

FROM FIELD TO FORK: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF LOCAL FOOD CONSUMERS'
ATTITUDES ABOUT MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE PROGRAMS AND
FOOD COOPERATIVES IN SOUTHERN MICHIGAN AND ASSESSMENTS OF EATING WILD GAME
MEAT AND HUNTING AS A MECHANISM FOR SUSTAINABLE EATING

By

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ABSTRACT

FROM FIELD TO FORK: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF LOCAL FOOD CONSUMERS' ATTITUDES ABOUT MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE PROGRAMS AND FOOD COOPERATIVES IN SOUTHERN MICHIGAN AND ASSESSMENTS OF EATING WILD GAME MEAT AND HUNTING AS A MECHANISM FOR SUSTAINABLE EATING

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As hunting participation declines, wildlife agencies and conservation advocates recognize that to continue to fund conservation efforts through license and equipment sales, they must approach new, nontraditional demographics. Through 21 in-depth interviews with community supported agriculture (CSA) program members and food cooperative (co-op) members in southern Michigan, this research seeks to understand whether local food consumers may be a new demographic to consider. Four objectives for this work include: identify concepts in the way interviewees 1) describe membership in food co-ops and CSAs; 2) define characteristics important in food; 3) describe eating wild game meat; and 4) communicate views about hunting. Findings indicate interviewees are drawn to membership due to their personal ethics and interests, value convenient access to the type of foods they desire (healthy, chemical free, ethically produced). Interviewees are concerned about the safety of eating wild game but value the personal connection to food it provides and present both situations in which they approve and disapprove of hunting. Findings suggest managers consider engaging CSA/co-op members as hunters and/or hunting supporters. Messages should address how hunters use harvested meat, health aspects of eating wild protein, impact on wildlife populations, standards of hunter conduct/moral judgments, and emphasize hunting as a connection to people, the land, and the food we eat.

To my family, who introduced and encouraged my enthusiasm for the natural world. To those who nurture a love and appreciation of natural resources in future generations!

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CHAPTER 1: THE RISE OF THE LOCAL FOOD MOVEMENT AND TWO KEY LOCAL FOOD PURVEYORS: FOOD COOPERATIVES (FOOD CO-OPS) AND COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE PROGRAMS (CSAS)

1.1 INTRODUCTION

1.1.1. *The Growth of the Local Food Movement: Challenges with Industrial Agriculture*

The local food movement in the United States grew alongside the environmental movement in the late 1970s as the environmental movement drew a critical eye to the negative environmental impacts of agricultural pesticides and encouraged consumers to think about the impact of food production practices (Feenstra, 1997; Ikerd, 2011). Rachel Carson's (1962) seminal work, *Silent Spring*, was one of the first to directly connect pesticide pollution to the decreased reproductive success and subsequent mortality of bird species, notably through bioaccumulation of pesticides in organismal food chains (Adeola, 2004). Though her work focused on environmental impacts of agrochemicals, public attention was raised about the impact of agrochemicals on human health and the local food movement grew as a way to mitigate the perceived environmental and human health dangers of industrial agriculture (Ikerd, 2011; Knupfer, 2013).

The dominant agricultural production system in the United States, also referred to as "conventional agriculture" or "industrial agriculture" is typified by large-scale, mechanized, industrialized processes (Fitzgerald, 2003; McIlvaine-Newsad, Merrett, Maakestad, & McLaughlin, 2008; Woodhouse, 2010). Lyson (2005) describes the "primary objective" of conventional agriculture as wanting to produce the greatest amount of food for the smallest cost to the producers, a goal which is "anchored to a scientific paradigm that is rooted in

experimental biology... an approach to farming that focuses on enhancing ‘favorable traits’ of crop varieties and animal species” (p.93). Fitzgerald (2003) writes about the aftermath of the farm crisis of the 1920s and its resulting increased interest in the “modernization” of farming and an emulation of the economic models of factories (p.22). Qualities of successful factories included “large-scale production, specialized machines, standardization of processes and products, reliance on managerial (rather than artisanal) expertise, and a continual evocation of ‘efficiency’ as a production mandate” (Fitzgerald, 2003, p. 23). Today production practices of large farms focus almost ubiquitously on a small range of products and on one step of the production process (MacDonald, 2014).

The advancement of farming to compete on a global scale occurred during the late 1940s and early 1950s, as improvements were made in refrigeration and transportation infrastructure, natural resources became more available and financially accessible after the cessation of the Second World War, and the production of synthetic agrochemicals (e.g., preservatives, fertilizers, insecticides) allowed farmers to produce larger amounts of food and transport perishable foods long distances inexpensively without spoiling (Kloppenburger, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996; Lyson, 2005; Martinez et al., 2010). As a result of these advancements, consumers were no longer limited in their food choices by what was locally in season, and food could both be imported and exported at increased rates (Martinez et al., 2010).

Kloppenburger and co-authors (1996) describe how the ability to easily transport food led to food production becoming both more centralized in some locations, as agricultural businesses focused on producing larger quantities of foods in fewer locations and less

centralized in other areas, and as they began to take greater advantage of growing in tropical and subtropical locations that had fewer seasonal limitations. McIlvaine-Newsad et al. (2008) outline how the ability to grow much larger quantities of food with little change in the amount of farm labor required influenced subsequent shifts in farm size and farm ownership; the average size of farms in the United States tripled between the 1940s and late 1990s while the number of farms and the number of farm owners decreased by over 50% during the same time period. American consumers expressed their desire for fresh fruits and vegetables to be available at any time of the year and applauded the ability of new synthetic agrochemicals (i.e., fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides) to produce uniform-looking crops regardless of where they were grown. Farmers accommodated these desires by decreasing the diversity of crops they grew to focus on growing larger amounts of the same variety of crops (known as monocultures) with less variation in the final products produced (McIlvaine-Newsad et al., 2008).

To say that farmers mechanized their operations and grew increasing amounts of only a few crops just as a response to consumer demand over simplifies a complex decision. Farming practices in the United States were impacted by wartime changes in labor availability, bank policies that encouraged the expansion of production, price fixes and supply controls that helped support farmers during and in the aftermath of the Great Depression, and a business paradigm that emphasized efficiency (Dimitri, Effland, & Conklin, 2005; Fitzgerald, 2003). Fitzgerald (2003) provides an extended review of the many factors that influenced and continue to promote larger-scale industrial farming practices. Dimitri, Effland, and Conklin (2005) review national legislation that has historically influenced and encouraged conventional farming practices.

Though there are some advantages to an agricultural system in which large quantities of food are produced from modern varieties of high-yield crops at inexpensive prices (Evenson & Golin, 2003; Hendrickson & Heffernan, 2002), this model of industrial agriculture has been criticized for failing to recognize and ameliorate the negative environmental, economic, and social consequences of its production practices. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss these consequences in depth, but a brief description follows and a more thorough review is offered by Angelo (2009); Horrigan, Lawrence, and Walker (2008); and Fitzgerald (2003). When considering environmental quality, industrial agricultural production methods have been criticized for both the intensity at which they consume natural resources and for the pollutants they produce, impacting soil, water, and air quality. Nonpoint source pollution (NPS) is the leading cause of impairment for assessed rivers and streams across the United States. The leading source of impairment in these rivers and streams is agricultural activities (U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2010). Biological diversity in industrial agricultural ecosystems is threatened by the use of genetically engineered crops which replace native varieties and reduce the genetic diversity of crops and by broad-spectrum pesticides that influence non-target species in the ecosystem. The practice of growing monocultures requires heavy synthetic chemical inputs to fertilize the soil, combat insect pests, and resist disease (Angelo et al., 2010; Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2002).

From an economic perspective, multiple studies (Goldschmidt, 1978; Green, 1985; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996; O'Hara & Stagl, 2001; Lobao & Stofferahn, 2008) suggest that the pressure of the industrial farming model favoring large-scale farming operations threatens the well-being of farming communities as less of the money earned from

production stays in the community and more of the money earned is split between contracted laborers who do not reside in the area, processors, and distributors. Kloppenburg and associates (1996) state that “seventy-five cents of every dollar spent on food goes to processors, packagers, shippers, advertisers and retailers” (pp.35-36). Although the US Department of Agriculture reports that 98% of farms in America are “family farms,” defined as “those whose principal operator and people related to the principal operator by blood or marriage own most of the farm business,” many of these farms rely on contracted labor from other businesses to help prepare farmland for planting, harvest, and pest control (MacDonald, 2014). Farm size has shifted away from mid-size farms; 51.5% of farms are smaller than 49 acres and hold less than 4% of the cropland in the US, while 2.2% of farms are larger than 2,000 acres and hold 34% of cropland (MacDonald, 2013). Lobao and Stofferahn (2008) reviewed 51 empirical studies concerned with the impact of industrialized agriculture on farming communities and found that over 80% present evidence of negative effects, mainly related to income inequality, which can be tied to other social issues such as social conflict, family stability, and community participation. Though federal financial support programs for farmers have begun to diversify, many support programs still focus on a few large-scale commodities, pushing farmers to continue farming conventionally in order to receive the needed benefits of these programs even amid the recognition of the negative consequences of this model (Dimitri, Effland, & Conklin, 2005).

Questions about the human health impacts of industrial production systems have arisen concerning associations with acute and chronic disease influenced by pesticide residues on produce and the use of growth hormones, antibiotics, and fillers in large-scale meat production

operations (Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2002). Pesticide residues have been linked to human health issues such as elevated cancer risk (Adeola, 2004; Dich, Zahm, Hanberg, & Adami, 1997; Waddell, Zahm, Baaris, Weisenburger, Holmes, Burmeister, Cantor, & Blair, 2001) and endocrine disruption (McKinlay, Plant, Bell, & Voulvoulis, 2008; Mostafalou & Abdollahi, 2013), and although results are inconclusive, fears have been raised about the ability of pesticides to suppress the human immune system (Corsini, Sokooti, Galli, Moretto, & Colosio, 2013). The use of antibiotics in large-scale domestic meat production have been questioned relating to their potential to increase antibiotic resistance when transferred to humans (Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2002; Smith, Harris, Johnson, Silbergeld, & Morris, 2002). Smith, Harris, Johnson, Silbergeld and Morris (2002) report that over eighty percent of the antibiotics produced in the United States are given to domestic meat animals to quicken their growth and keep them healthy among crowded living conditions. Recent outbreaks of food-borne illness due to *Escherichia coli*, *Listeria monocytogenes*, *Salmonella* and *Campylobacter* bacteria traced to meat products have also increased public scrutiny of the industrial meat industry and renewed attention to the safety of meat packaging practices and dangers of contaminations in large distribution centers (Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2002; Sofos, 2008). The increasing public attention to human health and environmental health implications of industrial production methods have been largely influential in spurring on the local food movement and increasing interest in organically-produced products.

1.1.2. Defining the Local Food Movement: Exploring Alternative Food Systems

In recognizing the negative externalities of a global, industrial, food system, “eating local” has been proposed as a way to mitigate these negative social, ecological, economic

impacts. Discussion about alternative food systems has focused on ways to “re-localize” or “re-embed” food production within a locality, which is perceived to narrow the social and economic gaps between producers and consumers, reducing the negative ecological impacts of food traveling long distances (Feenstra, 1997; Hinrichs, 2000; Ostrom, 2006). Re-embedding food production also theorizes that bringing producers and consumers closer together spatially and socially will strengthen the personal connections between them, leading to consumers’ gaining knowledge of how their food is produced and a richer appreciation for its production practices, and to producers gaining a more educated and committed consumer based (Lyson, 2007).

Some efforts to conceptualize alternative food systems have focused on geographical constructs of “eating local.” The foodshed construct invokes a visual of foods moving from producers to consumers within a region similar to the flow of water through a watershed, and provides a framework to understand the social, economic, and environmental factors involved in food production within the geographic area (Feenstra, 1997; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996; Peters, Bills, Wilkins, & Fick, 2009). Denizens of the foodshed are encouraged to eat foods produced closer to home, reducing the fossil fuel inputs required to transport foods and the resulting carbon emissions, increasing the self-reliance and autonomy of communities, and leading to stronger social and economic relationships. Kloppenburg and co-authors (1996) describe the concept as inviting consumers to “reassemble our fragmented identities, reestablish community, and become native not only to a place but to each other” (p.34). Other benefits of eating foods produced close to their origin includes better tasting foods, as varieties can be chosen for flavor rather than endurance and more nutritive foods, as produce can be harvested when ripe and requires fewer additives or preservatives when

traveling short distances (DeLind, 2006; Ikerd, 2011; Peters, Bills, Wilkins, & Fick, 2009).

Additionally, some research suggests that food safety will improve with the decentralization of the food supply chain and consequently, producers and consumers will have more incentive to consider the environmental aspects of production (Lyson, 2005; Peters, Bills, Wilkins, & Fick, 2009). Peters, Bills, Wilkins, and Fick(2009) point out that “terms like ‘local food,’ ‘local food system,’ and ‘re-localization’ are used almost interchangeably to refer to the concept of increasing reliance on foods produced near their point of consumption relative to the modern food system” (p. 2).

Although no standard definition has been developed to identify what is considered geographically “local” (Martinez et al., 2010; Peters, Bills, Wilkins, & Fick, 2009), operative definitions used by consumers include purchasing products grown within geopolitical boundaries (within counties or states), within a day’s driving distance, or within areas defined by natural features or climate zones (Ostrom, 2006; Pirog & Rasmussen, 2008; Selfa & Qazi, 2005). Some shoppers utilize a shifting spatial scale definition of “local” depending on the product they are interested in purchasing (Ostrom, 2006). The term “locavore” was celebrated as the New Oxford American Dictionary Word of the Year in 2007 and was defined as “a local resident who tries to eat only food grown or produced within a 100-mile radius” (Thilmany, Bond, & Bond, 2008, p.1303). In 2008, the United States Congress defined local food in the Farm Act as food that travels less than 400 miles from its origin or within the boundaries of the state (Martinez et al., 2010).

Researchers invoking geographical frameworks for alternative agricultural models have been criticized for focusing too much on the scale of production, making assumptions that local

production scales are always more socially just or ecologically sustainable instead of recognizing the role of producers' personal intentions (Born & Purcell, 2006; Hinrichs, 2003). Born and Purcell (2005) suggest those looking to create alternative agricultural models should focus on the goals of production, which matter more than the means. Questions have also arisen concerning whether the concept of reducing ones' "food miles" is truly the best mechanism to decrease environmental impacts in comparison to other measurements of the carbon footprint of food production (Avetisyan, Hertel, & Sampson, 2013; Birdsong, 2013; Schnell, 2013). Hinrichs (2003) calls for caution in promoting distance-related definitions of alternative agriculture, discussing how strict definitions of "local" can lead to "defensive localism" and "separatist politics" citing Allen (1999, p.12): "localism can be based on a category of 'otherness,' that can reduce who we care about" (p.37).

Another conceptualization of an alternative agricultural model is that of "civic agriculture," which focuses less on the scale at which production occurs as the determinant of ecological/social/economic sustainability, and more on the responsive relationships created through direct marketing venues like farmers markets, community supported agriculture programs, food cooperatives, and community gardens as agents of change (Selfa & Qazi, 2005). Civic agriculture aims to build socially sustainable relationships between producers and consumers that are not only based on the economic exchange of food for money, but also focus on a shared commitment for consumers to support farmers and farmers to produce safe, healthy, sustainably grown food (DeLind, 2002). Consumers are proposed to build trusting relationships with farmers that "decouple" food from monetary values (Feagan & Henderson, 2009, p. 205). Lyson (2007) describes civic agriculture as "agriculture and food endeavors [that]

are seen as engines of local economic development and are integrally related to the social and cultural fabric of the community” (p.19). In opposition to conventional agriculture, farmers who participate in civic agriculture focus more on offering high quality products than on producing in high quantities; the scale of production in civic agriculture is smaller than conventional agriculture and requires more intensive labor but less extensive land use (Lyson, 2005). Civic agriculture employs local knowledge and institutional knowledge (Lyson, 2005).

Critiques of the civic agriculture model have decried the idealized social and economic relationships between producers and consumers in direct marketing venues as being over simplified, stating that regardless of how friendly producers and consumers may be with one another, they still enact economic transactions, giving power and privilege to wealthy consumers over low-income farmers and consumers (Delind, 2002; Hinrichs, 2000; Trauger, Sachs, Barbercheck, Braiser, & Kiernan, 2010). Delind (2002) comments that while relationships between producers and consumers may grow stronger under the concept of civic agriculture, competition between direct marketing venues leads to divisive differentiation of products rather than bringing producers together in the common goal of more sustainable social/economic relationships.

While it does not appear agreement has been reached on the ideal approach to creating an alternative to industrial agriculture, American consumers are growing increasingly interested in purchasing locally-sourced foods. Dunne and associates (2010), in a survey of food retailers in Oregon (including superstores and warehouse buying clubs, conventional chain and independent grocery stores, and “green” grocery stores), found that pressure from customers had driven retailers to increase the amount of locally grown and produce products. Though

retailers' estimates were a little skewed due to recent changes in the products they sold, they reported locally-sourcing on average 26-50% of their fruits and vegetables, and on median, 51-75% of their meat and dairy products (Dunne, Chambers, Giombolini, & Schlegel, 2010). The number of farmers markets nationwide has doubled between 1998 and 2009, now numbering over 5,300 (Martinez et al., 2010). Approximately 1,400 farms offering community supported agriculture programs existed in 2005, increasing from just 200 programs in 2001 (Martinez et al., 2010). Sales from direct marketing have increased 59% between 1997 and 2007, accounting for \$1.2 billion dollars in 2007 (Timmons & Wang, 2010). While these figures provide some preliminary figures in understanding the extent to which consumers participate in direct marketing venues and some conceptualization of the demand for and economic impact of locally grown products, contemporary research on these topics is sparse.

1.1.3. Exploring Local Food Venues

In thinking about alternatives to the conventional supermarkets that are the dominant food distributors in the industrial agricultural system, local food proponents sought to create or promote venues that would reduce the number of “middle men” in food transactions between producers and consumers, linking farm fresh food with consumers as directly as possible (Martinez et al., 2010). Community gardens, community supported agriculture programs (CSAs), farmers markets and food cooperatives (co-ops) have all been identified as venues associated with providing local food (Johnson, Aussenburg, & Cowan, 2012; Katchova & Woods, 2011; Low & Vogel, 2011; Michahelles, 2008). Direct-to-consumer marketing endeavors like CSAs make up a small proportion of the local food market (about 18%) and generate about \$900 million dollars in sales. The market for local food in the United States accounts for about

1.6% of the total US food industry (Johnson, Aussenburg, & Cowan, 2012). Direct-to-consumer venues link food buyers with food producers directly in face-to-face interactions (Johnson, Aussenburg & Cowan, 2012). Intermediated retailers, otherwise known as “direct-to-retail” operations, are described as food vendors like food cooperatives, restaurants that source local foods, and farm-to-school programs that work directly with farmers to sell farmers’ products in their venues (Johnson, Aussenburg, & Cowan, 2012; King et al., 2010). Farmers sell a larger proportion of their products through intermediated retailers, which account for \$2.7 billion in sales or about 57% of the local food market (Johnson, Aussenburg, & Cowan, 2012, p.5). In this study, I’ve chosen to focus on both community supported agricultural programs and food cooperatives.

1.1.3.1. Defining Food Cooperatives

Food cooperatives (co-ops) in the United States began in the early 1900s with the consumer cooperative movement, which focused on organizing as a way for laborers and consumers to have more direct control over their working conditions, the quality of products they made/purchased, and in protest of high food prices (Knupfer, 2013; Sommer, 1982). Many cooperatives were organized around a set of principles created by the Rochdale Society of Pioneers in England in the 1840s which emphasized open membership (no gender discrimination), cash-only purchases, the duty to educate members, political neutrality, democratic decision making (in which each member received one vote) and a return of profits to members based on the proportion of their purchases (Knupfer, 2013; Zeuli & Cropp, 2004). Public interest in food cooperatives was also spurred by views of the cooperative movement as an alternative to industrial capitalism and interest in progressive reform of food safety

standards and labeling. Support for co-ops was garnered by colleges/universities and labor unionists seeking new economic models, immigrant populations seeking a way to survive in a new place, and women's organizations such as the American Home Economics Association and American Pure Food League seeking better quality food (Knupfer, 2013). Food cooperatives began making their own food labels in the 1920s as a certification of quality and safety, creating labels for over 250 foods (Knupfer, 2013). Though food cooperatives had gained popularity as an alternative to industrial capitalism and as a haven for less expensive high quality foods, many had trouble competing with conventional grocery stores (Knupfer, 2013).

Interest in the economic potential of food cooperatives was renewed during the financial crisis of the Great Depression and periods of rationing during the Second World War. Federal aid programs supported cooperative endeavors during the Depression era, creating several food co-operatives with government funding. Colleges and universities also played a role in supporting or starting food cooperatives of their own, notably among University of Chicago, Cornell University, and Dartmouth University communities (Knupfer, 2013). Several African American communities started food co-ops and housing cooperatives as a way to be more economically self-reliant and support their own people (Knupfer, 2013). Food cooperatives continued to be associated with strong food safety standards and labeling, supported by women's consumer activist organizations (like the League of Women Voters and League of Women Shoppers) who had protested unethical practices of inaccurate food weights and measures among grocery stores (Knupfer, 2013). In the late 1930s, the Central Co-operative Wholesale, an organization of one hundred cooperatives in the Midwest, had created their own food testing kitchen and product quality grades (Knupfer, 2013). The post-war period

following the Second World War introduced better home refrigeration and freezers and many co-ops increased their product lines alongside the first supermarket grocery stores (Knupfer, 2013).

In the 1960s and 1970s, food co-ops became less entranced with labor and consumer movements and more focused on consumer activism, environmentalism, nutrition, and “participatory economic democracy” (Knupfer, 2013, p. 2853; Sommer, 1982). Some food co-ops created during this era began as collectives or communes with members who were interested in the ideological philosophy of co-op living (Curhan & Wertheim, 1972), while others formed as an answer to high food prices, an avenue for social and political reform, and as a means to give individuals a greater sense of control over their lives (Marion & Aklilu, 1975). Curhan and Wertheim (1972) described members of 35 cooperatives near Boston, Massachusetts as being “highly critical of supermarket prices and quality,” as feeling “‘dehumanized’ by the impersonal shopping environment” of supermarkets, and as “express[ing] concern that their children would grow up ‘without knowing where food comes from’” (p. 39). The majority of the co-ops Curhan and Wertheim(1972) surveyed functioned like modern buying clubs, in which a \$10 member fee served as the “kitty” to place collated food orders with wholesalers, which were then then divided into individual orders, refueling the kitty as members paid their debts (p. 33). Skeptical of the long-term success of these co-operatives, Curhan and Wertheim (1972) describe how unstable operational guidelines, collapse of government funding to urban co-ops, and an overworked core group led to the failure of some of the area co-ops. Sommer, Becker, Hohn and Warholic (1983) describe the structure and function of food cooperatives during the mid-1960s and early 1970s as “food buying clubs or

pre-order co-ops” that were run by volunteers and did not maintain a physical address or inventory; “participatory co-ops” that maintained small stores run by volunteers, emphasized a “rural romantic” philosophy, and sold mainly bulk goods and unprocessed foods; “supermarket co-ops” that were larger in size and hired a professional staff and sold both food and non-food items; and “worker collectives or community stores” that are owned by the staff, not the customers (p.135).

Increasing attention to the use of synthetic agrochemicals and their environmental and human health impact led to abundant interest in organic and natural foods, and “new wave” co-ops also appeared during this time to fill the niche in the market, particularly in sourcing natural foods at lower prices than private health food stores (Knupfer, 2013; Sommer, 1982). Many food cooperatives maintained cooperatives’ historical attention to food safety and quality and preferred to sell foods that were nutritionally sound, unprocessed, produced with fair/ethical labor practices, and emphasized environmentally-friendly production (Knupfer, 2013; Schiferl & Boynton, 1983). Sommer (1991) describes the continuing role of food co-ops in advocating for high consumer safety standards and as activist organizations ready to demonstrate their commitment; food co-ops became known for boycotting products whose production practices they did not agree with in the mid-1970s.

New wave co-ops differed in their structure from older co-ops by selling products beneath the market price and giving direct discounts to customers (Schiferl & Boynton, 1983). Sommer (1982) summarizes Rose’s description of “new wave co-ops”:

Rose (1976) characterizes the values and aims of the New Wave co-ops as avoidance of stereotyped work, sex, and social roles; nonhierarchical, noncompetitive and decentralized organization; high degree of member responsibility and participation; breakdown of the dichotomy between primary

and secondary group relationships; respect for personal experience; importance of social objectives and community/cooperative values; acceptance of limited growth; ecological perspectives; interest in social change, and an emphasis on nutrition and natural foods (p.112).

While the majority of food cooperatives today do not rely on volunteer labor, most maintain the structure of the first wave cooperatives and the principles delineated by the Rochdale Society of Pioneers (Michahelles, 2008; Mills & Davies, 2013). Parties interested in joining the co-op are asked to pay a small investment fee (or “share”) which acts as their “buy-in,” giving them the right to vote on business decisions (such as electing a board of directors) and to receive a portion of any profit generated in proportion to how much they spend (Katchova & Woods, 2011; Mills & Davies, 2013). Food cooperatives also continue to emphasize a philosophy of providing natural and organic foods with concern for community building; ecological, economic, and social sustainability; and support for local food networks (Deller, Hoyt, Heuth, & Sundaram-Stukey, 2009; Michahelles, 2008; Moncure & Burbach, 2013).

I have found few studies that empirically examine co-op members’ motivations to participate in membership since the 1990s, and have identified only a handful of studies that have commented on the role of food co-operatives in the local food movement. This research seeks to add to the body of knowledge about co-op members’ motivations to participate in membership and to explore co-op members’ interest in purchasing local foods. Through in-depth interviews with 12 co-op members belonging to two food co-ops in southern Michigan, interviewees offer modern perspectives on what it means to be co-op members and describe the characteristics important to them in the foods that they buy.

1.1.3.2. Defining Community Supported Agriculture Programs (CSAs)

The premise of CSA is to bring farmers and their customers together in a direct agreement to support one another, reducing the social and economic disconnects of a large-scale industrialized system and rebuilding connections between people, farmers, and the land where food is grown (Cooley & Lass, 1998; DeLind & Ferguson, 1999; Schnell, 2007). Though CSAs may vary from the original CSA model (Feagan & Henderson, 2009; Schnell, 2007), farmers typically determine their budget ahead of a growing season (e.g., salaries, equipment needed, inputs including seeds and soil) and divide their costs by the number of “shares” of food they feel they can produce, determining a share price. CSA members pay for their shares ahead of the growing season to support farmers when their costs are highest and agree to accept the risk with farmers that weather conditions beyond the control of the farmer may influence whether they have a particularly good or bad growing season. In return, CSA members receive a diverse assortment of freshly picked, locally grown, in season, usually organic produce in a weekly allotment for a predetermined number of weeks aligned with the growing season (Cooley & Lass, 1998; Schnell, 2007; Van En, 1995; Woods, Ernst, Ernst, & Wright, 2009). Woods et al. (2009) found two-thirds of their sample of 205 CSA farms in the Midwest and eastern coast of the United States followed organic certification standards but were not certified and about 18% of their sample to have organic certification. Traditionally, farm shares are picked-up by CSA members at the farm, but many CSA operations offer alternative pick-up locations (Schnell, 2007; Tegtmeier & Duffy, 2005). Some CSA farms offer a reduced share price for members who are willing to contribute their labor (Cone & Myhre, 2000; Hayden, 2012) and some CSA farms offer opportunities for members to come enjoy the farm for social occasions such as volunteer

workdays or potlucks, though it has been noted that few members take advantage of these social gatherings (Cone & Myhre, 2000; Feagan & Henderson, 2009).

