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Democratic Food Citizenship within Civic Food Networks

*An analysis from a shifting food paradigm
perspective*



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Mathilde Compagner (940913-161-110)

BSc International Development Studies

Supervisor – Dr. J.A.B. Duncan

Second examiner – Dr. Ir. B.B. Bock

Chair group – Rural Sociology

Wageningen University

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paradigm perspective

Mathilde Compagner

*“Problems cannot be solved by the same level of
thinking that created them.” - Albert Einstein*

Abstract

Mathilde Compagner, Wageningen University.
Submitted 25 June 2015.

This study analyses how food citizenship is used by civic food networks (CFNs) in supporting or promoting paradigm shifts. The scientific purpose of this study was to explore the usefulness of food citizenship and to contribute to a further conceptualisation of CFNs. The social aim was to investigate how CFNs use food citizenship in contributing to a paradigm shift. By means of a literature review, the concepts food citizenship and CFNs, and the linkages between both concepts were explored. Based on this review, food citizenship is defined as the responsibility and right for all food actors (state, market and civil society) to participate in private and public food-related practices in order to support the development of a socially, economically and environmentally just and sustainable food system in a democratic way. It was found that food citizenship is a more useful concept when compared to food democracy, food justice and food sovereignty; especially, because it directly includes responsibilities besides rights. CFNs are a particular type of alternative food networks that are governed by civil society mechanisms such as trust. The term 'civic' overcomes the producer-consumer dichotomy. Two types of food citizenship within CFNs are found: food citizenship practices that reconstruct civil society-market relations and food citizenship practices that reconstruct civil society-state relations. By conducting a website content analysis of four selected cases, it was examined how food citizenship is used by CFNs. The data showed that these CFNs support food citizenship aimed at reconstructing linkages between civil society and the market. However, for food citizenship practices reconstructing linkages between civil society and the state, less evidence was found. Almost all food citizenship practices by CFNs stay at or close to the community level. Hence, CFNs do not directly promote a paradigm shift via food citizenship. However, the food citizenship practices of CFNs can still provoke a paradigm shift, because other food actors see these food citizenship practices and may react on it. It is recommended to explore this latter further.

Keywords: *alternative food networks, civic food networks, food citizenship, food democracy, democratic food citizenship, productionist paradigm, ecologically integrated paradigm*

Preface

In front of you is my BSc thesis, entitled ‘Democratic Food Citizenship within Civic Food Networks’. A research about how food citizenship is used by civic food networks, a particular type of alternative food networks to the industrial food system, in supporting or promoting paradigm shifts. This BSc thesis is written as final part of my graduation from the Bachelor International Development Studies at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. From early May till the end of June, I had been working on this thesis. A lot of hours were spent on this two months long research projects and hopefully, it will contribute to the existing literature.

To explain why I am interested in civic food networks, it is needed to go back in time. In 1994, I was born. I grew up in the countryside of Zwolle with many organic produced fruits and vegetables from our own garden. When I was a child, I really enjoyed this, because the flavour of our home-grown fruits and vegetables was much better than the ones from the supermarket: strawberries tasted sweet enough without adding sugar and spinach tasted like spinach and not like water. Though, I have to acknowledge that I sometimes also grumbled about it, because I had to pick, cut or wash the green beans from our garden during the summers. At such times, my dad always told me that our home grown organic fruits and vegetables were much healthier and that I should enjoy all the beautiful things of gardening. At that time, I lived a happy-go-lucky child life and did not think about sustainability issues. Especially, during my student time in Wageningen, I started to think about these sustainability issues. I realised that our garden actually was a minor effort in addressing sustainability issues and that together the minor efforts of many people can have great sustainability impacts. This year, I followed some courses about alternative food networks and its sustainability, which was very interesting. Therefore, I decided to do my thesis about it. By an initial literature review, I came across the emergence of civic food networks (e.g. community gardens and community supported agriculture), a subtype of alternative food networks. This became the final topic and here, in front of you, is the result.

Thanks are due to those who supported this research project. Especially, I want to thank my supervisor Doctor J.A.B. Duncan for all her support. Thank you, Jessica, for your enthusiasm, the confidence you had in me, your support during this thesis project and the personal interest you showed. The three meetings during the research process were very efficient and useful; they always gave me new energy and new ideas to go further. Besides, I want to thank my fellow participants in the thesis ring for their feedback concerning the structure of this thesis; thank you Douwe, Lenard, Maartje, Margot, Rivka, Ruth, and Rosa (as supervisor of the thesis ring). Furthermore, I like to thank my roommates who have made my time as a student to a good time. Last but not least, also special thanks are due to my family, who supported me all the three years of my Bachelor’s study in different ways.

Wageningen University was a great university to study, because of its closeness, enthusiastic and dedicated teachers, and environmentally friendly setting. Nevertheless, I am looking forward to my final day at Wageningen University and to start with the next phase of my life, God willing, namely working.

Then, it only remains to wish you much reading pleasure.

Mathilde Compagner¹

Wageningen, 25 June 2015

¹ My email address for contact is: mathilde.com@outlook.com

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Acronyms and abbreviations

AFN	Alternative Food Network
AMFN	Alternative Food Network dominated by Market Governance Mechanisms
ASFN	Alternative Food Network dominated by State Governance Mechanisms
CFN	Civic Food Network
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
FC	Food Citizenship
LFS	Local Food System
RQ	Research question
SFSC	Short Food Supply Chain
SQ	Sub-question

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem statement

All people need food to survive. Poor people are often limited in their food choice. There are many reasons for this: they lack economic capital, they do not have access to the food and so on. Even if they are able to buy food, then they are still often restricted to the cheap and unhealthy food. In contrast to the poor, richer people can often choose from a range of different types of food. Although, this is at least what most people would argue. In recent times, this reasoning becomes more and more contested. If people for instance want to buy healthy food, it is difficult for them to decide which food can be considered as healthy (Lang and Heasman, 2004). They have a lack of information about certain additives and they are confused by the many different types of health claims made by the food industry; besides, the calorie rich food is often relatively cheap (ibid.). Such situations raise questions. Do all citizens really have freedom of food choice? Do citizens have a say within the food system? Do citizens have a say in policy processes concerning the reshaping of the food system? These are important essential questions that emerge as a reaction to the numerous problems associated with the current dominant food system. This global food system is based on the *'productionist paradigm'* or agri-industrial paradigm (Lang and Heasman, 2004; Wiskerke, 2009), which is characterised by intensive production, industrialisation, standardisation, modernisation, scale enlargement, nutritionism, driven by the retail sector and a long distance between producer and consumer (ibid.). Wiskerke (2009, pp.372-373) defines several main problems associated with this system, namely a downward pressure on farm family incomes, environmental pollution and ecological degradation, a deteriorating organoleptic quality and diversity, health problems and consumers' uncertainty about and distrust in food. Another problem associated with this system is the lack of consumer participation (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012). Since a few large transnational corporations increasingly started to control the food system, the power of consumers decreased. Currently, international supermarkets, large retailers and fast food chains are the major actors within the food domain and possess most of the market power (Booth and Conveney, 2015). Lang and Heasman (2004) call this *food control*, which entails a top-down approach to food policy in which a few make powerful decisions for the rest. Nowadays, the dominant food system shows an extremely high level of food control (ibid.).

In reaction to this broken industrial globalised food system and its problems, two new paradigms have emerged. The first one is the *'life sciences integrated paradigm'*, which offers a bio-technological solution to the problems associated with the productionist paradigm. This paradigm is still based on profit-maximisation and driven by science and industry (Lang and Heasman, 2004). The other one is the *'ecologically integrated paradigm'* based on agro-ecology and aimed at preserving biodiversity, organic and small-scale production, valuing traditional knowledge and skills and the claim to be healthy (ibid.). This latter paradigm has informed the emergence of alternative food systems or networks (AFNs). There are a multitude of definitions in the available literature on AFNs. Tregear (2011, p.2) provides in an overall definition based on the available literature on AFNs, which captures the different types of AFNs (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012); this definition is as follows:

“[AFNs are] *forms of food provisioning with characteristics deemed to be different from, perhaps counteractive to, mainstream modes which dominate in developed countries*”.

Lang and Heasman (2004) argue that such AFNs are characterised by *food democracy*, which is the opposite of food control which dominates within the industrial food system based on the productionist paradigm or a food system based on the life sciences integrated paradigm (Lang and Heasman, 2004). The concept food democracy was introduced by Lang in the 1990s and he also further developed it later. Food democracy, he argued, makes use of an inclusive and a bottom-up approach to food policy in order to

strive for improvements in food for all people. The core idea of food democracy is “food as a locus of the democratic process” (Lang, 2007, p.12). Just striving for food security is not enough, because people are at the heart of the food debate. Therefore, Lang (2007) argues that they should be more included in food issues, because otherwise actions aimed at improvements in food may have the opposite effect. Food democracy also has been called *food citizenship* by other authors (e.g. Welsh and MacRae, 1998; Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Booth and Conveney, 2015). This research makes use of the concept food citizenship since it theoretically encompasses more than food democracy, because it also includes the element of responsibility whereas food democracy in itself only includes the element of participation (Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014). Briefly stated, food citizenship can be seen as practices to improve the food system by active participation of citizens (Booth and Conveney, 2015, p.19).

This research focuses on a particular type of AFNs: the ‘*civic food network*’. Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012, p.290) define CFNs as:

“Initiatives in which citizens play an active role in the initiation and operation of new forms of consumer-producer relations”.

The CFN is an especially interesting type of AFNs with regard to food citizenship. Whereas the more traditional AFNs, such as farmers’ markets are still quite hierarchical, CFNs mainly aim at providing space for participation and thus food citizenship (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Anderson et al., 2014). Hence, CFNs are a countermovement to the dominant food system, which is informed by the productionist paradigm and food control.

Concluding, from the above and in order to recap, the current industrial food system shows an extremely high level of food control and it is not able to solve the different problems produced by the system. Furthermore, the system is unsustainable. As a result, AFNs have emerged, which are more characterised by food democracy instead of food control. However, the more traditional types of AFNs are still quite hierarchical. CFNs in contrast to the other types of AFNs are especially aimed at providing space of practicing food citizenship. Thereby, they create opportunities to improve the food system also from below and thus by the people who are affected by the described problems resulting from the dominant food system.

1.2 Research objectives and research question

In the literature, several studies have further investigate food citizenship or food democracy (e.g. Welsh and MacRae, 1998; Hassanein, 2003; Lyson, 2005; Wilkins, 2005) and this is followed by other studies in which attention is paid to these different conceptualisation of food citizenship and democracy (e.g. Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Booth and Conveney, 2015). Besides, the relationship between food citizenship and CFNs has also been explored by an initial study by Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012) and some subsequent studies (e.g. Anderson, 2013; Anderson et al., 2014; Bos and Owen, forthcoming). However, this is still in its infancy and, as the authors also argue, further research is needed to explore this link further and to investigate the potentials of CFNs.

Hence, the scientific purpose of this study is, firstly, to investigate the similarities and differences in the literature regarding the concepts food citizenship and food democracy; secondly, to explore in a more analytical way the link between food citizenship and CFNs in order to contribute to a further conceptualisation of CFNs; and thirdly, to approach this from a shifting food paradigm perspective. Since most of the literature is focused on North America or Europe (Abrahams, 2006), this is also the focus of this study in order to prevent misinterpretations and overgeneralisations. The social aim of this study is to investigate the degree to which food citizenship is and could be part of CFNs and to which degree the food citizenship practices of CFNs support or promote a paradigm shift. This is investigated by some case

studies in the Netherlands. The following main research question (RQ) and sub-questions (SQs) guide this research in order to achieve the aforementioned objectives:

- RQ. *How do civic food networks use food citizenship in supporting or promoting paradigm shifts?*
- SQ.1 *What are the current food paradigms and why are they useful to understand how civic food networks use food citizenship?*
- SQ.2 *What is food citizenship and how does food citizenship differ from food democracy, food justice and food sovereignty?*
- SQ.3 *What are CFNs?*
- SQ.4 *What are the linkages between food citizenship and CFNs?*
- SQ.5 *What food citizenship practices are used by CFNs?*

1.3 Research methods

In order to answer this qualitative research question, several methods were used. Firstly, a literature review was done in order to investigate the current food paradigms, the concept food citizenship, and CFNs. Secondly, several case studies were conducted. In the methodology chapter (see chapter 6), a detailed description of the adopted methods can be found.

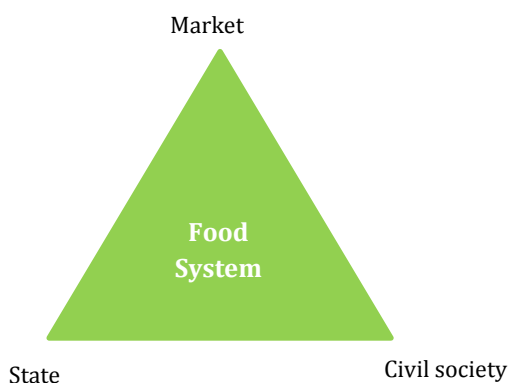
1.4 Research structure

This research starts with the presentation of a theoretical framework based on the different food paradigms: the productionist paradigm, the life sciences integrated paradigm and the ecologically integrated paradigm. Secondly, the food citizenship literature is reviewed and analysed. This is followed by the investigation of the relatively new concept CFN. After having investigated these concepts by means of a literature review, the concepts are linked to each other. Based on this, four case studies of websites of CFNs in the Netherlands are conducted. These cases are analysed in order to investigate how food citizenship is practised by CFNs. Finally, the conclusion of this research is presented and discussed. Based on this, some recommendations for further research are presented.

2. Conceptual framework: shifting food paradigms

The problems concerning the current dominant food system and the emergence of CFNs as a reaction on this can be approached from different perspectives based on the actors involved. Wiskerke (2009) defines three major actors within the food system: the state, the private market and civil society (see figure 2.1). These actors in the food system all have a certain view on food policy. Food policy concerns decision-making about how and by whom food should be produced and marketed. These different views are informed by different food policy paradigms according to Lang and Heasman (2004). This chapter discusses these paradigms and also critically reviews the paradigms itself and the way in which they are presented.

