field (I3, I7).

Aims of transformation

While aims diverge, six initiatives pursue objectives of generating broader transformations within contemporary society and thus have transformative aims (Figure 4). Although several interviewees started their CSAs purely, or partially, because they wanted a personal career shift (I1, I3, I4), multiple interviewees explicitly started their CSAs because they wanted to directly enact change and/or contribute to more sustainable agricultural production (I3, I6, I8, I9). Current transformative objectives include inspiring alternative agrifood systems (I6, I8, I9), inspiring self-sufficiency (I1, I3, I5), increasing the prevalence of CSAs (I9), and increasing trust people have in each other (I3, I8). I9 explicitly wishes for a future in which every neighborhood has a CSA. Other objectives are directed more towards the local context and direct members. These include community building and engagement (all but I2), providing spaces for people to meet and connect with each other (I1, I7, I8) and nature (I3 and I7), generating local and healthy food for the community (I2, I3, I4, I8, I9), and creating a sense of fulfillment (I1).

> *"These are places of hope."* (I7)

5.2 Challenges to prefigurative processes

This section sets out the results to answer RQ2. Interviewees named a diverging set of challenges which I assessed in terms of the processes of prefiguration. In discussing these challenges, Yates (2015)' order of processes is followed. An overview of the challenges and related strategies can be found in Figures 5 to 9 in chapter 5.3.

5.2.1 Challenges regarding experimentation

Challenges regarding experimentation mainly originate in legal inhibitions, financial limitations, time scarcity and space constraints. These challenges largely relate to the trial of different farming

approaches and infrastructural designs. Existing spatial planning laws determine the (height of) structures that can be erected on the farm plots and the facilities that can be installed, which can significantly limit experimental freedom (I1, I2, I3, I7, I9). Spatial planning laws have, for instance, inhibited I4 from experimenting with agroforestry. Similarly, possibilities for experimentation are limited by financial limitations related to high investment costs (I1, I3, I4) and low investment capabilities (I1, I3, I8). Low investment capabilities stem from lack of funds (I1, I3, I8) related to difficulties in attracting sponsors (I1, I7), absence of applicable subsidies (I1, I7) or difficulties in obtaining subsidies (I9). Several CSAs specifically face challenges in implementing their activities while guaranteeing a livable salary for the farmer (I6, I7, I8). In addition, several interviewees mentioned limitations to activities due to comparative high time demands of experimental practices and absence of paid employees (I2, I3, I6, I7, I8). Many also noted limitations in land size as an important constraint on activities and structures that could be experimented with (I3, I4, I8). Other challenges include environmental conditions (all) and the farmer's inability to continue the initiative long-term due to physical work demands (I1, I8).

5.2.2 Challenges regarding political meaning-making

Considering that political meaning-making is not often directly pursued, challenges observed regarding this process relate largely to the prevention of polarization and the retention of a sociable atmosphere (I1, I2, I3, I6, I7, I9). Discussion of political views with participants is often negatively perceived due to the risk of friction and the aim of making the farm a space for collaboration and connection (I1, I2, I3, I6, I7, I9). Although some interviewees initially expected their views to align with those of their participants and originate in a shared appreciation for the environment, this did not always turn out to be the case (I2, I6). Moreover, interviewees perceive participants as disinterested to engage in political discussions while visiting the CSA's premises, as many visit the farm solely to harvest, connect with others, relax, or teach their children about food production (I1, I3, I4, I6, I7, I8, I9).

5.2.3 Challenges regarding collective norm creation

Challenges with regards to collective norm creation center around conflicting views between various farmers within the CSA (I2, I7), between the farmer and the board of the foundation (I2, I4, I7), between various volunteers (I2) or between the farmer and volunteers (I3, I4, I6). I4 specifically noted that agreement is not always reached and that some participants therefore decide not to subscribe in a subsequent harvesting season. Similarly, several interviewees expressed difficulties in establishing norms consequential to the novelty of the concept (I1, I3, I5), and necessity of complying with external regulations due to scrutiny from outsiders (I5).

5.2.4 Challenges regarding consolidation

Challenges regarding norm consolidation can be divided into challenges regarding consolidation in material environments (physical consolidation) and in social orders (social consolidation).

Challenges regarding physical consolidation

The CSAs face multiple challenges in acquisition of land on which they can materialize structures and consolidate norms (all). Interviewees expressed difficulties in obtaining land that is affordable (I5, I7, I8), usable for an indefinite period of time (I1, I2, I3, I4, I6, I7, I9) and suitably located (I5). Plots of land are often only accorded under temporary permits, which influences longevity of the farm, design choices and investments (I1, I2, I3, I4, I6). Related challenges include the difficulties in convincing municipalities to allow for the initiative to establish itself (I1, I4, I7), and opposition from surrounding neighborhoods (I1, I2, I3, I4, I9) linked to apprehension to change (I3, I4) and fear for disturbance (I2, I9). Notably, land acquisition is also an important precondition for experimental practices and these challenges can thus also be considered relevant under the process of experimentation.

> *"People who used to walk their dog on the piece of grassland that was there before did not want to give way and continued to walk their dogs on our garden plots."* (I4)

In addition, nuisance, time constraints and space limitations influence garden designs and can lead to deviations from norms (I1, I4, I6, I8, I9). Although multiple interviewees expressed the importance of accessibility and freedom to enter the farm at any given time, fear of thefts can lead CSAs to consider enclosure (I4, I9). Moreover, time constraints can lead to use of materials that are less environmentally friendly and preferably avoided (I6, I8).

Challenges regarding social consolidation

In implementing social orders that reflects alternative norms, interviewees mentioned several challenges relating to reliance on volunteers. For one, social interactions can take up a lot of time (I3, I5, I8) and efficiency is not always achieved (I1, I2, I7). Two interviewees specifically mentioned risks of attracting people with medical needs (I7, I9). They are concerned about impacts on the sociable atmosphere and increased care responsibilities. Interestingly, I9 considered it challenging to prevent volunteers from changing norms initially set by the CSA-farmer, potentially signifying an apprehension to collective norm creation.

Other challenges relate to the operation with a system of members as opposed to consumers. For one, the CSA has to find people willing to accept the risks and unconventional looking produce (I5, I6, I7).

Some people are not willing to understand the system (I3) or disengage in years in which the harvest is not successful (I3, I8). Relatedly, several interviewees have struggled to determine an appropriate scale in which the number of participants, workload and produced crops balance out (I3, I6, I9). A constraint on the number of participants is sometimes posed by the size of the land (I3, I4, I8). Regarding trust-based systems, I3 noted that dishonesty among participants cannot be prevented. Where their share prices are based on household size, some of their members do not truthfully disclose their number of family members and therefore pay less than they should (I3).

5.2.5 Challenges regarding diffusion

Challenges regarding diffusion of political views and practices relate to limitations in reach, topic sensitivity, repercussions and disinterest. Communication does not easily reach beyond the community (I4, I7, I8) or a specific 'elite' class within society (I1, I5), and several interviewees are apprehensive to getting involved in societal debates (I2, I3, I4). They fear repercussions from neighboring conventional farmers (I3) or other members of society (I4) and are uncertain about consequences for their CSA's success (I2). Communicating with conventional farmers is perceived as especially difficult due to topic sensitivity (I4, I9) and skepticism about CSA (I2, I3, I9). Moreover, some interviewees feel they have insufficient knowledge (I3) or question whether people want to hear their opinion (I4, I7, I9). Both I2 and I7 expressed a feeling of futility in getting involved. In addition, I4 questioned whether it is their role to influence a broader array of people. They prefer to focus on the positive changes they can make in the daily life of their community members (I4).