Feagan and Henderson (2009) describe how early CSA farms sought a more collaborative relationship with their customers, hoping to form a “core group” of volunteers who would help with writing newsletters, distributing the farm shares, and recruiting new members, allowing farmers to devote more of their time to growing (p.205). They point out that while collaborative relationships are the idealized form of CSA, several other approaches to CSA have arisen. On one side of the spectrum where CSA ideology is weakly represented, members view CSA as a business relationship in which they financially support farmers but also have high expectations for the amount and quality of the produce they’ll receive in return (the instrumental approach to CSA) (Feagan & Henderson, 2009). In a functional approach, Feagan & Henderson(2009) describe how some aspects the CSA ideology are shared by both farmers and their members in that both exhibit feelings of camaraderie and solidarity and describe some of the same goals in their partnership, but members may be inconsistent in their level of participation in farm activities outside of picking up their shares. A collaborative approach to CSA (one that best meets CSA ideology) involves an active partnership in which members help with administrative tasks (e.g., writing the farm newsletter or organizing farm gatherings) and farm chores and put forth an effort not only to financially support the farm, but also keep it running (Feagan & Henderson, 2009). These relationships between producers and consumers may not be static, but may evolve over time and with changes in membership (Feagan & Henderson, 2009).

As the concept of community supported agriculture has increased in popularity and many CSA operations have personalized their programs to better fit the goals of farmers and needs of consumers (Feagan & Henderson, 2009), a multitude of research studies have documented CSA members' motivations to participate in membership (see Cone & Myhre, 2000; DeLind & Ferguson, 1999; Feagan & Henderson, 2009; Kolodinsky & Pelch, 1997; Picardy, 2001; Pole & Gray, 2013; Schnell, 2013; Wells, Gradwell, & Yoder, 1999). However, fewer studies have examined CSA members' motivations to participate in Michigan (see DeLind & Ferguson, 1999; Picardy, 2001). The US Department of Agriculture's 2007 Census of Agriculture found that Michigan ranked fifth in the nation in the number of farms that market products through community supported agriculture programs. This research seeks to add to the discourse about CSA members' motivations to participate in membership through an exploratory case study conducting in-depth interviews with nine CSA members' at three farms in southern Michigan. As I have found no research that takes an in-depth look at the characteristics important to CSA members in the foods that they purchase, I also seek to provide a preliminary perspective based on the values described by the CSA members I interviewed.

1.2. RESEARCH STATEMENT AND OBJECTIVES

Through this research, I aim to add to two bodies of knowledge; literature concerning the motivations and desires of local food consumers to participate in community supported agriculture programs or food co-ops and literature related to hunting recruitment and building social support for hunting. The purpose of this research is to help create a foundation for future studies to build on when considering the potential to engage new demographics in hunting

(and subsequently wildlife conservation) through their interest in sustainable food production and having a more personal connection to the food that they eat. Four main objectives guided this study, seeking to identify concepts and themes in the way research participants 1) describe their memberships in food cooperatives and community-supported agriculture programs; 2) define the characteristics important to them in the foods that they buy; 3) describe their experiences eating wild game meat; and 4) communicate their viewpoints about hunting.

1.3. THESIS ORGANIZATION

Chapter two and chapter three of this thesis are organized as manuscripts for submission to peer reviewed journals and some duplication of the figures and description of the study area and participants will intentionally occur. Chapter two of this thesis examines the first half of my interview data, concerning interviewees' motivations to participate in a food co-op or CSA and describes the characteristics important to these interviewees in the foods that they buy within and outside of their memberships. Chapter three presents findings from the second half on my interview data, relating to interviewees' attitudes about eating wild game meat and hunting.

Chapter four provides a brief summary and synthesis of these findings and offers further implications of this work. The implications of this research are focused more specifically on the potential for wildlife conservation agencies and organizations to engage local food consumers as a potential new audience of hunters or hunter supporters. Lastly, the attached appendices provide background information to how the research was conducted (for example, interview guides, interview consent form, and summary tables describing coded data).

CHAPTER 2: LOCAL FOOD CONSUMERS' MOTIVATIONS TO PARTICIPATE IN A FOOD COOPERATIVE OR COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE PROGRAM AND CHARACTERISTICS VALUED IN FOOD PURCHASES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A budding body of popular and empirical literature has called attention to the rising popularity of the local food movement, a social movement positioned to attempt to mediate the negative social, economic, and environmental impacts associated with globalized food production (Feenstra, 1997; Kingsolver, Hopp, Kingsolver, 2007; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 1996; Pollan, 2006). Producing food on a global scale has intensified food production; to compete on a larger scale, farmers have become more specialized in producing a few goods in mass quantities and foods travel much longer distances between producers and consumers (Lyson, 2005). The intensification of industrial agriculture has led to concerns about the environmental and human health impacts of these growing practices, as high quantity production tends to rely on synthetic pesticides, fertilizers, and other chemical additives to grow food in amounts that are not naturally sustainable (Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2008; Woodhouse, 2010). The social and spatial distance between food producers and their customers diminishes consumers' awareness of how food is produced, the effort it takes to produce it, and how food production practices impact the health and long-term well-being of natural resources, farming communities, and even individual consumers.

The local food movement suggests that food production can be re-embedded in the social, political, and spatial geography of communities by encouraging food producers and consumers to participate in direct-to-consumer marketing endeavors like farmers markets and

community supported agriculture programs (CSAs) (Hinrichs, 2000; Kloppenburg et al., 1996) and by purchasing locally-sourced products from intermediated purveyors of local food such as food cooperatives (co-ops), restaurants that serve locally-sourced foods, and farm-to-school programs (Johnson, Cowan, & Aussenberg, 2012; King et al., 2010). Direct-to-consumer marketing endeavors are perceived to be more likely than conventional food supply chains to support food production practices that emphasize ecological sustainability and keep more of the money made from food production in the local community (King et al., 2010; Low & Vogel, 2011; Martinez et al., 2010). Current research reveals that the majority of farmers who participate in direct-to-consumer marketing endeavors utilize natural or organic growing practices that are generally accepted to promote environmental sustainability (Oberholtzer, 2004; Tegtmeier & Duffy, 2005); but further research is needed to understand the economic impacts of direct-to-consumer marketing operations on their communities. Intermediated suppliers of local food are defined as those in which local food “reaches consumers through one or more intermediaries” but are qualified from conventional retail stores in that they also seek to “emphasize connections between the food producer and food consumer” and retain a higher percentage of food sales revenue for local producers (King et al., 2010, p.5). Similarly, further research is needed to determine the economic impact of intermediated suppliers of local foods. While these venues have been lauded by some as contributing to a more environmentally-friendly, socially and economically responsible alternative model of agriculture, others have questioned whether they achieve the desired responsive relationships between producers and consumers or instead maintain the status quo of price-driven exchanges typified by industrial agriculture (DeLind, 2002; Hinrichs, 2000). Other critiques have

focused on whether the local food movement is a privileged movement, as “value added” products like organic, free-range, fair-trade, and local tend to come with price markups that cost more than conventionally produced products (Hinrichs, 2000, Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney, 2011).

Whether or not they are achieving their objectives as delineated by proponents of civic agriculture, CSA programs and farmers markets are rising in popularity among the public, and indirect sales of local food are growing among conventional retailers and alternative food markets like food co-ops and health food stores (Brown & Miller, 2008; Dunne, Chambers, Giombolini, & Schlegel, 2010; Ikerd, 2011). In 1986, there were only two CSA programs in operation in the nation, whereas in 2005, the US Department of Agriculture recognized 1,144 CSA programs (Martinez et al., 2010), and in 2007 counted 12,549 farms that marketed products through a CSA, though this figure may include multiple farms selling products through one CSA organization (USDA, 2007). Farmers markets have also grown in number from 1,755 in 1994 to 5,274 in 2009 (Martinez et al., 2010). Direct-to-consumer marketing sales have doubled from \$551 million dollars in 1997 to \$1.2 billion dollars in 2007 (Martinez et al., 2010). Michahelles (2008) provides a first estimate of the contribution of food cooperatives to the local food market, estimating that 67 northeastern food co-ops accounted for \$21 billion dollars of locally produced food sales. Low and Vogel (2011) estimated that direct-to-consumer and intermediated retailers generated \$4.8 billion dollars in sales in 2008.

While some research has focused on consumer motivations for participating in direct-to-consumer marketing endeavors like community supported agriculture programs, little is known about the role food cooperatives play in sourcing local food, about current co-op members

motivations to participate in their membership, or about the characteristics important to them in the foods they purchase within and outside of their memberships. Similarly, although previous research studies have examined members of community supported agriculture programs motivations to participate in a CSA, little research has considered how CSA members make decisions about the foods they purchase within and outside of their memberships. Though Michigan ranked fifth in the number of operating CSA farms in the United States in 2007, only a few studies (see DeLind & Ferguson, 1999; Picardy, 2001) have examined CSA programs in Michigan (USDA, 2007).

This research seeks to fill some of the gaps in the literature through in-depth interviews examining CSA and co-op members' descriptions of their memberships and the characteristics important to them in the foods that they purchase. The objectives for this study were to identify concepts and themes in the way research participants 1) describe their memberships in food cooperatives and community-supported agriculture programs; 2) define characteristics important to them in the foods that they buy; 3) describe their experiences eating wild game meat; and 4) communicate their viewpoints about hunting. In this chapter, I will discuss findings concerning the first and second objectives. This exploratory, qualitative, case study offers preliminary findings of how interviewees value their membership and make contextual decisions about the foods they purchase in southern Michigan, USA.

2.2. STUDY AREA

This research was conducted in Ingham and Washtenaw counties in southern Michigan. Ingham and Washtenaw counties lie adjacent to one another in southeastern Michigan, with Ingham County sitting directly northwest of Washtenaw County (Figure 2.1). Demographic

characteristics of the two counties are shown in Table 2.1 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). While Washtenaw County has a slightly larger population than Ingham County, the population density of the two counties is similar. The median household income of \$53,814 in Ann Arbor is higher than the median of \$31,373 in East Lansing, though residents' education levels are high; over 68% of residents in both cities graduated college, likely due to the presence of the universities. Ann Arbor is home to the University of Michigan and East Lansing is home to Michigan State University. Both Ingham and Washtenaw counties are more ethnically diverse than the state as a whole and have an almost equal ratio of men and women residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

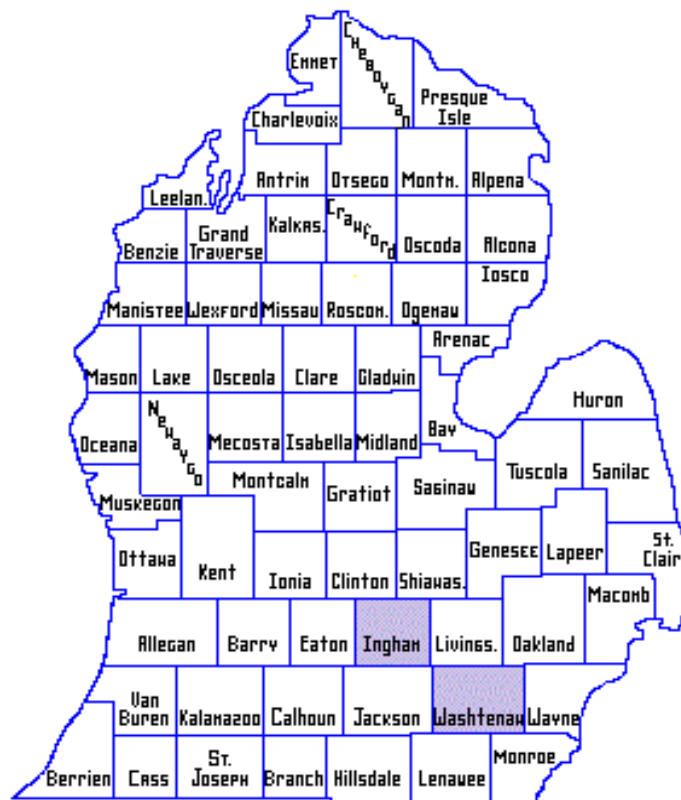


Figure 2.1: Map of Michigan's Lower Peninsula illustrating the location of Ingham and Washtenaw Counties in southern Michigan.

Table 2.1: Demographic characteristics of Ingham and Washtenaw counties in southern Michigan.

	Population	Household Income	Ethnicity	Gender	Education Completed		Size	Pop. density
County		(median)	% white	% female	High School	College	(sq.mi)	(sq.mi)
Ingham	280,895	\$45,758	78.10%	51.50%	90.60%	35.40%	556.12	505.1
Washtenaw	344,791	\$59,734	75.20%	50.70%	93.80%	51.00%	705.97	488.4
City								
East Lansing	48,518	\$31,373	78.40%	51.50%	97.60%	68.80%	13.59	3573.6
Ann Arbor	113,934	\$53,814	73.00%	50.70%	96.50%	70.30%	27.83	4093.4
Michigan	9,883,640	\$48,699	80.20%	50.90%	88.40%	25.30%	56,538.90	174.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. (2011). *State and County QuickFacts*.

2.3. METHODS

I conducted 90 minute in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 12 co-op members and nine CSA members (N=21) seeking to find out more about how interviewees described their memberships and about the characteristics important to them in the foods that they buy. In-depth interviews are often utilized in exploratory studies as a way to provide rich, descriptive data to address questions about which there has been little previous investigation (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and to address questions that are difficult to answer briefly or simply (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). As the interviews I conducted also examined interviewees' attitudes towards hunting and eating wild game meat, I chose to utilize in-depth interviews due to concerns that attitudes about hunting may be too controversial to discuss in a focus group setting (Adams & Cox, 2008; Boyce & Neal, 2006).

2.3.1 Data Collection

When seeking food cooperatives to work with during this study, I sought to find two cooperatives located in areas with similar demographics, operating structures, and membership fees. I examined online databases maintained by Local Harvest, a national registry for farmers markets, CSAs, grocers and restaurants that source local foods, and the National Cooperative

Grocers Association, a national business services co-operative that helps food co-ops streamline their business and marketing plans. I found that food co-ops in Michigan have a wide variety of operating structures; some co-ops function as online buying-clubs with no physical retail address, some sell only select bulk products, and some operate similarly to the storefront cooperatives described by Sommer and associates (1983). To allow for comparison between the co-ops I sampled, I decided to limit the search to food co-ops belonging to the National Cooperative Grocers Association (NCGA). Five cooperatives in southern Michigan were contacted about participating in this study and three were willing to participate. Reasons food cooperatives declined to participate included that they were currently renovating their store or that other time commitments would not allow them to assist with recruiting interviewees. Of the three co-ops willing to participate, I selected the East Lansing Food Co-op and People's Food Co-op of Ann Arbor, largely due to their locations within three miles of a state university, their similar histories of establishment, and similar operating procedures and membership fees.

Following selection of food cooperatives, I created a second criterion for selecting farms with community-supported agriculture programs in Ingham and Washtenaw counties. I sought to work with farms that 1) had been operating a CSA for more than one full year (since 2010), 2) that primarily focused on produce shares (rather than meat, eggs, or flowers), 3) that had more than ten current members, and 4) that required members to pay an upfront price for their shares ahead of the growing season. Paralleling the search for food cooperatives, I looked for farms using a Google keyword search for "community-supported agriculture program in Washtenaw/Ingham County" and an online database maintained by Local Harvest to generate a list of farms to contact. Of the list generated, six CSA farms were contacted in Ingham County

and sixteen farms were contacted in Washtenaw County. Two of the six farms in Ingham County were willing to work with me and fit my selection criteria. I successfully found one farm to work with in Washtenaw County, though six of the sixteen farms I contacted expressed interest in assisting us to recruit members. Of the five farms I was unable to work with, I was not able to contact members at two farms within the time constraints of when I hoped to conduct interviews (newsletter would not go out in time), one farm did not meet the selection criteria (had not been operating for over a year), and my invitation to participate in research did not generate any member responses at two farms. Reasons farms in both Ingham and Washtenaw counties declined to participate were that they felt too busy getting ready for their growing season, they felt asking their members to participate in a research study relating to attitudes about hunting was too controversial, or that they did not currently have an active CSA member base when we contacted them. To protect the confidential responses of the research subjects, I have chosen not to provide the names of the CSA farms.

After receiving permission from the farm or co-op managers, I sought to recruit interviewees to participate through placing a paragraph-long invitation to participate in my research in the co-op/CSAs' email newsletter and on their social media page. To find co-op and CSA members who had a more nuanced understanding of what it means to be a member in their organization, I utilized a purposive and opportunistic sampling frame (Patton, 1990). I asked that interviewees had belonged to their organization for at least one growing season (CSA members) or one year (co-op) members and were between the ages of 18-54 years old (an age range of interest in relation to the questions we asked about their attitudes toward hunting; see Chapter 3). Where quantitative research seeks a random and generalizable

sample, purposive sampling is utilized in qualitative research when seeking “information-rich cases for study in-depth” (Patton, 1990, p. 169). Choosing knowledgeable and experienced interviewees increases the credibility of interview responses, as interviewees are more likely to have a well-rounded perspective of what it means to them to belong to their organization (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p.64). Sampling was opportunistic as interview participants were selected in the order which they contacted me for an interview, provided that they fit within the parameters of my sampling frame (Patton, 1990).

Once I had been contacted by a CSA/co-op member expressing interest in an interview, each prospective interviewee was emailed a longer invitation to participate informing them about the interview procedure and what they could expect as an interviewee. If prospective interviewees felt they were interested in making arrangements for an interview and the prospective interviewee met the requirements of our sampling frame, a date and time was arranged for an interview. In seeking to create a safe, comfortable, and convenient atmosphere for participants, interviews took place in public coffee houses or cafes, a public space at the participants’ workplace, or public parks. Two of the interviews were conducted via the video conferencing program Skype when in-person meetings were not possible. Twenty interviews were conducted between April 6 and May 3, 2012 and one interview took place September 9, 2012.

Having discovered that asking questions about hunting might be considered controversial and being limited in the amount of time I was able to collect data, interviewees were offered a \$25 gift card as a reimbursement for their time. Interviewees were informed that receiving the gift card was not contingent upon on their decision to sign the consent form

and participate in the interview. Although the use of payments to participate in qualitative research is debated in the literature (Hammett & Sporton, 2012; Head, 2009), gift cards or cash payments under fifty dollars are considered by some researchers to be standard when conducting in-depth interviews in developed countries (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2012).

A 12 question interview guide was created around the four objectives for the study, with each question focusing on encouraging the interviewee to speak broadly about their attitudes and experiences. Follow-up questions and probing questions were not numbered, but were included in the interview guide to prompt the interviewer to ask for more depth in interviewees' responses or to elaborate on topics of conversation particularly related to my questions of study (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

Before each interview began, interviewees signed a consent form that described the goals of this research study and the perceived costs and benefits of participating. Immediately after the interview, participants were asked to fill out a brief survey answering questions about their demographic information and other interests. All research methods and materials were approved by the Michigan State University Institutional Review Board (id i040423).

2.3.2. Data Analysis

Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews were analyzed using Glaser and Strauss's "constant comparison method" in which each transcript was read and searched for reoccurring concepts expressed by participants, then compared to each consecutive interview transcript, seeking similarities and differences in participants' views (1967). Concepts independently mentioned by three interviewees were organized into a coding scheme (Appendix F) that included a definition of the concept, an abbreviated name

representing the concept (referred to as a “code”) and an example from the interviews of where this code was applied as well as an example of where it should not be used (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The unit of analysis in the coding process was the “theme,” as defined by Zhang & Wildemuth (2009) as an expression of a single idea (p.3). A code may be attached to several words, to several sentences, or even several paragraphs, if those units of text together represent one single idea described by an interviewee. While definitions of codes seek to embody a single concept, coding categories may not be mutually exclusive, meaning that it is possible for one sentence to be “tagged” with two codes if that sentence contains two separate ideas (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The coding scheme went through several iterations as the concept definitions were continually refined until I found no new concepts in the interview data. After each revision of the coding scheme, interviews were re-coded to reflect these changes.

Codes are used as a label to quickly locate concepts within the interview text (Miles & Huberman, 1994). After each interview was coded, the codes were used to “extract” the portions of text connected to that code, organizing these coded segments into a single file to analyze nuances within the code and among the coding categories (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Coding thus reduces the numerous pages of interview text into a shorter compilation of the most relevant pieces. Lindsay, Davenport, and Mangun (2007) describe the coding process with a quotation from Marshall and Rossman (1999, p.150) as “bringing order, structure, and interpretation to the mass of collected data” (p. 433).

As recommended by Bradley, Curry, & Devers (2007) and Schilling (2006), to prevent biases resulting from a single researcher coding the data, a subset of seven randomly chosen interviews were independently coded by a second coder and compared to my work to

determine the replicability of the coding scheme. Any differences between my work and the volunteer coder were discussed with two members of my research committee until agreement could be made on how to code the data. The coding scheme was revised where necessary, and interviews were recoded if needed (Bradley, Curry, & Devers, 2007; Schilling, 2006). A graduate student in the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife at Michigan State University volunteered to code these interviews for me. I created a coding protocol (Appendix F) including a brief description of the research goals, the coding process, the unit of analysis, and a copy of the coding scheme. As coder training, the graduate student volunteer and I coded one interview simultaneously using the coding protocol, then compared our notes, and discussed any discrepancies that arose in our work. This procedure of coder training follows the recommendations of Weber (1990). The graduate student volunteer was then able to ask any questions before independently coding seven interviews.

As an additional reliability measure, I met with two committee members throughout the coding process to review a subset of the selections of text that were extracted from each interview to make decisions about whether those incidents adequately fell into the selected coding category as defined in the codebook (Schilling, 2006; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Discrepancies were discussed until agreement could be reached, the codebook was revised, and all interviews were reviewed for coding consistency.

In this study, I have chosen to combine the interview responses from CSA and co-op members for analysis rather than to analyze them as two separate cases. Both CSA and co-op members were recruited under the same sampling frame, the sample size I was able to recruit is small and non-generalizable to a larger population, and I did not uncover drastically different

responses between interviewees who participated in a co-op versus interviewees who participate in a CSA membership. I will point out responses as more common among CSA members or among co-op members throughout this manuscript; this recognition is for the benefit of the reader to understand the context in which interviewees responded. Future research may wish to separate CSA and co-op members' responses and seek more concrete differences between members of these two venues in their attitudes about membership, motivations to participate, and characteristics valued in the foods that they purchase.

The subsequent interview excerpts I have selected were chosen as those most representative of the conceptualizations described by participants and to illustrate the depth and diversity in the attitudes I discovered. Any information provided by myself is placed between brackets to lend clarity. Instances where an interviewee has paused during the interview are represented by ellipses, while instances where the first author has omitted text for brevity and clarity are represented by ellipses within closed brackets, e.g., [...].

2.4 FINDINGS

2.4.1. Demographics of Interviewees

Thirteen interviewees were female (62%) and eight interviewees were male (38%).

Interviewees ranged in age between 18-54 years as required by my selection criteria; three interviewees were under the age of 30, 11 interviewees were between the ages of 30-39, and seven interviewees aged between 40 to 54 years old. Most interviewees (19 out of 21) identified as Caucasian/White. One interviewee identified as Pacific Islander and one interviewee identified with multiple ethnicities. The educational attainment of interviewees was high in comparison to the general demographics of the state of Michigan but comparable

to educational attainment in the cities of East Lansing and Ann Arbor (Table 2.1). All interviewees reported that they had completed at least one year of college; two interviewees had completed some college, 13 interviewees reported that they had received a four-year Bachelor's degree and six interviewees stated that they attained a graduate degree or higher. When describing their annual household incomes, three interviewees reported incomes of \$29,000 or less, six interviewees reported incomes of \$30,000 - \$69,000 per year, and twelve interviewees reported incomes greater than \$70,000 per year. Interviewees reported incomes above the 2010 state of Michigan median household income of about \$48,000 per year. Eighty-one percent (17 people) of interviewees were married and about 50% of interviewees (11 people) had children. Of the interviewees who had children, most had children under the age of 12 years (8 interviewees).

Of the 21 interviewees, nine grew up in a rural location, ten grew up in a suburban location, and two grew up in an urban location. When asked how they described the current location where they live, one interviewee described a rural location, 11 interviewees described a suburban area, and eight interviewees described an urban area. Interviewees held occupations in accounting, auto mechanics, international and domestic business entrepreneurship, child care, childbirth, counseling, engineering, farming, fine arts, health care, homemaking, information technology, journalism, marketing, non-profit administration and management, and teaching.

2.4.2. Interview Findings

Interview findings are arranged into two broad sections: descriptions of CSA/co-op membership and characteristics interviewees' value in the foods that they buy. Each of these

broad categories is broken into several subcategories in which the concepts that make up that subcategory are described (Figure 2.2). For example, one subcategory of interviewees' descriptions of their memberships includes the factors that interviewees said influenced their decision to participate in membership. The concepts that make up the subcategory "factors that influence decisions to participate" include "childhood family members' interest in cooking and gardening," "interest in a connection to nature," and "personal ethics." Within each subcategory, I've tried to show the nuances and depth of interviewees' responses by providing illustrative and explanatory quotes.