Figure 2.1 Actors involved in the food system (adapted from Wiskerke, 2009, p.376)

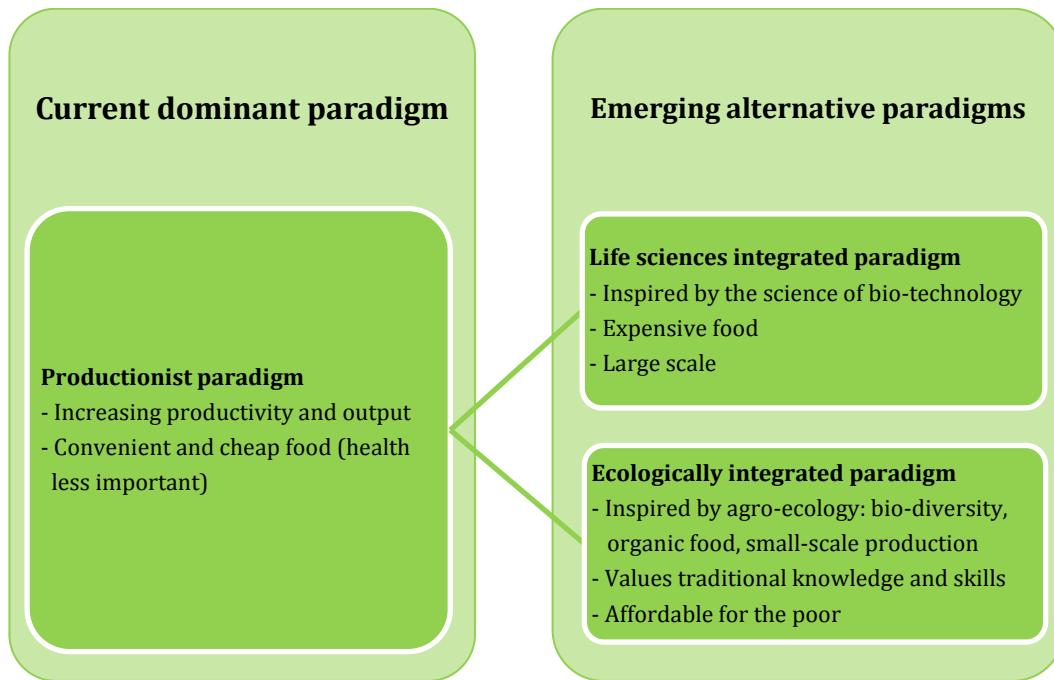


2.1 Food paradigms

Lang and Heasman (2004) distinguish, as already briefly explained in the introduction, three paradigms for food: the 'productionist paradigm', the 'life sciences integrated paradigm' and the 'ecologically integrated paradigm'. Each paradigm frames in a different manner the way in which food itself, food problems and food solutions should be approached. The *productionist paradigm* is the current dominant paradigm and is reflected in the industrial food system. This paradigm is characterised by increasing productivity, modernisation, the centrality of technologies, monoculture, damaging environmental consequences and the subordination of health as food aspect. Since it has appeared that this paradigm is unsustainable for the future, the life sciences integrated paradigm and the ecologically integrated paradigm have emerged. The *life sciences integrated paradigm* is, like the productionist paradigm, based on profit-maximisation and led by large international corporations. However, it introduces bio-technology as a solution to the problems associated with the productionist paradigm. Bio-technology encompasses among others genetically modification of food and research into how genes function. Disadvantages of this paradigm are that it is too expensive for the poor and too difficult for the average people to make informed choices upon it. The life sciences integrated paradigm gets increasingly private and public support. Besides, the application of genetically modified seeds grows fast. Lang and Heasman argue that it is likely that this paradigm will dominate in the future, since it gets most public policy support. The other paradigm, the *ecologically integrated paradigm*, gets less (policy) support. This paradigm is based on agro-ecology, which involves preserving biological diversity, organic and small-scale production, valuing traditional knowledge and skills and the claim to be healthy. It is also this paradigm that informs CFNs. Below, an overview figure of the different paradigms and their characteristics is provided (see figure 2.2). For a sustainable future for all people, a shift is needed away from the productionist paradigm to the

ecologically integrated paradigm as the dominant one, because this paradigm fits best the right to food for all people on earth since it does not lead to expensive food as for the alternative life sciences integrated paradigm; although the life sciences integrated paradigm will in all probability not disappear totally, but co-exist (Lang and Heasman, 2004). The next section discusses some criticisms on the quite optimistic approach to this paradigm and it also explains how these paradigms are approached in this research.

Figure 2.2 Food paradigms (adapted from Lang and Heasman, 2004, p.18, pp.29-32)



Having explained the different paradigms, it is possible to make a link to food democracy and food control. According to Lang and Heasman (2004), the productionist paradigm and the life sciences paradigm both fit within an industrial food system, where corporations still exert *food control* over the consumers. Therefore, *food democracy* fits better in the ecologically integrated paradigm, which informs CFNs. Within this paradigm, human knowledge and skills are important and the relationship between people and food is also considered as important. Food democracy not only fits better in this paradigm, it also has the potential to provoke a paradigm shift from the productionist to the ecologically integrated paradigm. It enables citizens to express their ideas, thoughts and interest. These are also focused on the community interest instead of on commercial interests as is the case for industry. Furthermore, by participation in the food system collectively citizens are stronger than when they work individually (Hassanein, 2003). In this way, CFNs together with the other types of AFNs form a countermovement to the dominant system and a driving force for democratisation (ibid.).

2.2 Criticisms on the food paradigms

In this section some general criticisms on the food paradigms as described by Lang and Heasman (2004) are discussed. Firstly, the linear way of thinking is criticised. Lang and Heasman assume that the development of the paradigms will follow this pathway in which the productionist paradigm totally disappears. Indeed, there are producers and consumers who are working for a just and sustainable food system. However, supermarkets based on the productionist paradigm also respond to this by providing also organic stuff in their shelves (Lawrence, 2005). What especially is questioned is the disappearance of the productionist paradigm, because the majority of food businesses still work from the productionist

paradigm despite its quite long known associated problems (ibid.). The adjustments made in the systems are also mainly informed by the productionist paradigm (ibid.). Therefore, in my opinion, the ecologically integrated paradigm should be considered as a counter movement to the productionist paradigm (Booth and Conveney, 2015); instead of that it is, together with the life sciences integrated paradigm, considered as the two only possible future paradigms.

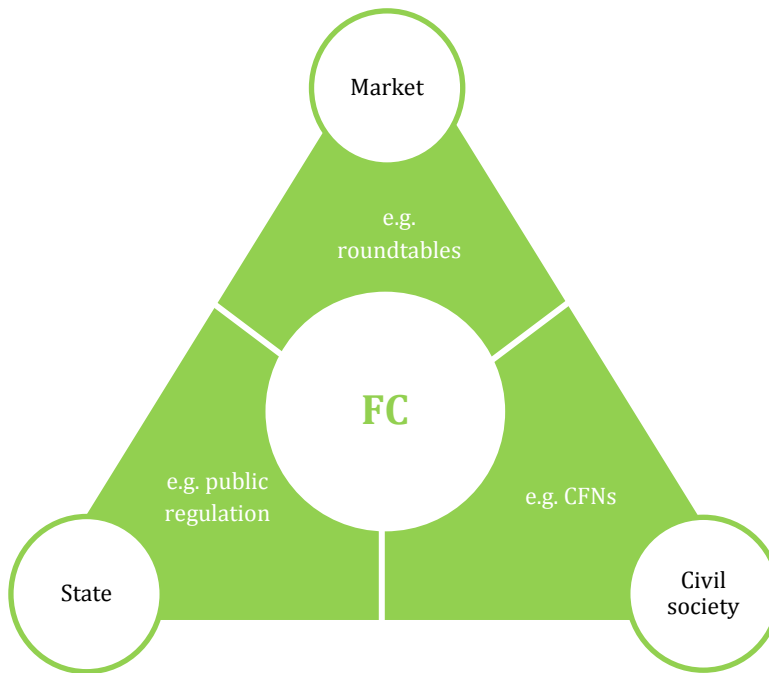
Secondly, Lang and Heasman only focused on the affordability in the sense of price for the poor. However, they did not investigate to which degree the ecologically integrated paradigm is able to produce enough (nutritious and healthy) food for the total world population. At that time, it was already prospected that the world population would grow from 6.5 billion in 2005 to 9.1 billion in 2050 (United Nations, 2004). In 2013, the number of the estimated world population is further increased to 9.6 billion in 2050 (United Nations, 2013).

Thirdly, if the rich countries start to base their food policy on the ecologically integrated paradigm, they should also have to think about the consequences for the poor. This critical aspect is also not included in the analysis of Lang and Heasman (2004). Due to the fact that these countries in that case were focused on the productionist paradigm for a long time, they have made the poor countries dependent upon them through specialisation and monoculture for trade. This is for instance stimulated by International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Their Structural Adjustment Policies impose several conditions, among others to focus on export (Perkins et al., 2012). Shiva (2009) explained how these dependency relations are created for India. The Structural Adjustment Policies stipulates India to open up their borders of the seed sector to global companies. These companies did not make use of farm-saved seeds, but corporate seeds. These corporate seeds cannot be grown without fertilizers and pesticides. The global corporations started to control the seed sector, which was accompanied by a shift from agricultural biodiversity to monoculture. These are relevant issues; however, they are outside the scope of the research.

Fourthly, the finding of Lang and Heasman (2004) that there is little support from the state for the ecologically integrated paradigm, and thus also for food citizenship, can be criticised. The last decades, this seems to be changing slightly. In the Netherlands, for instance, many municipalities make public green spaces available for urban agriculture (Kullberg, 2011). On a more international level, there are also several examples of urban food strategies (e.g. London Food Strategy and Proeftuin Amsterdam) and food policy councils (e.g. Toronto Food Policy Council and the Tilburg Food Policy Council) (Donkers, 2013). Such food strategies and food policy councils often go more and more into the direction of the ecologically integrated paradigm by for instance providing space for food democracy, supporting AFNs and working towards sustainability.

Finally, Lang and Heasman only focused on the state and reviewed how food citizenship is integrated in public food policy. However, to understand a shift to the ecologically integrated paradigm as the dominant one, it is important to focus on all actors involved in the food system. It is not enough to only focus on public food policy in order to understand paradigm shifts as Lang and Heasman (2004) do. For obtaining a more fully picture, it is also needed to look at the private sector and civil society. These different actors in the food system can provide space for food citizenship practices in different ways. The conceptual framework below shows how these different actors can work towards a democratic food system (see figure 2.3) and by doing so, how they can contribute to a paradigm shift. This figure also shows that food citizenship can be viewed as both a means (e.g. by practising food citizenship as CFN) and an end (e.g. by striving as CFN for food citizenship in general).

Figure 2.3 *Conceptual framework*



FC = Food Citizenship

2.3 Concluding remarks

The previous sections have shown that three food paradigms can be distinguished, these are the productionist paradigm, the life sciences integrated paradigm, and the ecologically integrated paradigm. Whereas the first two paradigms are characterised by food control, the latter one is characterised by food citizenship. The latter paradigm is also the paradigm which informs CFNs. The ecologically integrated paradigm, which informs CFNs and their food citizenship practices, form a counter movement to the productionist paradigm.

The paradigms itself and the way in which they are presented are criticised for several reasons. Firstly, it is unrealistic to argue that the productionist paradigm will totally disappear because of its failures. Currently, the majority of food businesses are still informed by this productionist paradigm and the adjustments they make within the food systems are also informed by this paradigm. Additionally, it is questionable to which degree that even if the ecologically integrated paradigm will be the future paradigm, a food system informed by this paradigm will benefit the poor. Food production and consumption informed by this paradigm is cheaper, however it is doubtful if such a food system is able to provide food for all people on earth facing the increasing world population. Thirdly, a shift to the ecologically integrated paradigm is presented in a quite optimistic manner and does not take insufficiently into account the possible negative effects for the poor countries. Fourthly, policy support for the ecologically integrated paradigm also seems to be slightly increasing. Finally, Lang and Heasman (2004) only approached the food paradigms from a public policy perspective.

In response to these criticisms, this research views the ecologically integrated paradigm, and CFNs which are informed by this paradigm, as a counter paradigm or movement to the productionist one. Acknowledging that the productionist paradigm can co-exist, this research further investigates from a civil society perspective how a shift from the productionist paradigm as the dominant one to the ecologically integrated paradigm as the dominant paradigm can be understood. In this way, it addresses the need to

focus on all actors involved in the food system, which is important for fully understanding a paradigm shift. The research thus fits this gap by focusing on the role of civil society in the food (democracy) debate. CFNs are one such expression of civil society's attempts to practice food citizenship and to strive for food citizenship in general. In order to understand this relationship further, it is needed to explore what food citizenship exactly entails and how CFNs function. The next section starts with investigating this by studying the concept food citizenship in more detail.

3. Food citizenship and food democracy

Prior to examining how CFNs use food citizenship, it is needed to further investigate how food citizenship is understood in the literature. In the end, this helps in understanding how food citizenship practices are used to support or promote paradigm shifts. The chapter starts with describing the emergence and development of the concept food citizenship. Based on this, a definition of food citizenship is provided. Afterwards, food citizenship is demarcated from other concepts used in the AFN literature, namely food justice and food sovereignty. Finally, some critical and concluding remarks are discussed.

3.1 Early development of the concept food citizenship

This section explores the emergence and early development (until 2005) of the concept food citizenship. The development of the concept food citizenship is very much interwoven with the development of the concept food democracy. Many scholars view food citizenship and food democracy as equivalent concepts (e.g. Welsh and MacRae, 1998; Hassanein, 2003; Levkoe, 2006; Hassanein, 2008; Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Booth and Conveney, 2015). Independently from these authors, there are also some other scholars who explicitly focus on the concept food citizenship (e.g. Baker, 2004; Lyson, 2005; Wilkins, 2005). More recently, some authors distinguish food citizenship from food democracy clearly from each other (e.g. Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014). This section first discusses the first group of authors who consider food citizenship as similar to food democracy. Secondly, the development of food citizenship independently from the first mentioned group of authors is described.