> *"Sometimes I barely dare to speak up anymore, because I am really the only one in my neighborhood who thinks differently about these things. (…) I do not want my neighbors to organize themselves in a gang of thugs to get rid of me."* (I3)

Finally, I8 pointed to the individualistic tendencies of CSA-farmers that prevent them from uniting to spread their views. They noted a lack of interest to diffuse perspectives and a focus on daily management of the farm. Relatedly, several interviewees considered to have little time to engage in diffusion (I3, I7, I8).

5.3 Strategies to overcome challenges to prefigurative processes

This section sets out the results in answer to RQ3. Strategies adopted to address identified challenges are here discussed in the same order as in chapter 5.2. Notably, interviewees engage in knowledge acquisition and exchange as strategies that transcend the processes of experimentation, consolidation

and collective norm-creation. They use these strategies to inform themselves about potential solutions to employ and mistakes to avoid (I2, I3, I4, I6, I8, I9). They obtain knowledge through education at the schooling institute *Warmonderhof* (I1, I3, I4, I6) and by visiting, or participating in, other CSAs (I1, I9).

5.3.1 Strategies regarding experimentation

Strategies to overcome challenges regarding experimentation mainly concern creative thinking and diversifying income streams. Interviewees stressed the importance of a creative, solution-oriented mindset in dealing with most challenges (I2, I3, I5, I6, I8), including size limits of the plots (I4), legal constraints (I4) and time scarcity (I5). Diversification of income streams is used to overcome financial challenges. Interviewees mentioned the attraction of sponsors (I1, I2, I7) through the definition of a niche social mission (I1), crowdfunding (I7), minimization of costs (I6), applying for subsidies (I9) and starting small (I3, I6). Some interviewees pointed to benefits of solidarity payments, which allow them to generate a livable income (I2, I8). Business diversification is also employed, with CSAs selling gardening supplies and seedlings (I2), offering education (I1, I4, I7) and engaging in reintegration activities (I7).

Other strategies include reliance on social orders and soil improvement. Talents of volunteers are used to build an attractive website (I1), generate income from sponsors (I1), develop creative solutions (I2, I8), and advertise the CSA (I7). Volunteers can be granted roles of host during events (I3) and head of oversight of particular activities or garden plots (I1, I7) to reduce farmers' workload. Working with volunteers minimizes costs (I6, I7, I8), and self-harvest increases sympathy in less profitable periods (I3, I7). Soil improvement strategies, such as applying hay coverage (I1), are mainly used to support (experimental) cultivation practices on sub-optimal plots of land (I1, I3, I4). A no dig approach, in which soil is not tilted, is used by some to maintain soil quality (I4, I6) and three have partaken in research into the soil's state (I1, I4, I5).

Although strategies regarding challenges to experimentation abound, obstacles continue to persist (Figure 5). Challenges that most interviewees regarded as requiring further strategizing include legal impediments, time scarcity, land size limitations and financial constraints. None of the mentioned challenges have, however, fully prevented the CSAs from engaging in experimentation.

Challenges	Strategies
Experimentation	
Acquisition of land	• **Collaborating** with the province, other green initatives and collective land buying organizations • Addressing **green-oriented councillors** • **Leasing** land • Involving, and communicating with, the surrounding community to **prevent opposition**
Insufficient financial means	• Business **diversification** • **Funding** through sponsors, crowdfunding, subsidies • Cost **minimization** and starting small • **Solidarity payments** • Use of **volunteer networks**
Plot size and quality limitations	• **Soil improvement** strategies and research • Implementing a **no dig approach** • **Creativity** and solution-orientedness
Time scarcity and workload	• Creativity and **flexibility** • Effective use of **volunteer networks** • **Strict rules** for volunteers • Increasing **living proximity** to the CSA
Legal impediments	• Creativity and **solution-orientedness**
Weather conditions and pests	• Improving **soil quality** • Installing **drainage** and drip irrigation • Compantion planting • Using poultry as natural pest control
Farmer longevity	
Consumer mobilisation	

Knowledge exchange at regional and national levels

Figure 5. Overview of challenges and strategies regarding experimentation.

5.3.2 Strategies regarding political meaning-making

Direct strategies regarding challenges to political meaning-making are limited (Figure 6) and most interviewees prefer to avoid the conception, development and circulation of political perspectives instead. I1, I2, and I6 determine their strategies regarding discussions that are deemed polarizing on a case-by-case basis. This sometimes occurs in consultation with another owner (I2), employee (I1) or the board of the foundation (I1). I2 expressed the importance of transparency, and I1 mentioned having directly intervened when polarizing topics were brought to the fore. Where I9 did not yet encounter related challenges, their strategy is to remain factual and transparent, whereby participants will be directed to available research.

Challenges	Strategies
Political meaning-making	
Polarization	• **Avoiding** political discussion • Transparent and **factual communication** • **Intervening** in polarizing debates
Disinterest of participants	• **Avoiding** political discussion

Figure 6. Overview of challenges and strategies regarding political meaning-making.

5.3.3 Strategies regarding collective norm creation

Strategies regarding collective norm creation are limited, as norms are primarily set by farmers and collective decision-making is not often contemplated. Stressed were the importance of generating ideas and inspiration from others (I1, I3, I4, I6, I9). Specifically, I9 relies on the experience of their farmer, who has previously owned another CSA, and I1 found it helpful to ideate with stakeholders and neighbors. Similar to strategies regarding political meaning-making (section 5.3.2), transparency about approaches was believed important by I2. An overview of these strategies in relation to the challenges they address can be seen in Figure 7.

Challenges	Strategies
Collective norm creation	
Novelty of the concept	• Getting **inspired** by other CSAs or education • **Collaborating** with experienced CSA farmers • **Ideating** with interested parties

Conflicting views between:
  a. CSA farmers
  b. CSA farmer and foundation
  c. Volunteers
  d. CSA farmer and volunteers
	• Decision-making by **CSA farmers**
	• **Transparency** about approaches

Figure 7. Overview of challenges and strategies regarding collective norm creation.

5.3.4 Strategies regarding consolidation

Strategies regarding challenges to physical norm consolidation mainly relate to collaboration, creativity and business diversification (Figure 8). Collaboration with other green-initiatives and collective land-buying organizations are important strategies, especially with regards to the acquisition

34

of land and municipal support (I1, I2, I4, I6, I9). Land acquisition seems largely dependent on luck, such as chance encounters with enthusiastic, green-oriented councilors (I1, I4) or open vacancies for communal farmers (I8). However, collaboration with green-initiatives and the provincial government can be important strategies to win municipal support (I8, I9). Moreover, collective land-buying organizations, such as *Land van Ons ('Land of Ours')*, may provide opportunities for land acquisition. Similarly, I5 repeatedly approaches farmers for opportunities of land lease. Leasing, as opposed to buying, may cost less (I7) and reduce administrative requirements (I5). Support from the surrounding community can be garnered through open meetings (I4), presentations (I4), open events (I4), media involvement (I4), and door visits (I1, I3, I4, I9). Similar to strategies regarding experimentation (section 5.3.1), creativity and business diversification are important to address land size limitations, legal inhibitions and financial constraints.