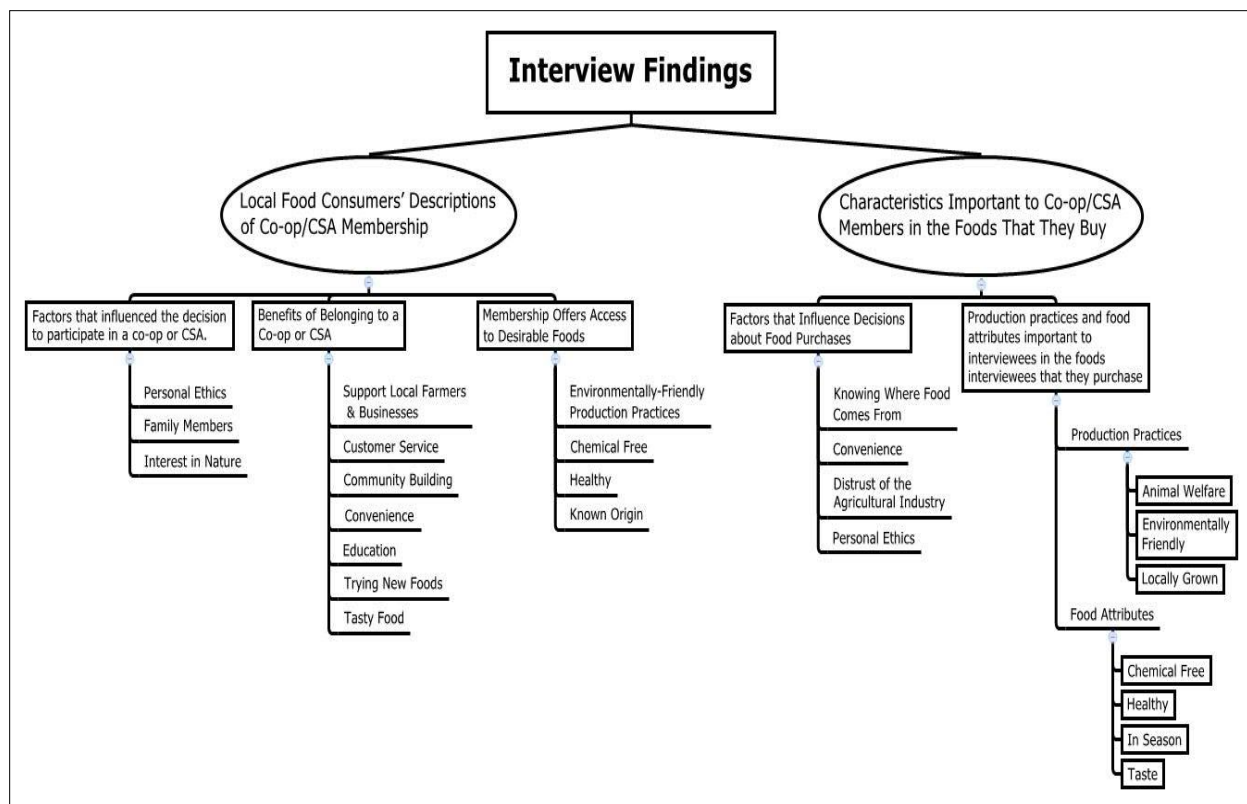


Figure 2.2: Concept map of interview findings. Interview findings are divided into two broad sections; local food consumers' descriptions of co-op/CSA membership and characteristics important to co-op/CSA members in the foods that they buy (illustrated with oval shape). These broad sections are divided further into subcategories (rectangular boxes) and the concepts that interviewees' discussed which make up these subcategories.

As a note to the reader, in analyzing my interview data, I found that interviewees described the characteristics important to them in the foods they purchase in very similar ways as they described the aspects of their memberships that they appreciate. As little research has been conducted to understand whether CSA/co-op members use a similar criterion in purchasing foods provided by their membership and in purchasing foods outside of their membership, I intentionally chose not to see parallel descriptions as redundancy, but as an indication of consistency in purchasing habits. While interviewees' conceptualizations of their memberships and the characteristics important to them in the foods they purchase are similar, nuances within these themes and the frequency of which interviewees mention them in relation to membership or food purchases provides preliminary findings on how co-op/CSA members weight these characteristics when purchasing food through a CSA/co-op or outside of their membership.

2.4.2.1. Descriptions of Co-op/CSA Membership

Each interview began by asking interviewees how they would describe their membership in a CSA or food co-operative to someone who might not know very much about it, and next asked interviewees to discuss what it meant to them that they participated in a community supported agriculture program or a food cooperative. To better understand what motivated interviewees' participation, questions focused on how they first became interested in participating, and probing deeper, asked them to speak about what they felt led them as an individual (based on their personality, situation, or desires) to become part a co-op or CSA.

2.4.2.1.1. Factors that Influence Participation in CSA or Co-op Membership

When asking interviewees about aspects of their personalities that were influential in their

decision to participate in a CSA or co-op membership, interviewees described three concepts: personal ethics, childhood family members' interest in cooking and gardening, and an interest in nature (Table 2.2). The nuances of these concepts are discussed following Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Factors that influenced interviewees' decision to participate in a co-op or CSA membership.

Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
Personal Ethics	ETH-MEM	7	33%
Childhood Family Members' Interests in Cooking and Gardening	FAM	5	24%
Interest in Nature	NAT	4	19%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

2.4.2.1.1.1. Personal Ethics. Seven interviewees described feeling drawn to their membership by a desire to help others and to make choices in their lives that are based on “doing the right thing.” Six interviewees spoke about making decisions with a consideration for how these decisions would impact society as a whole and referred to impacts on current or future generations. For example, one interviewee shared:

I’ve always been a deep thinker. As a counselor, the longer I’ve been here, the more I’ve been privy to societal problems and how they manifest within [people]. [...] I’ve just become more aware of what our issues are as a society. Globally, locally, the whole thing. [...] I think that all of that wrapped up in a big ball is what really pushed me toward doing these things [joining a co-op]. [...] I want to make sure that I’m doing the right thing for the world and my kids.

Three interviewees spoke more specifically about how by being a member of their co-op, they felt that they were living their lives the right way. One interviewee elaborated on what she meant that she’d grown up caring about “doing things the right way” and how this translated to the choices she makes in her co-op membership:

I think just simply trying not to do harm. As much as possible, just don’t do harm with the things that you do, the decisions you make. [...] if you buy conventional produce that goes back to possibly poisoning ground water of someone by that

farm, who want to drink that, you know? So, just being aware of the consequences of your decisions.

2.4.2.1.1.2. Childhood Family Members' Interest in Cooking and Gardening. When talking in greater depth about factors that influenced CSA and co-op members' decisions to participate in their membership, five interviewees mentioned that family members who maintained a garden when they were children influenced their current views and interests surrounding food. One interviewee spoke about the difference in taste between the "unofficially organic" produce she ate from her mothers' garden as a child and the taste of store-bought produce, saying that "store-bought tomatoes, they taste different. They lack taste and just taste like chemicals." Another interviewee spoke fondly about picking in season fruits and vegetables from her father's garden: "we always went and we picked strawberries and we picked apples and we picked blueberries [...] Having blueberries in June, or tomatoes in August...I look forward to that." One interviewee felt that her personality, and subsequently her interest in joining a CSA, was shaped by experiences eating produce grown in her grandfather's garden as a child; "my grandpa had a big garden, and it was just all kinds of things I was exposed to. Fresh food, the taste of fresh food, that I think...planted the seeds." Similarly, for one interviewee, having a garden as a child, and her parents' tradition of sitting down to eat meals together led her to pursue a CSA membership later in life:

I mean my parents had a garden growing up and we, when we first got married we lived in a rental house [...] We couldn't really grow any food, so we bought a house [...] so that we could have our own garden [...] my life has kind of always centered around food, and growing up we had no traditions in my family pretty much other than sitting down to eat together. So [...] that is the one thing I've kind of carried with me, being around other people from other cultures and people who have really strong ties to sorts of things in their lives and thinking well what is that for me? Well, it's been sharing meals with people[...] What does that look like you know, once you start to realize like, "oh I'm spending all my

time and money on this thing” you start to think about “well, am I doing it the way that I really want to do it, and how would I make it better? How would I want it to be for my children? What do I want people to know about me by the way I cook my food?”

Lastly, one interviewee, talked about how his interest in participating in a co-op came from his interest in cooking (he wanted to find unique ingredients), an interest that was cultivated by his mother as a child and was made possible using ingredients grown in her garden. He described how he initially had no interest in his mother’s garden, but as she began to encourage his interest in cooking, he grew to appreciate home-grown food. When asked to describe what his mother had taught him that particularly resonated, he said:

Back in the eighties, on cable, there was the [television show] “Great Chefs of the West” [...] and I’d come home from school and I would watch that with my mom, and I loved it. From that point, I would always say, well, I want to make something for dinner, and to keep me busy my mom would give me one of those little colored handled paring knives that could barely cut your skin let alone a red pepper. And she would say, “Alright, cut up this onion or cut up this pepper” [...] so from that point, I just developed a passion for cooking. It wasn’t until really my adult life that I started to develop the passion for the garden. I just remember that she had an extensive garden, and she would make me snap peas, and she would make me pull the little, you know, on beans they’ve got that long string that comes down. So I would always have to do that and shucking corn, which, I loved corn. She made her own jams, and she canned things, and, you know, I was a part of that process.

2.4.2.1.1.3. Interest in Nature. Four interviewees shared that an aspect of their personality that they felt influenced their decision to participate in membership included an appreciation for and enjoyment of the natural world. One interviewee said that her interest in joining a co-op came from her desire to “...do what I can for a better Earth...do what I can in my small part to keep the ecosystem healthy and viable.” When asked to expand on where she felt her interest in preserving farm lands came from, she said:

Particularly in this area, I grew up in metro Detroit, and watching all of the

natural land be eaten up by development has been a disappointment and kind of a shock to me over my lifetime. It just gets harder to find green space, and I think that's incredibly important.

Two interviewees discussed how their early childhood experiences outdoors and classroom studies in environmental sciences influenced the way they valued natural resources and subsequently valued environmentally-friendly agricultural production practices as adults.

For example, one interviewee said:

I've always been an outdoor person [...] ...we didn't garden or live on the farm or anything like that, but [my mom] always enjoyed teaching me the names of flowers [...] in college, I think I was really encouraged to study what I enjoyed instead of encouraged to think about "what do I want to do with my life" and study to get there [...] there were classes in ornithology and land management where you'd be outside with a chainsaw or outside tracking birds[...] And I loved those classes way more than anything [...] my university offered a track in environmental justice...[and] I was always fascinated in human interest issues [...] We did stuff like [look at] Superfund sites in the inner city and looking at distribution of economic resources and...where the landfill's located versus where the impoverished people live [...] So that kind of married my interest in, in issues and people, and people's lives and the environment.

For another interviewee, her interest in joining a CSA came from her spiritual views of how people interact with nature and one another:

I've always been a nature person, a caretaking person [...] my whole belief system is very nature oriented [...] I grew up with a city garden [...] and as I started having some health problems, gardening was just something that was flexible too. I can still provide for my family and do something that keeps me in shape, spiritually and physically.[...] I think a lot of people are finding that as we connect over gardens, [we connect] to something so in our DNA, so in our spirit, it's so fundamental; we all need food [Laughs], we all need safe food. [...] [it] has always been very powerful to me to celebrate these seasonal transitions over food, over the garden [...] we all need to pause and, so, that's part of my, I guess it's called my spiritual beliefs.

2.4.2.1.2. Perceived Benefits of Belonging to a Co-op or CSA

When speaking about how they might describe their membership in a CSA program or food co-op to someone who might not know much about it, many interviewees described the benefits they perceived to belonging. These benefits included: supporting local farmers and businesses, customer service, community building, convenience, education, trying new foods, and having access to tasty foods (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Perceived benefits of belonging to a co-op or CSA.

Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
Support Local Farmers and Local Businesses	LOC-MEM	17	81%
Customer Service	CUST	14	66%
Community Building	COMM	13	62%
Convenience	CONV-MEM	18	86%
Education	EDU	7	33%
Trying New Foods	NEW	6	29%
Tasty Food	TASTE	4	19%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

2.4.2.1.2.1. Support Local Farmers and Local Businesses. Seventeen interviewees discussed their appreciation for the support their membership offered to local economies, local farmers, and the local community. Five interviewees (19%) discussed wanting to be a part of their co-op or CSA to essentially “put your money where your mouth is” by financially supporting the venues who sell foods with the characteristics that interviewees claimed to value, and to financially support those venues “so that it continues to be available.” One interviewee spoke in greater detail about being pressured to participate in the co-op by a friend of his who knew that this interviewee shared similar values to the co-op philosophy:

He’s like, “why don’t you ever go to the co-op?” I’m like, “what are you talking about, that’s just a bunch of long-haired whatever.” And he’s like, “yeah, but, you’re investing in the local economics.”[...] he knew the buttons to push with me [...] he was challenging my intelligence and saying,” [...] I would think that because you do care about these things [environmental and economic sustainability, buying foods in season], that [joining the co-op] would be in line

with you, but I guess if you're not aligned with that, maybe you don't care about those things." He knew that would get me, and it did. So, I started going [to the co-op].

Seven interviewees mentioned that they wanted to specifically support the farmers who grew their food or the co-op from which they purchased their food. For example, one CSA member described how she had found a non-local company that would deliver organic food to her house, but said, "...I'm willing to make the drive every week because...I feel I have a loyalty to the [farm owner's] family...So I'd rather give my business to them." Another interviewee mentioned that he wanted to support the co-op because he appreciated that his purchases directly influenced local farmers:

The co-op is an intermediate force in that because it tries to buy a lot of stuff sourced locally so I know when I'm buying I go down the produce aisle and see which farm my tomato comes from, then there's... I know by buying that tomato I'm supporting that farm. I could walk across the street and say 'hi' at the farmer's market.

Seven interviewees spoke more broadly about wanting to participate in the co-op or CSA as a way to support their local economy and community. For example, one interviewee spoke about how participating in her co-op made her feel like she was helping to support the local community. She said:

[...] it's feeling like you're supporting the local community, knowing that they try and bring in product from local as much as they can, but... you know, I'm a member and the benefits are that, you know, I get special discounts, but... for me it's about supporting local things.

Similarly, one interviewee discussed how participating in a local CSA membership re-connected her to farming in her community, and why she felt it was important to continue to support local farmers as a larger philosophy of "what food is really worth":

I'm involved with farmers who are kind of the rebirth of farming...it's fading away and people are losing sight of what farming really means, and what food is really worth, and so showing ourselves and our community...that they're [farmers] valuable, and that what they're doing is sustaining us, is essential...It's really hard to disengage...if people support the agriculture [...] You're facing the farmers growing your food, you're given certain [foods] that are healthy for you... I think people are more willing to say, "okay, I'll put a hundred dollars down knowing that I'll get something that's good for my body"....we're holding ourselves accountable by paying for it up front. And then we're telling the farmers that they're valuable, and they're worth our time and our energy and our money.

One interviewee connected buying local products from the CSA farm to helping her community become more self-sustainable, saying, "...it's a local grown organic produce farm...grown local so we can support our own city."

2.4.2.1.2.2. Customer Service. Both co-op and CSA members described ways that they felt the management and staff at their venues put in extra effort to help them find products they were interested in or help them learn how to best utilize their shares. Interviewees described ways they felt that the CSA/co-op managers cared about their customers and managed their venues in ways that emphasized people, not profit.

Three interviewees who belonged to a community supported agriculture programs frequently mentioned that farm managers and staff went out of their way to assist their customers in learning how to utilize the produce they received in their farm shares. Two CSA members mentioned their appreciation for farm managers who emailed them a list of the fruits and vegetables that would be included in the upcoming share ahead of time, as well as recipes for using their produce so that customers could plan their meals in advance. CSA managers also emailed strategies for storing produce interviewees may not be able to use immediately. One member described her attraction to the CSA she belongs to:

I was attracted to the shopping style method, she lays it all out on the table as if you were shopping, and tells you to choose based on how well the crops have done, say, six or seven items...and then she'll have, for example...on eggplants, "choose one big or two small' [...] And, she'll send you a list ahead of time [...] And has a really nice presentation about the whole thing, emails you to tell you what she's probably going to have ahead of time, so you can make a shopping list, meal plan [...] that's the kind of person I am, anyway.

The personal touch offered by CSA managers was also noted by four interviewees, all of whom mentioned the care managers took in arranging their produce in a visually aesthetic way, being offered extra produce or being able to trade in items interviewees weren't as fond of and general feelings that the farm managers really cared about their customers. One interviewee described how her impression of the CSA website shaped her interest in participating, speaking about how it was written in a way that, "feels more like somebody just kind of talking to you about what they're excited about" and noted "it's not so slick that you feel like you're being sold on something. And I think it communicates that they're excited about what they do...It's their family running this farm, and I think that's really cool." A second CSA member described how her interactions with the farmer who ran her CSA influenced her desire to choose his CSA:

[...] we went in the hoop houses on a miserably cold day, and he lifted up the sheets [...] and it was amazing. Beautiful, tall kale...it was just stunning [...] he just has this presence, like aesthetic care, that I think is somewhat unique and he cares a lot about the presentation [of the CSA share] [...] you get a box full, I think he really wants people to feel like they've gotten what they've invested in and makes a really strong effort to do that.

Similar to the sense of caring CSA members' felt farm managers and staff exhibited toward their members, three co-op members also valued belonging to a co-op as an organization that they felt valued the people who shop there more than profit that could be made from them. While interviewees who belonged to co-ops might not have mentioned ways the co-op assists members in utilizing products, several interviewees mentioned that they could

special order products they were interested in; “if they [the co-op] don’t have it, they can try and get it” and “they’re so responsive to peoples’ requests.”

The ability to give input and feedback on how the co-op was run was mentioned by seven co-op members as an aspect they valued about their membership, noting their appreciation to “have more say in how the place is run, more input” and for “feel[ing] like you do have a voice in what could be going on there.” One interviewee elaborated about how being able to “have a voice” was something in his values and personality that brought him to join a co-op:

[...] part of it is that you have a voice in something that...there’s a lot of things in our lives that we don’t have much of a voice in. Or feel like we don’t have much of a voice in: state, federal policies; pollution levels in China...all sorts of things we have absolutely no control over. Miniscule amounts of control. I think it makes sense to have parts of your life, as much of your life as possible, where you can make a conscious effort to have direct control.

Two interviewees talked about their feelings of trust in the co-op management and three interviewees spoke about their value for the transparency of decision-making in the co-op, noting that “they’re open about their processes and their decisions and they seek our input” and “you can vote for the board of directors, so you have a say in that” and “you feel like you do have a voice in what could be going on there.” One interviewee elaborated on situations in which the co-op asks for members’ feedback:

When I first started shopping there, they didn’t sell meat at all. And before they started selling meat, they did a poll of the members: should we do this? [...] what kind of meats should we carry? They will occasionally seek input on a type of product...you know, so they’ll be sensitive if something becomes a political issue, as it easily does...and they’ll ask their members how they feel about it...it’s an informational poll, more so than a decision making one. But I would imagine that they would gauge the predominant sentiment of their customers and then make their decision from that. And then, we also vote on, like I said, board members. We choose the people who run the co-op.

2.4.2.1.2.3. *Community Building*. Eleven interviewees talked about the sense of community that the CSA or co-op fostered and their enjoyment of getting to know others with similar interests. These concepts both initially motivated them to participate in membership and were something that continued to motivate interviewees' to return each year.

Three interviewees specifically talked about their enjoyment of getting to know the farm managers at the CSA and of meeting new people when they came to their CSA pick-ups, particularly when their families were able to interact with one another. One CSA members described this as:

[...] you have a direct connection to knowing how the person that's raising your food is doing, how their family is doing. They know about you and your family. [...] you start running into other people who also get their vegetables from the same place. And you get to know a sense of folks that way [...] so it [going to the CSA] was like, your social, Saturday morning thing [...] my kids can run around on the farm for a little while...you can show up and pull carrots or plant onions...which is a great way to get to know people and a great was to enjoy the pleasures of farming...

Similar to the social experience this CSA member enjoyed, two co-op members described enjoying going to the co-op as a place where they felt comfortable and happy to take their children, and that this feeling motivated them to keep coming back. When asked if she felt her social network had grown as a result of shopping at the co-op or going to the farmers market, one co-op member replied:

[...] it's nice to buy from people that you know, they've all watched my daughter grow up, as I've watched their kids grow up too, at the farmers market...a lot of times, it's a family-kind of endeavor...It really does build [community]...I'm a single mom, so I work full time, and don't have a lot of opportunities for community, so that's my social kind of thing, is going to the farmers market, shopping at the co-op.

Five co-op members also discussed feeling a larger sense of community by belonging to a “community of people who have like-minded ideas about food.” One interviewee talked about how as a result of the community he felt at the co-op, he felt more of a sense of self-ownership and pride in his membership:

I guess I feel that the community at the co-op is stronger than the actual employees there...it feels good to be in the co-op...I direct people all the time to where things might be and try to help them out, because I feel like it's my co-op, you know? I do things I wouldn't at a regular grocery store – like I put my basket back where it belongs...At [a conventional grocery store], I would just leave it on the counter, you know? [Laughs]. So there's a bit of a community feeling to it, where it feels like it belongs to us, as opposed to belonging to a corporation or something. I feel like it's ours, or mine.

The atmosphere of the co-op was also discussed as lending to “a really nice feeling;” one interviewee described the multitude of people she saw on her shopping trips, saying:

It has a definite kind of personality, and I like that. You know, you get all walks of life, from students to seniors, families with kids and people hanging on their lunch hour to eat at the lunch bar, so it's a real diverse place, but it's also...I think it feels like more than a store. It feels like, kind of a hang-out place.

2.4.2.1.2.4. Convenience. Eighteen interviewees described ways that belonging to a co-op or CSA offered an easier shopping experience than other food venues. For sixteen interviewees, the price of their CSA membership or the discounts available to co-op members influenced their decision to participate. Seven CSA members described the price of their CSA membership and the quality of the produce along the lines of being a “pretty good value,” “less than you'd spend in a grocery store,” and a “really cool way to be able to eat local food that is produced sustainably and generally organically and it's not terribly expensive.” One CSA member elaborated:

And if you think about it dollar for dollar, if you went to the health food store and you spent ten dollars, you would probably only get one bunch of, you know, greens or lettuce...Here you get a whole bag full of food.

Nine interviewees mentioned that the discounts available to them as co-op members influenced their decision to join, either in the money returned to them if the co-op made a profit (profit is returned to members proportionally to how much they spend), or in the member discount days members may take advantage of. One interviewee talked about how the member discounts persuaded him to consider membership:

We like to go out on Saturday mornings for our coffees. So we had been going there for maybe six months and kept saying every time we went there, we should probably be a member of the co-op, since every now and then we saw member discount days [...] my wife has been a co-op member in the past [...] being a vegetarian and being interested in organic foods and sources...that's how she got interested in it. My main interest was that [...] with how often we went there, and how much money we spent there, it seems to only make sense to become a member.

Another interviewee spoke about how paying for her CSA membership ahead of the growing season was an easier choice than trying to figure out her budget for the supermarket each week:

So the first time we got a CSA, I did it for all those value-based reasons, but then, what I discovered, was that my family ate so much healthier [Laughs]. So that's a big, big piece that keeps me coming back...because we are a low income family...every time I go to the grocery store, I will look at things and be like, "do I really need that, do I not need that"...Whereas at the CSA, I just lay down the money one time, decision's done, and then for the rest of the summer I bring home piles of vegetables.

Many interviewees also appreciated being able to reduce their shopping time because their membership offered them a way to get all of the foods they wanted from one location, rather than having to go to multiple venues to seek foods with the characteristics they valued. For nine interviewees, membership in a CSA or co-op offered them one location to be able to

purchase foods that were fresh, locally-produced, organic, natural, healthy, or vegetarian options. One co-op member explained her happiness that she could shop in one location for local goods, saying:

[...] they [the co-op] have a great selection of healthy and natural products. And they support local farmers and producers, so it's convenient because if I want to buy local products I can go to one place. I don't have to travel to this farm to buy milk and over here to buy eggs.

Several co-op members discussed how the proximity of the co-op to their homes or workplaces and the hours of operation made the co-op a convenient shopping location. Similarly, the multiple pick-up locations offered by CSA farms were additionally convenient aspects of membership. One CSA member described choosing the CSA farm she belonged to due to the flexible pick-up locations:

[...] she [the CSA farmer] has a location in this neighborhood, and then I'll switch now to her [other] drop-off. So another thing about [the CSA farm] is that you don't have to go to her farm...I would like to go to people's farms, and I've been to a couple of my friend's farms that only have pick-up at their farms, and that's why I don't participate through them. I love their farms but I can't spend the time and gas.

Three co-op members discussed feeling that the co-op was easier to navigate than a larger conventional grocery store that carried more products. For example, one interviewee talked about the simplicity of the co-op as a convenient way for her to shop with a young child, describing that there weren't as many items to sort through that she didn't feel she needed:

[...] people who shop at [the large grocery store chain], they're there to buy a bunch of stuff [and] everybody's in a hurry...And [the co-op], it's just different...I feel like people still take the time to be friendly...I don't go there [the co-op] for other things...I don't need throw pillows [laughs], I don't need bed spreads and towels and vases and all that other stuff. So, it's physically easier, especially when you have a very active toddler with you, to just pop into [the co-op] and get exactly what you need.

2.4.2.1.2.5. *Education.* For seven interviewees, belonging to a food co-op or CSA offers them a source of information about topics of interest. Three co-op members mentioned that their membership provided a source of information for them, one of whom explained that the co-op offers classes on “all sorts of different things taught by producers, local experts, farmers,” and one of whom mentioned, “...it’s also very educational. They’re constantly offering information on everything from nutrition to politics.”

For two other interviewees, belonging to their organizations helped them learn how to better grow their own produce. For example, one CSA member said, “[...] on Wednesday, I’ll go help plant onions [at a nearby CSA], because [...] I’d like to just go help them and see if there’s anything that I could be doing [growing] better.” A co-op member mentioned that he enjoyed learning more about the types of produce that he could grow in his own garden through seeing the types of local produce available at the co-op, as well as find out about local farms in the area while shopping at the co-op. He talked about how learning that a local farm grew horseradish (that he’d purchased at the co-op) led him to grow his own horseradish and teach his children about the plant can be used as a natural insect repellent:

Knowing where food comes from, I think, is super important. I have two daughters[...] and we’ve really gotten them involved in our garden...we’ve got twelve raised beds that are pretty good sized beds [...] and with the co-ops you get to go in and you get to see some of the stuff that they have, and say, ‘hmm, I’d like to grow that.’ Or you learn about a farm that exists in [a town nearby] that you had no idea that that place even existed and they grow the best horseradish that you’ve ever tasted. You know, so, from an educational standpoint, I love it for my kids. [...] I’ll pick up a product at the co-op that you can’t find at [a large regional supermarket chain] or whatever and then I’ll teach my kids about it, and I’ll teach them about how the scent of horseradish, if you plant it with potatoes, deters the potato beetle.

Additionally, one interviewee, when discussing what he felt it meant that he belonged to a community supported agriculture program, spoke about outreach programs offered by the CSA that offered educational opportunities for disadvantaged people to learn how to grow their own food:

[...] the CSA allows them a spot where they can actually learn something about organic farming and about community support and about eating properly. [...] it allows them to maybe get a little closer to...pardon the pun, but to their roots. I mean, farming is a way of life...you can support yourself if you had a piece of property, I mean, there's plenty of community gardens around that you can grow things in and if you just take up a plot there, they're free often, and you can get what you need done to get your family fed proper food. It'll help with their health and also maybe they can sell it at the farmer's market [...] it's important to support the community in that way.

2.4.2.1.2.6. Trying New Foods. Six interviewees mentioned their enjoyment of trying new foods offered through their memberships. Four interviewees talked about their enjoyment of being introduced to a new variety of vegetables through belonging to a CSA membership. They stated that the CSA “gr[ew] vegetables that I have never tried before,” that membership introduced them to “all kinds of crazy vegetables,” and “exposed [them] to foods you may never have bought.” As a further illustration, one interviewee elaborated:

I mean it's awesome; you get all kinds of great vegetables. Plus, it allows me to experience vegetables that I generally don't see in the store. I mean, I get this crazy looking alien-radish-lookin' thing, actually I had to look it up online because it didn't say [...] it was kohlrabi, and it was actually very tasty, and now I look forward to pursuing kohlrabi... where I would have never tried it. You know, but it comes in the share, so why not?