After the introduction of food democracy by Lang, Welsh and MacRae (1998) were the first scholars who further developed the concept food citizenship, which is similar to food democracy in their view. Welsh and MacRae both participated in the establishment of the Toronto Food Policy Council, which was inspired by the London Food Commission directed by Lang. The Toronto Food Policy Council emerged as a reaction on Canada's traditional, but failing focus on food security and its associated lack of food policy. As a food policy council, the Toronto Food Policy Council finances among others community food projects. Welsh and MacRae participated in the establishment of the TPFPC in order to tackle the problems around social justice, sustainability and food democracy or food citizenship issues within the food system. They argue that there is 'general agreement' about "the importance of the notion of citizenship for a conception of democracy" as said by Zolo (1993, cited in Welsh and MacRae, 1998, p.241). However, the reason for this 'general agreement' is not given and therefore, it remains unclear what the relation between food citizenship and democracy is. Zolo argues that citizenship rights will result in equality as opposed to capitalism which results in inequality. He views citizenship in a republican way, which means practicing citizenship via active participation. Welsh and MacRae (1998, p.283) argue, in line with this, that food citizenship or food democracy will be the result of:

"People's active participation in shaping the food system, rather than by accepting the system as passive consumers".

Thus, food citizenship views people as more than merely consumers and food as more than just a commodity. Welsh and MacRae consider food citizenship as important because food is a central element of people's daily life, which is an important motivating factor for food citizenship. Besides, the number of hungry people in the richer countries is growing. Food citizenship can be practised in both projects and policy. They provided in an example of an alternative food delivery system project, which particular aims at reskilling of the participants and which distributes food in an alternative way. Another example, they

mentioned, is the Ontario Public Health Association's Food Security Working Group, which provided space for input from the community. In short, Welsh and MacRae put the focus on active participation.

Based on Welsh and MacRae (1998), Hassanein (2003; 2008) elaborates further on the importance and the usefulness of food citizenship or food democracy and the different dimensions of food democracy. She mostly uses the term food democracy and therefore this paragraph also uses the term food democracy. Hassanein (2003, p.83) defines food democracy as:

"Food democracy ideally means that all members of an agro-food system have equal and effective opportunities for participation in shaping that system, as well as knowledge about the relevant alternative ways of designing and operating the system".

According to Hassanein, food democracy provides useful new insights in the debate about the sustainability of AFNs. Narrow definitions of sustainability are often contested, however broad definitions are inclusive, but not practical to use. Hassanein believes that this is a question of value differences, which should be discussed in politics. Here, the concept food democracy comes in. Hassanein (2008) defines five key facets of food democracy. Firstly, food democracy entails collective cooperation towards sustainability of the food system. Besides, food democracy also means that there is space for sharing and discussing ideas. Thirdly, citizens within food democracy should have sufficient knowledge about food. Fourthly, the development of efficacy is needed, which is about citizens who define their own relationship to food and the food system. Finally, food democracy requires that citizens are focused on the community good and not just on their individual interests. One way to create space for democracy is by coalition building through which among others AFNs enlarge participation, because more people can share their ideas and discuss them. Such interactions can take place within movements, among allied movements and between movements and their opponents (Hassanein, 2003, p.85). To sum up, Hassanein's definition of food democracy is much more elaborated than the one of Welsh and MacRae. It also includes equal, effective and knowledgeable participation and more 'alternative' ways of food provisioning. What 'alternative' means, is not directly included; however, judging from the article it seems to refer to more sustainable systems.

Independently of this development in which food citizenship is equated to food democracy, Lyson (2005) and Wilkins (2005) explored apart from each other the concept food citizenship as a unique concept. Lyson (2005) investigated how food citizenship can be practised via civic agriculture. Civic agriculture is a local and communal way of food provisioning which is linked to the social and economic development of a community. Examples of civic agriculture are community supported agriculture and farmers' markets. Lyson argues that civic agriculture creates opportunities for consumers to become active food citizens, who have a say in the food system. The definition of food citizenship introduced by Lyson (2005, p.98) is as follows:

"Food citizenship rests on communal forms of problem solving that lead to a safe, nutritious, healthy diet and a socially and environmentally sustainable system of agriculture and food production".

Wilkins (2005, p.271) explored food citizenship from a more theoretical level and offered the following definition based on the core notions of citizenship (rights and responsibilities):

"[Food citizenship is the] practice of engaging in food-related behaviors that support, rather than threaten, the development of a democratic, socially and economically just, and environmentally sustainable food system".

She also elaborates on ways to practice food citizenship. These ways can be very well related to the food actors' triangle of Wiskerke as provided in chapter two (see figure 2.1). The easiest way is to think about the effects of the food we consume and based on this choose for instance for more local food or organic food which is sold outside the dominant food system. In this way, food citizenship is practiced mainly as an individual within the civil society sphere. Furthermore, Hassanein argues that food citizenship can be

practised by communicating with market actors about food issues. An example of this is asking the catering at work or university about how the food is produced and prepared and based on this choosing the most sustainable option. The third and most difficult way can be connected to the state as food system actor. This can be done by engaging in the development of public policies at different levels. For Wilkins, food citizenship in the end will lead to, among others, a democratic food system. Approaching food citizenships in this way, means that Wilkins does make a distinction between the concepts food citizenship and food democracy. This is one difference between Lyson and Wilkins. Another difference is that Wilkin's definition is broader since the term 'food-related behaviours' is used in both a narrow and a broad sense, while Lyson argues that food citizenship should be based on 'communal forms of problem solving'.

Concluding from the above, authors who equated food citizenship and food democracy (e.g. Welsh and MacRae, 1998; Hassanein, 2003) view active participation as the main element of the definition. Those authors also do not explicitly refer to social and environmental sustainability, although they both clearly stress the need for a sustainable food system in their articles. The second category of authors who distinguish food citizenship and food democracy from each other (e.g. Lyson, 2005; Wilkins, 2005) do include these social and environmental sustainability aspects directly in their definitions. For an overview table of the views of the different authors hitherto mentioned, please consult table 3.1 (see section 3.3). Interestingly, from this analysis it appears that none of these authors explain explicitly the link between the concepts citizenship and democracy. Most of them, take this relationship for granted. The reason for this could be that most of these authors do not explore what the precise meanings of both concepts are. Exploring these precise meanings could be helpful in my view, because using concepts interchangeably creates confusion. The next section further elaborates on recent developments in the food citizenship literature.

3.2 Recent developments in the food citizenship literature

This section discusses some recent developments concerning the concept food citizenship. In the last decade, there have been little attempts towards a fuller understanding of the concept food citizenship. Some authors continue to use the concepts interchangeably after reviewing the development of the concepts (e.g. Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Booth and Conveney, 2015). Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012) give an overview of different definitions of the 'food concepts' and argued that, in the end, they are all based on the same principles. Booth and Conveney (2015) first explore the original definitions of food and democracy and then review some other definitions of the concept food citizenship and food democracy. However, they do not give explicit definitions of food citizenship and food democracy based on this review and they also do not compare the definitions of other authors with the precise meanings of food citizenship and democracy.

Recent pioneering work towards a fuller understanding of the concept food citizenship has been the work of Gómez-Benito and Lozano (2014). According to them, the notion of food citizenship encompasses more than the notion of food democracy, which especially refers to participation, since it includes both rights (e.g. the right to food and the right to participate in food governance) and responsibilities (e.g. taking into account the rights of others). They derived seven characteristics from the importance of food, which should be taken into account when further conceptualising food citizenship (see box 3.1). This paragraph will not discuss all these elements, but only new and/or opposed elements to the existing food citizenship literature. Firstly, Gómez-Benito and Lozano argue that food citizenship should be of a cosmopolitan nature, because: people have global rights and obligations due to the internationalisation; the food system has global environmental effects; equity between producer and consumers in different parts of the world should be considered. They acknowledge that such a cosmopolitan form of food citizenship is difficult to achieve; however, they argue that it is not impossible by referring to the example of the international

nature of the food sovereignty movement, La Via Campesina. Thus, the kind of food citizenship proposed by Gómez-Benito and Lozano goes beyond practising consumer purchasing power or participation in AFNs, because it also entails making the government aware of their interests and objectives in order to provoke government action. This can for instance be done via agencies and lobbies. Secondly, they reject the notion of the citizen-consumer, which is often used in the literature. According to them, this notion is consumer-biased in the food citizenship context, while food citizenship encompasses more than the consumption of food.

Box 3.1 *Recommended components for a further conceptualisation of food citizenship* (adapted from Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014, pp.136-137)

-
- 1) Food should be considered as a fundamental right
 - 2) The (current) power distribution and its effect should be taken into account because of its economic relevance
 - 3) Food citizenry should be able to participate on all scales and to interact with the state (since the state also has a lot of influence via regulation)
 - 4) Food citizenry actions should be of an international nature
 - 5) Environmental aspects should also be taken into account by the food citizenry
 - 6) Citizens should be made knowledgeable in order to make informed food choices and the agro-food system visible;
 - 7) Rights of the current and future generations should be considered which includes equality – and thus obligation – aspects.
-

Based on their analysis, Gómez-Benito and Lozano (2014, p.152) suggest the following definition of food citizenship, which in fact is about the food citizen:

“The individual who has access to enough healthy, quality food or who mobilizes himself to achieve it”.

This definition is followed by some preconditions:

“The person must have an active interest in defining and exercising his food preferences, something that requires an effort to be informed not only about what healthy and sufficient food is, but also about the conditions and the processes of the production and distribution of food throughout the food chain. This person must also be aware of the implications of social and environmental equity and of the wellbeing of animals, all of which is summarized in the expression “sustainable food.” Someone, in addition, whose personal food practices are coherent with these value orientations and these cognitive frameworks, and who participates in some way in collective actions oriented in this direction. And someone who attempts to participate in the governance of food affairs.”

Concluding, the recent research conducted by Gómez-Benito and Lozano (2014) clearly contributed to further conceptualisation of food citizenship and in demarcating food citizenship and food democracy from each other. It also captures the different levels by which food citizenship can be practised. However, still an encompassing and useful definition of food citizenship is lacking. The definition they suggested is about the food citizen and it does not capture the list of suggested preconditions. Regarding the concept of food democracy, it could be argued that Booth and Conveney (2015) did make a first step; however, still more work for a further conceptualisation of food democracy is needed.

3.3 Defining food citizenship

As has been shown, there is a plethora of definitions on the concept of food citizenship. Below, an overview table is provided of the recurring core elements in the definitions. This table also shows if the corresponding author uses the concept interchangeably with the concept food democracy or not (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Overview table of the core elements in definitions of food citizenship and food democracy

		Authors				
		Welsh and MacRae	Hassanein	Lyson	Wilkins	Gómez-Benito and Lozano
Elements	Active participation	FCD	FCD		FC	FC
	Knowledgeable participants		FCD			FC
	Equal opportunities for participation		FCD	FC	FC	FC
	Alternative/sustainable food system		FCD	FC	FC	FC
	Communal nature			FC	FC	FC
	International nature				FC	FC

FCD=food citizenship and food democracy used interchangeably; FC=food citizenship; FD=food democracy

Since food citizenship also includes food democracy besides other rights and responsibilities, this research refers from here on to food citizenship. In this way, the confusion caused by the mixed use of the concepts is avoided and misinterpretation of the concepts is also resolved. As can be seen in table 3.1, the definition of Gómez-Benito and Lozano (2014) is in this case the most fullest. Though, the definition of Wilkins also captures a lot and is more useful; the definition of Wilkins was (to recap) as follows:

“[Food citizenship is the] practice of engaging in food-related behaviors that support, rather than threaten, the development of a democratic, socially and economically just, and environmentally sustainable food system” (Wilkins, 2005, p.271)

However, the definition of food citizenship of Wilkins is more focused on individual behaviours (see also section 3.1). Hence, in my view it would be better to replace behaviours by practices, since behaviours refers especially to individual behaviours; whilst, this can also be collective (i.e. as civil society) and refer to other food actors (i.e. state and market). Practices are useful for a conceptualisation of food citizenship for two reasons. The first reason for this is that it includes the everyday life of citizens (Spaargaren, 2003) and the second reason is that it goes beyond the individual (Spaargaren, 2011). Furthermore, food citizenship not only includes just practices, but also responsibilities as Gómez-Benito and Lozano (2014) argue. Therefore, I propose the following definition (adapted from Wilkins, 2005):

Food citizenship is the responsibility and right for all food actors (state, market and civil society) to participate in private and public food-related practices in order to support the development of a socially, economically and environmentally just and sustainable food system in a democratic way.

In chapter 5, these different elements are further operationalised in the context of CFNs. The next section discusses some criticisms concerning the concept food citizenship.

3.4 Demarcating food citizenship from other ‘food concepts’

Food citizenship is not the only ‘food concept’ used in the AFN literature. Food justice and food sovereignty are also often used (Holt-Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; Booth and Conveney, 2015). This section discusses the meanings of these different concepts, their difference from food citizenship and the novelty and usefulness of food citizenship as a term. The first concept, *food justice*, especially focuses on equality within the food system by empowering marginalised people in order to enable them to defend their own rights. Besides, it also strives for sustainable food provisioning. The Community Alliance for Global Justice (2013 cited in Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014, p.146) defines food justice as:

“Food Justice is the right of communities everywhere to produce, distribute, access, and eat good food regardless of race, class, gender, ethnicity, citizenship, ability, religion, or community. Good food is healthful, local, sustainable, culturally appropriate, humane, and produced for the sustenance of people and the planet”.

According to Lang and Heasman (2004), food democracy, and thus food citizenship, encompasses more than food justice. This view of Lang and Heasman corresponds to Levkoe (2006), who argues that food justice movements create opportunities for a transition to a food democracy since it provides opportunities to turn people from a passive consumer into a knowledgeable and actively participating citizen. However, food justice lacks also the participatory element of food citizenship (Loo, 2014; Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014). The focus of food justice on food distribution inequalities overlooks inequalities in participation, which are the underlying cause of these distribution inequalities (Loo, 2014). This is what food citizenship does include besides food justice.

Secondly, *food sovereignty* is also used in the AFN literature. This radical discourse goes a step further by striving for entitlements and redistribution of resources such as water and land. Food sovereignty as a concept was introduced by the international farmers’ movement La Via Campesina, because they feel ignored by the neoliberal food system (Windfuhr and Jonsén, 2005). There are many definitions of food sovereignty, but the definition of Wittman, Desmarais and Wiebe (2010, p.2) captures the core elements:

“The right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems – markets, production modes, food cultures and environments”.