Strategies regarding challenges to social norm consolidation are limited, and interviewees generally consider inefficiency and limited member disengagement 'normal' (Figure 8). Only I7 mentioned several far-going adjustments to their relationship with volunteers. To protect the sociable atmosphere, they have organized special working hours for people with medical needs and actively approach people with negative impacts. They have also adopted strict rules, to maintain efficiency and keep the CSA 'a pleasant space' (I7). Similarly, others overcome inefficiency by adequately dividing tasks between volunteers, based on a predetermined plan (I3, I4, I6).

Despite these strategies, several challenges to consolidation continue to persist. Challenges that most interviewees regarded as requiring further strategizing include legal impediments, time scarcity, land size constraints, financial limitations and land temporality None of these have, however, fully prevented studied CSAs from engaging in consolidation.

	Challenges	Strategies	
Consolidation — Physical consolidation	Acquisition of land	• **Collaborating** with the province, other green initatives and collective land buying organizations • Addressing **green-oriented councillors** • **Leasing** land • Involving, and communicating with, the surrounding community to **prevent opposition**	**Knowledge exchange at regional and national levels**
	Land size, location and legal constraints	• Creativity and **solution-orientedness** • **Experimenting** • **Ideating** with members	
	Time scarcity and workload	• **Flexibility** to deviate from norms • Effectively using **volunteer structure**	
	Temporality of land possession	• Focussing on **here and now** • Showcasing **community support**	
	Uncertain financial viability	• Business **diversification** • **Funding** through sponsors, crowdfunding, subsidies • Cost **minimization** and starting small • **Solidarity payments** • Use of **volunteer networks**	
	Nuisance from outsiders		
Social consolidation	Efficiency trade-offs and negative impacts on sociable atmospheres	• Implementing **strict rules** • Special **medical needs hours**	
	Attracting suitable participants and maintaining neighborhood involvement	• **Self-selection** of members • Guided **tours** of the CSA • **Word-of-mouth** marketing • **Open days**	
	Dishonesty among participants and changes to core principles		

Figure 8. Overview of challenges and strategies regarding norm consolidation.

5.3.5 Strategies regarding diffusion

Many challenges regarding diffusion remain unaddressed (Figure 9), but adopted strategies revolve around keeping messages positive and inspirational (I4, I6, I8, I9) and preventing repercussions through open communication about aims and means (I3). Interviewees stressed the importance of having people 'experience' the garden through guided visits (I4, I5, I6). Appearances in (national) media are deemed important to reach beyond the community (I4, I8). I2 noted importance of asking open and inquisitive questions in conversations with outsiders. They also practice conversations with family members who have contrasting political views (I2). Generally, remaining fear for repercussions and futility of involvement ensure prevailing skepticism about externally spreading political perspectives and aims among the interviewees. Moreover, several interviewees expressed the wish to engage more in diffusion if they had more time (I3, I6, I7, I8, I9).

Challenges	Strategies
Diffusion	
Limited reach beyond community	• **Media appearance**
Topic sensitivity and skepticism or repercussions from outsiders	• Focus on **positive, inspirational** messages • **Guided visits** to the CSA • **Practice** conversations • Maintaining **relationships** with neighbors
Negative impacts on business success	
Feelings of futility and uncertainty about receptiveness	
Diffulties in finding a platform	
Time scarcity and workload	
Individualism of CSA farmers	

Figure 9. Overview of challenges and strategies regarding diffusion.

5.3.6 Future strategizing

Interviewees mentioned ideas for future strategies, in relation to all five processes. Strategies to lighten workloads include deployment of technical solutions (I7, I8), enlistment of another farmer (I8) or paid workers (I7), and reduction of distance between the CSA and farmer's living space (I8). Strategies to increase financial viability include research into the financial health of existing CSAs (I8), adopting a part-time job (I6), and engaging in education of schoolkids (I6). The latter can simultaneously be a way to diffuse ideas (I6). Relatedly, interviewees consider the establishment of a specific CSA training institute (I8), creation of a LinkedIn-page and time investment diffusion through a website (I9). Finally, proposals to address nuisance include investment in guard dogs (I9), enclosure (I9) and a tiny house at the entrance to oversee premises (I9).

6 Discussion and Conclusion

Considering the need to address the social and environmental problems of conventional agrifood systems, this thesis has explored the factors that inhibit CSAs from acting as political tools that reimagine and showcase alternative ways of organizing within the agricultural sector. Specifically, it has adopted a case study of nine CSAs in South-Holland to increase insight into challenges that limit these initiatives from engaging in prefigurative processes. Although all processes of prefiguration have been observed between the CSAs at least once, none of the studied initiatives fully shows a combination of all five. Six of the studied CSAs do, however, show all three characteristics of prefigurative organizing and aim to inspire broader societal change. Challenges to prefigurative processes range from legal constraints to efficiency trade-offs and adopted strategies from creativity to implementing strict rules. The studied CSAs are, however, primarily limited in fulfilling their prefigurative potential by unaddressed challenges relating to political meaning-making and diffusion. These challenges largely reside in fear of polarization and external repercussions, perceived public disinterest, limitations in reach and time scarcity.

6.1 CSAs as prefigurative movements and organizations

None of the studied CSAs fulfill their prefigurative potential by engaging in all five prefigurative processes (Figure 3). Political meaning-making, collective norm creation and diffusion are not always fully engaged in. While political meaning-making and diffusion are largely inhibited by challenges particular to these processes, collective norm creation is primarily overlooked. Alternative norms can be observed in all studied CSAs, but it is mostly the farmers who decide on codes of conducts and approaches. Procedures for collective decision-making are rarely in place and attempts of participants to change existing norms are sometimes even problematized. All studied CSAs do, however, engage in experimentation and norm consolidation. Experimentation occurs within CSAs through continuous trial of, and reflection on, practices and designs. However, experimentation also occurs between CSAs, because they all implement the model slightly differently. They combine different farming approaches, social practices, organizational features and material designs. This dual dimension of experimentation has similarly been observed by Mert-Cakal & Miele (2020), who explored the transformative potential of four CSAs in the United Kingdom, and Degens & Lapschieß (2023), who evaluated food experimentalism in German CSAs. Each individual CSA can be viewed as an experiment for a viable future strategy (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023), which allows for development of food systems reflecting specific local contexts (González-Azcárate et al., 2023). Norms adhered to are reflected in limited farm scales, volunteer-based and nature-inclusive farming approaches, and accessibility of premises.

In contrast to findings regarding prefigurative processes, six studied CSAs do show all three characteristics of prefigurative organizing (Figure 4). All initiatives fundamentally oppose dominant forms of organizing within the agrifood system (characteristic a) by bypassing supermarkets and distributors. Most also negate banks through dependency on sponsors and subscriptions, and independency from loans. Similar to the findings by Verfuerth et al. (2023) and Voge et al. (2023), they are held to portray alternatives to conventional food systems and contribute to more local or regional agrifood chains. They consolidate alternative principles (characteristic b), such as respect for humans as well as the environment, solidarity and honesty through their social orders, cultivation practices and physical infrastructures. Although their objectives range from providing spaces for people to reconnect with nature to simply providing local food, six initiatives do aim to contribute to broader changes within conventional agrifood systems and/or society by raising awareness for the success of the model and inspiring others to use similar practices (characteristic c). Reflecting on the latter in light of observations regarding the process of diffusion, absence of diffusion can either be associated with a lack of objective to inspire broader societal change or an impossibility to engage in diffusion.