Three of the four interviewees who were excited by the variety of produce their CSA provided them with noted that they also enjoyed learning how to cook these unfamiliar foods, and shared descriptions similar a statement made by one of the interviewees: “I enjoy experimenting with food, and looking up recipes online, trying to figure out how to cook it.”

Similarly, two co-op members also discussed their interest in joining the co-op because of the “interesting,” “unique,” and “specialty” foods the co-op provides. One interviewee reminisced about going to the co-op with a friend as a child where she had a chance to try “weird” foods like dried pineapple. She explained that she found the pineapple to be weird because “didn’t come in a pre-package” and it “wasn’t what I was used to eating in my own home.” Her memory of this experience influenced her decision to join the co-op to look for specialty foods later in life.

Another interviewee talked about how her husband’s interest in cooking and her own interest in trying specialty foods led them to become co-op members:

I like good food. (Laughter) [...] probably the biggest thing is that my husband loves to cook. So I hate cooking. [...] And so he is always on the hunt for new and different ingredients [...] I think he is more of a foodie than I am; I like good food, but it’s so much trouble, where he is willing to invest that effort. [...] it helps that we came from the east coast, so that we were used to sort of the farmers markets and the individual shops, bakeries and cheese shop or whatever. I think he, even more than I, was looking for ways to replace that.

2.4.2.1.2.7. Tasty Food. Four interviewees spoke about their appreciation for the good flavor of the food produced through their memberships. For three interviewees (CSA members), the flavor of the produce they receive is something they note as a benefit of their membership, while for one co-op member, the taste of the coffee served at the co-op is also a reason to keep coming back. For example, one CSA member described his appreciation for getting foods that were fresh, saying, “[...] with the CSA, the fact that it’s not being shipped and you don’t have to worry about spoilage and retention...you get things that taste better.” Another CSA member talked the taste of the produce she receives as one of the best parts of being a CSA member:

You could say that not having a choice about what you get [is the worst part], but I really don’t see it as a drawback, because I know that the things I’m eating

are really good for me and they're all delicious. I mean, they're fresh, and they're local, and they've got great flavor...And I get comments everywhere I go about my girls, "your girls are the best eaters," I hear that everywhere. And I think the CSA probably had something to do with that.

One co-op member described how he became more interested in participating in a food co-op after discovering how much he liked the coffee served in the co-op deli/restaurant. While he shared other motivations as being influential in his decision to join the co-op, namely his wife's interest in healthy and vegetarian food options, he also gave this caveat:

I think if I were a bachelor and had not met my wife, I would have joined the co-op for the coffee, but not bought food there mostly. [...] It's very good. The taste is good, the environment is good for doing more curb[side] eating, but the food is always, usually, more expensive.

2.4.2.1.3. Membership Offers Access to Desirable Foods

Many interviewees described how belonging to a food co-op or CSA program offered them access to foods produced with specific characteristics or growing practices that they found desirable (Table 2.4). Interviewees discussed valuing environmentally production practices and access to healthy foods, foods grown without chemicals, and foods whose place of origin they could identify.

Table 2.4: Food attributes and production practices valued by interviewees in the foods they purchase through their co-op or CSA memberships.

Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
Environmentally-Friendly Production Practices	ECO-MEM	8	38%
Chemical Free	CHEM-MEM	7	33%
Healthy	HEAL-MEM	11	52%
Known Origin	KNOW-MEM	8	38%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

2.4.2.1.3.1. *Environmentally-Friendly Production Practices.* Eight interviewees mentioned that they felt their CSA or co-op membership offered products that were produced with consideration for the ecological sustainability of the land they were grown or raised on. For

some interviewees, this was influential in their choice to become a CSA/co-op member, while for others it was among other aspects of membership they appreciated. Five of the eight interviewees included co-op members who felt that the co-op made a special effort to purchase foods that were grown or produced in a way that considered the long-term ecologic sustainability of the land where food was produced. For example, one co-op member talked about his decision to join the co-op because he felt their values aligned with his, stating, "...if the co-op was on a mission to provide inexpensive processed food as cheaply as possible...that wouldn't be where my values would be, but in terms of food and food politics, that's where I see my values align with a co-op." When asked to describe what he meant by "food politics," he elaborated on his preference for food to be sustainably grown:

If you look multiple generations down the road, is this a way to produce something where things will look relatively the same, or better? [...] You can farm using massive amounts of irrigated water and tilling every twice a year and you lose a ton of soil. By applying pesticides and herbicides and using genetically modified crops, you can pile all that stuff together and over 100 years, that's not a sustainable method[...] there's a lot of smart ways to grow lots of food in large quantities of food in an economic way that aren't necessarily being done.

One CSA member also discussed her preference to purchase food from the CSA because she felt the farmers made an extra effort to grow their crops in a way that not only prevented harm to the environment, but that benefitted the land where they grew:

When I see commercial farms, it doesn't always seem like they're going out of their way to be beneficial to the area or to the land, and just from how people at [the CSA] have talked about the way that they try to farm, it just seems like they're trying to do that: to be beneficial and to respect the land, and not cover it with chemicals or not treat it in a way that, you know, [they] use it up and run away, and use up some other piece of land.

This interviewee also mentioned her appreciation that purchasing food from the CSA meant that it traveled less to reach her: "I liked the idea of my food not being trucked from the other

side of the country to get here. That seems really inefficient.” One co-op member also mentioned that she shopped at the co-op out of a desire to reduce the miles her food traveled from its site of production.

2.4.2.1.3.2. Chemical Free. Seven interviewees stated that their interest in accessing foods produced with organic practices, naturally-grown practices (organic practices, but not organic certified), or without genetically modified organisms (GMOs) led them to be interested in participating in a CSA or co-op. While three interviewees spoke more generally about disapproving of “chemicals” in foods, four interviewees specifically noted their desire for organic produce as an influence in their decision to join a co-op or CSA. For instance, one interviewee discussed how his interest in joining a food co-op was partly motivated by having better access to organic foods, saying, “It became also a financial decision as well, that you know, we’re going to get a break on local food that is also in most cases organic. And if it’s not organic, they label them. They make sure that you’re aware that it’s conventionally produced.”

Similarly, three interviewees were opposed to consuming foods produced from GMOs. For example, one interviewee spoke about her feelings that foods produced without GMOs were higher quality products and that she felt confident that the co-op she belonged to would provide her with the knowledge of whether products were made with or without genetically modified organisms:

I also like to consider quality...just knowing where the sources are. So, quality, in terms of...fair-trade, organic, looking at where things come from. I really like to know the source of where my food comes from, and I get a lot more transparency at the co-op. And I would consider that...higher quality. I mean, if you know where your food is coming from, like a low-quality source, like maybe a big factory farm with GMOs, and basically fostered with chemicals, that would be lower quality to me.

2.4.2.1.3.3. *Healthy*. Eleven interviewees discussed their appreciation for the health benefits that belonging to a co-op or CSA provides. For four interviewees, their initial interest in participating in their membership was motivated by a desire to eat healthfully. For example, one interviewee spoke about how her motivation to join a CSA came from her personal journey for better health:

I started to learn about health and food, better food choices, and things. And then in 2009, I started my weight loss journey, and then I started reading a lot of books and doing a lot of research on food, and chemicals, and all that [...] I guess it's just because I wanted to buy better quality food for my family. So it's like sort of educating myself on health and all that, and I liked the appeal that it was local.

Another interviewee explained that she felt the CSA was a healthier choice for her because:

It gives me a better variety of foods and kind of forces me to eat more produce [...] because I don't want it to go bad and I don't want to waste it [...] there's certain kinds of produce that I wouldn't normally [eat]...that has particular nutrients that I might be missing the rest of the time [...] but when it's on my counter [...] I'm going to chop that up and stick it in something.

Three interviewees also mentioned that they felt that the wide variety of produce offered by their CSA “forced them to eat healthier,” because they “don’t want to waste it,” which was a quality they appreciated. For example, one interviewee said:

I know it's worthwhile...it's preventive health, I know it's an okay decision to make with my money...You eat a lot more greens...So you're always eating kale and bok choy, and arugula...all these things that as a mother of a four-year-old and a seven-year-old, I probably wouldn't be buying at the grocery store...But when they come fresh from the farm, they're actually great. Really delicious...So there's a definite difference in the amount of vegetables we eat. There's a definite difference in the quality of the vegetable we eat.

Similarly, four co-op members mentioned that they appreciated having better access to healthy foods, one of whom talked about how she felt her health was influenced simply by seeing the variety of products the co-op offered:

[...] it's certainly changed the way that we eat remarkably, because of the products that they carry. If I see something that I don't know what it is, I can look it up and say, "Oh, You know, well, I can add flax seed to, you know, our salad." [...] They carry things that I can educate myself about and add to our diet. So, shopping there has definitely improved our health.

2.4.2.1.3.4. Known Origin. Eight interviewees discussed both literal and more philosophical appreciations for how belonging to a co-op/CSA allowed them to know better where their food comes from. Five of the eight interviewees wanted to know literally where their food was produced, what production practices were used, and who had handled it. One interviewee described how he valued that the co-op he belonged to had knowledgeable employees who could help answer his questions about the origins of food products:

If you walk into [a large conventional supermarket], or a big superstore that has produce [...] and meats [...] you don't have the personal experience. I think that's really big for somebody who wants to ask, "Hey, where did this come from?" and immediately the people that the [co-op hires] will...eight times out of ten, will know where it came from [...] So that's a huge perk.

Four of the eight interviewees who discussed wanting to know more about the origin of their food also talked about their memberships providing a more philosophical understanding of where food comes on a larger social, economic, ecologic scale. To these interviewees, knowing where your food comes from means not only recognizing the location where it's produced, but also recognizing what it takes to be produced. One interviewee viewed her CSA membership as a way to "build a personal relationship with your food," explaining that by "buying directly from the farmer...you have an opportunity to build a relationship with that

person and to understand what's actually going on to your food, and who's the one cultivating it..." For another interviewee, knowing where her food comes from means more than just understanding its country of origin:

That's what's gone completely wrong with agriculture...when people have bounties of crops, why aren't they being frozen and kept in the local system? [Laughs] Food needs to be kept in the community...it's healthier for you...those that do use pesticides need to use less pesticides if it doesn't have to travel so far...it doesn't have to be picked so early when it's not even ripe...it loses so much benefits, there's so many reasons why food traveling is a bad idea for our health, the environment's health...the communities need to get to know each other again, need to know more about their food, as we continue to let food disappear from us, it's really disappearing from us! We don't know what's in it. I'm concerned about GMOs, I'm concerned about monocultures, I'm concerned about the water usage and the shipping and anything and everything you can be concerned about, I am gravely concerned about. [Laughs]. And the community aspect, though, of, of picking up your food directly from a farmer at either a CSA or a market, is [it's] so huge to be able to talk to them about how it's grown.

2.4.2.2. Characteristics Important to Interviewees in the Foods they Buy

To find out more about the characteristics local food consumers valued in the foods that they buy, interviewees were asked several of the following questions based on their responses to previous questions, and as time allowed: 1) what they might do if they were unable to find an item normally offered through their membership (where else might they go shop); 2) if there were foods that they ate regularly that they could not find through their membership (and how they purchased those); 3) to describe how they would choose between two packages of a similar products, (e.g., two packages of strawberries, two loaves of bread, or two packages of chicken); and 4) about their preferences when purchasing meat. Interviewees discussed the factors that influence their decisions about food purchases and described the specific food attributes and production practices that they value in the foods that they buy.

2.4.2.2.1. Factors that Influence Decisions about Food Purchases

When speaking about how they make decisions about the foods they purchase, interviewees discussed the convenience of food choices, their distrust for the agricultural industry, and their personal ethics as influential in determining what they buy (Table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Factors that influence interviewees' decisions about food purchases.

Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
Knowing Where Food Comes From	KNOW-GEN	14	67%
Convenience	CONV-GEN	13	62%
Distrust of the Agricultural Industry	DIST	9	43%
Personal Ethics	ETH-GEN	11	52%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

2.4.2.2.1.1. *Knowing Where Food Comes From.* Fourteen interviewees mentioned that knowing where their food came from was important to them in making their purchases. Interviewees wanted to know where their food was produced, how it was produced, who produced it, and essentially, what it took for that food to get from the farmer to their table.

Interest in wanting to know where food comes from and how it's produced related to interviewees' concerns about health and food safety; eight interviewees spoke about wanting to be able to find out about farmers' production practices, whether it was produce, dairy, or meat products they were purchasing. One interviewee talked about purchasing his meat from a local butcher because he felt comforted that "if I'm buying burger, it [is] single source" (i.e., made from the meat of one cow rather than many cows). Another interviewee mentioned that he wanted dairy from a source "that I trust is unpasteurized," which another interviewee discussed that she also valued due her personal sensitivity to pasteurized milk. If the food's

origin is known, consumers can ask the producers questions about their production practices.

One interviewee described her conversation with a grower at a farmers market:

The first thing I ask them is how much pesticide they use. What do you spray? What don't you spray? ...there are some who will tell you they have a pest management program where they only spray half as often or use a natural product...there's actually one apple farm that, last year, they tried using a baking soda based on, so I bought from them because, you know, it was something naturally based. So, I ask them about their pest management system...what specific products they use. I ask them about their growing, and I always ask where they're located.

Being able to ask questions about where food comes from also related to interviewees' desire to know if the food production practices utilized by food producers fit with their ethical standards. Seven interviewees specifically wanted to know how domestic meat animals were raised. One interviewee talked about purchasing locally raised meat animals so "I'm able to see the conditions in which they live and die," saying that she "fe[lt] a lot better about being able to consume those products, make those decisions, knowing that yes, a creature has died for my benefit, but, not in a horrific way." Another interviewee talked about how being able to ask farmers about their production practices influenced her decision to begin eating meat again after becoming a vegetarian:

The reason... I wasn't a strict vegetarian but almost a vegetarian, is because of the way the animals were treated...I didn't know that there was another way that you could buy meat locally, directly from a farmer, you know, that their animals were humanely treated...I just, I thought the only option was, you know, the factory farm places, and I couldn't think about it...I couldn't eat the food that I knew was coming out of there. So when this option opened up...then I became okay with eating it and giving it to my daughter.

From a more philosophical perspective, interviewees valued knowing where their food comes to make a statement about appreciating what it takes to produce food. One interviewee

explained his appreciation for getting to know the farmers whose food he purchased and having a closer connection to how that food is produced:

I was always a little skeptical of the local food movement...I thought it was just a trend, but when I went out and saw what these people are growing, and how they're growing it, I'm totally convinced. I want to meet my farmer, I want to see who they are, and I want to go to their farm...I'm looking forward to the co-op's next farm day...they had nine farms last time and I only saw three. It was just an amazing experience to see people essentially growing these humungous garden beds that look like something you'd grow in your backyard...and that really solidified that I want to eat as close to locally produced food as I can and I try to know my farmers.

Similarly, two interviewees talked about the steps that they took to be able to know where their food comes from, and mentioned that they made the choices they did because they wanted their children to have a better understanding of where their food comes from and what it takes to produce it. One interviewee spoke about taking his children to visit the farm where they purchased their meat and about teaching his girls how to garden at home, explaining that the choices he makes to buy local products “go[es] back to...what knowledge do I want to impart on my children?” Another interviewee elaborated on this concept, saying:

I have kids and more and more...I think about my kids and how they are being raised in my household; they understand where meat comes from, they understand where vegetables come from, they understand how labor intensive it is, and that when we deplete certain things, it's gone. There is nothing, there's no more.

Knowing where food comes from, to one interviewee, is a statement in antithesis to processed “convenience” foods and fast food culture. She spoke about how she felt that the rise in quick, easy, processed foods equated to poorer nutrition and that “fifty years ago, American eating habits were so different.” She elaborated on what she felt was different fifty years ago:

There weren't as many convenience products available...people made more of their own stuff and knew what was in it [...] my grandma had this big garden and she canned and pickled and did all that stuff. I don't know how to do any of that. I've never seen my parents do it. Maybe it got lost with my parents' generation. But I think as we get more and more busy, and [are] working longer hours and trying to fit in 11 billion different activities all the time, there's less and less time to prepare food or to grow it ourselves...you could eat something way better if you stopped and took time to prepare it from some ingredients, but I think the general feeling is, who has time for that? How will I have time to update my Facebook status fifteen times today if I take the time to prepare dinner?

2.4.2.2.1.2. Convenience. Thirteen interviewees articulated that for at least some of the food choices they made, the convenience at which they could acquire foods influenced which foods they purchased and where the foods were bought. Six interviewees mentioned that their decision about where to shop for food outside of their membership was based on the proximity of another vendor to their home or place of employment, and that they generally chose options that did not force them too far out of their way to go shopping. One interviewee mentioned that while she preferred "Michigan grown product[s]," and favored purchasing "frozen over fresh, if it's out of season," she felt, "it's not generally worth my time to make an extra trip just to get that fruit, even if I'm on that side of town." Another interviewee described how he chose to shop at one grocery store over another:

So, it depends on where we live. We switched places recently, so, the [independent grocery store chain] used to be directly on the way back from work, and now [conventional grocery store] [is] directly on the way back from work, so it's convenient to stop to buy the bulk of what we're going to eat...And then, we fill that in with things from either the farmer's market or from the co-op.

Similarly, four interviewees described making decisions between different food products based on the types of products available at the vendor where they chose to shop; if they did not wish to shop at more than one location, they were limited in their selection. One

interviewee mentioned that he chose the meats that he ate based on the availability of what was offered. Another interviewee talked about her preference for humanely raised meat, but often found herself limited by what she could find at the grocery store where she did the majority of her shopping:

And then it comes back to that convenience issue again, of that's what's easy to get... it's hard to avoid meat that comes from those circumstances...so I guess if there were a package that led me to believe that these cows had been treated well...not just be shoved in a stall and never allowed to move ever in their life, I'd prefer to eat meat from the cow that had the more natural lifestyle...but I probably wouldn't be willing to pay more than like 50% more for it...And, the vast majority of everything there is just going to be kind of normal, industrial cow [laughs]...I don't know what to call it – the unhappy cow?...so I guess it's easier to find that stuff in a more specialized store...then you're not looking at this 30-foot-long meat shelf trying to figure out what's what.

Two interviewees talked about choosing between foods with differing characteristics based upon how convenient it would be for them to go without the foods they wanted; one interviewee generally preferred organic produce, but said that she often purchased both conventionally grown and organic apples “because we go through so much food [with four boys], we just buy all of it.” Another interviewee mentioned that he preferred to buy produce that was grown in the United States, but if there was a shortage he would consider buying products grown in other countries because it was more convenient to have organic produce from Mexico than to wait until organic produce was available that was produced in the US:

I try to pick local first, and then unfortunately depending on need [...] we apparently had a cucumber shortage in the area, so the organic cucumbers that I'd been getting had been coming from Mexico. But we eat a lot of cucumber; we use them in our juicer, so ...I sorta need them. I really can't get them anywhere else, so I buy them [from outside the United States] [...]I feel conflicted though, I'm supporting an industry that I vowed never to support, but I also want to keep myself healthy and I can't bring myself to buy non-organic, so...I pay \$2.59 each for cucumbers from Mexico.

Ten interviewees expressed that their food choices were often determined by their budget, even if they might prefer to purchase more costly foods with the characteristics they considered ideal (e.g., organic, local, humanely raised). I considered price an aspect of convenience in that the price of foods determined how easy it was for interviewees to purchase the foods they wanted. Notably, several interviewees mentioned that they preferred organic products, but many felt they could only afford to pay so much for more organic than non-organic products, making statements similar to one interviewee who said, “I usually pick the organic one, but if it’s significantly more, we go to the cheaper one.” When speaking about the meats that they preferred to buy, many interviewees also mentioned that they’d prefer products that were “humanely raised,” “grass-fed,” or “pasture-raised” but sometimes felt they needed to compromise based on the prices of these “better” options. One interviewee elaborated on the trade-offs she saw in purchasing meats:

I am very pragmatic. I look for the cheapest kind I can find. [Laughs]...I have friends who are a lot more picky about their meat, that they will only do organic, free-range stuff. It’s really hard for me to do that because of the price [...] Those are things that I’d like to do, and I do them when I have money...but if I were to have a different criteria for the meat I eat, we would eat a lot less meat because of the expense of [choosing] meat with the same criteria that I try to follow for produce....I like the concept...I think it’s difficult to execute.

2.4.2.2.1.3. Distrust of the Agricultural Industry. When speaking about how they choose the foods that they buy, nine interviewees spoke about their distrust of the agricultural industry, particularly large agricultural corporations. Seven interviewees felt that large corporations were “out for profit, and that’s the bottom line...” rather than being concerned about the safety of their customers or the environmental consequences of their production practices. One interviewee spoke about how he felt large agrochemical companies took advantage of organic

farmers, stating: "...it's not some rival corporation trying to stop [a large agricultural chemical and seed producer] from producing RoundUp, it's just some organic farmers saying, 'hey man, we don't want your soy beans in our field...we don't want you to sue us when any[thing] comes into our field [and] creates a hybrid plant or RoundUp Ready plant that we didn't even want.'"

Another interviewee described how he felt better about purchasing locally grown organic foods because he felt local vendors were more responsible to their consumers:

It's important to me because I don't have a lot of faith in the food industry...like any business trying to maximize their profit and minimize their cost...they'll cut corners...I think you have to be closer to your producer because if your producer accidentally kills you and you don't know who they are...the problem with like, spinach, the Salmonella problem, all that stuff came from California...you never see that guy's face, but I bought spinach from the co-op, from the farmers market, and if it kills me, my wife's going to go to [the farmer or the co-op] and say, "Your spinach killed my husband," you know?...so you're less inclined to cut corners that will endanger people when you buy your food closer...I mean, you can...buy organic lettuce that's from California and it kind of blows my point about being close to them, but I guess it feels better. If you take the time to grow organic, you may be less inclined to cut corners.

Additionally, two interviewees described distrust for the agricultural industry's use of synthetic chemicals because they felt that the overuse of agrochemicals was leading to "super-bugs" and "super-diseases" and agricultural pests and disease strains continued to evolve in response to the chemicals. One interviewee stated:

I'm very concerned about creating super-bugs and super diseases that are resistant to all of these chemicals that we're already spraying on all our plants and vegetables. Now we're going to have to get even more or harsher and stronger and more damaging chemicals just to grow plants...you plant your organic vegetables with no pesticides or herbicides and bam!...the super bugs are destroying it [...]okay, now we're forced to eat factory-grown, factory-farmed plants and vegetables that are grown to look pretty, maximize profit and minimize nutrition content and make sure that the companies that are growing them are making more money, not the people that are eating them or getting healthier fruits and vegetables.

Another interviewee described her disappointment with the regulation of food labels, and what she saw as deceptive mislabeling of contents in processed foods:

And one of my pet peeves, is putting ground chicory in everything to increase the fiber content, and they call it inulin, “I-n-u-l-i-n.” It just bugs me because they are taking stuff out, and then they’re putting stuff back in. Or, they are trying to say something is healthier than it really is, but, when it has no inherent nutritional value, and then people think, “Oh, this is healthy.” And they don’t even realize because they are not looking at labels.

2.4.2.2.1.4. Personal Ethics. Eleven interviewees described wanting products that were produced in a way that was ethical or that fit with their personal moral standards for how their choices as individuals impacted a larger population. For some interviewees, purchasing ethical products meant purchasing products that were produced in a way that was ecologically, economically, or socially sustainable, meaning that production would remain viable for years into the future. An example of how interviewees defined “sustainability” is “look[ing] generations down the road” to “produce something where things will look relatively the same, or better” and as “a way of growing and consuming that puts minimal strain on environmental resources.” One interviewee explained what he meant when he stated that sustainability was an important characteristic in choosing the farm from which he purchases meat:

Minimal impact with maximum product. And over time. So, economically is it worth it? Environmentally, is it low impact? Over time, can you maintain that practice on a consistent basis? Have it continue to flourish?

A co-op member elaborated on considering the social sustainability of farming practices by thinking about how those practices influenced the health of farm workers and their neighbors:

Sustainable means to me...that you can meet everyone’s needs abundantly without detriment to others...to meet the meat demand, we’re harming some people....we’re harming the farmers that grow factory-farm meat. A lot of them

have all kinds of health problems...a lot of families that live downwind of major factory farms have to move out or totally leave their communities. And the air pollution and water pollution is so bad...

Interviewees spoke feeling “a sense of responsibility” to make food choices that most optimally impacted others, both now and in the future. Six interviewees mentioned concepts similar to one interviewee, who stated, “I have a son, and I want his children’s children’s grandchildren to all have a place to live. So, my concern is for the future of our race and our planet.” Another interviewee elaborated on what she meant by “a sense of responsibility”:

I feel a sense of responsibility towards the well-being of everybody else [laughs]. Seven billion people...I feel like...I have the power every day to make decisions that allow for other people to...live...healthy, meaningful, existences, and If I can make small decisions that allow for other people to do that, then it’s really my obligation as a person. I feel very strongly about activism and advocacy...even though I’m busy with...the small details of family life, I believe really strongly in putting your money where your mouth is and living what you preach. So that is definitely a driving force in the everyday decisions I make regarding everything in life, including how it’s produced.

2.4.2.2.2. Important Food Attributes and Production Practices

When speaking about the characteristics of food important to them in the foods that they buy, interviewees discussed the production practices and attributes of foods they preferred. The production practices interviewees mentioned as important to them included a preference for locally grown foods that were produced with concern for animal welfare and the environment (Table 2.6). Interviewees described the physical attributes important to them in the food that they purchase as including foods that are chemical free, healthy, in season, have an identified point of origin, and tasty (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6: Food attributes and production practices important to interviewees in the foods they purchase, in general.

Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
<i>Production Practices</i>			
Animal Welfare	ANW	11	52%
Environmentally Friendly	ECO-GEN	11	52%
Locally Grown	LOC-GEN	9	43%
<i>Attributes</i>			
Chemical Free	CHEM-GEN	19	90%
Healthy	HEAL-GEN	15	71%
In Season	INS-GEN	9	43%
Taste	TASTE-GEN	14	71%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

2.4.2.2.2.1. Animal Welfare. Overall, twelve interviewees emphasized their desire for animal food products (e.g., meat, milk) to come from animals that have lived in “good, clean, and kind conditions” and were “healthy and happy until the end of their lifecycle, when they’re used for food.” Interviewees’ conceptualizations of a “good” life were often associated with humane treatment (i.e., a quick and minimally painful death) and being able to live naturally without being overly constrained or fed items animals wouldn’t normally eat. One interviewee talked about what she meant when she stated she preferred to have meat that was “humanely raised”:

Smaller farms; good, clean, kind conditions. You know, I don’t want to eat chicken from a factory farm where they’re packed so close together that they peck each other’s eyes out...I eat meat, so I think it’s important for me to know how it’s produced [...] I would rather have a cow that is not shoveled through a feed-lot or slaughterhouse and zapped with an electrode before it’s killed...I want the process to be as humane as it can be, recognizing, of course, that these animals are being raised to be killed, to be put on my plate [...] there’s a pork producer at the farmers market, and she shows you pictures of the pigs while they were growing up [...] they’re in good conditions, cavorting around the field...I honestly think that the meat tastes better because they had a happy life. They weren’t stressed...I think the physical stress on an animal can produce chemicals in the body that affects the taste, I really believe that.