Thus, food sovereignty aims at regaining control over food provisioning, which actually also is one of the core elements of food citizenship. Besides, this right should also be achieved in a democratic way (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011). Since food sovereignty is an internationally recognised concept (Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014), the question becomes what the novelty and usefulness of food citizenship is. Food sovereignty is mainly producer oriented, it is characterised by a small-scale (especially from a small farmer-producer perspective), bottom-up and rights-based approach to food (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Booth and Conveney, 2015). Food citizenship, in contrast, captures both producers and consumers by introducing the ‘citizen’. In this way, food citizenship also encompasses more than just rights, because citizens also have responsibilities (Gómez-Benito and Lozano, 2014).

3.5 Criticisms concerning food citizenship

Throughout this chapter some criticisms concerning the concept food citizenship are discussed, such as its added value to food democracy, food justice and food sovereignty. This section discusses some other criticisms not discussed yet. One of these criticisms is that it is often argued that food citizenship is elitist, which argues that people strive more for self-interest than that they think about the poor (Hamilton, 2005, referred to in Booth and Conveney, 2015). However, Hamilton argues that food citizenship in contrast is aimed at healthy food, community building, economic development and establishing more personal societal relations. This will create personal satisfaction and human enjoyment. Hamilton argues that alternative food systems will never replace the dominant system, but that they will co-exist and in this way contribute to freedom of choice. This is a democratic value, he argues, and a democracy should provide space for making value decisions. Hassanein (2003) also argues that politics is the place to discuss value differences. However, the question is how to discuss such value differences. According to Mouffe (2005), it should be acknowledged that there will never be a fully consensus between all parties (here: state, market and civil society). Instead, they should respect the differences each other and acknowledge that their vision never becomes the same. This should be acknowledged when practising food citizenship. When this is not acknowledged, proponents of food citizenship or democracy are practising another type of food control over the other food governance actors. Additionally, it could be criticised too which degree

the conceptualisation of food citizenship is biased towards the richer and wealthier countries. Examples in the food citizenship literature are especially drawn from these countries and based on their political systems (see section 3.1 and 3.2 for some of these examples).

3.6 Concluding remarks

From this chapter, it appeared that many authors use the concept food citizenship interchangeably with the concept food democracy. However, from the literature it became clear that food citizenship encompasses more than food democracy. While food democracy only directly refers to the participation element, food citizenship also includes the responsibility element directly. Hence, food citizenship is more useful. Besides, food citizenship is also useful because of its novelty compared to other 'food concepts', such as food justice and food sovereignty. Food citizenship does include directly the participation element, which is not the case for food justice. Though this is also the case for food sovereignty, food sovereignty can be criticised for its strong focus on farmer producers, rights and the grassroots level. Food citizenship is more encompassing, because it refers by the concept 'food citizen' to both producer and consumer and it also includes the responsibility element.

Linking the concept food citizenship to the food paradigms as presented in chapter 2, it appears that food citizenship practices challenge the dominant food system characterised by food control and informed by the productionist paradigm. Food citizenship is practised by active and knowledgeable participation and by taking up the responsibility via participating in a just and sustainable food system, which is also a right. CFNs are one such an expression of how food citizenship can be practised. The next chapter discusses the emergence and development of the concept CFN and CFN itself in order to make it possible to investigate the relation between CFNs and food citizenship.

4. Civic food networks

Before it is possible to explain how food citizenship is used by CFNs, it is needed to conceptualise CFNs further. The concept CFN emerges as a reaction on the criticism on the concept AFN, which was originally used for alternative food systems to the industrial food system (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012). The article of Tregear (2011) is very important in this, since it provides in a kind of summary about the AFN literature until 2011. Therefore, this chapter first explores the development of AFNs. Secondly, it explores the development of CFNs, a concept that emerges as reaction to criticism on the AFN concept. Finally, some critical remarks concerning the concept and its conceptualisations and some concluding remarks are made.

4.1 Development of the concept alternative food network until Tregear's critical review

Since the 1990s, a growing body of literature about AFNs have emerged as a reaction to the emergence of AFNs itself. Examples of such AFNs are backyard food swaps, community gardens, community supported agriculture (CSA), farmer's markets, farm shops, and box delivery schemes (Jarosz, 2008; Tregear, 2011; Booth and Conveney, 2015). Generally, AFNs are also often called among others alternative agro-food networks, alternative food systems, and alternative food initiatives (Harris, 2009). Besides, some authors also use other concepts interchangeably for AFNs, such as short food supply chains (SFSCs) (e.g. Marsden, Banks and Bristow, 2000; Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003; Ilbery and Maye, 2005) and local food systems (LFS) (e.g. Hinrichs, 2000); while other authors use these concepts as a particular type of AFNs (e.g. Goodman, 2004; Tregear, 2011). A frequently used definition of AFNs is:

"[AFNs] are rooted in particular places, [AFNs] aim to be economically viable for farmers and consumers, use ecologically sound production and distribution practices, and enhance social equity and democracy for all members of the community" (Feenstra, 1997 as cited by Tregear, 2011, p.421).

In this definition, several characteristics are contributed to AFNs: rootedness of production-distribution-consumption practices a particular place, economic viability for participants, ecological forms of food provisioning, and focussed on social equity of and democracy for participants. These characteristics are manifested in many different ways. Localness, for instance, could refer to face-to-face relations (e.g. local farm shop) or extended relations (e.g. certified products) (Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003); while ecological for instance could refer to reducing food miles, but also to using organic production methods. Over the years, a lot of different descriptions of AFNs have been proposed (for an overview, see Forsell and Lankoski, 2015). The elements in Feenstra's definition do often recur in these descriptions. However, there are also some other elements that are not (directly) included in Feenstra's definition, these are: close relationships between producers and consumers (Marsden, Banks and Bristow, 2000; Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003), transparency and related to this trust (Renting, Banks and Bristow, 2003; Sonnino and Marsden, 2006; Jarosz, 2008), and quality (Ilbery and Maye, 2005; Sonnino and Marsden, 2006).

In the early development of the AFN literature, the focus was especially on the beneficial characteristics embedded in many AFN definitions. However, soon afterwards criticism on AFNs appeared, concerning mainly these social, economic, ecological and environmental assumed benefits (Tregear, 2011). Tregear (2011) distinguishes three criticisms on AFNs within the AFN literature. Firstly, she criticises the inclusiveness of AFNs and their beneficial impact on regional and wider economies. Furthermore, several

AFNs prove that the internal relations in AFNs are not always as positive as communicated outwardly. Finally, individual motivation factors to engage in AFNs are often not in line with the AFN principles since the main motivating factors are based on self-interest or since participants also participate in the conventional food system.

Based on this critical review, Tregear (2011) identifies four problematic characteristics concerning the AFN literature. These criticisms are the conflation of certain AFN characteristics with desirable outcomes, actor behaviours and food properties; insufficient attention for the interaction dynamics in AFNs; the unclear and inconsistent use of key concepts; the producer-biased studies caused a lack of understanding the consumer side. Before Tregear, the AFN literature was somewhere in an impasse, but these criticisms have provide in incentives for new developments. The next section discusses these criticisms in more detail and how they have caused for among others the development of the concept CFN.

4.2 From Tregear's critical review to the introduction of the concept civic food network

In discussing some aspects of the criticisms of Tregear (2011), the focus is on the elements that are especially relevant for this research since discussing them all in detail would be outside the scope of this research. To start with, Tregear argues that *certain characteristics of AFNs are conflated with (1) food characteristics, (2) actor behaviour and goals, and (3) socially, economically and ecologically desirable results*. Firstly, some authors argue that local food is more safe, healthy and nutritious. However, this is not inherent to AFNs and additionally, quantitative evidence for this is still lacking; but it is known that via local food networks for instance also local bakery products full of sugar are sold. Secondly, some articles assume that AFN participants are motivated by the often attached desirable goals to AFNs; while, it has proven that participants also, for instance, participate in the conventional food system or have other personal motivating factors (e.g. Veen, Derkzen and Wiskerke, 2012). Thirdly, in the literature, it is often assumed that food networks organised in a different way than the conventional system (e.g. a more local or a more democratic system), automatically deliver more social, economic and ecological results. Many authors have proved that AFNs are not inherently: more local (e.g. Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003), (more) economically viable (e.g. Goodman, 2004; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005), more ecological (e.g. Winter, 2003), and more socially (e.g. DuPuis and Goodman, 2005). D'Amico (2015) argues that such issues are context dependent and cannot be ascribed beforehand. A general answer about the sustainability cannot be given, because most studies are focused on a particular element of AFNs in the above cited definition of AFNs (see section 4.1) and AFNs themselves also often are focused on certain of these aspects (Tregear, 2011; Forssell and Lankoski, 2015).

Secondly, Tregear argues that *insufficient attention is paid to interaction dynamics*. Face-to-face buyer-seller relations are often idealised, while the right conditions for interaction itself and information transfer are often not there due to time and space constraints. There have been just a few studies who investigated these interaction dynamics (D'Amico, 2015). As reaction on this criticism of Tregear, Cicatiello et al. (2015) for example investigated via case studies how different shopping environments influence sociality among people. They found that the farmer's market in general enhances social relations in contrast to the supermarket. However, they also argue that more studies are needed to investigate this.

The third criticism of Tregear concerns the *ambiguity of the term 'alternative' and the inconsistent applications of central concepts in the AFN literature* (e.g. quality turn and defensive localism). The word 'alternative' can be seen as an umbrella term. All food networks different to the industrial food system are shared under the word 'alternative', while these AFNs have very distinctive characteristics. This makes it difficult to define AFNs, since they are not homogenous. Consequently, AFNs are often defined by what they are not, which creates dualism. However, such a clear boundary cannot be made in reality (Sonnino

and Marsden, 2006). An example to illustrate this is the corporatisation of organics (Johnston, Biro and MacKendrick, 2009): many Dutch supermarkets have their own organic store brand. Over the years, several efforts have been made in order to further categorise AFNs. Watts, Ilbery and Maye (2005) for instance made a distinction between weak and strong AFNs. Weak AFNs are focused on food and that are vulnerable to incorporation by the dominant food system, whereas strong AFNs are focused on networks and loyal actants. According to Tregear, such categorisations have the potential to further enforce this criticism. Tregear did not discuss other alternative concepts for the concept AFN itself, which can also contribute in overcoming dualism. Renting, Banks and Bristow (2003) and Ilbery and Maye (2005), for instance, refer SFSCs and Hinrichs (2000) refers to LFSs as an alternative concept for AFNs. However, when authors refer to the local they often refer to intrinsic good aspects, such as sustainability. In the literature, this is referred to as the 'local trap' (Born and Purcell, 2006). Because of the fact that there are so many attachments connected to the local, the concept local food systems in the end is not a good alternative for the concept AFNs in my view. The development of the concept of civic agriculture (Lyson, 2000) is in my view more useful. According to Lyson (2004, p.2), civic agriculture "brings together production and consumption activities within communities and offers consumers real alternatives to the commodities produced, processed and marketed by large agribusiness firms". Especially, the term 'civic' does provide opportunities. It was introduced by Lyson (2005) in order to capture both producer and consumer activities. Besides, a 'civic' system can be seen as opposed to state-driven and market-driven food networks. However, there are also disadvantages of the concept civic agriculture. Firstly, the term 'agriculture' still refers mainly to the production side and secondly, the term 'civic' does not capture all types of AFNs (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012). Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012) have introduced the concept CFN based on Lyson's work. However, they introduced more like complementary, rather than alternative, to existing AFN concepts, because there are also other types of AFNs in their view. Since the development of the concept CFN is especially related to the following and final criticism, it will be further explained in the next paragraphs.

The final criticism of Tregear (2011) discussed here is that *AFN studies are too much focused on the producer side*. Therefore, she argues that there are insufficient studies paying attention to the consumer perspective, such as the effect on welfare and well-being. Several attempts have been made to overcome this producer-consumer dichotomy. Tregear did not pay attention to the introduction of the concept 'civic agriculture' by Lyson (2002; 2005), who used the term civic in order to capture both producer and consumer activities. The publication of a special issue about CFNs in the International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food (2012), made an important contribution in this. In this issue, Veen, Derkzen and Wiskerke (2012) proposes the concept 'food provisioning practices' in order to overcome the distinction between producers and consumers, which is in reality not clear (anymore). Especially interesting is the introduction of the concept of CFN by Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012) in this issue in which the term 'civic' was also used in order to capture both citizen-producers and citizen-consumers. CFN, as a concept, is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Another criticism on the AFN literature, which is not mentioned by Tregear, is their focus on the European and North American AFN context. Such AFNs differ from AFNs in the North (Abrahams, 2006; Freidberg and Goldstein, 2011). However, these AFNs in the South are currently still poorly conceptualised (ibid.), although several studies have been done in order to tackle this criticism (e.g. Freidberg and Goldstein, 2011; Si, Schumilas and Scott, 2015).

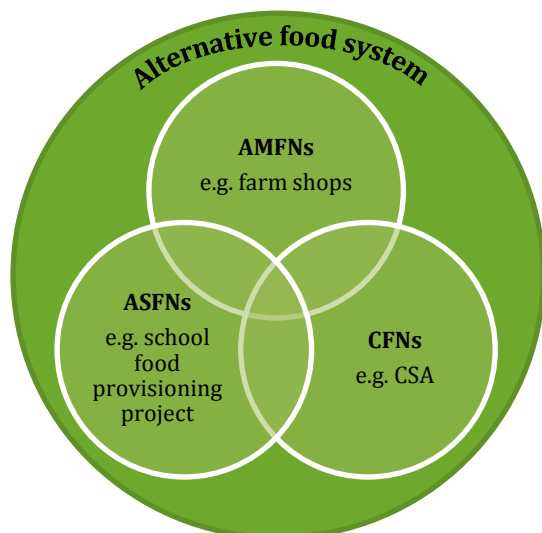
Despite all these criticisms concerning the conceptualisation of AFNs, this research adopts the cited definition of Feenstra (see section 4.1) since it captures the most recurring characteristic elements of AFNs; but it is acknowledged that not all these characteristics do apply to all AFNs (Tregear, 2011; Forssell and Lankoski, 2015). In the next section, the development of the concept CFN is further explored, since this is the main focus of this research.