6.2 Prefigurative challenges and related strategies

Challenges that limit the CSAs from engaging in the five prefigurative processes mainly relate to political meaning-making and diffusion. The CSAs are inhibited from engaging in political meaning-making due to a perceived disinterest in the discussion of political ideas among participants, and a fear of negatively impacting the sociable atmosphere. Related to the latter, Schiller-Merkens (2022a) has similarly observed challenges regarding diverging internal perspectives on how social transformation should come about, with regards to prefigurative initiatives more generally. Interviewees often deem political meaning-making to oppose the alternative nature of the initiatives, as the CSAs want to offer an escape from polarizing debates dominating society. Most CSAs wish to safeguard harvesting as an activity for community building, education and relaxation. These observations seem to correspond with perspectives of Schilling et al. (2023). The latter view CSA-farmers as people wanting to realize certain values that they cannot enact in conventional agrifood systems, including solidarity, fairness and reciprocity (Schilling et al., 2023). In contrast to their sample, the initiators of the studied CSAs in South-Holland are, however, all 'new' farmers with diverging career backgrounds. In addition, I found that the CSAs are reluctant to engage diffusion mostly due to fear of repercussions from (neighbouring) conventional farmers, feelings of futility and time scarcity. The former is a challenge that has also been identified by Schiller-Merkens (2022a). I found that interviewees had mostly negative associations with sharing political ideas, both internally and externally. They especially considered the future of agriculture a sensitive topic, potentially because of the anger conventional Dutch farmers recently

expressed through protests regarding national nitrogen reduction policies (Walther et al., 2023). Similar to findings by Bonfert (2022), this thesis has also identified limitations in reach as challenges to diffusion. While interviewees agreed on the importance of positive messages, effective communication strategies to reach wider audiences are not yet confidently explored.

Experimentation and norm consolidation also face a plethora of challenges, but this has not prevented the initiatives from embracing these processes. Most have adopted creative and solution-oriented strategies to nonetheless trial different practices and realize a material environment and social order that correspond to their norms. Although difficulties in acquiring suitable plots of lands are shared between all initiatives and have previously been observed by Degens & Lapschieß (2023) as barriers to entry, the initiatives have adapted to work with temporarily available plots. It can, however, be argued that this temporarily needs to be addressed in order for the CSAs to become wholly successful prefigurative spaces (Schiller-Merkens, 2022a). Future strategizing seems primarily necessary to address financial and land temporality challenges that may threaten long-term consolidation.

Notably, collective norm creation does not seem to be at the forefront of CSA-farmers' minds and is therefore not associated with significant challenges nor strategies. Absence of collective decision-making practices may, however, lead to reduced reflexivity where norms are not discussed and/or questioned between members (Yates, 2015). Specifically reflecting on the fact that diffusion also occurs in CSAs that do not engage in collective norm creation and/or political meaning-making, it can be questioned whether the ideas diffused are representative of the perspectives of the members. Moreover, absence of collective norm creation may lead to neglected opportunities for increasing members' commitment to CSAs (Furness et al., 2022). Through a case study of four CSAs in the United Kingdom, Furness et al. (2022) namely demonstrated the possibilities of strengthening member commitment through increased internal communication.

6.3 Generalizability and Limitations

Considering the importance of reflexivity in Sustainability Science (Kajikawa et al., 2014; Spangenberg, 2011), several limitations should be made explicit. For one, the results cannot be generalized (Maxwell, 2022). The data is highly context-specific, due to the nature of the case study approach and the diverging characteristics of CSAs (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Egli et al., 2023; González-Azcárate et al., 2023; Maxwell, 2022; L. M. Van Oers et al., 2018). Importantly, it remains unclear whether observed, or other, challenges have resulted in long-term discontinuity of local CSAs. The thesis has focused on active initiatives, while the research process has revealed several discontinued initiatives. Moreover, it remains unclear which challenges may inhibit others from commencing CSAs in the first place.

Limitations regarding research design also exist. As I only discovered Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) theory later in the process, interview questions were solely based on Yates (2015). Where the two theories somewhat overlap and introductory questions inquired into CSAs' objectives, data was nonetheless considered suitable for analysis in light of Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) theory under RQ1. However, analysis under RQ2 and RQ3 only occurred in light of Yates' (2015) theory. More nuances might have arisen if interview questions were also designed with specific regard for Schiller-Merkens' (2022a) theory. In absence of triangulation, results are solely based on perceptions of interviewees. This increases risk of bias, as participants disclose what they consider relevant (Knott et al., 2022). In contrast to Yates (2015)' research, this thesis has not engaged in document analysis nor ethnographic observation due to time and accessibility constraints.

6.4 Implications and Speculations

The plethora of identified challenges and the lack of strategies to address several of these confirm that building a community is not without struggle (Schilling et al., 2023), and future strategizing is necessary to ensure that the transformative potential of CSAs is expanded, as such expansion is not yet guaranteed (Bonfert, 2022; Mert-Cakal & Miele, 2020). The potential limits to longevity of the initiatives associated with heavy workload, financial constraints and land temporality in current configurations underscores the importance of continuous experimentation and development of CSAs as viable alternatives to conventional agrifood systems (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023). Nonetheless, the initiatives may function as sources of inspiration for other forms of organizing by demonstrating successful elements of transparency, locality and consumer involvement in production processes (Meyer & Hassler, 2023). As such, their potential to allow for a reconceptualization of the dominant agrifood system should not be underestimated (Meyer & Hassler, 2023). They may provide inspirational imaginations of the future (Schilling et al., 2023) , act as 'seeds of change' (Piccoli et al., 2023), provide bottom-up critiques (Medici et al., 2023) and empower local communities (Bonfert, 2022).

When speculating about future strategies for CSAs in South-Holland, collaboration seems especially important. According to Degens & Lapschieß (2023) and Schiller-Merkens (2022b), transformations of conventional agrifood systems and broader societal structures are unlikely to manifest from local prefigurative organizations individually. It requires more comprehensive investments in structural interactions between different prefigurative organizations and incumbent (state) actors (Degens & Lapschieß, 2023; Schiller-Merkens, 2022b). While the national CSA network seems an important starting point for collaboration, affiliation does not yet appeal to all. Moreover, while the provincial

government of South-Holland seems supportive of CSA development (Provincie Zuid-Holland, 2020), few interviewees seem to interact with this governmental body or benefit from provided support. As Degens & Lapschieß (2023) explicitly note the importance of collaborative learning between state actors and prefigurative organizations, increasing engagement with the provincial government may be especially relevant.

6.5 Future Research

Different avenues for further research exist. To gain specific insight into factors that inhibit CSAs from continuing and commencing prefigurative practices, future studies could explore the challenges faced by discontinued CSAs and CSAs wanting to commence. In line with the need for more insight into challenges faced by national CSA networks identified by Bonfert (2022), future research could explore to what extent the Dutch CSA Network functions as a prefigurative space and what may inhibit it to do so. Another interesting avenue would be to explore the opportunities for collaborative learning within South-Holland, as in general suggested by González-Azcárate et al. (2023). Specifically, research could investigate the opportunities for collaborative learning with the provincial government and other local prefigurative organizations. Finally, a replication of this study regarding CSAs in provinces less willing to stimulate regional agrifood systems could explore whether these CSAs face more challenges to their prefigurative potential. As envisioned by Schiller-Merkens (2022a), the research value of this thesis may increase when data is compared to other case studies (Maxwell, 2022).