Another interviewee expanded on the notion that animals should be “humanely treated,” saying that she preferred them to be killed in “the least horrible way.” When she ate meat, she preferred to eat meat from larger animals like buffalo, which required only one animal be killed rather than killing the equivalent number of chickens for the same amount of meat. Nine interviewees mentioned that they looked for meat products produced from animals that were “free-range,” “pasture-raised,” and “grass-fed,” rather than “being fed whatever they feed cows in those, you know, high-productive meat markets/factories.” Interviewees preferred these standards so that they could be comforted that the animals were able “to graze or see light,” to move freely, “to strengthen their bones,” and “eat off the ground...as natural as possible.”

Four interviewees discussed buying locally-raised meat as an alternative to “factory farmed” meat or other industrial production methods, which were frequently associated with cruel practices such as overly small living areas, unclean conditions, and an inability to exhibit natural behaviors. One interviewee stated that she bought locally grown meat so that she could ask questions about the production practices and personally know better how the animals lived their lives. Another interviewee talked about purchasing meat from friends, where “we’ve fed and pet them.”

Three interviewees spoke about their pragmatism in purchasing meat products with animal welfare in mind. Some interviewees chose certain meat products they preferred to buy from local farms, while buying conventional products for other types of meat, and some interviewees viewed animal welfare as a continuum, with the best-treated animals often costing the most to purchase, and made their decisions based on what they could currently

afford. One interviewee talked about purchasing a portion of a cow from friends in the town where she and her husband used to live, but upon moving to a new location, couldn't afford to make the same choice:

We often still get things back from our hometown because we do have friends that are growers [...] They were giving us a price break [...] whereas here [...] that stuff [beef] is often like \$7.50 a pound...the cost is just prohibitive at this point [...] We get a lot of our meat at [a larger organic chain store] ...the standards are fairly low-ish in terms of animal welfare, if you actually look at what they're committed to [...] these aren't like beautiful, grassy farms with three cows on them...but they are committed to no antibiotics, no RGBH [recombinant bovine growth hormone], they officially have access to fresh air, and free-range...so it's kind of a more ethical choice than other places.

Four interviewees discussed choosing humanely-raised meat products because they felt that animals that were well treated were healthier animals, and these health benefits carried over to the people who consumed them. One interviewee talked about how she felt that buying meat animals that were fed a "high nutrient diet" meant that those nutrients would provide a "high nutrient meat" for her family. She provided an example of how she utilized this meat so as to best take advantage of the nutrients it offered, saying, "if you buy a whole chicken and cook it yourself, you can then end up using the broth, and you can get a lot of minerals from the bones..." Another interviewee stated, "...it really comes back to 'I am what the animals I eat, eat.' And so I want to eat things that are eating grass and stuff that they should be eating...I think it's just healthier."

2.4.2.2.2. Environmentally-Friendly. Eleven interviewees valued purchasing foods that they perceived to have been produced in a manner least detrimental to the natural resources utilized to create their food. Six interviewees discussed valuing food production practices that reduce the distance food travels from producers to consumers. Reducing the distance food

travels was viewed as a way to reduce the amount of fossil fuels utilized and the amount of air pollution/greenhouse gases released into the atmosphere. Four interviewees specifically mentioned that they considered the “carbon footprint” of how their foods are produced, referring to a metric that approximates the amount of carbon-based energy sources utilized to create a product. One interviewee who spoke generally about her preference to buy locally grown foods as a way to reduce the environmental impact of food traveling long distances, stated simply, “especially when it comes to food, I’m just aware of, you know, food trucked across the world and across the United States, has such an impact on the environment.”

An example of a more lengthy rationale that an interviewee utilized to weigh the “carbon footprint” of his food choices comes from a co-op member who described how he thought about choosing between local and non-local organic meat options:

When it comes to getting our proteins, we buy a quarter [of a] cow once a year, and then with our chicken...that’s typically a little less local. There’s not a very big organic chicken market that’s also local, not in the state of Michigan...I’d rather...invest in the carbon footprint that’s coming from Arkansas in the organic chicken [...] versus the carbon footprint of the non-organic corn that is being fed to the chicken that I can buy local. So to me it’s kind of a trade-off.

Interviewees were also concerned about the impact of agricultural practices on water bodies, discussing how they sought foods produced in a way that thoughtfully considered how much water was utilized in irrigation and techniques that prevent waterways from becoming polluted by direct inputs or runoff from croplands. Seven interviewees spoke about concerns associated with water usage or water pollution in agriculture, one of whom talked about how part of his decision to eat less meat was influenced by an awareness of how much water it takes to produce domestic cattle and concern for contamination of water sources due to surface water containing animal wastes:

I also know it takes way more energy to bring a cow to market than it does fruit. Vegetables, legumes, whatever. [Other people] complain about how much water it takes to water all these vegetables, but...it takes that much water plus some for cows to do the same thing [...] plus, you know, you produce all that waste and it goes right into the river and contaminates the water, and so many things are wrong with the way factory farms are run, that I just can't bring myself to eat that meat.

Six interviewees also discussed their preference for food production practices that contributed to healthy soil ecosystems and prevented soil erosion. Interviewees described valuing organic practices that they felt “nurtured the soil” and left more nutrients behind instead of conventional methods that required farmers to “inject the fertilizer into [the soil].” They also discussed preferences for farming techniques that minimized soil erosion, such “no-till practices” and planning “crop rotation[s] and cover crops.” One interviewee elaborated on his preference for organic produce as a way to minimize the impact on the soil ecosystem:

I gotta tell you that my commitment to organic may have gotten even stronger last summer when we did the farm tour thing because we went out to actual local farms [...] going out to these farms, I realize that these people are growing food like I grow food [...] in my garden, where the soil is a living thing, and they're nurturing the soil, and they have this commitment [...] I have a feeling in the end, the earth is left in a better state when they grow organic versus pumping it full of the chemical fertilizers to essentially give this vitamin pack in the soil so it can be absorbed for the plants to grow.

Lastly, three interviewees communicated that they wanted the products they purchased to be grown in a way that would preserve the biological diversity of other organisms living in the agricultural ecosystem, which may also be sensitive to conventional agricultural inputs. One interviewee applauded the efforts of friends of hers who farmed in a way that “reduc[ed] the impact on the habitat” and “work[ed] in collaboration with the critters,” citing an example of the farmers relocating raccoons that damaged their crops to a wildlife preserve. Another

interviewee expressed that she preferred organic products due to the impact she saw of synthetic agrochemicals on honey bee populations:

Certain fertilizers and pesticides are really negatively impacting waterways. They are killing off beneficial insects like honey bees. And I can see that, I can see that with my eyes. You know, from the time that I was a kid seeing my waterways polluted near my home, I can go out in my yard and tell you that...I may not see a honey bee all summer. Wasps and other things like that, but not honey bees. And that really concerns me, and it's not just for honey, but that they're vital for an ecosystem.

2.4.2.2.3. *Locally Grown.* In speaking about the characteristics important to them in their food choices, nine interviewees mentioned that buying local products was important to them because they felt that in doing so, they could help support the local economy and specifically support members of their community. These interviewees mentioned that by purchasing locally grown or locally made goods, they felt that they were “supporting [their] neighbor[s],” “supporting your local economic system,” and “supporting our city.” One interviewee elaborated on why she felt it was important to buy local items as a way to support her community:

It probably depends on how local it is, and how far it's traveling, but...something that's local, there's a lot more beyond just the produce itself and the quality and the freshness, but also, the fact that the people, they are people in your community. And it goes back to that community supported agriculture and the co-op. You know, supporting your neighbors, and your fellow residents of where you live, and that I think is really important...

Two interviewees spoke about buying local products as a way to support local businesses over large corporations. One interviewee, whose family owned a small business when she was a child, liked to support other local businesses as a way to contribute to the community in the same way that the community had supported her family's business. She said, “in terms of shopping local, especially growing up in a small family business, I've directly

received the benefits of people shopping locally, so I know how important it is.” Another interviewee spoke about his decision to purchase his meat from a local farm rather than a large company:

I know that by us purchasing from him [the farmer], we’ve supported him. He’s not a rich person, but he lives just fine. I know that my dollars that I earned didn’t go to some rich person who’s never even set foot on a farm, that when you look at the giant agricultural corporations, whether it’s through produce agriculture or protein agricultural corporations, they make millions and millions and millions off the backs of, of the cheap product that they have no pride in raising. And they are capable of pushing out the hard-working, industrialized farmer.

2.4.2.2.2.4. Chemical Free. One of the most common characteristics interviewees emphasized as important to them in making decisions about the foods that they purchase is a strong preference for foods grown without synthetic agricultural chemicals. Nineteen interviewees described preferring foods grown or produced without fertilizers, insecticides, growth hormones, and preservatives both due to their concern about the impact of these chemicals on human health and on environmental health.

Interviewees felt unsure about the impact of synthetic agrochemicals and additives on human health, which led them to be more cautious about the foods that they purchase. Five interviewees spoke about research they had done online to find out which types of produce were most likely to carry pesticide residues, with several interviewees mentioning the “Dirty Dozen” list produced by a non-profit environmental health research and advocacy group called the Environmental Working Group. The “Dirty Dozen” list advises consumers about which produce they should consider purchasing organic versus which produce they could buy conventional, based on yearly publications from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. For instance, one interviewee described how he made decisions about produce based on similar

publications: “I read articles about the foods that are important to eat organic, and bell peppers are one of those. [...] I decided to bite the bullet and buy those whenever I can [...] an onion [...] doesn’t pick up a lot of pesticides, so it’s not as important to eat organic.” Another interviewee described her rationale for buying more of her produce organically grown, based on general feelings that pesticides could be harmful to human health:

I’m not someone who needs thirty years of scientific research by the USDA [US Department of Agriculture] to convince me that pesticides and most fertilizers are bad for me. They’re bad for my family, they’re bad for the environment, they’re bad for the health of living creatures in general...small amounts of toxic substances aren’t going to have a big effect but cumulatively over the course of many years, living a lifestyle in which you are constantly in contact with environmental toxins has to be bad for you.

Four interviewees were concerned that consuming pesticide residues could potentially cause cancer, serious disease, or other impairments. For example, one interviewee specifically mentioned that in choosing between two packages of strawberries, he’d strongly prefer organic berries because the “toxic chemicals” on the non-organic strawberries are “linked to cancer and neurotoxicity.” Another interviewee mentioned that she preferred not to consume any chemicals because, “they cause a lot of health concerns, like cancer.”

Although GMOs are not an agrochemical (GMOs are produced from genetically modified seeds), interviewees associated GMO crops with large agricultural biotechnology companies that manufacture synthetic agrochemicals and whose GMO crop varieties are dependent on these substances. Two interviewees talked about their uncertainties towards the safety of consuming genetically modified organisms, one of whom described his perceptions of GMOs and skepticism of their safety:

I realized our fruits and vegetables are [...] being genetically modified and they’re being altered; they’re being grown and sprayed and chemicalized and its like,

“Oh my God, I’m eating that stuff?” I mean, I know it’s not on there directly, I’m not drinking the chemicals, but there still has to be residue on there, they can’t just go away. It doesn’t evaporate. It’s pretty harsh chemicals.

Ten interviewees were also skeptical of highly processed foods. Interviewees described processed foods (e.g., foods made with added man-made preservatives, artificial coloring or texture) as containing “too many ingredients” with names they “cannot pronounce.” One interviewee described her rule of thumb for purchasing processed foods, saying, “If you can’t pronounce them, if the list is longer than five, it is automatically a no to me...” Her sentiment was echoed by three other interviewees, one of whom stated that it had become important to her to be able to see what ingredients were in the food she purchased: “I don’t eat anything without thinking about it. I read labels; I make decisions based on what I read on those labels.” She went on to explain in greater depth:

I became convinced that processed food was the root of many ills, small and large, in our society. So I started out by trying to eliminate processed foods, and the first thing I became aware of was partially hydrogenated soybean oil...and then just other kinds of preservatives and additives and fillers...I want an ingredient list that’s as short as possible and things that I actually recognize as actual food.

“Fillers,” described by one interviewee as “a liquid preservative to make it [meat] reddish,” and by another as “random blended meat parts that are added,” were referenced by several other interviewees as an undesirable characteristic in selecting meat products. Interviewees felt deceived about the quality of meat they were purchasing, and felt disgusted as they did not consider “fillers” to be “real meat.” One interviewee mentioned that she was less concerned about animal welfare when selecting domestic meat, but was more concerned that she found:

Food that just is devoid of what I consider nasty stuff...I don't want fillers that they've had to bleach or dunk with ammonia in order to make them safe for me to eat, and I don't want food coloring, and I don't want meat that's red because they made it red to put it on the shelf. Like, I want it to actually have enough nutrients that it has that color.

Eight interviewees also mentioned preferring to eat meat produced without hormones, antibiotics, steroids, or preservatives. Human ingestion of the hormones fed to domestic meat cattle was generally viewed negatively, and similar to concerns about pesticide residues, one interviewee also mentioned her concern that "I just feel like the injections that they give the cows goes into us, and sometimes they give them a lot of steroids." Concern about the impact of hormones on human health was more specifically viewed by one interviewee as contributing to early sexual development in children:

And boys and girls alike are way more developed now than they were when I was in junior high or high school. And that is a trend that's been going on for decades, and you can attribute a lot of that to hormones and things that are in our foods and how it's changed us.

2.4.2.2.2.5. Healthy. The nutritive qualities of foods were mentioned by fifteen interviewees as an important characteristic in the choices they made about foods. Fourteen interviewees who spoke about their preferences for nutritional foods made statements similar to one interviewee who said, "I want the biggest health bang for my buck" and another who stated, "I just want my food to be as healthful and beneficial to feed myself and my daughter as possible."

Definitions of what it meant for food to be nutritious varied between interviewees, who described these characteristics when speaking about how they chose between different types of breads, cereals, and other somewhat processed foods that they purchased. Characteristics that multiple interviewees mentioned viewing as "healthy" included that foods were made with whole grains (three interviewees), made with little sugar or few added sweeteners (five

interviewees), and contained “decent amounts” of fiber and protein (two interviewees).

Specific characteristics that interviewees viewed as unhealthy included foods that contained high levels of fat (specifically trans-fats) (three interviewees) or had high levels of sodium (one interviewee).

Interviewees mentioned that they were interested in gaining better physical health, and five interviewees specifically spoke about their food choices as a preventative health choice. They described feelings that the foods they chose to eat now could prevent them from illnesses later in life. For example, one interviewee explained that she preferred to eat nutritious foods that would spare her some of the health problems her extended family members had encountered. She said, “My family has a history of obesity and heart problems...and I didn’t want to have those same health problems, so I started controlling what I ate and how I ate, so it’s become gradual since I was in college and took my first nutrition class...” Similarly, another interviewee also viewed the foods she ate as “our most natural and beneficial medicine,” saying:

I’ve just start[ed] to believe more and more that food is our most natural and beneficial medicine and we’ve grown so far away from that...I’ve done different detoxes and cleanses and stuff for my own health, and seeing the connection between what I eat and how I feel [...] it’s just so real and evident to me that there is a connection there.

2.4.2.2.2.6. In Season. Ten interviewees indicated that they preferred to eat foods that were “in season,” meaning that they wanted to consume produce that was currently naturally coming into ripeness. For three interviewees, their preference for eating seasonally went hand in hand with their preference to eat locally grown produce; if interviewees preferred to purchase only or mostly locally grown goods, they were limited in what they could eat based on

what was growing in their area. One interviewee explained, “[eating seasonally]...that’s my whole focus of eating, more and more. Even when we can’t eat seasonally, I try to think of crops that would be seasonal if I hadn’t saved enough, like we try to eat very few things that would never grow in Michigan.”

Another interviewee mentioned that she preferred to eat foods that were in season both as a way to protect the environment, and as a way to support the local economy, saying,

I’m not hard and fast in seasonality, except on some things, like asparagus. It’s my absolutely favorite vegetable. I absolutely will not buy it out of season until it’s in Michigan. [...] and because I don’t want it...flown in from South America...when the South America market opened for asparagus, it killed the Michigan farmers here that grow asparagus, so...if I can make a statement about that, I do, by not buying it.

This interviewee also went on to say that she felt that waiting for local foods to come into season “makes the food more special,” and felt a sense of nostalgia for when she was a child and they couldn’t purchase foods out of season, saying:

When I grew up, you only had strawberries in June [...] you only had sweet corn in July and August, and now you can get it anytime, but there was a sense of excitement when the first strawberries came [...] so my daughter really appreciates the food when she can finally have the sweet corn from the farmers market...it’s special [...] when I grew up, it wasn’t available much out of season, where generations [today][..] they think it’s always in season because it’s always at [a large grocery store chain]...and maybe are not as aware of where it comes from.

Interviewees offered several strategies for how they managed to eat in season produce when it was out of season in their region. The most common strategy for eating locally grown in season produce, mentioned by four interviewees, was to harvest or purchase fruits and vegetables when they were in their prime and then freeze them and store them to be enjoyed

later in the year. One interviewee explained, “I eat what’s in season....I don’t eat strawberries in January, except the ones that I have frozen myself that I bought at the farmer’s market...”

Other strategies mentioned by five interviewees included canning, dehydrating, or processing foods seasonally to save for the rest of the year. One interviewee spoke about learning how to can peaches with his mother, so that he could “eat a peach in the middle of winter,” another spoke about dehydrating tomatoes, and a third interviewee mentioned that “we made our own applesauce and a lot of friends make jams and dried fruits.”

If interviewees wanted locally grown, in season produce, but had not preserved some themselves, they talked about other ways they’d found to acquire the produce. A CSA member spoke about going to the co-op to buy locally-grown apples that had been put in cold storage, saying, “We will tend to try to still buy local food, so like, the co-op has apple storage [and other] storage fruits all winter,” and two co-op members mentioned joining a winter CSA to have better access to locally grown, seasonally ripe produce. One interviewee also mentioned that he’d purchase canned products from companies that were Michigan based, saying:

If I’m in the middle of January and I want a tomato, what do I do? I don’t eat a tomato. ..so if I want a fresh tomato, I wait until it’s either available through a hot house, which we found some nice Michigan raised organic heirloom tomatoes at [an organic chain store] this past weekend, and we got a couple of those ‘cause they’re local and they’re organic and they were grown in a climate controlled environment. But typically, I just don’t eat it. And it makes it that much better when you do.

The majority of interviewees who discussed their preference for products that were in season, similar to the interviewee in the above passage, offered some instances in which they were “strict” and refused to eat foods out of season and also mentioned instances in which they would compromise. Foods that interviewees felt passionately about eating only when in

season and only when grown locally included strawberries, tomatoes, and asparagus. Six interviewees mentioned that they would make an exception for citrus fruits grown in other regions of the United States if they could not get it in season in Michigan. A few interviewees also listed other foods, such as coffee and bananas, which they would purchase out of season when they felt these were foods they could not live without.

2.4.2.2.2.7. Taste. For fourteen interviewees, personal taste preferences were partially influential in determining which foods they purchased. A few interviewees spoke about taste as a primary criterion in selecting the foods they were interested in purchasing. When asked how she might choose between local or organic products, one interviewee discussed how she chose between organic and local brands of strawberries based on which she felt tasted better:

I prefer local. All the time. It's just fresher and it just tastes better. Which tastes better, a strawberry you picked yourself out in the field? Or a strawberry that was picked a week ago and came on an airplane from California. I know and I understand the environmental arguments, but for me, it's really if the strawberry from California tasted better, I would probably purchase it. But, I think things fresh out of the field are so much better.

More commonly, taste was important to interviewees as a secondary characteristic after another attribute they valued more was met. One interviewee spoke about purchasing local food primarily because he wanted to support the local economy, because he felt that buying from a local farm taught his children about where food comes from, but was also influenced by what he said was “[a] better tasting food.” Two interviewees stated that their preferences for the types of meat that they purchased were partly based on taste preferences and partly based on other criteria such as the fat content of the meat or how the meat was produced. Additionally, one interviewee discussed preferring to eat organic produce due to

concerns about food safety but also felt that local produce tasted a lot better than what he could get from a conventional grocery store:

Strawberries in particular are one of the top sprayed fruits...depending on what country it's coming from, it's probably got some horrible...toxic chemical sprayed on it...so...you could think about organic is better than non-organic, and then local organic is better than regular organic ...there's a huge difference between out-of-season, imported strawberries and strawberries that you pick from the local heirloom variety of strawberries. Just the flavor, you can't go back.

Taste preferences were also important to two interviewees when choosing between foods that were produced in a way that interviewees didn't find as concerning from a food safety or ethics standpoint. One interviewee talked about how the taste of certain types of produce influenced whether she would buy them locally grown, conventionally grown, or organically grown:

I can't eat tomatoes that aren't fresh and organic anymore. They just don't taste like tomatoes. And I think that definitely, the key factor there is taste...even when I buy organic, that's all around taste too. I didn't really think organic bananas would taste that much different...But actually, you can taste the difference. I did a study in one of my classes in college...having people blind taste test tomatoes, and blind taste test bananas, organic and conventionally, and...90% per each said that organic was better...if that weren't the case, it would be a lot harder for me to decide which to choose...

2.6. DISCUSSION

Few qualitative studies have been conducted to understand why individuals choose to participate in a food cooperative or CSA program in Michigan (with the exception of DeLind and Ferguson, 1999), though these venues have both been recognized as important contributors to the local food market (Michahelles, 2008; Dunne et al., 2010). This exploratory study provides descriptive, nuanced, accounts of interviewees' experiences and offers insight for future studies interested learning more about food co-operative and CSA members in southern Michigan.

The CSA and co-op members I interviewed described their memberships as both a practical way to purchase healthy, natural foods and as a way to get to know others in their communities, support local farmers and local businesses, and participate in food venues that they perceive to emphasize caring for people and the environment over personal profit. I found many similar concepts as have been found in previous literature examining co-op members' motivations to participate (Katchova and Woods, 2012; Kocher, 1988; Sommer, Hohn, & Tyburczy, 1981) and in previous literature examining CSA members' motivations to participate (Cone & Myhre, 2000; Oberholtzer, 2004; Schnell, 2013). Marion and Aklilu (1975) conducted interviews with members of two urban cooperatives located in low-income areas of New York, finding members' top motivations to participate were the convenient location of the co-ops and quality of their products, followed by low prices for one co-op, and a "belief in cooperatives" for the other (p.55). Sommer, Hohn, and Tyburczy (1981) interviewed 365 co-op shoppers from seventeen co-ops in west and Midwest states (i.e., Arizona, California, Colorado, Missouri, New Mexico, and Oregon). The authors found that among small co-ops, members were motivated by the lower prices they found there, the availability of natural food, support for co-op values, quality and freshness of food, ability to buy specialty items which they could not find other places, the social atmosphere of the co-op, the variety of products the co-op offered, and their ability to buy items in bulk. Members of large co-ops provided similar reasons for participating, including the convenience of the location, the price, their ability to become members, educational programs offered, support for co-op values, the product selection, food quality and freshness, and good service (Sommer, Hohn, & Tyburczy, 1981). Kocher (1988) conducted a survey of 283 members of an urban Arizona participatory co-op, finding members' primary

reasons for shopping at the co-op were food selection (42%) and food quality (31%), with a smaller proportion of participants selecting co-op philosophy (6%), convenience (5%), atmosphere (5%) and cost (4%). Katchova and Woods (2012) surveyed members of eight food co-ops nationwide and asked members to rate their co-ops on thirteen attributes using a Likert scale of poor, fair, good, and excellent. Co-op members rated their co-ops as excellent in providing locally grown foods (81%), providing organic foods (78.7%), providing high quality fruits and vegetables and high quality meats (75.5%), and in paying attention to special requests or needs (70.7%).

Existing literature examining CSA members' motivations also finds that high quality produce is an important reason to participate (Cooley & Lass, 1998; Oberholtzer, 2004). Pole and Gray (2013) surveyed 565 CSA members across the state of New York, finding that more than 80% of members selected "freshly picked fruits and vegetables" and "eating locally produced foods" as top reasons to participate in a CSA (p. 92). Schnell (2013) conducted in-depth interviews with 30 CSA members in Pennsylvania and found that interviewees most often described "the ability to get freshly picked, nutritious, good-tasting food" (p.621). Oberholtzer (2004) surveyed CSA members from four farms in southeast Pennsylvania, finding the following reasons selected as "very important" reasons for participating in a CSA: desire for fresh, local, or organic produce (76%, 75% and 72%, respectively); support for a local farm or farmer/concern for farm preservation (74% and 58% respectively); environmental concern (62%); know where/how food is grown (53%); health reasons (42%); feelings of community (26%); "desire to try new foods," "convenience," "less expensive food," and "desire to work on a farm" were selected by fewer than 10% of members. Cooley and Lass (1998) surveyed CSA

members from four farms near Amherst, Massachusetts, finding members' frequently selected "support for local farming" (97%), "quality produce" (93%), "concern for the environment" (72%), "food safety concerns" (59%) and "community service provided by farm community such as food donations" as important reasons to participate in CSA (p. 229). While CSA members are unsurprisingly less likely to mention the cost of their memberships as an *important* reason to participate, studies have noted that CSA members consider their share prices to be fair and of high value (Oberholtzer, 2004).

Though the CSA and co-op members I interviewed described many of the same reasons to participate in membership as have been mentioned in previous studies, where my research adds to the literature is in understanding how interviewees' *think* about these reasons to participate. The discovery that CSA members frequently describe the type of produce they receive from their memberships (fresh, organic, local) and the quality of produce as very important reasons to belong to their memberships (Cooley & Lass, 1998; Oberholtzer, 2004) over community building or supporting local farmers has raised concerns that CSAs may not be achieving the "embedded" and "responsive" relationships touted by their proponents (DeLind, 2002; Hinrichs, 2000). Concerned researchers argue that if CSA members continue to weigh the value of their memberships in terms of the amount and quality of produce they receive in return for their share price, they are missing the point of civic agriculture and are simply viewing CSA as an alternative economic model through which to buy produce (DeLind, 2002; Hinrichs, 2000). Qualitative research adds complexity to this discussion by allowing interviewees to describe more than one reason that they participate in their memberships and to elaborate on the factors that have influenced their choices. I found that while the CSA and

co-op members I interviewed most frequently described the convenience their memberships provided them, over 80% of interviewees also described their memberships as a way to support local farmers and local businesses and over 60% of interviewees spoke about the sense of community they felt in their memberships. This research is an exploratory study with limited generalizability to a larger audience, but I find evidence that the convenience membership offers (including price and the type of produce interviewees receive) may be the bottom line for interviewees amidst several more ideological reasons to participate.