4.3 Development of the concept civic food network

Currently, new types of AFNs are emerging according to Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012); examples of these new types of AFNs are consumer cooperatives and community supported agriculture (CSA). Such AFNs are distinctive in the sense that citizen-consumers do fulfil new roles in order to regain control over food provisioning, for instance participating in production via community-based urban agriculture. Looking at the food governance actors (see figure 2.1), these AFNs also show how civil society can function as an innovative and transformative governance mechanism towards a sustainable food system (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, p.291). Hence, Renting, Schermer and Rossi propose the concept CFN, in which ‘civic’ refers to citizens in civil society who together built a food network based on civil society governance mechanisms. In this way, it captures the new types of cooperation between citizen-producers and citizen-consumers.

For clarification, it is useful to place the concept CFN within the AFN literature. Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012) actually differentiate CFNs from the other AFNs based on their main governance, namely civil society governance mechanisms. Hence it is useful in my view to categorise AFNs according to their main governance mechanism in order to also grasp the other AFN types. This means that three distinctive types of AFNs can be distinguished according to the mechanisms used by different food governance actors (state, market and civil society – see also figure 2.1). The three AFN types I would propose here are CFNs, AFNs dominated by market governance mechanisms (AMFNs) and AFNs dominated by state governance mechanisms (ASFNs). *CFNs* then are AFNs dominated by civil society governance mechanisms (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012; Anderson et al., 2014), such as “cooperation, participatory democracy, solidarity, self-organisation, local control and autonomy” (Anderson et al., 2014, p.80). *AMFNs* are based on mechanisms such as price and labelling; this type has also been distinguished by Anderson et al. (2014). Examples of *AMFNs* are for instance farm shops, because here producer and consumer relationships are more based on price. The latter category of AFNs, *ASFNs* make use of state governance mechanisms. Public regulation is an often used state governance mechanisms for structuring collective action (Lamine et al., 2012a). An example of this is the All for Quality food programme in Rome (Municipality of Rome, n.d.). This programme was established in 2001 and aimed at school catering services. It states that all the school catering services in Rome should include a list of sustainability and quality criteria concerning the whole supply chain. Non-food should for example after use at least be separated for waste collection and many important kinds of food should be organically produced. Below an overview figure is provided of these different AFNs. However, regarding these three categories it still should be taken into account that it are all AFNs, because they all are characterised by a certain type of sustainability, which is not found in the industrial food system (Forsell and Lankoski, 2015). As can be seen in the figure, the boundaries are not fully, because some types of AFNs make use of a mix approach.

Figure 4.1 Overview of different types of AFNs



Thus, CFNs should be viewed as a particular type of AFNs. Below, a kind of summarising definition of CFNs is provided. This definition also shows clearly that the AFN characteristics in the cited definition of Feenstra (see section 4.1) also apply to CFN; but this summarising definition also shows that there are differences in governance mechanisms between CFNs and AFNs. Here follows the definition of CFNs as proposed by Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012, p.298):

“While CFNs present a considerable diversity, shared characteristics include: promoting (agro-)ecological production methods (though not necessarily with formal organic certification); favouring local and seasonal foods, thereby avoiding unnecessary ‘food miles’ and excessive energy consumption; offering fair remuneration to producers and other persons involved in different stages of the food system; and providing access to quality food for all income levels and not only for wealthy citizens. What is striking is the integrated nature of criteria applied, often combining ecological, social and other ethical concerns with food quality, as well as the fact that informal, flexible forms of coordination and control systems based on direct relations and mutual trust are preferred to formal arrangements.”

Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012) propose the following unique components of CFNs (see box 4.1). Firstly, CFNs go beyond the traditional production-consumption relationships and hence, express new forms of food citizenship. An example of this is urban community gardens. Participants in such gardens are both producer and consumer. Secondly, CFNs are characterised by new ways of cooperation between local actors with different motivation factors, such as practising food citizenship, their political view or their lifestyle (Bos and Owen, forthcoming). Thirdly, CFNs show how civil society can be an innovative way for food governance when looking at state and market food governance mechanisms. Fourthly, CFNs express the change from the traditional relation focused on production and the countryside to consumption and the city. Fifthly, CFNs are a place in which new ideas and practices are emerging, shared and discussed. Finally, CFNs often have links to other (new) social movements and conceptualisations, such as transition town movements and place-based development.

Box 4.1 Six proposed components of CFNs (adapted from Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012, pp.292-293)

-
- 1) New producer-consumer relationships
 - 2) New forms of cooperation between diverse actors beyond food production-distribution-consumption practices.
 - 3) Civil society as a food governance mechanism
 - 4) The focus of CFNs is on urban and consumption
 - 5) New ideas and practices, which are shared and discussed within the network.
 - 6) Linkages to new social movements and conceptual innovations.
-

4.4 Criticisms on the conceptualisation of civic food networks

The concept CFN has been adopted by several authors (e.g. Lamine et al., 2012b; Anderson, 2013; Anderson et al., 2014, D’Amico, 2015; Bos and Owen, forthcoming), who acknowledge the need for new conceptualisations to AFNs. Below, some criticisms on the conceptualisation of CFNs are discussed, partly based on the findings of these authors. Firstly, the conceptualisation of CFNs is too much focused on urban actors and citizen-consumers, while ignoring in a way the citizen-producer. Therefore, farmer-driven CFNs and CFNs emerging from rural areas are excluded, while these also still play an important role (Anderson, 2013; Anderson et al., 2014). Secondly, several case studies on CFNs found no evidence for the latter three characteristics as defined by Renting (Bos and Owen, forthcoming). However, other case studies did find evidence for two of these criticised characteristics, namely CFNs as an innovative network and linkages to social movements (Lamine et al., 2012b). Hence, more evidence for this is needed. Thirdly, it can be contested to which degree these CFNs are a new phenomenon. The first CSA was already set up in 1985 (Robyn van En Center, n.d.) and the first GAS appeared in 1994 (D’Amico, 2015). Finally, there is also further research required for the relation between food citizenship and motivating factors for

participation (Bos and Owen, forthcoming). This research especially contributes to this latter criticism by investigating how the objectives of CFNs are in line with food citizenship. In general, it is clear that further conceptualisation of CFNs is needed, since some elements are vague (e.g. 'new relationships', 'new forms of cooperation', etc.). It is needed to explore what then exactly is new. Therefore, this research investigates how CFNs particularly use food citizenship. This relationship is explored in more detail in the next chapter.

4.5 Concluding remarks

Concluding, CFNs are a particular type of AFNs. The term civic refers to citizens. By making use of the term citizens, both producers and consumers are captured. In this way, the concept CFN is also useful for new types of AFNs that are emerging recently. The six key components proposed by the developers of the concept CFN are: new producer-consumer relationships; new forms of cooperation between the actors; civil society as a food governance mechanism; more focused on the urban and consumption; new ideas and practices; linkages to new social movements and conceptual innovations. Practicing food citizenship is a central component of CFNs.

This chapter showed how CFN, as a concept, overcomes especially Tregear's criticism concerning the lack of a consumer view in the AFN literature, because it is also useful for AFNs which are for instance clearly initiated by consumers or AFNs in which consumers are also producers. The development of the concept CFN can also be considered as an attempt to further categorise the different types of AFNs. This chapter distinguished, based on their main governance mechanism, three types of AFNs: CFNs, AMFNs and ASFNs. However, although this categorisation is useful for a fuller understanding of AFNs, it still maintains the dualism between the conventional and the alternative food system to a certain degree.

Linking this chapter to the food paradigms, it appears that all three types of AFNs to a certain extent challenge the productionist paradigm and provide in a countermovement by addressing sustainability issues. Besides, all types of AFNs challenge to a certain degree the food control which dominates in the mainstream food system inspired by the productionist paradigm. This is especially the case for CFNs, for which practicing food citizenship is a central component as turned out in this chapter; while AMFNs and ASFNs are still quite hierarchical. For exploring how CFNs use food citizenship in order to support or promote a paradigm shift, it is first needed to explore the link between CFNs and food citizenship in more detail. The next chapter does so and it also operationalises both concepts for the case studies.

5. Linking food citizenship and civic food networks

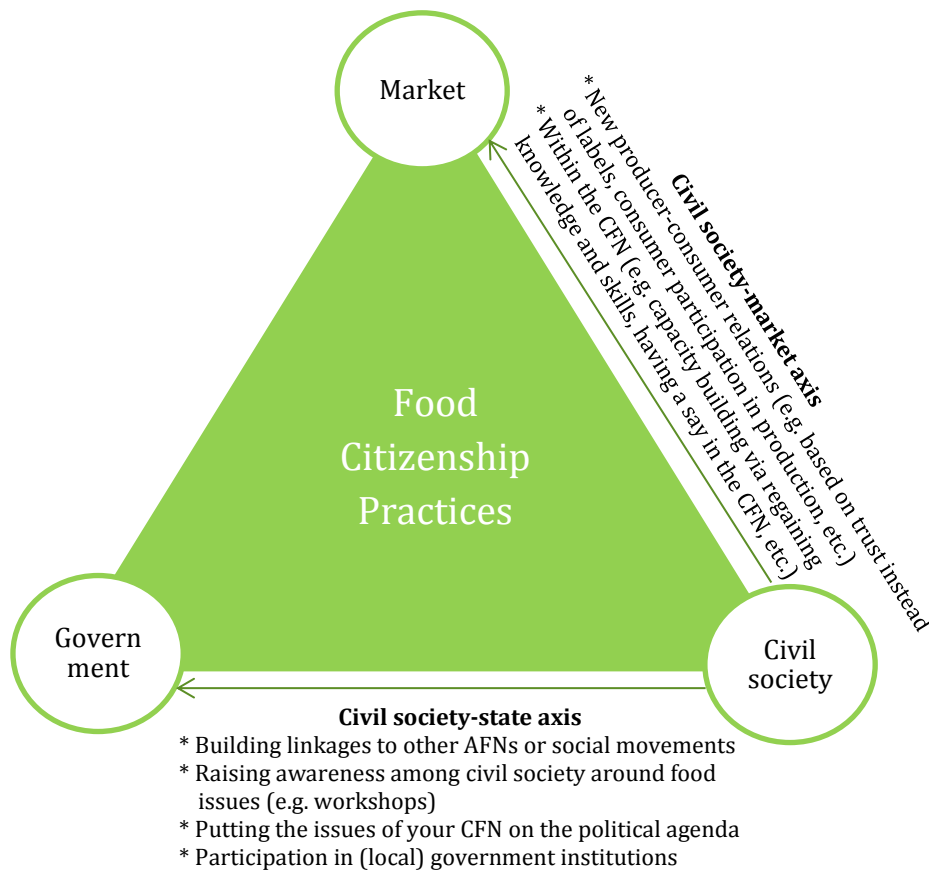
After having explored the concept CFN, it is possible to investigate the link between CFNs and food citizenship. In this chapter, this link is explored in theory and a framework is established for exploring this link in practice. Food citizenship can be practised in different ways. To recap from section 3.3, food citizenship in this research is defined as:

Food citizenship is the responsibility and right for all food actors (state, market and civil society) to participate in private and public food-related practices in order to support the development of a socially, economically and environmentally just and sustainable food system in a democratic way.

CFNs are a good example of how food citizenship can be practiced. They are an example of how civil society as a food actor makes use of their rights and takes up their responsibilities towards the food system and in doing so, some challenge the productionist paradigm. CFNs, as a particular type of AFNs, aim at least partly at ‘the development of socially, economically and environmentally just and sustainable food system’. When it comes to actual practices, CFNs also express how civil society ‘participates in private and public food-related practices’. Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012, p.300) categorise the variety of food citizenship practices in or by CFNs in two groups: “active involvement into (re-)constructing alternative systems of food provisioning” (referred to as the *civil society-market axis*) and “civic engagement into shaping public opinion, culture, institutions and policies by communication, lobbying and political activism” (referred to as the *civil society-state axis*). This is also illustrated by figure 5.1 below. The first category concerns building new linkages between civil society and the market. These new linkages are often less formal and not (only) based on economic exchanges, but it also includes other forms of exchanges. Producers and consumers, for instance, trust each other in that the food is produced organically, instead of that the food needs to be labelled. This can also entail that consumers (re)gain knowledge and skills about the food supply chain in the broadest sense of the word, which is contrasted to the dominant paradigm in which corporations only have the knowledge. The second category of practicing food citizenship is about establishing new linkages between civil society and state. This can be done by raising awareness among civil society about the general objectives of your CFN (e.g. by workshops), by building linkages to other CFNs or movements, by putting the issues of your CFN on the political agenda, and by participating in (local) government institutions or institutional arrangements (Hassanein, 2003; Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012). This is also the type of food citizenship put forward by Gómez-Benito and Lozano (2014), who argue that food citizenship also entails making the government aware of their interests and objectives in order to provoke government action. This, then, can lead to a food paradigm shift.

In my view, it would be better to distinguish also a third category of food citizenship practices, namely within civil society. Examples of this are increasing social cohesion, building linkages to other movements (Hassanein, 2003) and raising the awareness of civil society around food issues, for instance by workshops. Some of these practices are classified in the civil society-state axis by Renting, Schermer and Rossi (2012). However, in my opinion these food citizenship practices mainly take place within civil society and are often not aimed at reshaping the civil society-state axis. Despite this, the analysis in the next chapter sticks to the two first mentioned categories, because further exploration for the proposed third category is needed.

Figure 5.1 Food citizenship practices in CFNs (based on Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012, p.297; pp.299-303)



As can be seen in this figure, five of the six components of CFNs (see table 4.1 in section 4.3) come back, which means that food citizenship, at least in theory, is inherent to CFNs. Components of CFNs that are in itself food citizenship practices alongside the *civil society-market axis* are: new producer-consumer relationships (characteristic 1), new forms of cooperation between diverse actors (characteristic 2) and the focus on CFNs on urban and consumption (characteristic 4). Components of CFNs that are food citizenship practices alongside the *civil society-state axis* are: civil society as a governance mechanism (characteristic 3), sharing and discussing new ideas and practices (characteristic 5) and linkages to new social movements and conceptual innovations (characteristic 6). However, until now, this argumentation is only based on theory. This does not necessarily mean that this relationship between food citizenship at the different levels (civil society, market and the state) also exist in reality. Therefore, some case studies will be undertaken.