6.6 Concluding remarks

Considering the potential of CSAs to display more democratic, sustainable and de-commodified alternatives to conventional ways of organizing within the agricultural sector, this thesis has aimed to increase insight into the challenges that inhibit these initiatives from engaging in prefigurative processes. Although the studied CSAs in South-Holland have adopted a plethora of strategies to overcome their inhibitions, this thesis has specifically found that unaddressed fears of polarization and external repercussions, perceived disinterest among the public, limitations in reach and time scarcity limit them from fulfilling their prefigurative potential. This, despite the fact that most aim to inspire broader societal change. Considering that the wider expansion of CSAs is not yet guaranteed, it seems imperative that those CSAs aiming to guarantee broader societal transformations develop strategies to overcome remaining challenges to prefiguration and engage in collective norm creation. Overcoming the set-out inhibitions may deepen the contribution CSAs in South-Holland can make to transformations of conventional agrifood systems and potentially allow for mitigation of negative social and environmental impacts conventional agrifood systems are associated with. Further research

is required to address the limitations of this study and to extrapolate its findings, but increasing structural collaboration seems imperative for CSAs to effectively address systemically engrained environmental pollution and social vulnerabilities within the agricultural sector.

7 References

Afrian, K., van der Wal, R., & Hoeksma, L. (2020, May 7). *5. Landbouw en het milieu* [Webpagina]. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/longread/de-nederlandse-economie/2020/de-landbouw-in-de-nederlandse-economie/5-landbouw-en-het-milieu

Bellamy, A. S., Furness, E., Mills, S., Clear, A., Finnigan, S. M., Meador, E., Milne, A. E., & Sharp, R. T. (2023). Promoting dietary changes for achieving health and sustainability targets. *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems*, *7*, 29–38. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2023.1160627

Berkhout, P., Van Der Meulen, H., & Ramaekers, P. (2023). *Staat van Landbouw, Natuur en Voedsel: Editie 2023*. Wageningen Economic Research. https://doi.org/10.18174/641747

Blättel-Mink, B., Boddenberg, M., Gunkel, L., Schmitz, S., & Vaessen, F. (2017). Beyond the market—New practices of supply in times of crisis: The example community-supported agriculture. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, *41*(4), 415–421. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12351

Boggs, C. (1977). Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, And The Problem Of Workers' Control. *Radical America*, *4*(3). https://syllabus.pirate.care/_preview/library/Carl%20Boggs/Marxism,%20prefigurative%20communism,%20and%20the%20problem%20of%20workers'%20control%20(439)/Marxism,%20prefigurative%20communism,%20and%20the%20-%20Carl%20Boggs.pdf

Bonfert, B. (2022). 'What we'd like is a CSA in every town.' Scaling community supported agriculture across the UK. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *94*, 499–508. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.07.013

Campanhola, C., & Pandey, S. (Eds.). (2019). Chapter 33—Agrifood Systems. In *Sustainable Food and Agriculture* (pp. 305–330). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-812134-4.00033-9

CBS. (2021a). *Hoe wordt de Nederlandse bodem gebruikt? - Nederland in cijfers 2021* [Webpagina]. https://longreads.cbs.nl/nederland-in-cijfers-2021/hoe-wordt-de-nederlandse-bodem-gebruikt

CBS. (2021b). *Hoeveel landbouwdieren telt ons land? - Nederland in cijfers 2021* [Webpagina]. Hoeveel landbouwdieren telt ons land? - Nederland in cijfers 2021 | CBS. https://longreads.cbs.nl/nederland-in-cijfers-2021/hoeveel-landbouwdieren-telt-ons-land

CBS. (2024, January 16). *Biologische landbouwareaal met bijna 9 procent toegenomen* [Webpagina]. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2024/03/biologische-landbouwareaal-met-bijna-9-procent-toegenomen

Cox, R., Holloway, L., Venn, L., Dowler, L., Hein, J. R., Kneafsey, M., & Tuomainen, H. (2008). Common ground? Motivations for participation in a community-supported agriculture scheme. *Local Environment*, *13*(3), 203–218. https://doi.org/10.1080/13549830701669153

Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Vol. 3). SAGE Publications Ltd.

CSA Netwerk. (n.d.-a). *Visie en missie*. Retrieved 7 February 2024, from https://csanetwerk.nl/over-csa-netwerk/

CSA Netwerk. (n.d.-b). *Wat is een CSA? – CSA Netwerk*. Retrieved 27 March 2024, from https://csanetwerk.nl/wat-is-een-csa/

Degens, P., & Lapschieß, L. (2023). Community-supported agriculture as food democratic experimentalism: Insights from Germany. *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems*, *7*, 1081125. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2023.1081125

Egli, L., Rüschhoff, J., & Priess, J. (2023). A systematic review of the ecological, social and economic sustainability effects of community-supported agriculture. *Frontiers in Sustainable Food Systems*, *7*, 1136866. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2023.1136866

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, *62*(1), 107–115. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x

Furness, E., Sanderson Bellamy, A., Clear, A., Mitchell Finnigan, S., Meador, J., Mills, S., Milne, A., & Sharp, R. (2022). Communication and building social capital in community supported agriculture. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, *12*(1), 63–78. https://doi.org/10.5304/jafscd.2022.121.009

Geissberger, S., & Chapman, M. (2023). The Work that Work does: How intrinsic and instrumental values are transformed into relational values through active work participation in Swiss community supported agriculture. *People and Nature*, *5*(5), 1649–1663. https://doi.org/10.1002/pan3.10531

González-Azcárate, M., Silva, V. L., Cruz-Maceín, J. L., López-García, D., & Bardají, I. (2023). Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) as resilient socio-economic structures: The role of collaboration and public policies in Brazil and Spain. *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, *47*(8), 1237–1268. https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2023.2230171

Google Maps. (2024, May 7). *The Netherlands*. Google My Maps. https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/new?hl=nl&cid=mp&cv=OkR-w98lgXY.nl.

Gray, D. E. (2018). *Doing research in the real world* (4th edition). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Herenboeren. (n.d.-a). *Herenboeren—Samen voedsel produceren*. Herenboeren. Retrieved 30

    January 2024, from https://herenboeren.nl/

Herenboeren. (n.d.-b). Herenboeren—Wat is Herenboeren? *Herenboeren*. Retrieved 24 April 2024,

    from https://herenboeren.nl/over-ons/

Hvitsand, C. (2016). Community supported agriculture (CSA) as a transformational act—Distinct

    values and multiple motivations among farmers and consumers. *Agroecology and*

    Sustainable Food Systems, *40*(4), 333–351. https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2015.1136720

IPCC. (2023a). *Climate Change 2021 – The Physical Science Basis: Working Group I Contribution to the*

    Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (1st ed.).

    Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009157896

IPCC. (2023b). *Climate Change 2022 – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability: Working Group II*

    Contribution to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate

    Change (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009325844

IPCC. (2023c). Summary for Policymakers. In *Climate Change 2021 – The Physical Science Basis:*

    Working Group I Contribution to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel

    on Climate Change (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

    https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009157896

Kajikawa, Y., Tacoa, F., & Yamaguchi, K. (2014). Sustainability science: The changing landscape of

    sustainability research. *Sustainability Science*, *9*(4), 431–438.

    https://doi.org/10.1007/s11625-014-0244-x

Knott, E., Rao, A. H., Summers, K., & Teeger, C. (2022). Interviews in the social sciences. *Nature*

    Reviews Methods Primers, *2*(1), 73. https://doi.org/10.1038/s43586-022-00150-6

Land & Co. (2008). *Pergola Conferentie: Verslag 9 december 2008*. Land & Co. http://www.csa-

netwerk.be/uploads/2009%20Verslag%20CSA-Conferentie%20Warmonderhof.pdf

Maxwell, J. A. (2022). Chapter 20: Generalization as an Issue for Qualitative Research Design. In *The

SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Design* (Vol. 6, pp. 327–338). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Medici, M., Canavari, M., & Castellini, A. (2023). An analytical framework to measure the social

return of community-supported agriculture. *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*,

47(9), 1319–1340. https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2023.2236989

Mert-Cakal, T., & Miele, M. (2020). 'Workable utopias' for social change through inclusion and

empowerment? Community supported agriculture (CSA) in Wales as social innovation.

Agriculture and Human Values, *37*(4), 1241–1260. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-020-

10141-6

Meyer, J. M., & Hassler, M. (2023). Re-Thinking Knowledge in Community-Supported Agriculture to

Achieve Transformational Change towards Sustainability. *Sustainability*, *15*(18), 13388.

https://doi.org/10.3390/su151813388

Meyer, M., & Mayrhofer, W. (2022). Chapter 17: Selecting a Sample. In *The SAGE Handbook of

Qualitative Research Design* (6th ed., pp. 273–289). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Michel-Villarreal, R., Hingley, M., Canavari, M., & Bregoli, I. (2019). Sustainability in Alternative Food

Networks: A Systematic Literature Review. *Sustainability*, *11*(3), 859.

https://doi.org/10.3390/su11030859

Monticelli, L. (2021). On the necessity of prefigurative politics. *Thesis Eleven*, *167*(1), 99–118.

https://doi.org/10.1177/07255136211056992

Nascimento, L. D. S., & Steinbruch, F. K. (2019). "The interviews were transcribed", but how? Reflections on management research. *RAUSP Management Journal*, *54*(4), 413–429. https://doi.org/10.1108/RAUSP-05-2019-0092

Nemecek, T., Jungbluth, N., I Canals, L. M., & Schenck, R. (2016). Environmental impacts of food consumption and nutrition: Where are we and what is next? *The International Journal of Life Cycle Assessment*, *21*(5), 607–620. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11367-016-1071-3

Nii Laryeafio, M., & Ogbewe, O. C. (2023). Ethical consideration dilemma: Systematic review of ethics in qualitative data collection through interviews. *Journal of Ethics in Entrepreneurship and Technology*, *3*(2), 94–110. https://doi.org/10.1108/JEET-09-2022-0014

Pedrosa, A. P., & Xerez, R. (2023). Social policy and environment in Brazil: Why does community-supported agriculture matter? *Global Social Policy*, *23*(2), 304–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/14680181231161989

Piccoli, A., Vittori, F., & Uleri, F. (2023). Unmaking capitalism through community empowerment: Findings from Italian agricultural experiences. *Journal of Rural Studies*, *101*, 103064. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2023.103064

Plank, C., Hafner, R., & Stotten, R. (2020). Analyzing values-based modes of production and consumption: Community-supported agriculture in the Austrian Third Food Regime. *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Soziologie*, *45*(1), 49–68. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11614-020-00393-1

Provincie Zuid-Holland. (2020). *Hoofdlijnennotitie vitale landbouw Zuid-Holland: Ambities & aanpak als inzet voor een brede samenwerking met betrokken sectoren en netwerken*. Provincie Zuid-Holland. https://www.zuid-holland.nl/publish/pages/28857/hoofdlijnennotitievitalelandbouw.pdf

Randstedelijke Rekenkamer. (2022). *Eindrapport Landbouw- en voedseltransitie Zuid-Holland*. https://www.randstedelijke-rekenkamer.nl/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/Eindrapport-Landbouw-en-voedseltransitie-Zuid-Holland.pdf

Richardson, K., Steffen, W., Lucht, W., Bendtsen, J., Cornell, S. E., Donges, J. F., Drüke, M., Fetzer, I., Bala, G., Von Bloh, W., Feulner, G., Fiedler, S., Gerten, D., Gleeson, T., Hofmann, M., Huiskamp, W., Kummu, M., Mohan, C., Nogués-Bravo, D., … Rockström, J. (2023). Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. *Science Advances*, *9*(37), eadh2458. https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.adh2458

Ritchie, H., Rosado, P., & Roser, M. (2022). Environmental Impacts of Food Production. *Our World in Data*. https://ourworldindata.org/environmental-impacts-of-food

Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in Interview-Based Qualitative Research: A Theoretical and Practical Guide. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *11*(1), 25–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2013.801543

Roulston, K., & Halpin, S. N. (2022). Chapter 40: Designing Qualitative Research Using Interview Data. In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Design* (6th ed., pp. 667–683). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Schiller-Merkens, S. (2022a). Prefiguring an alternative economy: Understanding prefigurative organizing and its struggles. *Organization*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1177/13505084221124189

Schiller-Merkens, S. (2022b). Social Transformation through Prefiguration? A Multi-Political Approach of Prefiguring Alternative Infrastructures. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, *47*(4), 66–90. https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.47.2022.39

Schilling, F., Wahlen, S., & Domptail, S. E. (2023). The moral economy of community supported agriculture – hopes and troubles of farmers as community makers. In O. Morrow, E. Veen, & S. Wahlen, *Community Food Initiatives* (1st ed., pp. 135–154). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003195085-10

Schreier, M. (2012). *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529682571

Spangenberg, J. H. (2011). Sustainability science: A review, an analysis and some empirical lessons. *Environmental Conservation*, *38*(3), 275–287. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0376892911000270

Standal, K., & Westskog, H. (2022). Understanding low-carbon food consumption transformation through social practice theory. *The International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, *28*(1), 25–41. https://doi.org/10.48416/IJSAF.V28I1.452

Sulistyowati, C. A., Afiff, S. A., Baiquni, M., & Siscawati, M. (2023). Challenges and potential solutions in developing community supported agriculture: A literature review. *Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems*, *47*(6), 834–856. https://doi.org/10.1080/21683565.2023.2187002

Tight, M. (2022). Chapter 24: Designing Case Studies. In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research Design* (6th ed., pp. 399–413). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Turner, D. (2014). Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators. *The Qualitative Report*, *15*(3), 754–760. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2010.1178

Turunen, A., Aro, R., & Huttunen, S. (2023). Intra-Acting Food Citizenship in Community-Supported Agriculture in Finland. *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, *36*(3), 15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10806-023-09910-0

United Nations. (n.d.). *THE 17 GOALS | Sustainable Development*. Retrieved 11 May 2024, from https://sdgs.un.org/goals

Vaderna, C., Home, R., Migliorini, P., & Roep, D. (2022). Overcoming divergence: Managing

    expectations from organisers and members in community supported agriculture in

    Switzerland. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, *9*(1), 105.

    https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01115-6

Van Kampen, S. (2020). *Niet Makkelijker, Wel Leuker: Lokale voedselgemeenschappen in Nederland*