Perhaps a functional approach to CSA/co-op membership, as described by Feagan and Henderson (2009), is an effective way to describe the inherent relationship between local food producer and consumer. Feagan and Henderson (2009) created a framework for understanding the extent to which CSA members and farm management demonstrated the collaborative relationships described in the original ideology of CSA programs, describing three different approaches to integrating CSA ideology. In a functional approach to CSA farming, members and farmers describe feelings of camaraderie and solidarity in their support for one another, but members may be inconsistent in the extent to which they participate in helping to run the farm (Feagan and Henderson, 2009). Though over half of the CSA and co-op members I interviewed described their appreciation for the customer service their management provided and for the sense of community they found within their memberships, participating in farm work days or other ways of assisting with farm management were rarely mentioned by interviewees. Similarly, while multiple co-op members mentioned their appreciation for being able to vote for product selection and board members, several co-op members mentioned they rarely participated in voting. It is unclear from our interviews how frequently the CSAs and co-ops that

interviewees belonged to offered opportunities to engage in these types of activities. If collaborative relationships between food producers and food producers are the benchmark by which success in the local food movement is measured, future research could better qualify avenues through which collaborative relationships have successfully been reached, as well as to describe what these ideal relationships look like. How do CSA members value having a “responsive” relationship between farmers and their customers? How do farmers’ views compare to those of their customers? Are there other measures of success that should be considered?

Additionally, future research interested in parsing out members’ practical versus ideological motivations for participating in a co-op or CSA might consider examining whether membership actually provides cost savings in comparison to purchasing similar products at other more conventional shopping venues. Several large conventional grocery stores have begun to sell more locally sourced products and green grocery store chains like Trader Joes, Whole Foods, and Wild Oats and independent health food stores may be a source of competition for CSA farms and food cooperatives (Deller et al., 2009; Dunne et al., 2010; Katchova & Woods, 2012). Examples of previous analyses of the cost savings co-op/CSA members may benefit from can be found in the work of Cooley and Lass (1998), who found CSA shares to offer significant cost savings 50%-150% compared to purchasing comparable amounts of organic or conventional produce at other food retailers; Schiferl and Boynton (1983) found co-op members saved about 15% on their purchases in comparison to making similar purchases at a conventional retailer.

This research provides a foundation to build upon for those interested in taking a deeper look at the characteristics important to CSA and co-op members in the foods that they buy. I found that where customer service and community building were important to interviewees in their decisions to participate in their membership, when they described the characteristics important to them in the foods that they purchased, practical concerns like being produced without chemicals, the taste of the food, the nutritive properties of food, and convenience were mentioned as influential. I found that asking open-ended questions about the characteristics important to interviewees' in their food choices made it difficult to separate the characteristics important to them in the foods they received through their membership, and the foods that they purchased elsewhere. Historically, food co-ops have been best known for sourcing bulk dry goods and fresh produce (Johnson, 1984; Sommer, 1998) and more recently have expanded their offerings to include meat products and fresh breads (Jochnowitz, 2011). CSA farms have also begun to expand their offerings, working with other farms to supply foods like eggs, meat, and herbs, but traditionally sold only fruits and vegetables (Low & Vogel, 2011). It may be possible today for co-op members to complete all of their grocery shopping at the co-op, but traditionally it was likely that both co-op and CSA members would have to visit additional food vendors to meet their grocery needs. Future research could better assess the extent to which interviewees rely on their membership to provide the foods they need, the extent to which they purchase foods outside of their memberships, and whether the characteristics they look for in the foods they receive through membership and the foods they purchase outside of membership are similar.

Future research interested in the ideological motivations of CSA and co-op members may also consider investigating how locavores' ideological goals of buying local and supporting sustainable production practices translate to other environmentally conscious behaviors or behavioral intentions. How do food co-op and CSA members' ideological goals translate to other purchases (e.g., are co-op/CSA members more likely to purchase energy efficient washing machines or energy efficient cars)? Do CSA and co-op members participate in donating to or volunteering with conservation organizations? Little research has considered co-op and CSA members as holistic consumers, which could provide better feedback on bigger picture implications of the local food movement.

2.7. CONCLUSION

The concepts discussed throughout these interviews provide a detailed portrait of interviewees as neither solely clueless yuppies motivated by high-end food purchases (Guthman, 2003) nor solely bargain shoppers seeking to get a deal on the types of foods they want (Hinrichs, 2000). Instead, this exploratory, qualitative study paints a picture with a wider brush, revealing the complexity of considerations interviewees take into account in their decisions to join a CSA/co-op and decisions about the foods that they buy. Interviewees perceived benefits of membership to include supporting local farmers and local economies, great customer service, and a sense of community, but for many, access to the type of foods they desire for a price they can afford is their bottom line. Attributes such as chemical-free, healthfulness, and taste were described as important characteristics of the foods interviewees preferred to purchase, more so than were more ideological traits of food such as environmentally-friendly production practices.

Future studies should consider exploring how strong relationships between farm/co-op managers and their memberships are cultivated – how should CSAs and food co-ops better go about building more responsive relationships? Interviewees belonging to co-ops and interviewees belonging to CSAs discussed aspects of community building – what are the similarities and differences in the relationships members have with staff and with each other at a co-op versus a CSA membership? Socially-driven (rather than economic driven) exchanges are the foundation of civic agriculture, and it's been suggested that feelings of camaraderie and solidarity are the glue that holds these institutions together (Feagan & Henderson, 2009).

In an increasingly widespread, globalized food market, community supported agriculture programs (CSAs) and food cooperatives (co-ops) offer members refugia against the hypotheses that “bigger is better” and that instant satisfaction is better than delayed gratification. This re-imagining emphasizes re-embedding agriculture in the physical, economic, and social milieu, creating stronger personal connections between food producers and food consumers and healthier and more environmentally-friendly food. By focusing on smaller scales of production and shortened supply chains that allow for more sustainable growing practices and diversification of crops, proponents of the local food movement aim to reshape the map of agriculture.

CHAPTER 3: LOCAL FOOD CONSUMERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS EATING WILD GAME MEAT AND HUNTING IN SOUTHERN MICHIGAN

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Interests of hunters and conservationists in the United States have been intertwined since the turn of the 20th century, when the critical overharvest of wildlife for food, fur, and feathers led to the declaration of wildlife as a public trust and to state and federal agencies stepping in as regulatory agents (Geist, Mahoney, & Organ, 2001). A constituency interested in maintaining the species and pastime they enjoyed, hunters are credited as a driving force behind early conservation legislation and as the primary mechanism of game population management within the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation (Organ, Mahoney, & Geist, 2010). Hunters fund a significant portion of public lands conservation for multiple habitats and species through a unique excise tax on hunting equipment and ammunition, through license fees, and with the time and money they donate to conservation organizations (Responsive Management/National Shooting Sports Foundation, 2008).

As the US population shifts from rural to urban centers, wildlife managers are concerned with the long-term sustainability of continuing to fund wildlife conservation efforts through these unique taxes and hunting license revenues. Since the 1980s, national participation in hunting has generally declined. In recent years, the number of national hunting participants has fluctuated, at first showing a 10% decrease between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s (Responsive Management/National Shooting Sports Foundation, 2008; U.S. Department of Interior et al., 2006) and then increasing 9% between the mid-2000s and 2011 (American Sportfishing Association, Responsive Management, Oregon Department of Fish and Wildlife, Southwick

Associates, 2013). Although this increase suggests cautious optimism for wildlife managers, participation rates still fell below that of twenty years ago and absolute numbers of hunters continue to shrink proportionally to the American population (American Sportfishing Association et al., 2013).

In addition to the shift of people moving away from rural places to cities and suburbs where hunting grounds are simply less accessible, initial assessments of the decline in hunter participation point to changing population demographics, work and family obligations taking hunters away from the field, and fewer children being recruited to hunting by male family members (Responsive Management/National Shooting Sports Foundation, 2008). These findings suggest that as people move farther away from locations where they interact with wild places, their perceived benefits and values for these natural resources may change.

In response to declining participation in hunting, wildlife management agencies and natural resources conservation groups have created a diversity of hunter apprentice and mentor programs geared towards recruiting young children and women (American Sportfishing Association et al., 2013; Duda, 2001; Responsive Management/National Wild Turkey Federation, 2011). Although these programs have had some success in increasing interest and participation in hunting (American Sportfishing Association et al., 2013), critics state that they fail to reach out to new audiences, tending to attract participants whose friends or family members would have been likely to introduce them to hunting anyway (DiCamillo, 1995; Enck, Decker, & Brown, 2000; Ryan & Shaw, 2011). Accordingly, the literature calls for wildlife managers to reach out to new demographics (Schultz, Millspaugh, Zekor, & Washburn, 2003; DJ Case & Associates; 2009) as well as to gain a better understanding of “hunter associates”: those

who may provide social or political support for hunting or may directly participate in hunting-related activities (e.g., sharing hunting stories, eating game meat, helping to process an animal) but may not self-identify as hunters (Enck, Decker, & Brown, 2000; Larson et al., 2013; Stedman & Decker, 1996).

Little empirical research has been conducted to understand local food consumers' attitudes towards hunting or eating wild game meat. The local food movement describes a social movement that seeks to reconnect food consumers with food producers, linking farmers and their customers directly in an effort to eat food that is grown in an ecologically, economically, and socially sustainable fashion (Martinez et al., 2010; Cone & Myhre, 2000). The term "locavore," defined by the New Oxford American Dictionary as "a person whose diet consists only or principally of locally grown or produced food" was recognized as the dictionary's "Word of the Year" in 2007 (Thilmany, Bond, & Bond, 2008). Other popular media such as Barbara Kingsolver's book *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle*, Michael Pollan's book *The Omnivore's Dilemma*, and documentaries such as *Food, Inc.* contributed to introducing the term to popular vernacular (Kingsolver, 2007; Pollan, 2006; Weyermann & Kenner, 2009). Although there is no standard definition of how near to a person food must be grown in order for it to be considered "local," in the 2008 Food, Conservation, and Energy Act, the U.S. Congress defined local as being within the borders of the state where the food was produced, or less than 400 miles away from the foods' place of origin (Martinez et al., 2010, pg.iii). Emphasis is also placed on eating produce that is currently in season and that is grown with minimal pesticides and additives (Feagan, 2007; Wilkins, 1996). Local food venues include farmers markets, farms

offering community-supported agriculture programs (CSAs), and food co-operatives (co-ops) that partner with local growers.

Common values of the local food movement that may be of interest to wildlife managers and conservationists seeking to engage new audiences in hunting is the emphasis placed on taking a more personal role in understanding where ones' food comes from and actively engaging in the process of harvesting food (Schnell, 2013; Cone & Myhre, 2000). Although little empirical research has examined local food consumers' attitudes towards hunting as a way to eat local, sustainable, wild protein, Tidball, Tidball, and Curtis (2013) suggest that hunting may be a natural extension of the locavore movement. Additionally, while empirical research has not yet found linkages between hunting and eating local, messages from "locavore hunters" have been prevalent in the popular media. Tovar Cerulli describes his journey from vegan to hunter in *The Mindful Carnivore*; Jackson Landers presents a case for understanding place in his "how to" guide to deer hunting and processing in *The Beginners Guide to Hunting Deer for Food*; and Steven Rinella connects his adventures as an outdoorsmen to responsible meat eating and living off the land in *Meat Eater: Adventures from the Life of an American Hunter* (Cerulli, 2013; Landers, 2011; Rinella, 2007).

Through in-depth semi-structured interviews with members of two food co-ops and three farms offering CSA programs in southern Michigan, I aimed to identify local food consumers' attitudes about food procurement in order to better understand their potential as a new demographic of hunters or hunter associates. The objectives of this study were to identify concepts and themes in the way participants 1) describe their memberships in food cooperatives and community-supported agriculture programs; 2) define characteristics

important to them in the foods that they buy; 3) describe their experiences eating wild game meat; and 4) communicate their viewpoints about hunting. In this chapter, I will discuss findings concerning the third and fourth objectives.

3.2. STUDY AREA

This research was conducted in Ingham and Washtenaw counties in southern Michigan.

Ingham and Washtenaw counties lie adjacent to one another in southeastern Michigan, with Ingham

County located directly northwest of Washtenaw County (Figure 3.1). Demographic characteristics of the two counties are shown in Table 3.1 (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2011). While Washtenaw County has a slightly larger population than Ingham County, the population density of the two counties

is similar. The median household income in Ann Arbor is higher than in East Lansing, though

residents' education levels are high; over 68% of residents in both cities graduate college, likely due

to the presence of the universities. Ann Arbor is home to the University of Michigan and East Lansing is home to Michigan State University. Both Ingham and Washtenaw County are more ethnically diverse than the state as a whole, and have an almost equal ratio of men and women who reside there (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

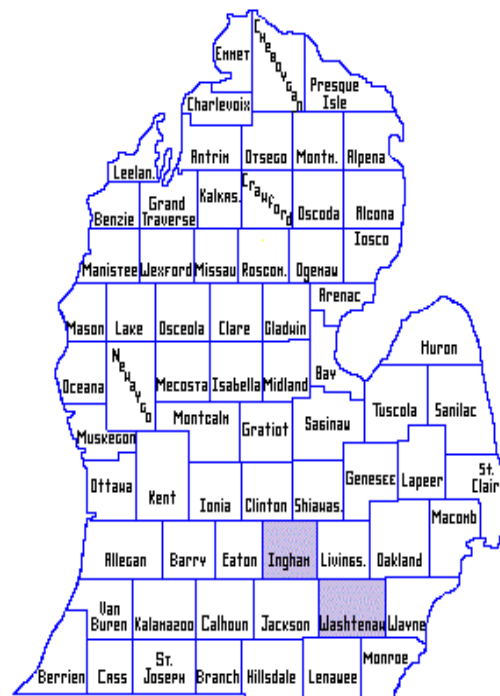


Figure 3.1: Map of Michigan's Lower Peninsula illustrating the location of Ingham and Washtenaw counties in southern Michigan.

Table 3.1: Demographic characteristics of Ingham and Washtenaw counties in southern Michigan.

	Population	Household Income	Ethnicity	Gender	Education Completed		Size	Pop. density
County		(median)	% white	% female	High School	College	(sq.mi)	(sq.mi)
Ingham	280,895	\$45,758	78.10%	51.50%	90.60%	35.40%	556.12	505.1
Washtenaw	344,791	\$59,734	75.20%	50.70%	93.80%	51.00%	705.97	488.4
City								
East Lansing	48,518	\$31,373	78.40%	51.50%	97.60%	68.80%	13.59	3573.6
Ann Arbor	113,934	\$53,814	73.00%	50.70%	96.50%	70.30%	27.83	4093.4
Michigan	9,883,640	\$48,699	80.20%	50.90%	88.40%	25.30%	56,538.90	174.8

Source: US Census Bureau. (2011). State & County QuickFacts.

These study sites were selected based on the location of two comparable storefront food cooperatives; the East Lansing Food Co-op in Ingham County, and Ann Arbor's People's Food Co-op in Washtenaw County. In my initial search for food co-ops, I found that co-ops have a wide variety of operating structures. Some co-ops function as online buying-clubs with no physical retail location, some sell only select bulk products, and some operate similarly to conventional grocery stores, maintaining regular business hours and a retail address, but are owned collectively by their members and focus on organic and natural products. To allow for comparison between the co-ops I sampled, I limited my search to food co-ops belonging to the National Cooperative Grocers Association (NCGA), a national business services co-operative that helps food co-ops streamline their business and marketing plans (www.ncga.coop). The East Lansing Food Co-op and People's Food Co-op of Ann Arbor belong to the NCGA and have similar histories of establishment, operating procedures and membership fees, and are both located within three miles of a state university.

Following the selection of food cooperatives, I created a second criterion for selecting farms with community-supported agriculture programs in Ingham and Washtenaw counties. Although the concept of CSA programs has been around since the 1960s, the first CSA programs in the United States were started in the mid-1980s in Massachusetts and New Hampshire (Picardy, 2001) and appear to have gained popularity Michigan in the mid-2000s. The 2007 Census of Agriculture recognized 463 CSA farms in Michigan (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2007), but had not collected data about CSA farms in previous years. I sought to work with farms that 1) had been operating a CSA for more than one full year (since 2010), 2) that primarily focused on produce shares (rather than meat, eggs, or flowers) 3) that had more than ten current members, and 4) that required members to pay an upfront price for their shares ahead of the growing season. Paralleling the search for food cooperatives, I looked for farms using a Google keyword search for “community-supported agriculture program in Washtenaw/Ingham County” and the website, www.LocalHarvest.com to generate a list of farms to contact. Of the list generated, two farms in Ingham County and one farm in Washtenaw County were willing to work with me. Due to the relatively small number of CSA members who participated in these farm programs, to protect the confidential responses of interviewees, I’ve chosen not to provide the names of the CSA farms I worked with.

3.3. METHODS

I conducted 90 minute in-depth, semi-structured interviews with six members from each of the two food co-ops and three members from each of three farms offering CSA programs (N=21). In-depth interviews are utilized as a research method; 1) to provide rich, descriptive data to questions that are difficult to answer briefly or simply (Rubin & Rubin, 2005); 2) to questions

about which there has been little previous prior investigation (Miles & Huberman, 1994), and 3) to questions that may be too controversial to discuss in a focus group (Adams & Cox, 2008; Boyce & Neal, 2006).

3.3.1. Data Collection

Interview participants were recruited through purposive and opportunistic sampling techniques (Patton, 1990). Choosing knowledgeable and experienced interviewees increases the credibility of interview responses, as interviewees are more likely to have a well-rounded perspective of what it means to them to belong to their organization (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p.64). Sampling was opportunistic as interview participants were selected in the order which they contacted me for an interview, provided that they fit within the parameters of the sampling frame (Patton, 1990). Where quantitative research seeks a random and generalizable sample, purposive sampling is utilized in qualitative research when seeking “information-rich cases for study in-depth” (Patton, 1990, p. 169). To find CSA/co-op members with a more nuanced understanding of membership and a seasoned perspective of what it means to be a CSA/co-op member, I asked that participants had belonged to their organization for at least one growing season (CSA members) or one year (co-op members). Additionally, as the goal of this study was to assess whether CSA/co-op members may be a potential new demographic to reach out to as hunters or hunter supporters, I sought participants between the ages of 18-54, as this age range parallels the ages of currently active hunters across the United States (Responsive Management/National Shooting Sports Foundation, 2008) and within the state of Michigan (Frawley, 2006). It is suggested that people within this age range may have the time, money, and health to be able to devote time to hunting (Responsive Management/National Shooting

Sports Foundation, 2008). Sampling was opportunistic as interview participants were selected in the order which they contacted me for an interview, provided that they fit within the parameters of our sampling frame (Patton, 1990).

Interview participants were recruited through venues' member email newsletters and through messages posted by myself or the co-op/CSA manager on the venues' social media pages. Co-op members who participated were offered a \$25 gift certificate to their co-op and CSA members who participated were given a \$25 gift card to a restaurant in their area known for sourcing local produce. The gift cards were given to interviewees before the interview began and before a consent form was signed. Interviewees were informed that receiving the gift card was not contingent upon on their decision to participate in to participate and was intended to be a reimbursement for their time. I chose to provide this reimbursement as I was limited by the amount of time I had to could collect data and could not be sure how controversial the subject of hunting may be. Although the use of payments to participate in qualitative research is debated in the literature (Hammett & Sporton, 2012; Head, 2009), gift cards or cash payments under fifty dollars are considered by some researchers to be standard when conducting in-depth interviews in developed countries (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2012).

A 12 question interview guide was created around the four objectives for the study, with each question focusing on encouraging the interviewee to speak broadly about their attitudes and experiences. Follow-up questions and probing questions were not numbered, but were included in the interview guide to prompt the interviewer to ask for more depth in interviewees' responses or to elaborate on topics of conversation particularly related to the objectives of this study (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). In seeking to create a safe, comfortable, and

convenient atmosphere for participants, interviews took place in public coffee houses or cafes, a public space at the participants' workplace, or public parks. Two of the interviews were conducted via the video conferencing program Skype when in-person meetings were not possible.

Before each interview began, interviewees signed a consent form that described the goals of the research and the perceived costs and benefits of participating. Immediately after the interview, participants were asked to fill out a brief survey answering questions about their demographic information and other interests. Twenty of the interviews were conducted between April 6 and May 3, 2012. One interview took place September 9, 2012. All research materials and methods were approved by the Michigan State University Institutional Review Board (id i040423).

3.3.2. Data Analysis

Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. The interviews were analyzed using Glaser and Strauss's (1967) constant comparison method where each transcript was read and searched for reoccurring concepts expressed by participants, beginning with the first interview conducted (1967). I took notes about emerging concepts related to the research objectives in the margins of each interview transcript and then compared these notes to each consecutive interview transcript, seeking similarities and differences in participants' views (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Concepts that were independently mentioned by three interviewees were defined and organized into a coding scheme (Appendix G) containing a definition of the concept, a shorthand code that could be used to bookmark locations where the concept appeared in the interview text, and guidelines providing examples for where the code applied

or did not apply in the text (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The process of coding refers to labelling sections of the interview text with the code names that correspond to the concepts defined in the coding scheme; the code is used as a label to quickly locate that concept within the interview text (Miles & Huberman, 1994). These codes and their definitions are continually revised throughout analysis until the research team is satisfied that the concepts expressed in the interview data are sufficiently captured by the codes. After each revision of the coding scheme, interviews were re-coded to reflect these changes. The unit of analysis in my coding process is the “theme,” defined by Zhang and Wildemuth as the expression of a single idea (2009, p.3). A coded section of text may consist of a single sentence or more than one paragraph as long as those paragraphs together contain the expression of one idea. Similarly, if more than one idea is present within a sentence or paragraph, sections of text may be tagged with multiple codes.

As the coding scheme developed, the codes were used to extract all sections of text relating to that code and move them into single document to allow the research team to compare how concepts were described within each interview and across all of the interview data. A coding matrix was created to show the frequency of codes across the interview data and the frequency of codes mentioned in each interview.

Following the recommendations of Bradley, Curry, and Devers (2007), Schilling (2006), and Zhang and Wildemuth (2009), to prevent biases resulting from a single researcher coding the data, I met with two members of my graduate committee throughout the coding process to review selections of text that were extracted from each interview to make decisions about whether those incidents adequately fell into coding categories as defined in the codebook. We

discussed discrepancies until agreement could be reached, the codebook was revised, and all interviews were reviewed for coding consistency. Additionally, each interview was independently coded by a graduate student volunteer in the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife and compared to my work. Any discrepancies between the two coders were discussed and resolved as a research team, and interviews were recoded (Bradley, Curry, & Devers, 2007; Schilling, 2006).

In this work, I have chosen to combine CSA and co-op members' interview responses for analysis rather than to analyze them as two separate cases. The CSA and co-op members I interviewed were recruited under a similar sampling frame, the sample size in this study is small and non-generalizable to a larger population, and I did not uncover drastically different responses between interviewees who participated in a co-op versus interviewees who participate in a CSA membership. I will point out interviewees' responses as more common among CSA or co-op members throughout this manuscript; this recognition is for the benefit of the reader to understand the context in which interviewees responded. Future research may wish to separate CSA and co-op members' responses and seek more concrete differences between members of these two venues in their attitudes about membership, motivations to participate, and characteristics valued in the foods that they purchase.

The following interview excerpts were chosen as those most representative of the conceptualizations described by participants and to illustrate the depth and diversity in their attitudes. These excerpts are reported verbatim with any information provided by the authors placed between brackets to lend clarity. Instances where the interviewees paused during conversation are illustrated with ellipses in the interview text; places where I have omitted

sections of the interview text for brevity or clarity are shown by an ellipsis contained within a bracket (i.e., [...]).

3.4. FINDINGS

3.4.1. Demographics of Interviewees

Thirteen interviewees were female (62%) and eight interviewees were male (38%).

Interviewees ranged in age between 18-54 years as required by my selection criteria; three interviewees were under the age of 30, 11 interviewees were between the ages of 30-39, and seven interviewees aged between 40 to 54 years old. Most interviewees (19 out of 21) identified as Caucasian/White. One interviewee identified as Pacific Islander and one interviewee identified with multiple ethnicities. The educational attainment of interviewees was high in comparison to the general demographics of the state of Michigan but comparable to educational attainment in the cities of East Lansing and Ann Arbor (Table 2.1). All interviewees reported that they had completed at least one year of college; two interviewees had completed some college, 13 interviewees reported that they had received a four-year Bachelor's degree and six interviewees stated that they attained a graduate degree or higher. When describing their annual household incomes, three interviewees reported incomes of \$29,000 or less, six interviewees reported incomes of \$30,000 - \$69,000 per year, and twelve interviewees reported incomes greater than \$70,000 per year. Interviewees reported incomes that lay above the 2010 state of Michigan median household income of about \$48,000 per year. Eighty-one percent (17 people) of interviewees were married and about 50% of interviewees (11 people) had children. Of the interviewees who had children, most had children under the age of 12 years (8 interviewees).

Of the 21 interviewees, nine grew up in a rural location, ten grew up in a suburban location, and two grew up in an urban location. When asked how they described the current location where they live, one interviewee described a rural location, 11 interviewees described a suburban area, and eight interviewees described an urban area. Interviewees held occupations in accounting, auto mechanics, international and domestic business entrepreneurship, child care, childbirth, counseling, engineering, farming, fine arts, health care, homemaking, information technology, journalism, marketing, non-profit administration and management, and teaching.

3.4.2. Interview Findings

Interview findings are arranged in two broad sections related to the research objectives; I present findings related to interviewees' 1) attitudes about eating wild game meat and 2) attitudes about hunting. These sections are further broken down into subsections that describe the concepts interviewees discussed during their interviews.

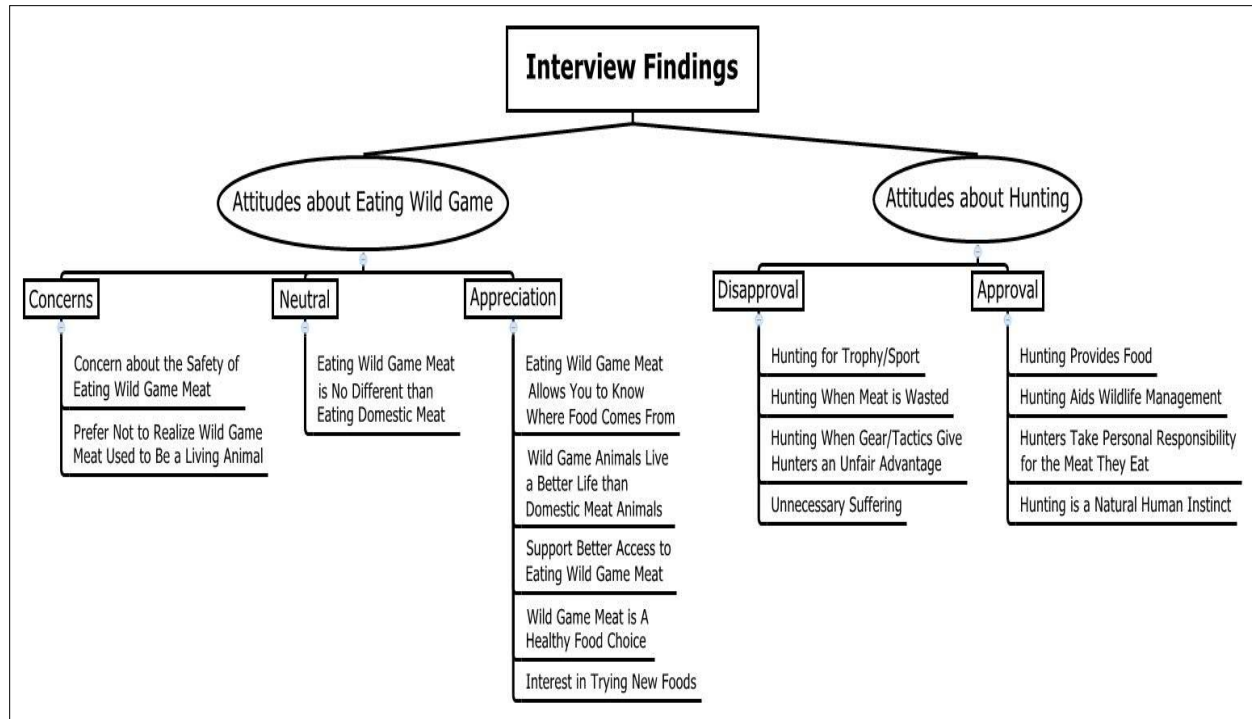


Figure 3.2: Concept map illustrating the subcategories and concepts discussed by interviewees as related to interview questions about their attitudes about eating wild game meat and hunting.