From this chapter, it has appeared that two types of food citizenship regarding CFNs can be distinguished: food practices that reshape the relationship to the market (referred to as *civil society-market axis*) and food practices that reshape the relationship to the state (referred to as *civil society-state axis*). This research also proposed a third category of food citizenship practices, namely within civil society. However, further research for investigating this is needed and hence, this category is not included in the case studies. This chapter also found that food citizenship practices are inherent to CFNs, since many of the key components are examples of food citizenship practices. Having explored the link between food citizenship and CFNs and studying this relation in depth, it is possible to apply this to some cases in order to look if this link also exists in reality. The next chapter first elaborates more on the methods used for the case studies and the ensuing chapter examines four cases by means of figure 5.1.

6. Methodology

This chapter discusses and justifies the different methods used in this qualitative research. Firstly, it discusses how the literature review of the preceding part has been conducted and why the way it is done is suitable for this research. Secondly, it discusses why the literature analysis is complemented by some case studies and how the cases are selected. Thirdly, it discusses how the data retrieved from the cases are analysed. As a way of summary, an overview figure shows the different methodological steps undertaken in this research.

Firstly, a theoretical and conceptual framework was constructed, based on the theory about food citizenship. Subsequently, a *literature review* was done in order to get an overview of the existing literature on the key concepts (food citizenship and CFNs). The aim of this literature review corresponds to the purpose of a *secondary study*: “summarising or synthesizing the current state of research on a specific topic” (Jalali and Wohlin, 2012, p.1). The objective of this literature review was to summarise the different view on food citizenship within CFNs. Conducting a secondary study requires a systematic literature review (Jalali and Wohlin, 2012). This can be done via database searches (i.e. the use of search strings); however this would have been too time-consuming given the huge amount of available literature. Therefore, this research mainly employed backward snowballing (i.e. searching for articles via the reference lists of articles found) and forward snowballing (i.e. searching for articles via looking at articles that cited the articles found). By using both backward and forward snowballing, it assures that most of the relevant literature is included (Webster and Watson, 2002). Since there are many different views on food citizenship, a summarising overview table of these views was provided (see table 3.1).

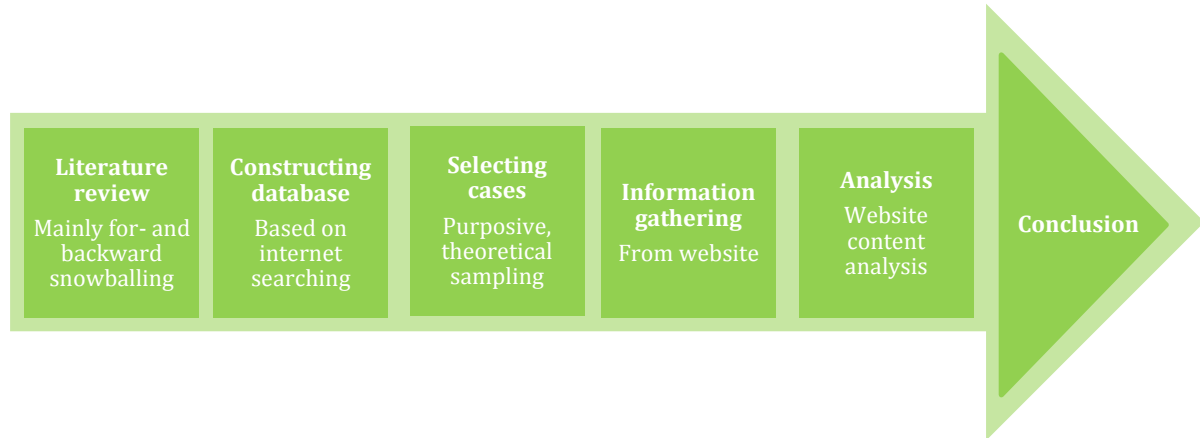
Secondly, some *case studies* were done in order to investigate to what food citizenship practices are used by CFNs. This results in method triangulation, which enhances the reliability and validity for qualitative research (Boeije, Hart and Hox, 2009). The cases were selected based on *purposive sampling*, which is characterised by a targeted selection of cases (here: CFNs) from a database based on certain characteristics (ibid.). For this aim, a database was constructed via internet searching on two types of CFNs: community gardens and CSAs (see appendix A). The strategy used to select CFNs from this was *theoretical sampling* in which CFNs are selected based on their potential to contribute to the research (ibid.). Therefore, the following selection criteria were adopted, which are based on the way Bos and Owen (forthcoming) selected CFNs for an analysis based on online information. Firstly, only Dutch CFNs are included, because there have been little case studies into such types of AFNs in the Netherlands and because of personal reasons (I am also Dutch). Community gardens are little investigated initiatives in the Netherlands (Veen, Derkzen and Wiskerke, 2012) and this research also found almost no evidence for studies investigating Dutch CSAs. Secondly, this research focuses on two types of CFNs, these are community gardens and CSAs. These two types are chosen, because they are clearly different than AMFNs and ASFNs and a list and map of both CFN types was found (Buurtmoestuin NL, n.d.; BD vereniging, 2014, p.21). There are quite some community gardens in the Netherlands. According to Buurtmoestuin NL (n.d.), a website about community gardens, there are at least 28 community gardens, but I expect that there are also many other examples which are not reported here or do not have a website. Regarding CSAs, there are almost 25 farms that work in a way that conforms to CSA principles (De Nieuwe Akker, 2015a). Thirdly, the case studies consisted out of a website content analysis and therefore, the website information should be regarded as significant for a meaningful analysis. In total, four cases were selected. The main characteristics of the selected cases are presented in a table. The main characteristic categories are derived from Lamine et al. (2012b).

Thirdly, the data was analysed by a *website content analysis*. This entails that the information about the cases is gathered from the website of the selected CFN. Content analysis is “a technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” (Holsti,

1969, cited in Jose and Lee, 2007). By this analysis, it was investigated to which the degree the different elements in the food citizenship definition come back (responsibility and right, practices, and justice and sustainability). The analysis especially focused on the different axes alongside food citizenship can be practised: the *civil society-market axis* and the *civil society-state axis*. This is in the definitions expressed by the 'practices' element. For this, figure 5.1 in chapter 5 was used as a starting point.

As a way of summary, an overview figure of the methods adopted in this study is provided below.

Figure 6.1 Research Methodology



7. Case studies

In this chapter, four cases are described and analysed in order to examine how food citizenship is used by CFNs. Two particular types of CFNs are chosen, these are community supported agriculture (CSA) and community gardens. CSA can be defined as a relationship in which “consumers are committed to sustaining farm activities, both financially and otherwise, e.g. by paying in advance, sharing production risks, and in some cases contributing to tasks on the farm or even becoming co-owner of the farmland and resources” (Renting, Schermer and Rossi, 2012, p.300). The two selected Dutch CSAs are: ‘De Nieuwe Ronde’ in Wageningen and ‘De Nieuwe Akker’ in Schalkhaar. Besides these two CSAs, also two community gardens are selected. Such a group of community gardens are distinctive from for instance allotment gardens, because people from different social networks are involved in gardening and together they have to decide on how to use the public ground (Kullberg, 2011, p.130). The two selected community gardens are ‘De Prinses op de Erwt’ in Diemen, and ‘De Buurt Klaver’ in Houten. Below, an overview table of the general case characteristics is provided. First, each case is discussed separately. This discussion pays attention to the general objective of this CFN to see how they characterise themselves and to the food citizenship practices within the CFN. For this latter purpose, figure 5.1 (see chapter 5) is used. These case descriptions are followed by a cross-case analysis in which attention is paid to the implication of the case interactions and the therefrom resulting challenges and opportunities. Finally, some attention is paid to the conceptualisation of CFNs in general.

Table 7.1 Case characteristics

Case	Short description	Date of emergence	Initiators	Number of participants	References
I	CSA ‘De Nieuwe Ronde’, Wageningen, The Netherlands	1998	Farmer initiator: Klaas Nijhof	At least 375	www.denieuweronde.nl
II	CSA De Nieuwe Akker, Schalkhaar, The Netherlands	2011	Farmer initiator: Jan-Jaap Scholten	Ca. 80	www.nieuweakker.nl
III	Community garden ‘De Prinses op de Erwt’, Diemen, The Netherlands	2011	Three residents of Diemen	20	www.buurtmoestuindiemen.blogspot.nl
IV	Community garden ‘De Buurt Klaver’, Houten, The Netherlands	2012	Several residents of Houten	Close to 30	www.debuurtklaver.nl

7.1 Case I: CSA De Nieuwe Ronde in Wageningen, The Netherlands

De Nieuwe Ronde is a CSA with the aim “to use the farmland in a socially, environmentally and economically sustainable manner” (Kop et al., 2008, p.32). All fruits, vegetables and herbs are grown organically and De Nieuwe Ronde aims at preserving biodiversity. For De Nieuwe Ronde, it is also important that people get a feeling of ‘gardening together’ and to fulfil consumers need to know what they eat and where their food comes from (De Nieuwe Ronde, 2010).

The rest of this section pays attention to the two forms of food citizenship practices, namely alongside the civil society-market axis and the civil society-state axis. There are several forms of food citizenship alongside the *civil society-market axis*, which reshape this axis. When you want to participate in the CSA, you have to become a member of the De Nieuwe Ronde association. There are different types of

membership, one on vegetables and herbs and one on flowers and herbs. Every year the members have to pay their contribution and this gives them permission to harvest during the harvest season. In this way, it is guaranteed that the gardeners get a sufficient annual salary. After each year, profits and earnings are calculated and based on this the general membership meeting decides on the amount of the contribution, which will never be lower than the agreed minimum wage. Also a certain amount of money is put aside for unexpected costs. In the annual report of 2014, the idea was also shared to make the land common property, instead of renting it via the gardeners, in order to make sure that De Nieuwe Ronde can continue after the retirement of one of the gardeners and to give him some money after retirement. However, there was insufficient support for this and the need for this also declined due to certain circumstances (De Nieuwe Ronde, 2010; De Nieuwe Ronde, 2015a). The operation of De Nieuwe Ronde itself is guided by certain rules for conduct and harvesting, which are characterised by principles of responsibility, trust and thinking of others. De Nieuwe Ronde is a CFN that guarantees transparency, participation and discussion space. Transparency and keeping people up to date and well-informed is guaranteed in several ways: via the website, monthly and quarterly newspapers, and the publication of the annual report including the bookkeeping. People can participate in decision-making via 'thinking afternoons', a special annual meeting for the members or just by a conversation; they can also participate in the maintenance of the field by joining the fixed mornings for working in the flower and herbs field and by joining the fixed weeding evening. Partly related to this is that members (re)gain knowledge and skills by harvesting and information provided by De Nieuwe Ronde. De Nieuwe Ronde provides information in the garden and on the website about themes such as how and when to harvest, biological food production and how to prepare the food (De Nieuwe Ronde, 2015b; De Nieuwe Ronde, 2015c; Kop et al., 2008; Wageningen UR, n.d.).

For food citizenship practices by De Nieuwe Ronde alongside the *civil society-state axis*, evidence was especially found for communicating with other CFNs and promoting their ideas towards civil society. Communication with other CFNs was for instance expressed via the participation in the yearly CSA day in which they also give workshops (De Nieuwe Ronde, 2011; BD vereniging, 2014). The awareness of civil society is raised in several ways: via open houses, stands on an annual street market and activities for children and the youth (to make them knowledgeable and enthusiastic). In 2014, publishing was at a low level, because they could not have more members with the given land (Kop et al., 2008; De Nieuwe Ronde, 2015a). It seems that there is almost no communication between for instance the municipality and De Nieuwe Ronde, besides some practicalities such as the request for a parking area and the request for building a barn for one of the farmers. Interestingly, the request for the barn started in 2013 and in the beginning of 2015 they still did not get permission for building the barn (De Nieuwe Ronde, 2010; De Nieuwe Ronde, 2015a).

7.2 Case II: CSA De Nieuwe Akker in Schalkhaar, The Netherlands

De Nieuwe Akker (De Nieuwe Akker, 2015c) is a CSA. Everyone can become a member by paying a yearly contribution. De Nieuwe Akker is based on the principles of trusting each other and taking care of people and the environment. The crops are also grown organically.

De Nieuwe Akker reshapes the *civil society-market axis* in several manners. You have to become a member in order to get permission to harvest from the garden. This means that the members are obliged to harvest every week to make sure that the gardener does not have left-overs and in this way, the members share the risks of a higher or a disappointing harvest. Because of the fact that consumers are also harvesting, they are no longer just a consumer, but become a participant. In this way, a new linkage is built (De Nieuwe Akker, 2015a). The operation of De Nieuwe Akker itself is characterised by transparency, space for sharing and discussing ideas and space for capacity building. During the special annual meeting for members, members can view detailed information about costs and revenues and they can discuss the

process during the harvest season (cultivation plan, harvesting, organised activities, gardening agreements, etc.). Members also gain new knowledge and skills. Via the weekly blogs, they learn how and when to harvest. If members want to, they can also sometimes assist the gardener. Every year, the gardener organises for instance an onion planting day (De Nieuwe Akker, 2015b; De Nieuwe Akker, 2015c; De Nieuwe Akker, 2015e).

For food citizenship practices alongside the *civil society-state axis*, only evidence was found regarding communication towards other CFNs and civil society as a whole. De Nieuwe Akker builds linkages to other CFNs, this is for example expressed by their participation in the yearly CSA day in which farmer initiator and gardener, Jan-Jaap Scholten, gives workshops (BD vereniging, 2014). Furthermore, De Nieuwe Akker promotes their ideas towards civil society as a whole via open houses, a harvest festival and stands on an annual street market (De Nieuwe Akker, 2015d; De Nieuwe Akker, 2015e).

7.3 Case III: Community Garden De Prinses op de Erwt in Diemen, The Netherlands

Community garden 'De Prinses op de Erwt' is the result of a local workgroup, consisting out of three residents of Diemen; this workgroup is part of the broader national organisation 'Instituut voor natuureductie en duurzaamheid' (translated in English: Institute for Nature Education and Sustainability). The central aim of De Prinses op de Erwt is to learn more about (sustainable and ecological) gardening by doing, together with a fixed group of neighbours. Besides, they also aim to have more contact with their neighbourhood (De Prinses op de Erwt, 2015a).