    Inventarisatie en verkennend onderzoek. https://www.deschaalvankampen.nl/wp-

    content/uploads/2020/12/DSVK-Lokale-voedselgemeenschappen-in-Nederland1.pdf

van Leeuwen, F. (2001). *Directe vermarkting door biologische tuinderijen: Een sociaal-economische*

    analyse op bedrijfsniveau (176). Wetenschapswinkel Wageningen Universiteit en Research.

    https://library.wur.nl/WebQuery/wurpubs/fulltext/44759

Van Oers, L., Feola, G., Runhaar, H., & Moors, E. (2023). Unlearning in sustainability transitions:

    Insight from two Dutch community-supported agriculture farms. *Environmental Innovation*

    and Societal Transitions, *46*, 100693. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2023.100693

Van Oers, L. M., Boon, W. P. C., & Moors, E. H. M. (2018). The creation of legitimacy in grassroots

    organisations: A study of Dutch community-supported agriculture. *Environmental Innovation*

    and Societal Transitions, *29*, 55–67. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eist.2018.04.002

Verfuerth, C., Sanderson Bellamy, A., Adlerova, B., & Dutton, A. (2023). Building relationships back

    into the food system: Addressing food insecurity and food well-being. *Frontiers in Sustainable*

    Food Systems, *7*, 1218299. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2023.1218299

Voge, J., Newiger-Dous, T., Ehrlich, E., Ermann, U., Ernst, D., Haase, D., Lindemann, I., Thoma, R.,

    Wilhelm, E., Priess, J., & Egli, L. (2023). Food loss and waste in community-supported

    agriculture in the region of Leipzig, Germany. *International Journal of Agricultural*

    Sustainability, *21*(1), 2242181. https://doi.org/10.1080/14735903.2023.2242181

Walther, C. M., Stomph, D., & Van Dam, R. I. (2023). *Sociale impact van de landbouwtransitie*. Wettelijke Onderzoekstaken Natuur & Milieu. https://doi.org/10.18174/584171

Widodo, H. P. (2014). Methodological considerations in interview data transcription. *International Journal of Innovation in English Language Teaching and Research*, *3*(1), 101–107.

Yates, L. (2015). Rethinking Prefiguration: Alternatives, Micropolitics and Goals in Social Movements. *Social Movement Studies*, *14*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2013.870883

Zoll, F., Kirby, C. K., Specht, K., & Siebert, R. (2023). Exploring member trust in German community-supported agriculture: A multiple regression analysis. *Agriculture and Human Values*, *40*(2), 709–724. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10460-022-10386-3

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Question Design

Theory		Interview questions		
Process of prefiguration by Yates (2015, p.1)	Explanation of process of prefiguration by Yates (2015)	Sub-question 1	Sub-question 2	Sub-question 3
(1) 'Collective experimentation'	Activities are treated 'as opportunities for experimental performances or, more precisely, possible new ways of carrying out practices in the future' (p. 13)	(1) What activities of the CSA are different from those in a conventional agricultural business? (2) How do you see your activities as experiments for the future of Dutch agriculture? (3) How do you see your activities as experiments for the future of Dutch society?	(3) What challenges has the CSA faced in carrying out its activities?	(5) How has the CSA overcome the experimental challenges you just mentioned?
(2) 'The imagining, production and circulation of political meanings.'	Prefigurative groups host, develop and critique political perspectives, ideas and social movement frames (…) It explains and informs the kind of everyday experimentation described above' (p. 14)	(1) To what extent does the CSA engage with political debates within society? (2) To what extent does the CSA stimulate discussion of political ideas or perspectives among its members? (3) To what extent do you see the CSA as part of a social movement?	(4) What challenges has the CSA experienced in reaching its political goals?	(5) How has the CSA overcome the political challenges you just mentioned?
(3) 'The creating of new and future-oriented social norms or 'conduct'.'	Prefiguration involves establishing new collective norms, which draw upon both experimental performances and political perspectives and ideas. (…) This entailed conflicting processes of crystallising new patterns of practice in group conduct and identity while, conversely, normalising and encouraging the breaking or reinterpretation of rules in order to develop and improve the nature of the "experiment".' (p. 14)	(1) How do the norms (accepted standards or ways of behaving or doing things) of the CSA differ from the norms that underly conventional agricultural businesses? (2)To what extent does the process of generating norms within the CSA differ from the process of generating norms outside the CSA?	(4) What challenges does the CSA face in establishing its norms? (5) What challenges does the CSA face in operating in accordance with its norms?	(6) How has the CSA overcome the normative challenges related you just mentioned?
(4) The consolidation of new social norms or 'conduct' in movement infrastructure.	Prefigurative politics usually involves intervention or consolidation in material environments or social orders in attempts to decisively inscribe or consolidate these codes of conduct, their political messages and symbolism, and experimental origins.' (p. 14)	(1) How can you see the norms of the CSA in the physical environment of the CSA (e.g. the organization of the land)? (a. How can you see the aims of the CSA in the physical environment?) (2) How can you see the norms of the CSA in the social order of the CSA? (e.g. relationships) (a. How can you see the aims of the CSA in the social order?)	(3) What challenges has the CSA faced in establishing its physical structure in accordance with the aims/norms? (4) What challenges has the CSA faced in establishing its social order in accordance with the aims/norms?	(5) How has the CSA overcome the organizational challenges you just mentioned?
(5) 'The diffusion and contamination of ideas, messages and goals to wider networks and constituencies'	The demonstration and diffusion of practices, orders, devices and perspectives allows prefigured "alternatives" to persist beyond the present for groups and collectives.' (p. 14)	(1) To what extent does the CSA wish to inform people outside of the CSA of its practices and perspectives? (2) To what extent does the CSA wish to convince others to engage in similar practices and adopt similar perspectives?	(3) What challenges has the CSA faced in informing outsiders of its practices and perspectives? (4) What challenges has the CSA faced in convincing others to adopt similar practices and perspectives?	(5) How has the CSA overcome the informational challenges you just mentioned?

Appendix B: Translated interview protocol

Thank you for being available to help me with my thesis research. I have divided the interview into five topics. Under every topic, I will first ask a question about the activities the CSA carries out and what challenges it faces in doing so. Next, I am curious to know what solutions have or have not been found to address these challenges.

I will start with several introductory questions and conclude with room for you to add things that may not have been covered.

Do you have any questions now?

If you have a question in between or do not want to answer a question, please let me know.

Introduction questions

    (1) Could you tell me a little about the history and goals of the CSA?

    (2) Is the CSA affiliated with a wider network?

        a. Which network?

        b. Why? / Why not?

Topic 1 'the CSA's activities as experiments'

    (1) What activities of the CSA are different from those in a conventional agricultural business?

    (2) How do you see your activities as experiments for the future of Dutch agriculture?

    (3) How do you see your activities as experiments for the future of Dutch society?

    (4) What challenges has the CSA faced in conducting its activities?

    (5) How has the CSA addressed the experimental challenges you just mentioned?

Topic 2 'political perspectives' (*I will not ask about political views*)

Examples: nitrogen crisis, sustainability of the agricultural sector

    (1) To what extent does the CSA engage with political debates within society?

    (2) To what extent does the CSA stimulate discussion of political ideas among its members?

    (3) To what extent do you see the CSA as part of a social movement?

    (4) What challenges has the CSA experienced in reaching its political goals?

    (5) How has the CSA addressed the political challenges you just mentioned?