3.4.2.1. Attitudes about Eating Wild Game Meat

When asking interviewees about their attitudes towards eating wild game meat, I began by broadly asking them to speak about their experiences consuming wild game meat – had they tried wild game meat before, and if so, what was the experience like for them? If they had eaten wild game meat before, I also asked them to describe how they felt eating wild game meat compared to eating meat that they could purchase at a grocery store. Nearly every interviewee had consumed wild game meat at some point in their lives (18 interviewees), and of the three interviewees who had never eaten wild game meat, two were currently vegetarians. Eighteen interviewees were familiar with wild venison from white-tailed deer or elk and two interviewees mentioned having tried wild turkey and wild boar. Other types of wild game that interviewees had previously consumed that were mentioned by only once included

bear, pheasant, quail, and squirrel. Interviewees also mentioned trying farmed bison, pheasant, rabbit, goat, alligator, or duck at a restaurant.

When speaking about their experiences eating wild game meat, many interviewees described either eating wild game meat when they were young at the home of a family friend or relative, or described an experience they had as an adult at the home of a friend or co-worker. The experiences they described were likely to be interviewees' first time trying wild game meat, or a particularly memorable experience due to how the meat was served or prepared, though not all interviewees described an experience that was particularly notable; some receive game meat fairly often from friends or coworkers. Conversations about these memorable experiences generated eight subthemes: *concern about the safety of eating wild game meat, prefer not to realize that wild game meat used to be a living animal, eating wild game meat is no different than eating domestic meat, eating wild game meat allows you to know where meat comes from, wild game animals lead better lives than domestic meat animals, support for better access to eating wild game meat, wild game meat is a healthy food choice, and interest in trying new foods* (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Summary of interviewees' attitudes about eating wild game meat.

Attitudes About Eating Wild Game Meat			
Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
Concern about the Safety of Eating Wild Game Meat	Fsafe	6	29%
Prefer Not to Realize Wild Game Meat Used to Be a Living Animal	Process	7	33%
Eating Wild Game Meat is No Different than Eating Domestic Meat	NoDiff	3	14%
Eating Wild Game Meat Allows You to Know Where Food Comes From	Know	9	43%
Wild Game Animals Live a Better Life than Domestic Meat Animals	Better	7	33%
Support Better Access to Eating Wild Game Meat	Access	7	33%
Wild Game Meat is A Healthy Food Choice	Health	4	19%
Interest in Trying New Foods	New	3	14%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

3.4.2.1.1. Concern about the Safety of Eating Wild Game Meat. Six interviewees discussed concerns about the safety of eating wild game meat, questioning whether wild animals were vulnerable to disease and if the meat had been handled safely. One interviewee described her doubts about the safety of individuals processing meat themselves: "...that was the first time I had heard about people processing their own meat themselves, you know, not coming from a grocery store. And there was a part of me that thought, 'what if he did something wrong?'" Another interviewee talked about not only her uncertainty with how safely the meat was processed, but whether wild game meat was tested for disease and whether it was something she needed to worry about:

And this is maybe just an illusion, but I don't know about the safety of it. I don't know how it was processed, what it had been eating...for all I know, this deer had been eating garbage its whole life, you know? [laughs] So I don't know if there's any regulations for testing those things. And then disease. That's one thing too I always wonder about, is when they process, if they test for disease, or if that matters...

Fear of contamination with wildlife disease, when mentioned by participants, was spoken about generally, with the exception of one interviewee who was concerned about zoonotic wildlife

diseases similar to mad cow disease in farm animals. Contamination, for other interviewees, related not just to wildlife disease, but also to what the animals had been eating and the type of bullet hunters used:

[...] it would be very interesting to see [...] some kind of entity that promoted what to look for when you're getting hunted meat. If there's anything I need to know about....what kind of bullet they used, or what territories the animals were roaming, if there's a certain kind of hunted animal that tends to pick up a lot of residues from stuff...if there's any kind of particular species that especially good or bad.

Another interviewee expressed concern that wild animals may consume genetically modified crops, which she preferred not to eat herself, as she felt unsure "how that translates to my family's health."

3.4.2.1.2. Prefer Not to Realize Wild Game Meat Used to Be a Living Animal. Seven interviewees felt that eating wild game meat painted too clear a picture that the meat they were eating used to be a living animal; a realization that made them feel uncomfortable. Interviewees' ability to mentally construe a picture of the animal they were consuming, or to visually see the animal before it was processed, made it difficult for them to want to consume that animal. Part of the discomfort interviewees described related to the realization that an animal was killed to feed them; one interviewee talked about eating wild game meat at the home of a family friend and realizing that the meat she was eating used to be a deer after seeing deer mounts on the wall:

I was young, and that was the closest I had been to knowing where meat came from, and that was almost uncomfortable to think about, you know, this deer was running around the woods a week ago, and now it's on my plate. I never had that thought occur to me before when I was eating chicken or beef or pork, although now that I've become more aware of the process, I'm more used to it.

For other interviewees, there's an additional tension that not only do they realize that an animal died to feed them, but they struggle with the idea that they could not kill the animal themselves to be able to eat it:

[...] with a bow and arrow, sometimes you strike the deer, but it lives a long time [...] I can't stand thinking about that, you know? The thing is suffering...It would kill me to witness that. But I am willing to eat it, so that always feels like, this, kind of tension. I won't kill it, I won't watch anyone kill it, but...I'll eat it.

An alternative dimension to this concept is a more visceral disgust at the idea of eating something dead. One interviewee talked about how she enjoyed helping a friend process wild game meat and was fascinated by seeing the organ systems of the animal, "but it kind of turns my stomach to then also think about moving to the next step of eating it, or thinking about this being our food [...] when it comes time to eat that meat, it's still kind of vivid and kind of with you..." Another interviewee shared a similar viewpoint, discussing her conflicting feelings of disgust and enjoyment as she watched her boyfriend's family process a deer in their garage and being fed freshly cooked venison: "this is disgusting, but it's delicious...it's disgusting, but it really does taste good." Later she stated that she was "...fine with eating it. I just kind of like that separation between looking at the really cute, fuzzy deer and what's on my plate."

3.4.2.1.3. Eating Wild Game Meat is No Different than Eating Domestic Meat. Three

interviewees felt that the choice to eat wild game meat was no different than the choice to eat domestic meat animals, stating that the choice to eat an animal wasn't particularly different when eating wild game meat or when eating domestic meat. One interviewee simply stated, "Its [wild game] got a different look than other meats do, but it's not...they're just different meats that come from different animals." Another participant said:

I think that probably if I liked meat, right, than I don't think I would feel it was any different to eat a deer than to eat a cow. I think somehow fish, and poultry, to me, they are less cuddly, right, they've got scales and feathers. And there's less of an element of 'Oh, you're eating this animal,' to them. If I liked how meat tasted, if I felt like there was a reason for health to eat meat, than I don't think I'd feel differently about eating wild game than about eating a cow, you know, that's been raised for slaughter.

To these interviewees, meat is meat, whether it's domestically raised or harvested in the wild.

3.4.2.1.4. Eating Wild Game Meat Allows You to Know Where Meat Comes From. While some interviewees felt that eating wild game meat offers too clear a picture of that wild game meat used to be a living animal, nine interviewees expressed appreciation for eating wild game meat as a way to understand better where meat comes from. For some interviewees, knowing where their food comes from is a general value that they extend to eating wild game; one interviewee talked about participating in a community supported agriculture program that offered meat shares and pooling her money with friends to purchase a portion of a cow, connecting those purchases to eating wild game meat:

[...] we tried to have somebody kill a deer for us this winter, but it didn't work out...Occasionally when we go out to eat we'll eat meat that we don't know where it comes from, but for the most part, we know where it's coming from. So it's definitely a priority.

Another interviewee talked more specifically about her respect for eating wild game meat as a way to have a more direct connection to where food comes from, similar to being part of a CSA/co-op:

[...] it takes eating locally to a whole different level. And that has kind of opened my eyes to hunting. ..as a personal issue, I can't be against it because it fits in with everything I'm for [...] since I don't have any ethical problems with eating meat, then I think I have to applaud and support the people who approach eating meat locally, naturally, and personally, the way I approach eating vegetables [...] as I think about people my age and younger, I see more people

hunting for that reason, that I want to provide my own meat, that I know where it came from, that I was there start from finish, and I find that interesting...

A second interviewee expanded on knowing where her meat comes from connects her to her food, describing how her appreciation for her food increased when she realized the effort that went into acquiring it:

I feel more connected to what I'm eating...not a lot of people, I feel like... [they] don't realize where their food comes from...someone had to grow it, someone had to raise it, and it's a lot of work. ...to know that the person sitting across from you at the table is the person that raised that meat or shot or killed that meat and prepared it, it makes you just feel really grateful, and realizing, how much skill and time went into that...

For other interviewees, eating wild game connects them to where meat comes from in that it connects them to the process of what it takes to get meat to the table. One woman, a vegetarian, talked about helping a friend process a deer and even though she didn't eat wild game meat herself, she felt that "it's a good awareness." "If my kids had the opportunity to, you know, be part of a butchering field trip or talk with a hunter or see somebody skin a deer, I would totally take them."

3.4.2.1.5. Wild Animals Live a Better Life than Domestic Meat Animals. Seven interviewees felt that in eating wild game meat, they were reassured that the animals they were eating had lived a good life, particularly in relation to the lives of domestic meat animals. To several interviewees, living a good life meant living a "natural" life – wild animals could live cage-free or free-range and could eat naturally growing foods rather than something fed to them; one interviewee summarized her feelings, saying "they were animals that lived like animals." One man, a vegetarian, talked about his feeling that eating wild game meat was a better way to eat protein than eating a domestically raised cow:

I think if you're out there doing it the right way [hunting] then it's not a bad way to get protein [...] If you're going to eat a cow that's produced in a factory farm [...] over an animal that gets to spend its life roaming the woods [...] it's better than the choices out there because even animals that are produced on non-factory farms that have a truly free range, they're still not as full of life as a deer running through the woods, you know?

Several other interviewees felt that wild animals not only lived better quality lives, but that they were killed in a more humane manner than domestic meat animals:

You know, I hear people say, 'Oh hunting, it's so savage.' Well, what do you think happens to the animal that you bought at [supermarket], the hamburger. Seriously, if they could see what that animal goes through as opposed to what a hunted animal goes through. But we are so disconnected from, you know, the reality of the food.

3.4.2.1.6. Support Better Access To Eating Wild Game Meat. Four interviewees expressed that they would like to eat more wild game meat, even if they weren't ready to go hunting themselves; one man stated: "I'm not a hunter, but I have nothing against hunting. I would love it if someone would drop a bunch of venison on our doorstep." Two interviewees offered suggestions for how the co-op or CSA could act as a middle-man to match hunters with those interested in eating wild game meat, for sale or for barter. Others offered ideas for how to incentivize hunting, so that hunters could either sell their services or be encouraged to take more animals to share with a greater number of people. One woman recognized the illegality of selling game meat, but offered the idea that members of the public might "buy-in" to a deer in the same way multiple customers may together purchase shares of a domestic meat animal:

But let's say if the laws change and during hunting season you can take your allotment but you can also take an allotment for sale...and you set up at the farmers market and small co-op type stores and for a certain period of time during and immediately after [the] hunting season, those meats would be available. That would be great for people like me! You know, I would be totally willing to purchase half a deer.

3.4.2.1.7. Wild Game Meat is a Healthy Food Choice. The health benefits of eating wild game meat were mentioned by four CSA/co-op members when they spoke about their attitudes about eating wild game meat. Interviewees felt that the wild game meat is generally a more nutritious food choice and specifically mentioned that wild game is “less acidic” than domestic meat, that it’s not as greasy as other meats (leaner in fat content), and that the diversity of foods wild animals ate led to better nutrition. One interviewee spoke about the idea that animals that can eat naturally growing foods are healthier for humans to consume:

I’m very interested in wild game because, you know, depending on where they’re living, they’re wild foraging, which means they’re getting a lot of diverse medicinal plants in their diet. Kind of, you know, all that good stuff as opposed to the normal feed that domestic animals have to get...whereas going for wild meat or wild vegetables, it’s kind of like nature is doing all the work for you, and there’s just something about that process that tends to make things more nutritious.

3.4.2.1.8. Interest in Trying New Foods. Three interviewees talked about being interested in eating wild game as a new, novel food. For example, when one interviewee was asked if he had tasted wild game meat before, he talked about the farmed game meats he’d tried in restaurants, and his interest in trying new foods:

I haven’t bought venison or any other type of game meat at the supermarkets; I have not seen it at the supermarkets. My tendency, if I see a strange meat or something I haven’t tried before, is to buy it regardless of the price, just out of curiosity. I like to try new different foods. So if I ran across it, I would certainly buy it.

When asked specifically about wild game meat, instead of farmed game meat, he replied: “Wild game...I would try anything at this point. I really am interested to try snake or alligator. I haven’t had those.”

3.4.2.2. Attitudes About Hunting

Interviewees were asked how they felt about hunting as a way to eat wild game meat, if they had any experience hunting or if they knew anyone who hunted, and if hunting might be something they'd be interested in doing themselves. About half of the interviewees provided a balanced view of hunting, with thirteen individuals providing at least one attitude in which they viewed hunting positively and at least one attitude in which they perceived hunting negatively. However, overall, 19 interviewees mentioned at least one positive attitude toward hunting. When participants viewed hunting negatively, they were more likely to object to specific hunter behaviors, gear, or tactics than they were to object to hunting in general.

Four interviewees had previous experiences going hunting. Two interviewees had been taken deer hunting when they were young but did not currently hunt and two interviewees had gone hunting for the first time as adults. Both interviewees who had been hunting as children had been invited to go by a male family member (father and uncle). Of these two interviewees, one enjoyed going hunting with her father until other activities captured her attention as a teenager. Although she did not currently hunt, she said she would be supportive if her children were interested in hunting with their father, who was currently an active hunter. The second interviewee had a negative experience hunting as a teenager after feeling shamed by his uncle when he struggled emotionally to field dress a deer, and although he had been rabbit hunting as an adult, he did not particularly feel drawn to participate in hunting. Of the two interviewees who went hunting for the first time as adults, one interviewee went small game hunting for squirrels with co-workers and enjoyed the experience, but was not greatly interested and had not found time to go again. The second interviewee had been taken deer hunting by his co-

workers, whose land he worked on. He spoke about his the excitement of his first experience, saying: “[...] [it] made me think of this majestic scared animal passing through and totally knowing how to get away from me as this amateur hunter [...] it was exciting for me to think about [...] doing it for real.”

Two interviewees had never been hunting before, but were interested in learning. One interviewee was expecting a baby in the near future but stated she was interested in involving her family-to-be in hunting, and had learned how to shoot as an adult with her husband’s family. The other interviewee was interested in learning to hunt to provide her own meat, but had not yet found an opportunity to learn to hunt and traveled frequently for work. Nearly every interviewee knew someone who hunted; family or friends, coworkers or acquaintances, though fewer individuals received meat from those individuals.

Eight subthemes emerged related to interviewees’ attitudes about hunting: *disapproval of trophy or sport hunting, disapproval of wasting meat, disapproval of gear or tactics that give hunters an unfair advantage, disapproval of unnecessary suffering, hunting provides food, hunting aids with wildlife management, hunters take personal responsibility for the meat that they eat, and hunting is a natural human instinct* (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Summary of interviewees' attitudes about hunting.

Attitudes About Hunting			
Code Title	Code Name	# ^a	%
Disapproval of Hunting for Trophy/Sport	Trophy	9	43%
Disapproval of Hunting When Meat is Wasted	Waste	5	24%
Disapproval of Hunting When Gear/Tactics Give Hunters an Unfair Advantage	Unfair	3	14%
Disapproval of Unnecessary Suffering	Suffer	3	14%
Hunting Provides Food	Food	12	57%
Hunting Aids Wildlife Management	Mgmt	12	57%
Hunters Take Personal Responsibility for the Meat They Eat	EarnMeat	7	33%
Hunting is a Natural Human Instinct	Instinct	6	29%

Note: ^a The number sign refers to the number of interviewees out of the total sample (21) who discussed each concept.

3.4.2.2.1. Disapprove of Trophy/Sport Hunting. Interviewees who discussed disapproving of trophy or sport hunting (nine individuals) talked about disliking the idea of killing an animal for personal bravado or achievement, or to take home the animal for display. Several interviewees disapproved of hunting for trophies; one interviewee said:

Again, it's just the whole business that goes into hunting, you know, all the garb, and all the trophies, and the... [laughs] and now let's put the big head on your mantle, and I just think that's disrespectful. So, kill it, eat it, be done with it – don't gloat about it, don't brag about it, whatever, you know?

She believes that killing an animal to put "the big head on your mantle" does not properly respect the life of the animal. Her perception of trophy hunters as being disrespectful to the animals they hunt by seeking personal satisfaction or personal glory in killing an animal is echoed by other interviewees' perceptions that when hunters talk about hunting for sport, they insinuate that killing is a "game," and do not respect the sanctity of an animal's life. One interviewee specifically disapproved of carnivore hunting, stating: "It just seems like such a waste to go out and shoot a bear. That's just one example, not only bear, but bobcat, lynx, mountain lions, wolves, and coyotes. It's...there's no real food value to those animals; it's just a

sport to kill.” The association of hunting with killing for pleasure is echoed by two interviewees who specifically disapproved of exotic hunting trips, which they associated with “going to Kenya to shoot a rhinoceros just to say you did it” and taking a trip to South Africa to “kill things for the hell of it.”

A different nuance of disapproval for trophy hunting comes from a co-op member who disapproved of trophy hunting because it selectively kills animals in an unnatural way:

[...] it seems like people...talk about hunting as being a way to...it's like a natural selection type thing. It's since the predators were taken away, now we're the predators. But in reality, I don't know if this is a simplistic opinion or not, but when carnivores hunted, they hunted the easy prey: the weak and the sick, the ones that weren't going to make it. And humans hunt the biggest and the strongest, and to me that seems, reversed, you know, you get these trophy bucks. Like, you just killed the biggest buck out there, and that buck would have lived forever, because there wouldn't have been coyote or wolf that could take it down, you know?

3.4.2.2.2. Disapproval of Wasting Meat. The perception that the meat of a hunted animal is sometimes wasted by hunters was discussed by four interviewees, one of whom talked about how generally he felt that most hunters use the whole animal, but was bothered by friends who he knew did not:

[...] I have a lot of respect for the hunter that uses the whole thing. I have friends who don't, and it drives me crazy...You know, some of them, for example, they won't do anything with the hide, they don't sell it to somebody to make something out of it...and there are people out there that would gladly take it...they don't really care, they want the venison loins, they want some of the other things. In some cases, I think they'll even leave it behind with the processor and be like, 'you can have it, we don't really want it. We just want some of the ground venison and we want the loin.' And it's because the loin is the best or whatever...Most of the people that I know though, they use the whole thing, you know, nose to tail.

Besides stressing that the whole body of the animal should be used and that some hunters don't utilize the meat as well as they could, two other interviewees expressed perceptions that

some hunters don't utilize the meat at all. They believed that some hunters don't eat the meat of the animal, or leave the meat of the animal behind in the field, a practice one of the men described as being "one step away from a serial killer."

3.4.2.2.3. Disapproval of Gear or Tactics that Give Hunters an Unfair Advantage. Three

interviewees felt that some of the gear and tactics hunters use give them an unfair advantage over the animals they hunt, which they considered unethical. One interviewee stated:

I mean, there's still certain essentials, you know...that would make you better at it [hunting], and it's okay, like any craft, I guess, but if you've got, oh, I don't know, the fancy deer blind so you can sit there all comfy, cushy, like you're in your own house...well, the top of the line navigation equipment and stuff is just taking all the skill out of it.

Another interviewee talked about his disapproval of the tactic of baiting animals with food to attract them to hunting grounds. He said:

It's like, here you have this animal, you lurked and you fed it, you build this trust relationship with it, and then you kill it, that just seems like...hunters talk about hunting as some sort of sport. To me, that's not sport; that's just bad sport. ..So you get out there and you track a deer down, you sit in a tree for four hours and shoot a deer with an arrow, more power to you. But if you put out corn and just shoot it while it's eating, you're just...I think you're a coward. I'm sure a hunter could tell me why that's not right [laughs].

A third interviewee disapproved of the tactic of hunting using a pack of dogs:

I'm not against hunting bear, you can try and shoot a bear if you want, but I'm against the way they send dogs out with radio collars while they sit in their truck listening to music and keeping the heater running until the dogs' radio collar stops and they see where it is on the GPS [Global Positioning System], and they drive their truck back to where the bear is in the tree, and they shoot the bear out of the tree. It just seems like such an unfair advantage to the hunter...

3.4.2.2.4. Disapproval of Unnecessary Suffering. Three interviewees spoke specifically about

disapproving of hunting when poor shot placement leads to hunted animals suffering unnecessarily. Interviewees emphasized that if an animal was killed, its death should be as

quick and painless as possible, but did not state whether they preferred an alternative technique over archery hunting. Notably, all three interviewees discussed archery deer hunting, and how poor shot placement could lead to a slow and painful death for the animal. For example, one interviewee stated:

So, I guess well-regulated hunting is fine with me as long as it's not cruel...I think hunting can be cruel – if you hit a deer with an arrow and take it down, if it spends a long time with the arrow stuck...it's like a fish, you know? People fish, and [say] 'Oh, we'll throw this one back.' Yeah, he just had a hook sent down his throat, right? Is that going to heal? You know, maybe it does. Maybe I don't know the answer to that, but it just doesn't seem right.

3.4.2.2.5. Hunting Provides Food. About half of the interviewees mentioned positive views of hunting because it provides food or specifically recognized approving of the motivation to hunt to provide food for oneself or one's family. Some interviewees viewed the motivation to hunt for meat as an acceptable alternative to sport or trophy hunting, and described hunting to provide meat as a caveat to their disapproval of other reasons to go hunting. For example, one interviewee said:

Yeah, I guess I don't see any problem with hunting as a means to have food. I guess I'm not super excited [about hunting] as a means to just kill animals for the bragging rights of having killed something. I don't see any purpose in that. But, for meat, yeah, that makes sense to me. I don't have an ethical issue with it.

Alternatively, another interviewee mentioned that she didn't mind sport hunting as long as bringing the meat home was a major motivation to go:

I understand there is some sport involved in, you know, killing a big buck, mounting it on your wall and all of that, and I think that is okay as long as your primary reason is a food source, you know, there are a lot of guys where it's [hunting] a social thing as well. And again, I'm okay with that; as long as you take it home, process it, and have it for dinner, that's okay.

Several interviewees also talked about friends or acquaintances they knew who hunted “to stock their freezer,” either because they could not afford to purchase domestic meats or preferred wild game meat over domestically raised meat. One interviewee mentioned that she didn’t view hunting for food any differently than foraging for food, and applauded the effort to eat “locally, naturally, and personally.”

3.4.2.2.6. Hunting Aids Wildlife Management. Interviewees recognized that hunting aids with wildlife management by reducing overabundant wildlife populations, particularly white-tailed deer. Several interviewees discussed the need for hunting in the absence of natural predators, one of whom said:

[...] with the lack of predators, managing the deer population in most of the US is pretty critical. For that reason, it’s [hunting] a good thing. I think in that sense the state has a good role to play in terms of managing populations...

Another interviewee spoke about hunting as a way to prevent wildlife-vehicle collisions, stating:

[...] I agree we have an overpopulation, where things [deer] are running around everywhere. I’ve been fortunate enough to be one of the few people that have not been in an accident, but everyone else I know has. They’re running through my neighborhood in the suburbs, even.

Preventing wildlife-disease outbreaks associated with overabundant species was also mentioned as a positive way hunting helps with wildlife management:

[...] you have to have someone thinning the herd both for the health of the herd because they will get sick during the year due to overpopulation, but also, Oakland County has the largest amount of deer-vehicle accidents. Just because of the lack of space to hunt, that you have so many deer in such a populated area.

3.4.2.2.7. Hunters Take Personal Responsibility for the Meat They Eat. Interviewees applauded hunters for the personal responsibility they take in choosing to eat meat. Unlike going to the grocery store to purchase meat, hunters come face-to-face with the decision to take the life of

an animal, and may also take the responsibility to field dress the animal or process the meat for the table. For example, one interviewee mentioned:

I have no problem with people hunting for food sources, I think it's far more respectful, frankly, than what I do, which is go to the store and buy something that somebody else had to kill and process. Um, honestly, if I had to keep my own chickens and kill them myself, we would stop eating chicken [laughs]. So, I have full respect for people who decide to do that.

3.4.2.2.8. Hunting is a Natural Human Instinct. Lastly, four individuals talked about their belief that the urge to hunt is a natural human instinct, and regardless of their own feelings about hunting, they did not believe that the privilege to hunt should be taken away from others. Two interviewees talked about hunting as a survival mechanism, and how before the modern industrialization of agriculture, it was the only way to eat meat, one of whom said:

I don't really have a problem with hunting. I feel like that's kind of how the world was made. I mean, look back to historic times. That's how we caught our food, and food wasn't free, it was caught. And I feel like we're more likely to imbalance the ecosystem by not hunting than by hunting.

Two others talked more directly about hunting as a "human need"; one of whom communicated, "Hunting, I think, has always been a part of our nature; you take that away, and then you're denying the very nature, the human nature, or instincts."

3.5. DISCUSSION

Few studies have taken an in-depth qualitative approach to understanding potential new audiences for hunter recruitment, retention, or support, and none that I know of have approached CSA or food co-op members to better understand their interest in hunting and eating wild game meat. Though this research presents an exploratory study with limited generalizability to a larger population, I found that the co-op and CSA members I interviewed expressed positive attitudes about hunting and eating wild game meat. Based on these findings,

this research suggests that the CSA and co-op members I interviewed have potential as a new demographic wildlife managers could engage as hunter recruits or hunter associates.