In De Prinses op de Erwt the traditional distinction between producers and consumers is clearly obsolete. Participants are involved in both producer and consumer activities and in this way new linkages are built alongside the *civil society-market axis*. The participants pay an annual contribution for the common costs and additionally, they have to be a member of the Institute for Nature Education and Sustainability. The operation of the CFN itself is guided by a code of conduct, gardening, organisation and financing. People have to respect each other and in the case of problems members should approach each other in a constructive way; members share the responsibility for the whole gardening (distribution the harvest honestly, show commitment, neat working environment, etc.); shared decision-making; working according to organic rules. There is no hierarchy in the organisation. All decisions are taken together, although minor decisions can be taken at own initiative. A fixed morning for chores is planned on every second Saturday of the month a fixed morning. Each year, there are several meetings which are arranged when necessary. One person is responsible for the cash and informs the participants about the financial status of De Prinses op de Erwt every month. Participants also keep each other informed by a diary and possible blogs (De Prinses op de Erwt, 2011).

De Prinses op de Erwt also establishes new linkages alongside the *civil society-state axis*. Via blogs, De Prinses op de Erwt has contact with other local AFN initiatives and they are connected to the national Institute for nature education and sustainability. Besides, De Prinses op de Erwt is linked to Transition Town Diemen, an international social movement. The Transition Town movement is a grassroots organisation which has the goal to make local communities resilient by making use of their own resources in order to be prepared for a future with less fossil fuels and climate problems. By participating in the Transition Town movement, they automatically also communicate their ideas outwardly to at least other residents in Diemen. Other ways in which De Prinses op de Erwt promotes their ideas towards civil society is via their blog, one annual open house and one annual open harvest festival (De Prinses op de Erwt, 2011; De Prinses op de Erwt, 2015a, Transition Towns, 2015). Next to this, De Prinses op de Erwt has some linkages with the municipality of the city. The municipality of Diemen supports this CFN initiative by making the ground, as owner, for free use available to De Prinses op de Erwt (De Prinses op de Erwt, 2015a).

7.4 Case IV: Community Garden De Buurtklaver in Houten, The Netherlands

De Buurtklaver, a community garden, in Houten has as general purpose “to garden fruits and vegetables in a relax way together with a fixed group of neighbourhood residents and by doing this, to learn about sustainable gardening for home consumption” (own translation from De Buurtklaver, 2015c). Specific objectives of De Buurtklaver are: meeting new people and building new relations within the neighbourhood, learning more about the origin of food and gardening in general and from different cultural backgrounds, developing organisational and gardening skills, saving money, enjoy gardening and the food as a result (De Buurtklaver, 2015a; De Buurtklaver, 2015b).

Regarding food citizenship practices alongside the *civil society-market axis*, these clearly differ from the conventional food system. All members are together responsible for the garden, although there is one coordinator for the everyday matters. The association is divided in six teams, each responsible for a specific aspect of the organisation. These teams are the construction team, the activities team, the ‘rules of the game’ team, the website and communication team, the garden team, and the financing team. The construction team carries out construction projects, such as paving. Other people participate in the activities team, which organises all kind of activities: educational activities (e.g. evenings on permaculture) and parties for the members and their children, but also open houses. The ‘rules of the game’ group is involved in issues around the rules for cooperation and the cooperation itself between the different members. The website and communication team is responsible for the mostly weekly newsletters and keeps the website up-to-date. All members is asked to try to be informed about the gardening. The garden team is responsible for a cultivation plan in which time and planting instruction are elaborated. The crops that will be grown are decided after consultation with the members. The information is communicated via the website, boards in the garden and the annual membership meeting. All members can participate in gardening on four so-called gardening days and the monthly Saturday morning for bigger projects. The final team, the finance team, is non-active, because the treasurer and the coordinator jointly regulate issues surrounding the cash. The teams come together during the biannual membership meeting in which is among others discussed what kind of crops will be cultivated the coming season, the level of contribution and policy matters. However, other ideas or problems can also be discussed during meetings of the teams or on the monthly Saturday morning for the bigger projects. Next to all this new producer-consumer relations, the private sector is also involved in a new way. Rabobank, a Dutch banking, is one of the sponsors of De Buurtklaver (De Buurtklaver, 2015b; De Buurtklaver, 2015c).

The *civil society-state axis* is reshaped by De Buurtklaver in several ways. They participate for instance in several social movements, especially interesting is their participation in the international Transition Town movement. By participating in the Transition Town movement, they automatically also communicate their ideas outwardly to at least other residents in Houten (De Buurtklaver, 2015b; Transition Towns, 2015). Other ways in which De Buurtklaver communicates their ideas outwardly are by organising open houses. Furthermore, the local municipality was involved in De Buurtklaver (2015a) by making available a piece of land.

7.5 Cross-case analysis

In this section, it is explored to which degree different types of food citizenship practices are found in the selected CFNs. These elements are, to recap, responsibility and right, food-related practices and a more just and sustainable system.

All cases do share general AFN characteristics, namely supporting a more *just and sustainable* food systems. This is also incorporated in their main aim besides the fact that all also aim at establishing more relationships within the neighbourhood. This sustainability aspect is not only part of the CFN definition,

but also of food citizenship. In the case of food citizenship, this also includes the *responsibility* aspect for doing so. However, none of them directly refer to this responsibility for supporting a more just and sustainable food system. Besides, none of the cases refer to the *right* aspect.

From the cases, it appears that the CSAs and community gardens are in themselves quite comparable, while there are differences between them. The following paragraphs first discuss the food citizenship practices alongside the civil society-market axis and secondly, the food citizenship practices alongside the civil society-state axis. Regarding the food citizenship practices alongside the *civil society-market axis*, these clearly differ from the conventional food system and ASFNs and AMFNs. In the case of the CSAs, it is new that consumers participate in the production chain especially by harvesting activities. In this way, consumers share the production risk, such as a bad harvest. In the case of the community gardens, it even goes further, because the producer-consumer distinction becomes totally obsolete. Thus, in both cases it is needed to speak about participants or citizens, because the terms producer and consumer are no longer adequate. All cases have made a list of conduct rules together with its members, which can be adjusted when members want to. Additionally, in all four cases the level of transparency is very high. During the membership meetings and via the website, the participants at least get once a year insight in the bookkeeping. Furthermore, relearning and reskilling takes place via weblogs, boards in the gardens, special meeting and participation in production activities. In general, in all selected CFNs it is assured that people have opportunities to participate in different ways and to become knowledgeable.

When looking at the *civil society-state axis*, the differences between both types of selected CFNs are larger. The CSA cases only have connection with other similar types of CFNs, while the community gardens have in addition contact with other types of CFNs and social movements. Both community gardens participate in the local Transition Town movement and in some other movements. Thereby, their ideas are more communicated toward civil society in general, while the CSA cases only communicated their ideas outwardly via open houses and harvesting festivals. However, there are also some similarities between the two types of CFNs. All cases, for instance, experiment with new ways of production, such as permaculture. It also appeared that none of the selected CFNs is directly involved in local or national government activities or puts their issues on the political agenda, although the community gardens are supported by the local municipality, who makes the ground for free available to them. The fact that little evidence was found for food citizenship practices towards the state, suggests that people do not necessarily engage in CFNs for individual political motivations or collective political identities. This is for instance also found by a research about motivation factors for participating in community gardens by Veen, Derkzen and Wiskerke (2012). However, this cannot automatically be concluded for the four cases here based on this website content analysis; to explore this, ethnographic research is needed.

Concluding, the *civil society-market axis* is reshaped via new producer-consumer relationships, transparency, relearning and reskilling and keeping people up-to-date and the *civil society-state axis* is reformed by communicating the ideas outwardly to civil society. The question then becomes what the challenges, but also the opportunities are for practising food citizenship within CFNs. The first challenge is related to how the interactions in theory are shaped in practice. This is something that cannot be investigated by a website content analysis, but Anderson et al. (2014, p.92) found that “civic governance mechanisms that define CFNs, such as participation and cooperation, are arguably as, or perhaps even more, likely to lead to tension and conflict as the individualistic, hierarchical, and alienating relations of the conventional food system or in alternative food networks dominated by market governance mechanisms”. All of the selected cases drafted a set of rules of conduct, which is open to negotiation. Setting up such a code can be an opportunity to overcome the higher risk for tension and conflict. However, the numbers of members is quite high for the CSA cases (i.e. around 80 for the De Nieuwe Akker and at least 375 for De Nieuwe Ronde). Regarding one of the CSAs, namely de Nieuwe Ronde, it is known that it was established after earlier disagreement about the strategy of the CSA (Kloen, 2007). Hence, a search for effective governance mechanisms is needed. The second challenge for the CFNs is how they can practise food citizenship towards the state, because it is questionable to which degree CFNs can provoke a

paradigm shift when they only focus on promoting their ideas to civil society. When these food citizenship practices just stay at the community level, this can influence the state and the industry. When the state and the industry see these niche practices, they probably react on this by providing further space for practising food citizenship. This for instance already has happened to a certain degree regarding organic products. When supermarkets realised that consumers demand organic products and that these products are profitable, they started to produce them (Johnston, Biro and MacKendrick, 2009). The fact that these food citizenship practices towards the state are limited also forms an opportunity for further practising food citizenship in order to increase their effect. A first step to re-establish the link to the state is by putting the issues of their CFNs on the political agenda. Another idea is to show the effects of their CFN initiative.

Finally, this research also aims at contributing to a further conceptualisation of CFNs in itself; with regard to this, it appears that the urban focus does not apply in general to Dutch CFNs. Dutch community gardens are indeed almost all urban, but CSAs are still especially found in the countryside and regarding the selected cases, farmer initiated (see also Appendix A). Since the link between food citizenship and CFNs is explored by some case studies, it is now possible to conclude how food citizenship is supported by CFNs in its promotion of a paradigm shift. This will be discussed in the next chapter, the conclusion.

8. Conclusion and discussion

This research has explored how food citizenship is used by CFNs in supporting or promoting a paradigm shift from the productionist paradigm to the ecologically integrated paradigm as the dominant one. In this chapter all information, both of the literature review as the case studies, is brought together with the aim to answer the main research question: *“How do civic food networks use food citizenship in supporting or promoting paradigm shifts?”*. The chapter first answers the different sub-questions. Thereafter, the main question is answered. These final conclusions are followed by a critical reflection of the methods adopted in this study and partly based on this, some recommendations for further research are provided.

8.1 Final conclusions

The first sub-question was related to the different food paradigms and was as follows: *“What are the current food paradigms and why are they useful to understand how civic food networks use food citizenship?”*. Three food paradigms were distinguished: the productionist food paradigm, the life sciences integrated paradigm and the ecologically integrated paradigm. The productionist food paradigm is characterised by increasing productivity, modernisation, monoculture, the centrality of technologies, and food control. This paradigm is reflected in the industrial food system. The productionist paradigm especially fails with regard to sustainability, because it has many damaging environmental consequences and health plays a subordinated role. Acknowledging that the productionist paradigm will not disappear but re-embedded, the ecologically integrated paradigm forms a countermovement to the productionist one. For understanding a shift from the productionist paradigm as the dominant one to the ecologically integrated paradigm, it is needed to focus on all food governance actors (state, market and civil society). Other researchers already have investigated this from a state perspective, by investigating the relationship between public food policy and the paradigms. In this research, this gap in the literature is further filled by investigating such a paradigm shift from a civil society perspective. These food paradigms are especially useful for understanding how CFNs use food citizenship. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, CFNs and their food citizenship practices are informed by the ecologically integrated paradigm. Secondly, CFNs form in this way a counter movement to the productionist paradigm. Thirdly, until now the relationship between CFNs and food citizenship has not been approached from a shifting food paradigm perspective.

In order to explore the concept food citizenship, a literature review was conducted. The aim of this review was to answer the second sub-question: *“What is food citizenship and how does food citizenship differ from food democracy, food justice and food sovereignty?”*. Based on the literature review, the following definition of food citizenship was proposed:

Food citizenship is the responsibility and right for all food actors (state, market and civil society) to participate in private and public food-related practices in order to support the development of a socially, economically and environmentally just and sustainable food system in a democratic way.

From the review, it also turned out that the concepts food citizenship and food democracy are often used interchangeably, while they in essence differ concerning the actual content of the concepts. Food citizenship is more encompassing than food democracy, because it also entails responsibilities and other rights than just the right to participate. Hence, food citizenship can also be called democratic food citizenship. Furthermore, food citizenship also has added value compared to other food governance concepts as food justice and food sovereignty, which are by some authors also viewed as similar to food citizenship. Food justice does not include the participation element and food sovereignty is strongly

focused on farmer producers, rights and the grassroots level. Therefore, food citizenship is also more encompassing and more useful when compared to these concepts, because both rights and responsibilities are clearly included. The above proposed definition of food citizenship helps to address the need for conceptual clarity, because using concepts with a different meaning interchangeably creates confusion which reduces the practical usefulness of the concept.

The third sub-question was “*What are CFNs?*”. Regarding the development of AFNs, it was found that actually three types of AFNs can be distinguished based on the main governance mechanisms: ASFNs (e.g. school food provisioning program), AMFNs (e.g. farm shop) and CFNs (e.g. CSAs and community gardens). Thus, CFNs are a particular type of AFNs. The concept CFN was developed as reaction to Tregear’s criticisms, especially to the criticism concerning the lack of a consumer view in the AFN literature. CFN, as a concept, overcomes this criticisms because it is also useful for AFNs that are, for instance, clearly consumer initiated or for AFNs in which consumers are also producers. The term civic refers to citizens. By making use of this term, both producers and consumers are captured. Hence, the concept CFN is also useful for newly emerging types of AFNs. Six key components of CFNs are proposed by the developers of the concept. These are new producer-consumer relationships; new forms of cooperation between the actors; civil society as a food governance mechanism; more focused on the urban and consumption; new ideas and practices; linkages to new social movements and conceptual innovations. Practicing food citizenship is a central component of CFNs, because it is interwoven with most of the aforementioned proposed components.

Fourthly, attention was paid to the sub-question: “*What are the linkages between food citizenship and CFNs?*”. This research focused on food citizenship practices in CFNs, which were theoretically inherent to CFNs. There are two different forms of food citizenship practices by CFNs: towards the market and towards the state. Food citizenship practices towards the market are new producer-consumers relationships, and relearning and reskilling. This form of food citizenship practices in CFNs was supported by evidence from the case studies. The other form of food citizenship practices is more oriented towards the public and the state. This entails among others making connections with other CFNs or AFNs or to social movements, communicating their ideas outwardly to civil society in general, putting issues on the political agenda, and participating in government institutions. In addition, this research also proposed a third category of food citizenship practices, namely within civil society; since some food citizenship practices do not necessarily reshape the linkages between civil society and the market or civil society and the state. This proposed category first needs further research and therefore it was not used for the case studies.