Topic 3 'norms' *(accepted standards, or ways of behaving or doing things)*

(1) How do the norms of the CSA differ from the norms that underly conventional agricultural firms?

(2) To what extent does the process of generating norms within the CSA differ from the process of generating norms outside the CSA?

(3) What challenges has the CSA faced in establishing its norms?

(4) What challenges does the CSA face in operating in accordance with its norms?

(5) How has the CSA overcome the normative challenges you just mentioned?

Topic 4 'implementing norms'

(1) How can you see the norms of the CSA in the physical environment of the CSA (e.g. the organization of the land)?

(2) How can you see the norms of the CSA in the social order of the CSA? (e.g. relationships)

(3) What challenges has the CSA faced in establishing its physical structure in accordance with the norms?

(4) What challenges has the CSA faced in establishing its social order in accordance with the norms?

(5) How has the CSA addressed the organizational challenges you just mentioned?

Topic 5 'spreading ideas and practices'

(1) To what extent does the CSA wish to inform people outside of the CSA of its practices and perspectives?

(2) To what extent does the CSA wish to convince others to engage in similar practices and adopt similar perspectives?

(3) What challenges has the CSA faced in informing outsiders of its practices and perspectives?

(4) What challenges has the CSA faced in convincing others to adopt similar practices and perspectives?

(5) How has the CSA overcome the informational challenges you just mentioned?

Concluding questions*.*

(1) Are you aware of the provincial aim to support regional value chains through its 'Vision for a thriving agricultural sector'?

    a. To what extent does the CSA experience effects from this policy approach?

(2) Is there anything you would like to add that might have remained unaddressed?

    a. Do you know of any other CSAs in the province that I should involve in the research?

Thank you! Would you like to receive a copy of the thesis once finalized?

Appendix C: Coding Guide

Code	Description	Example	Mainly relevant to 'x' process of prefiguration	Mainly relevant to 'y' characteristic of prefigurative organizing
1. Characteristics				
1.1 Farming practices	Alternative farming practices.	*We use a no-dig approach.*	experimentation & consolidation	realization of alternative principles
1.2 Diversification	Activities other than farming practices engaged in on the CSA's premises.	*Last year we started a project that teaches children how to cultivate their own vegetables.*	experimentation	realization of alternative princples
1.3 Social order	Ways in which participants are engaged in CSA practices and decision-making.	*Everyone can get involved in cultivation on the farm.*	consolidation & norm creation	
1.4 Reflexivity	Explicit processes of experimentation and reflection related to CSA practices and procedures.	*I have experimented a lot with cultivating different vegetables and herbs lately.*	experimentation & norm creation	
1.5 Norms and principles	Norms and principles that govern CSA practices.	*In every choice I make with regards to the CSA's operation I will consider the ways in which I can add more life.*	norm creation	
1.6 Design and structures	Alternative farm designs and structures.	*If you know where to look, we have included included that favour natural processes.*	consolidation	
1.7 Business strategies	Alternative business strategies.	*We want independency from subsidies, from the municipality.*		rejection of dominant forms of organizing
1.8 Communication	Means and topics of internal and external communication.	*We are sending our participants newsletters every week.*	political meaning-making & diffusion	
2. Objectives				
2.1 Internal objectives	Objectives focussed on the CSA and its members.	*We are aiming to cultivate sufficient quantities of produce in the best way possible.*	norm creation	
2.2 External objectvies	Objectives focussed on the broader society.	*One of are goals is to turn CSA into a conventional business model.*		aim for transformation
3. Challenges	Overarching code of challenges that cannot be fitted neatly in any of the subcodes, for further analysis.			
3.1 Challenges re/ experimental or novel practices	Challenges that hinder or prevent CSAs from engaging in certain activities or experiments.	*The limited space makes that certain things cannot be tried out.*	experimentation	
3.2 Challenges re/ norm	Challenges related to decision-making within the CSA.and acting in line with norms	*Because it is such a new system, it is quite difficult to determine how to specifically implement it.*	norm creation	
3.3 Challenges re/social order	Internal challenges related to the social order, including challenges related to internal communication (other than those relating to decision-making).	*We had a lot of 'patients' at the start. Those people do not belong here, because otherwise the volunteers will not enjoy their time here and you won't get the work done. That has cost a lot of effort."*	political meaning-making, norm creation, consolidation	
3.4 Challenges re/ physical consolidation	Challenges related to the establishment of the farm and the structures it wants to incorporate	*It is a major challenge for a lot of young farmers to find land.*	consolidation	
3.5 Challenges re/ external communication	Challenges CSAs are confronted with in communicating with outsiders, or that prevent them from communicating with outsiders.	*Your communication does not easily reach outside of your 'bubble'.*	diffusion	

4. Strategies	Overarching code of strategies that cannot be fitted neatly in any of the subcodes, for further analysis.			
4.1 Strategies re/ challenges associated with experimental or novel practices	Solutions to overcome challenges coded under 3.1.	*You have to focus on how things can be adapted in order to fit in.*	experimentation	
4.2 Strategies re/challenges associated with norm creation	Solutions to overcome challenges coded under 3.2.	*I have been to a lot of other CSAs to see what their objectives are and how they implement these.*	norm creation	
4.3 Strategies re/ challenges assocated with social order	Solutions to overcome challenges coded under 3.3.	*We have dedicated special hours for people with medical needs.*	political meaning-making, norm creation, consolidation	
4.4 Strategies re/ challenges associated with phsyical consolidation	Solutions to overcome challenges coded under 3.4.	*There are organisations that collectively buy up land and give it to new farmers.*	consolidation	
4.5 Strategies re/ challenges associated with external communication	Solutions adopted to overcome challenges coded under 3.5.	*We have approached newspapers, the media, and they came to take pictures and interview us.*	diffusion	

Appendix D: Translated consent form

Name interviewer: Annelise Pap   **Contact information:** an4453pa-s@student.lu.se

For questions about the study, please contact me at the above e-mail address.

Description: You have been asked to participate in thesis research on the role of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) in promoting broader societal change. For this research, I am interviewing representatives of CSAs to find out what the organisation's goals are, what norms they base their operations on, what challenges they face and what solutions have been found to address these challenges.

The research is part of a thesis conducted in the final semester of the Master's degree in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science at Lund University in Sweden. The research will be anonymized and published in the university's thesis database.

Benefits and risks: The study could potentially create greater awareness about the role of CSA in sustainable societal change and could potentially provide CSA farms with tools for achieving their goals. However, there can be no guarantee that these benefits will materialize. The risks of this research are expected to be minimal, no greater than the risks of everyday life.

Time: Your participation in the study will take approximately 60 minutes.

Rights of participants: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and can be stopped by you at any time. You can also withdraw your consent to the use of your answers at any time. Please feel free to let me know if you wish not to answer a question.

All information is confidential and will not be related to your name. Your company's name will not be mentioned unless you give permission thereto.

If you give permission thereto, the audio of the interview will be recorded so that the interview can be transcribed by me afterwards. The audio will be deleted immediately after the study has ended. At your request, the audio of the interview can be shared with you.

Do you give me permission to use your answers in my thesis?

Permission to the use of my answers (yes/no) ....

Permission to mention the name of my CSA (yes/no)   ....

Permission to record the audio of our conversation (yes/no)   ....

Signature ....

Date ....

Thank you for participating in this thesis research!