The fifth and final sub-question was as follows: “*What food citizenship practices are used by CFNs?*”. All cases refer in their objectives to contribute to a more just and sustainable food system; though, they do not directly refer to the responsibility or the right for doing so, which are also elements of food citizenship. Regarding the two categories of food citizenship practices, towards the market and towards the state, especially evidence was found for the first mentioned category. The food citizenship practices of CFNs reshaped the linkages between civil society and the market via new producer-consumer relationships, transparency, relearning and reskilling and keeping people up-to-date. For the latter category less evidence was found. The food citizenship practices mainly stay to the community level. All cases have connections with similar types of CFNs and communicate their ideas outwardly via open houses and harvesting festivals. Besides, they both develop new knowledge. Additionally, only the community gardens are connected to some social movements; in this way, their ideas are also further communicated outwardly. However, none of the selected CFNs is directly involved in local or national government activities or puts their issues on the political agenda; though, the community gardens are supported by the local municipality, who makes the ground for free available to them. Regarding the initial proposed characteristics for CFNs by the developers of the CFN concept, it turned out that CFNs are not necessarily urban focused as was also criticised by other authors. This differed per type of CFN. Briefly stated, most food citizenship practices mainly stay at or close to the community level.

After answering the sub-questions, it is possible to answer the main question: “*How do civic food networks use food citizenship in supporting or promoting paradigm shifts?*”. Food citizenship practices are inherent to CFNs, because these networks at least anyways directly reshape the civil society-market at the community level. This is done by establishing new producer-consumer relations that are not (only) based on economic exchanges and by relearning and reskilling. This already indirectly contributes to a paradigm shift, because the other food actors (civil society, the state and the industry) see the food citizenship practices of these CFNs and this can provoke reactions from their side. From the cases, it appeared that the selected CFNs particularly practice food citizenship at the community level and do not actively use it in order to promote paradigm shifts. Both selected CFN types did not have further connections to the market. They also did not have direct relationships with the state, except that the municipalities support the community gardens by making the ground for free available to them. Only some evidence was found for food citizenship practices reshaping the civil society-state linkages, this mainly concerned civil society in general and connections to other social movements. All cases did some efforts to promote their ideas outwardly via stands on street markets, open houses and harvesting festivals. The community gardens did go a step further, by also making connections to social movements among others the Transition Town movement. However, this Transition Town movement also mainly stays at the community level; hence, the community gardens do also not indirectly really provoke a paradigm shift in this way. Briefly stated, these food citizenship practices all stay close to the community level. This suggests that the participants did not necessarily engage in CFNs for political motivations, but more for personal motivations.

Nevertheless, CFNs can still provoke a paradigm shift by their support for a more just and sustainable food system and their food citizenship practices; albeit their food citizenship practices may stay at the community level. When other food governance actors see these niche practices, they may react on this. This already happens regarding the demand for organic products. Companies have noticed that organic products are profitable and started to produce them. The same can happen regarding to food citizenship practices. When the state and the market see these food citizenship practices within CFNs, this can also leads to responses from their side. When they also start to provide space for food citizenship, they enable civil society to exert their interests. These interests are contradicting in different ways to the productionist paradigm, which dominates in public policy and the industrial food system. In this way, the food citizenship practices of CFNs can provoke a paradigm shift from the productionist paradigm as the dominant one to the ecologically integrated paradigm as the dominant one. To put it briefly, food citizenship is not used by CFNs to actively promote a paradigm shift, while these CFN food citizenship practices do support a paradigm shift; hence, they have the potential to provoke a paradigm shift, because the food citizenship practices of CFNs can provoke a reaction of the other food actors.

8.2 Research reflections and recommendations

In this section, the results are discussed; linked to this, some recommendations for further research are put forward.

The *internal validity* of the website content analysis is quite high, because all of the websites did contain a lot of information. This was also set as a precondition in order to make sure that the internal validity of this aspect is guaranteed. However, one important limitation of this research is that the case studies are only based on website information, but which could not be otherwise in the given amount of time available for this study. Supporting and comparing this data with ethnographic methods could have provided other and new insights. The way in which CFNs represent themselves on their website does not necessarily conform to reality. Anderson et al. (2014) for example show how there were tensions and conflict within a CFN. Therefore, it is recommended to further investigate food citizenship practices in reality by ethnographic studies. Ethnographic studies are useful for exploring how food citizenship practices are shaped in reality, since they provide in a more realistic picture of reality (Madden, 2010).

Another limitation of this research is related to its final conclusion that CFNs can provoke a paradigm shift by their food citizenship practices. This has not been investigated by this research, because it was outside the scope of this study. However, it is interesting and recommended to investigate how the other food governance actors, especially the state and the market, react on the food citizenship practices of CFNs.

The *external validity* is high concerning community gardens, because certain types of food citizenship are inherent to this type of CFNs. For CSAs this would be more difficult because there are different types of CSAs. In the CSA cases discussed in this research, consumers participation in the harvesting process, while there are also other types of CSAs. It really differs what is considered as a CSAs, but some would certain box schemes also consider as CSAs in which the farmer puts all the fruits and vegs in a box which can be collected by the consumer (although the consumer still pays an annual contribution and shares the risks). It would also be interesting to investigate to which degree food citizenship is part of AMFNs and ASFNs.

Generalising the results beyond the Netherlands would be too far reaching, since in other countries also other interpretations are given to CSAs and community gardens. Therefore, further research is needed to investigate CFNs in other countries. Since there already have been a lot of studies on AFNs, there are certainly also CFNs examined although not under the heading of CFN. These studies possibly are useful for exploring certain dimensions of food citizenship.

Another recommendation for further research is to investigate too which degree the concept food citizenship is used in practice. An initial Google search found that food democracy is not commonly used. An exception is the Food Democracy Now movement (Food Democracy Now, 2015), however this movement especially applies democracy to American family farmers. Food citizenship is more used in public, for instance by the Toronto Food Policy Council (Welsh and MacRae, 1998). Furthermore, it is also recommended to investigate other food citizenship practices than the ones via CFNs, think of more individual practices and for instance social movements. The last recommendation, but still a very important one, is to investigate to which degree CFNs in particular and AFNs in general not only provide space for food democracy but also especially for their potential to feed 9.6 billion people by 2050.

9. Personal reflections

In ethnographic research, reflexivity is seen as an important part of the validity of the research. Reflexivity concerns the feelings of the researcher and his experience in relation to the research topic (Madden, 2010). Although I, unfortunately, could not conduct an ethnographic study, reflexivity also plays an important role in this research. Below, I reflect on my own role as a researcher. I first reflect on the writing process of the research proposal, the literature review and the case studies. These reflections are important for the validity of this research, because of the influence of reflexivity on the research.

Writing the *proposal* was helpful to get grip on what I actually want to investigate. The writing process of the proposal was also very decisive for the way in which the topics were approached. I for example articulated my vision on the food paradigms, although well underpinned. Because of the fact that I already had collected a lot of articles when deciding on the research topic, this went quite successful. Though, in retrospect, the research question has been adapted several times. The first adaptation especially can be considered as a great change, because the question changed from a more practical to a more theoretical question. Thereafter, only minor changes were made. The writing of a clear proposal was useful for the writing process of especially the literature review part. At times that I felt stuck, it was helpful to read again the introduction.

After writing the proposal, the *literature review* started. I first started with exploring the concepts food citizenship and democracy, and the concepts AFN and CFN. At a given moment, I felt a bit stuck. At that time, I started to write the theoretical framework. Writing this framework went quite fast, because I began to see more clearly how I could clearly link the concepts to each other. Next time, I would first write the theoretical framework, because it is the lens through which you analyse the other concepts and it helps you in understanding the link between different concepts.

Before it was possible to start with the case studies, I had to write the *methodology* chapter. For my proposal, I already had explored and explained why and which type of a literature review was useful for this research. However, this was not the case for the case studies methods. Deciding on the selection and analysing methods for my cases studies was hard. I found it difficult to decide whether the methods I adopted were good methods and if they were well underpinned. I felt insecure about it and because the time was pressing for the deadline, I asked my supervisor. Because of the fact that I already decided to do some case studies after the discussion of the proposal, it would have been better to work earlier on this part of the thesis. This is something that I would change next time, because, for me, it will reduce some stress, because now it was namely constantly in my mind that I still had to do this.

Doing the *case studies* went quite easy, because I used figure 5.1 as a guiding figure. Conducting case studies is not only gathering data. These data also have to be *analysed*, although this process in fact already started during gathering the data itself by the use of figure 5.1. It felt like a breath of fresh air to actually *do* something, although it was still via an online scope. What I found very unfortunate was that I did not have the time to do an ethnographic study.

Overall, what especially contributed to my experience as a researcher was the systematic literature review. Of course, during my Bachelor's study I have read thousands of articles and I also often had to search for articles, but I never have done a full systematic literature review. Doing a systematic literature review is useful, because you learn to distinguish different stands in the literature and you also become conscious about the effects of this. From the whole research process, I also have some general issues that I will change next time. Firstly, when I feel stuck, it is more useful to take a short break, travel to home or just sleep a night, than just sit behind your laptop. Secondly, I should earlier decide to delete something, because I can always retrieve it from one of the fifty-two back-ups that I saved in Dropbox during the whole research process.

The most valuable part of my research was the time that I started to realise that I really have developed my research skills during my Bachelor's study and that I learned how much I actually like writing itself.

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Appendix A – Dutch CFN database

Below is a list of community gardens and CSAs in the Netherlands. This list contains only a portion of these CFN types in the Netherlands.

List of community gardens in the Netherlands

Table A.1 List of community gardens in the Netherlands (based on Buurtmoestuin NL, n.d.; Internet searching) ²

No	Name	Website
1	Buurtmoestuin Hof van Reseda, Groningen	http://hofvanreseda.nl
2	Permacultuur aan de Haarlebrink, Enschede	
3	Buurtmoestuin De Spil, Tilburg	
4	De Crabbehof in Dordrecht	
5	Buurtmoestuin Kralingen, Rotterdam	
6	NewtonTuin, Den Haag	
7	De Miefabriek en Tram 11 (Buurtguerilla-gardening), Den Haag	
8	De Bikkerhof, Utrecht	
9	De Wilgenhof Utrecht	
10	Buurtmoestuin Bergwegplantsoen Rotterdam	
11	Middenmoes, Heerhugowaard	http://middenmoes.nl
12	De Parels van Gaasperdam, Amsterdam	
13	Kruidentuin van Tuyllplein, Amsterdam	http://kruidentuin-van-tuyll.jimdo.com/spelregels/
14	Buurtmoestuin Rijsburgstraat, Amsterdam	
15	De Prinses op de Erwt, Diemen	http://buurtmoestuindiemen.blogspot.nl/
16	Moestuingroep Riemerswaal, Amsterdam	
17	Buurtmoestuin De Banne, Amsterdam	
18	Buurtmoestuin wijsgerenbuurt, Amsterdam	
19	Turgelaweg 85, Amsterdam	
20	Postzegelpark Indische Buurt, Amsterdam	
21	Buurtnutstuin in Amsterdam Zuid-Oost	
22	Buurtmoestuin De Trompenburg, Amsterdam	
23	Binnenmoestuin Buurtcentrum De Pijp, Amsterdam	
24	Buurtmoestuin Transvaal, Amsterdam	
25	Beheersvereniging Nutstuinen GWL-terrein	
26	De Smultuin Moestuin bij de Stadshoeve, Zunderdorp	
27	The Cook, the Farmer, his Wife and their Neighbor, Amsterdam	http://kkvb-cfwn.blogspot.nl/
28	Buurtmoestuin, Houten	http://debuurtklaver.nl/het-moestuin-begint/wie-zijn-wij/spelregels/
29	Buurtmoestuin 't Fliedthofke, Leeuwarden	http://eetbaarleeuwarden.nl/locaties/lopende-initiatieven/buurttuin-t-fliedthofke/
30	Buurttuin BergbOss, Oss	http://bergboss.nl/
31	Buurttuin Oosterpoort, Groningen	
32	Buurttuinen Transvaal, Den Haag	https://buurttuinentransvaal.wordpress.com/
33	Buurttuin Wittevrouwenveld, Maastricht	http://www.groen-maastricht.com/initiatieven/buurttuinwvv.html
34	De Wilgenhof, Utrecht	http://www.wilgenhofutrecht.nl/

Green marked=used as case study

² When no website is filled in behind the community garden, this does not mean that the community garden does not have a website.

List of CSAs in the Netherlands

Table A.2 List of CSAs in the Netherlands (based on BD vereniging, 2014; Internet searching)³

No	Title	Website
1	De Kraanvogel, Esbeek	
2	De Vrije Akker, Melderslo	http://devrijeakker.nl
3	De Nieuwe Ronde, Wageningen	http://denieuweronde.nl
4	De Nieuwe Akker, Haarlem	http://denieuweakker.nl
5	De Nieuwe Akker, Schalkhaar	http://nieuweakker.nl
6	De Oosterwaarde, Diepenveen	http://oosterwaarde.nl
7	De Amelis Hof, Bunnik	http://amelishof.nl
8	Tuinderij de Volle Grond, Bunnik	http://tuinderijdevollegrond.nl
9	Bioakker, Zutphen	http://bioakker.nl
10	Boerderij Buitenverwachting, Hoogmade	http://boerderijbuitenverwachting.nl
11	Asum, Techum	http://asumstadstuin.nl
12	In het Volle Leven, Vortum-Mullem	http://inhetvolleleven.nl
13	Boer Koekoek, Nijmegen	http://boerkoekoek.nl
14	Hof van Twello, Twello	http://hofvantwello.nl
15	Tuindertij 't Wild, Rosmalen	
16	De Groote Ark, Oudeschip (GR)	
17	Warmoezerij de Buitenplaats, Almere	
18	Buiten Leeft, Delft	http://buitenleeft.nl
19	<i>Nieuwe Bureveld, De Bilt</i>	
20	<i>De Noordkaap, Groningen</i>	
21	<i>De Stadsakker, Groningen</i>	

Green marked=used as case study; *printed in italics*: planned initiatives.

³ When no website is filled in behind the CSA, this does not mean that the CSA does not have a website.