There is little research examining attitudes of the American public towards wild game meat consumption, potentially due to the illegality of selling wild game meat in the United States. Consumption of wild game meat by non-hunters may be limited if they do not have social connections to hunters (Ljung, Riley, Heberlein, & Ericsson, 2012). A recent study examining Americans' attitudes towards hunting, fishing, and sport shooting noted that 42% of the 846 people surveyed had consumed wild game meat during the last year, but did not examine participants' attitudes about eating wild game meat or qualify how many individuals identified as hunters (National Shooting Sports Foundation/Responsive Management, 2011).

Research examining how game meat is shared within society is also scarce (Ljung, Riley, Ericsson, 2014). A baseline estimate in Michigan can be approximated from hunters' donations to the Sportsmen Against Hunger program (<http://www.sportsmenagainsthunger.org/>), in which hunters who choose to donate wild game meat to food banks or soup kitchens are subsidized a portion of their meat processing fees by the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and a collaboration of conservation interest groups (State of Michigan, 2014). In 2013, hunters donated 30,000 pounds of venison to this program (State of Michigan, 2014). During the same year, Frawley (2014) estimates that Michigan hunters harvested about 385,000 white-tailed deer, suggesting that a considerable amount of game meat sharing is unaccounted for. I found that 18 of the CSA and co-op members I interviewed had eaten wild game meat before and almost all interviewees knew someone who hunted, though I did not ask

them to qualify the closeness of these relationships or to speak about how frequently they received wild game meat.

Though the majority of interviewees (17/21) spoke positively about eating wild game meat, about half of the CSA and co-op members I interviewed also described an aspect they found concerning. Six interviewees mentioned uncertainties about the safety of eating wild game due to contamination of the meat by wildlife diseases or lead residue from the hunter's ammunition. Six interviewees described uncertainties of the likelihood of disease risk or the risk of consuming a wild animal that had eaten genetically modified crops. Interviewees did not describe their concerns as prohibiting future consumption of game meat, but I hypothesize that their concern may grow if game meat were incorporated in a larger proportion of their meals. Michigan has experienced several wildlife disease outbreaks over the past fifteen years (notably chronic wasting disease, epizootic hemorrhagic disease, and bovine tuberculosis, all of which impact white-tail deer populations) which may have influenced interviewees' perceptions of wildlife disease risk (Heberlein & Stedman, 2009; O'Brien, Schmitt, Fitzgerald, Berry & Hickling, 2006; Peterson, Mertig, & Liu, 2006). Similarly, the possibility of negative human health impacts occurring from the use of lead shot in procuring game meat (Hunt et al., 2009; Tranel & Kimmel, 2009) has led to ongoing conversations about banning the use of lead shot by big game hunters (Thomas, 2009). The use of lead shot by waterfowl hunters has been banned since the 1990s (Thomas, 1997).

While few research studies have examined public perceptions of wildlife disease risk outside of the context of certain stakeholders' perceptions of certain diseases (Decker, Evensen, Siemer, Leong, Riley, Wild, Castle, & Higgins, 2010), a recent research study

investigating layperson conceptualizations of wildlife disease across five states found focus group participants' to be more concerned about the impact of wildlife disease on wildlife health than on human health (Hanisch-Kirkbride, Burroughs, & Riley, 2014). Future research may examine whether local food consumers, as a health-conscious constituency (Cone & Myhre, 2000; Irish & Reis, 1987; Wilkins & Hillers, 1994), may have greater levels of concern about wildlife disease risk to human populations than other demographics.

In speaking about their negative attitudes about eating wild game meat, interviewees also discussed feelings of squeamishness at the realization that the wild game meat they were eating used to be a living animal. Loughnan, Haslam, & Bastian (2010) describe this feeling as “the meat paradox” and state that it is a common phenomenon among domestic meat eaters whose moral convictions (i.e., that animals should not be harmed or killed) mismatch with their behaviors (i.e., eating meat) (p.156). Loughnan and associates (2010) suggest that people ameliorate their feelings of discomfort by disassociating themselves from the fact that the meat they're eating used to be alive and by “reducing the extent to which they afford animal's moral status or worth” (p.157). Research examining disgust reactions to novel foods found disgust to be determined by perceived aversive textural properties and the “livingness/animalness” of the food (Martins & Pliner, 2006, p. 82). Additional research on this topic suggests that feelings of disgust may be overcome by focusing on the good taste and positive health benefits of the food (Rozin, 1988, summarized by Martins & Pliner, 2006). While the actual nutritive content of wild game meat has been somewhat understudied, research comparing wild ground venison to domestic ground beef has found wild venison to be lower in calories and fat, and higher in protein and minerals than domestic ground beef (Tidball, Tidball, & Curtis, 2014). In 2009,

researchers and University Extension staff at Cornell University created a website called “The Wild Harvest Table” (www.wildharvesttable.com) geared toward providing nutrition information, wild game recipes, consumption guidelines and hunting regulations to the public in an effort to better disseminate information about the benefits of eating wild game meat (Tidball, Tidball, & Curtis, 2013). For some interviewees, this squeamishness may prohibit them from eating wild game meat.

When discussing positive attitudes toward eating wild game meat, interviewees discussed feelings that: 1) wild animals lived better quality lives and were killed in more humane ways than domestic meat animals; 2) appreciated being able to determine the origin of wild game meat; 3) supported better access to eating wild game meat; 4) felt it was a nutritious source of protein; and 5) mentioned interest in trying wild game meat as a novel food choice. Contrary to the meat paradox and the dissociation individuals may experience to justify eating meat (Loughnan, Haslam, & Bastian, 2010), our research suggests that individuals may feel more comfortable consuming wild game meat over domestic meat if they are assured the game animals they choose to eat have led natural, free-range lives and have died quickly and humanely. Several interviewees specifically mentioned that they were hesitant to consume domestically-raised meat animals due to their perceptions of the way animals were treated, but felt many of their concerns (i.e., domestic meat animals do not eat natural foods, cannot move freely, and cannot “live like animals”) were ameliorated when considering eating wild game meat. Bruckner (2007) presents similar arguments that it is morally preferable to consume wild game meat than to consume domestic meat from factory-farmed animals. As previously discussed, focusing on the health benefits and good taste of a food may reduce initial

discomfort with trying unfamiliar foods whose physical properties convey a sense of “livingness/animalness” (Martins & Pliner, 2006, p.86). Interviewees’ interest in wild game meat as a healthy and novel food source further suggests that the physical reminders that game meat used to be a living animal may be overcome.

Interviewees’ discussions of ways to facilitate better access to wild game meat present both a challenge and an opportunity for wildlife managers considering engaging this audience. The illegality of selling wild game meat in the United States poses a challenge for wildlife managers to create mechanisms that encourage wild game meat sharing without also encouraging commercialization of wild game meat in a way that leads to overharvest (Curtis, Drake, Enck, San Julian, & Taylor, 2005). However, interviewees’ suggestions that food cooperatives could act as a middleman between hunters and individuals interested in receiving wild game meat or that individuals could collectively purchase a share of a deer from a hunter are not so far off the mark from existing game meat sharing programs offered by state wildlife management agencies. The Nebraska Deer Exchange, an interactive webpage (<http://outdoornebraska.ne.gov/hunting/programs/deerexchange/>) first hosted by the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission in 2008, offers a platform through which hunters who have harvested more meat than they can consume may find recipients interested in obtaining wild game meat, and vice versa (Hildreth, Hygnstrom, Hams, & Vercauteren, 2011). Participants wishing to receive meat provide their contact information and the condition (e.g., field-dressed, boned, or already ground) and quantity of meat they wish to receive and similarly, donors provide their contact information and the condition and quantity of meat they are able to donate. Interactions between donors and recipients are self-initiated, and at the time meat is

exchanged, donors transfer a custody tag to the recipient (Hildreth, Hygnstrom, Hams, & Vercauteren, 2011, p. 196). Hildreth, Hygnstrom, Hams, and Vercauteren's (2011) evaluation of the program found high satisfaction among participants and noted that 188 individuals donated at least one deer and 182 individuals received at least one deer during 2008. Additionally, Hildreth and associates discovered that 66% of donors stated that their participation in the program motivated them to take more deer than they might otherwise, meeting the management goals of the program to incentivize hunters to assist with deer population management (2011).

Providing better access to wild game meat may offer a unique way for wildlife managers and conservation enthusiasts to engage non-hunters in hunting-related activities that may subsequently increase public support for hunting (Larson et al., 2013). A recent study examining associations between Swedish non-hunters' attitudes toward hunting and the frequency of which they consumed wild game meat found that individuals who consumed wild game meat held more positive attitudes toward hunting than those who did not (Ljung, Riley, Heberlein, & Ericsson, 2012). Furthermore, the authors posit that the social interactions that occur between hunters and non-hunters when sharing wild game meat (e.g., sharing a meal, listening to or recalling a hunting story), may also be influential in increasing public support and acceptance of hunting (2012).

The work of Ljung, Riley, Heberlein and Ericsson (2012) augments findings of Larson and associates (2013) and Stedman and Decker (1996) who describe the importance of understanding the role of hunter associates in providing social support for hunting. Larson et al. (2014) define "hunter associates" as "people who do not pursue game in the field but associate

with hunters, participate in hunting-related activities, and receive benefits from hunting (e.g., family and friends of hunters)” (pg. 111). Stedman and Decker (1996) examined nonhunters’ interest in hunting through investigating their participation in “hunting-related activities” such as helping to prepare wild game meat, eating wild game meat, listening to hunting stories, or walking in the field without carrying a firearm/bow (pg. 35). Benefits nonhunters may receive through their interaction with hunters include receiving wild game meat, learning about nature, and building outdoor skills (Stedman & Decker, 1996). Though continuing to recruit new hunters to the pastime will be important to continuing to fund wildlife management, social support for hunting is important in the recruitment process, may influence the availability of hunter access to private lands, and is influential in public support for hunting as a management tool (Larson, Stedman, Decker, Siemer, & Baumer, 2014). Interviewees’ generally positive views of hunting to provide food, hunting as a wildlife management tool, and belief that hunters’ take a unique responsibility to acquire the food they eat suggests that the CSA and co-op members we interviewed may be a potential demographic to explore as hunter associates.

Interviewees’ attitudes about hunting were more positive than negative. Over 90% of the CSA and co-op members we interviewed described their approval of hunting to provide food and to aid with wildlife management, discussed appreciation for the personal responsibility hunters take for harvesting the meat they eat and felt that hunting was a natural human instinct. Negative perceptions of hunting also arose when interviewees felt hunters did not fully utilize the meat and body parts of their quarry, when gear or tactics gave the hunter an unfair advantage over the animal, and when they felt hunters’ poor shot placement led to the animal suffering unnecessarily. Similar to the findings of Campbell and MacKay (2009),

interviewees associated sport and trophy hunting with motivations to kill an animal for personal pleasure, which they felt violated the sanctity of life.

Interviewees' approval of hunting to provide food and to assist with wildlife management and general disapproval of hunting for trophy or sport resembles attitudes of the general public in North America (Campbell & Mackay, 2009; Kellert, 1993; Responsive Management, 2008; Shaw, 1977). In 2008, Responsive Management and the National Shooting Sports Foundation analyzed national survey data, finding that 85% of Americans surveyed strongly or moderately approved of the motivation to hunt "for the meat" and 83% strongly or moderately approved of hunting "for wildlife management," but only 53% of those surveyed approved of hunting for sport and only 28% approved of hunting "for a trophy" (p.165). Although some ambiguity exists in survey data as to the definitions of "sport" or "trophy," these findings have been validated by other works (Campbell & Mackay, 2009; Kellert, 1993; Shaw, 1977).

Interviewees' negative perceptions of hunting largely focused on specific hunter behaviors (i.e., wasting meat, using unfair gear or tactics, poor shot placement causing undue suffering). Little research has examined hunters' behavior in the field to validate whether or not hunters are exhibiting ethical and responsible behaviors, but some research suggests that for a small faction (about 14%) of active hunters (i.e., individuals who have purchased a hunting license during the last two years) others hunters' poor behaviors such as trespassing or poaching (i.e., violating bag limits, taking species out of season, hunting without a license) strongly decreases their satisfaction in the field (Responsive Management, 2008). Hunters' (and, I posit, non-hunters') perceptions of the ethical behavior of other hunters in the field are

important to understand because it is one barrier to hunting that state agencies may have some influence over (Responsive Management, 2008).

My findings suggest that interviewees hold both positive and negative perceptions of hunters and may reveal communication opportunities for managers interested in reaching out to this audience. Similar to the findings of Campbell and MacKay (2009), the CSA and co-op members I interviewed expressed uncertainty about how much of the hunters' game meat was actually utilized and did not seem aware of wanton waste laws. Communication to this audience should incorporate discussions about hunters' morals and personal ethics, as well as legal requirements regarding the use of harvested wild game meat.

Despite repeated findings that the general public does not approve of hunting for sport (associated with personal accomplishment, demonstrations of personal prowess) or trophy hunting, these images of hunting predominate media representations of the pastime, particularly in digital and broadcast media (Agee & Miller, 2009; Alessi, Miller, & Harper, 2013). Alessi, Miller, and Harper (2013) recently conducted content analysis of three popular waterfowl hunting DVDs, finding that the most frequently mentioned word in two of the films was "kill". The authors raise questions about how the emphasis on taking trophy animals may influence the ethical considerations of developing hunters and the pressure placed on wildlife management agencies to manage for trophy animals (Agge & Miller, 2008; Alessi, Miller, & Harper, 2013). Larson et al. (2014) point out that even though measures of success in hunting generally focus on harvesting game, hunters state that there are a variety of other benefits to hunting, including creating memories, spending time with friends and family, and perfecting outdoor skills. These benefits of hunting outside of the kill are underrepresented to the non-

hunting public, and could have an impact in influencing the opinions of the “uncommitted middle” who may not have strong opinions about hunting. In seeking to build social support for hunting, future research should consider avenues to expand the branding of hunting, focusing on the role hunting plays as a wildlife management tool and a provider of healthy, natural, wild game meat that is produced in a sustainable and ethical fashion.

3.6. CONCLUSION

As the number of active hunters across the United States and the subsequent funding available for natural resources conservation efforts from hunting-related revenue streams continues to decline, it is clear that if we are to continue funding wildlife conservation relying on hunter engagement and participation, wildlife managers must reach out to new audiences to both recruit and build social support for hunting. While most recruitment efforts have focused on youth mentored hunts and youth hunter education programs, my research is one of the first studies to present the views of an alternate demographic to consider in hunter education and mentored program development: adult local food consumers interested in hunting as a sustainable food source. In assessing 21 CSA and co-op members attitudes towards hunting and eating wild game meat in southern Michigan, I find positive attitudes towards eating wild game meat as an ethical, healthy, and interesting food source, and positive views of hunting as a responsible way to provide meat and assist with wildlife management. These findings suggest that CSA and co-op members may be a potential new demographic wildlife managers could consider reaching out to as new hunter recruits or hunter associates. Although my work is an exploratory study with limited generalizability, it sets the stage for future studies to continue to

assess local food consumers' interest in hunting and eating wild game meat and suggests some themes managers could integrate into messaging to reach this new audience.

CHAPTER 4: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS: WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT IMPLCIATIONS

In conducting this research, I sought to build a richer picture of southern Michigan food co-op and CSA members' motivations to participate in their memberships, the characteristics important to them in the foods that they buy, and their attitudes toward hunting and eating wild game meat in order to better assess whether they may be a new demographic to reach out to as hunter recruits or hunter associates. As a constituency recognized as ethical, ecologically-minded consumers interested in healthy, sustainably-produced foods (Cone & Myhre, 2000; Irish & Reis, 1987; Kocher, 1988; Thomspson & Coskuner-Balli, 2002), I saw a potential opportunity to introduce this demographic to hunting as a way to attain healthy, free-range, wild protein. It's been broadly recognized that participation in hunting is declining nationwide (Responsive Management, 2008) and that if we are to continue to fund wildlife conservation through a model dependent on hunting participation and public acceptance and support for hunting, wildlife managers and conservation enthusiasts will need to reach out to new audiences (Ryan & Shaw, 2011). However, little empirical research has addressed *how* to reach out to new demographics or *who* wildlife managers should attempt to engage. Through in-depth interviews with 21 CSA and co-op members in southern Michigan, I sought to aid with filling in knowledge gaps about how local food consumers' (a new "who" to engage for wildlife managers) feel about hunting and eating wild game meat in order to make some preliminary recommendations about how to engage this audience.

4.1. WHY THIS AUDIENCE?

When I initially thought about why local food consumers might be a particularly interesting audience to engage as a new demographic of hunters, I created a rough conceptual framework outlining the similar interests I saw between hunters and co-op/CSA members and the similar commitments they

Table 4.1: Conceptual framework examining similarities between the interests of co-op/CSA members and hunters and the commitments they make to food procurement through membership of hunting.

Co-op/CSA Members	Recruited Hunters
Interest in sustainable agriculture	Interest in sustainable management of wildlife populations
Promote ethical treatment of farm workers and farm animals	Promote fair chase ethics
Pay upfront price for membership	Pay upfront price for gear/ammo/licenses
Learn to process and store raw produce	Learn to process and store wild game meat

Note: "Recruited hunters" refers to individuals who identify as hunters and have been recruited to the pastime of hunting following the recruitment process described by Larson et al. (2014).

make to acquiring their food (Table 4.1). I chose to focus on co-op *and* CSA members because both food venues require their members to make a financial commitment when they initiate their membership; the co-op members I interviewed paid a one-time \$60 membership fee and the CSA members I interviewed paid roughly \$350-\$600 for a summer produce share. Hunters similarly have costs they must pay ahead of the hunting season in the form of acquiring hunting licenses, ammunition, and any gear they might need. Just as CSA members take a risk that the farm program they belong to may have a poor growing season and they may not receive all the produce they hoped for, hunters take a risk that they may not have a successful hunting season. Historically, co-ops have taken an activist role in advocating for food safety and food practices they value, emphasizing environmentally friendly practices and ethical treatment of farm workers and farm animals (Knupfer, 2013; Sommer, 1991). Hunters have been largely influential in advocating for the conservation of natural resources and development of the

current North American Model of Wildlife Conservation (see Organ, Mahoney, & Geist, 2010 for details about the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation). Through asking open-ended, semi-structured, in-depth interview questions, interviewees described their memberships and the characteristics important to them in their food choices in their own words, allowing me to ground my perceptions through their viewpoints.

4.2. WHAT DID WE FIND?

In Chapter 2, I explored interviewees' descriptions of their memberships and the characteristics important in the foods that they buy, discovering that these findings agree with previous studies that CSA/co-op members value healthy, natural foods produced using ethical and environmentally friendly production practices (Cone & Myhre, 2000; Kocher, 1988; Knupfer, 2013; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2002). The reiteration of these values in speaking about both their memberships and the foods that they purchase emphasizes their importance to CSA/co-op members.

In Chapter 3, I investigated CSA and co-op members' attitudes about eating wild game meat and attitudes toward hunting. I found that the majority of interviewees held positive attitudes toward eating wild game meat as a way to have a direct connection to where their food comes from, as a source of natural, wild, protein that lived and died in a better way than they perceive domestic meat animals live, and as a healthy and unique food source.

Interviewees viewed hunting positively as a way to provide food, to manage wildlife populations for the benefit of humans and wildlife, as a way to take personal responsibility of the meat a person eats, and saw hunting as a natural human instinct.

4.3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENGAGING CSA/CO-OP MEMBERS AS HUNTER SUPPORTERS

Prior research has found that individuals who consume wild game meat have more positive attitudes about hunting than those who do not (Ljung, Riley, Heberlein, & Ericsson, 2012) and has suggested that non-hunters who participate in hunting-related activities such as sharing wild game meals are an important component in building social support for hunters and public support of hunting (Larson, Decker, Stedman, Siemer, Baumer, & Enck 2013; Stedman & Decker, 1996). Stedman and Decker (1996) define hunting supporters as non-hunters who have positive attitudes towards hunting, are socially connected to hunters, and who may receive benefits from hunting (potentially in the form of wild game meat). I suggest that co-op and CSA members may be a unique audience to engage as hunter supporters due to their positive attitudes about eating wild game meat as a way to have a direct connection to where their food comes from, as a source of natural, wild, protein that lived and died in a better way than they perceive domestic meat animals to live, and as a healthy and unique food source.

Interviewees themselves have identified a need for better access to eating wild game meat. I suggest that increasing their exposure to wild game meat could be accomplished in the following ways: 1) re-open the discourse about commercialization of game meat, 2) offer programs to incentivize the sharing of game meat between hunters and nonhunters, 3) offer wild game cooking and processing classes. Details regarding each of these concepts follow below.

4.3.1. Re-open the Discourse About Commercialization of Game Meat. Though a hotly debated topic, reconsidering mechanisms to sustainably legalize and regulate the sale of wild game meat has recently been revisited as a way to manage overabundant white-tailed deer

populations (Curtis, Drake, Enck, San Julian, & Taylor, 2005; Vercauteren, Anderson, Van Deelen, Drake, & Walter, 2011) and to provide sustainably managed protein (Hygnstrom, Drake, Van Deelen, & Vantassel, 2014). Proposals have been made for how wildlife management agencies could create special licenses and oversight programs to allow regulated sale of wild game meat (Vercauteren et al., 2011), but anecdotal evidence suggests that state and federal wildlife management agencies are hesitant to consider this possibility due to concerns that hunters will strongly oppose the initiative. The current North American Model of Wildlife Management was originally implemented as a way to counteract the impacts of market hunting around the turn of the century, when the sale of furs and feathers for fashion and meat for the restaurant industry severely impacted wildlife populations (Organ, Mahoney, & Geist, 2010). I propose that CSA and co-op members could be included in future conversations about legalizing wild game meat to take some of the burden off wildlife managers in re-opening this conversation. CSA programs and food cooperatives are built around concepts of community and engaging in food politics; if there is wider interest among CSA/co-op members in gaining better access to wild game meat, managers could find a voice to support them in saying there is a wider interest and legitimate need to revisit commercialization.

4.3.2. Offer Programs To Incentivize Sharing of Game Meat Between Hunters and Nonhunters.

Nearly every state wildlife management agency in the nation has a program in place geared to encourage the sharing of game meat to improve food security among the underprivileged (Hildreth, Hygnstrom, Hams, & Vercauteren, 2011). However, the only program I know of that has facilitated wild game sharing between hunters and *any* member of the general public is the Nebraska Deer Exchange (Hildreth et al., 2011). Additionally, while not to diminish the

importance programs like Sportsmen Against Hunger that share wild game meat with food shelters, the format of the Nebraska Deer Exchange Program is less cost intensive to agencies and hunters because it does not require them to take on the bulk of the responsibility of paying for the processing of wild game meat (Hildreth et al., 2011).

4.3.3. Offer Wild Game Cooking and Processing Classes. For individuals who may not be familiar with how to process or prepare wild game meat, offering wild game cooking or processing classes could be one way to reduce barriers associated with eating wild game. The Michigan Department of Natural Resources has partnered with a multitude of conservation organizations to create “Gourmet Gone Wild” and “Gourmet Gone Wild-er” programs geared toward introducing urban young professionals to wild game meat as a healthy, sustainable, food choice through offering gourmet cooking demonstrations and meals. An example of a wild game processing program can be found in the University of Florida Department of Animal Sciences and Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commissions’ “Wild Game Processing: From Field to Table” program, which offered a six hour course incorporating hands on demonstrations of safely field dressing, skinning, and processing goat, wild hog, and white-tailed deer. While primarily an opportunity to learn how to safely cook or safely process wild game meat, these programs also offer opportunities for hunters and non-hunters to get to know one another over a shared interest. I suggest that wild game cooking classes should consider sharing the recipes that taught with participants and offer both gourmet and simple recipes to cast a wide net with their audiences.

4.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RECRUITING CSA/CO-OP MEMBERS AS NEW HUNTERS

4.4.1. Consider Expanding Hunter Recruitment and Education Programs to Include Adult Hunter Education. Only a small number of hunter recruitment and retention programs have been offered that include adults as their target audience (American Sportfishing Association et al., 2013). While youth programs are celebrated for being enjoyable experiences that are successful in retaining some participants, they've also been criticized for failing to recruit new audiences (DiCamillo, 1995; Enck, Decker, Brown, 2000; Ryan & Shaw, 2011). A national conversation is currently taking place about expanding mentored hunting and hunter education programs to include a larger number of adult-oriented programming; I suggest that managers consider offering adult hunter education programs that focus on hunting as a mechanism for acquiring healthy, sustainable, wild protein.

A model for what this program could look like exists in the form of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources' "Field to Fork: Wild Turkey" program. In April, 2013, I worked with the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and the National Wild Turkey Federation to offer a pilot mentored hunting program for new-to-hunting members of food cooperatives and community-supported agriculture programs interested in hunting as a way to provide their own local, free-range, sustainably-harvested wild protein. Pre-survey responses from participants found eight of 10 were most interested in the program as a way to learn how to hunt and provide their own meat and because they disliked or distrusted the commercial meat industry and because of an interest in sustainable foods. Incorporating findings from my interview data, we designed a 16 hour, five session course that focused on: hunting as a sustainable way to acquire food, the economic and ecological impacts of hunting, wild turkey

biology and management, hunting and firearms safety, hunting ethics, and wild game cooking and processing. Eleven participants enjoyed a one-on-one, quality first-time wild turkey hunting experience and four new hunters successfully harvested their first bird.

Although attitudes toward hunting as a management tool were fairly positive before participating in the Field to Fork program, pre-and-post surveys found participants attitudes to become even more positive after their experience. In the post survey, participants described the most important benefits of learning how to hunt as: a unique way to spend time in nature, to feel closer to the land, to know better where their meat comes from and take a more direct role in harvesting meat, and to gain access to a healthy wild protein. Over 80% of participants were interested in participating in future “Field to Fork” programs and were interested in trying deer, waterfowl, and small game hunting.

Similar program examples can also be found in the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources “Hunting for Sustainability” course offered to community college students (Warnke, 2013, private communication) and the Indiana Department of Natural Resources’ “Hunt, Fish, Eat” program (Wuestefeld, 2013, private communication). Messaging to CSA and co-op member audiences about hunting should focus on wild game meat as a healthy and sustainable food source and hunting as a way to directly know where food comes from and a unique opportunity to be closer to nature.

4.5. CONCLUSION

If wildlife managers are to continue to fund wildlife conservation through the North American Model of Wildlife Conservation, they will have to reach out to new audiences to recruit new hunters and build public support and acceptance for hunting as a management tool. Although

my research offers an exploratory study with limited generalizability to a larger audience, based on my findings that the CSA and co-op members I interviewed had positive attitudes toward hunting and eating wild game meat, I believe wildlife managers should consider reaching out to this audience as both hunter recruits and hunter supporters. The CSA and co-op members I interviewed have demonstrated that they are willing to spend time and money to invest in acquiring foods with the characteristics they value; local, fresh, healthy, and sustainable – it is time to invite them back into the outdoor pantry through offering opportunities to gain better access to wild game meat and learn how to hunt for their food.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Dear CSA/Co-op members,

My name is Kate Julian, I'm a graduate student in the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife at Michigan State University (MSU). As part of my Master's thesis, I am conducting a research study and would like to invite you to participate if you have been a member of _____ for more than one season/year and are between the ages of 18-54. My research is sponsored by the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and the College of Agriculture and Natural Resources at MSU.

The purpose of my research is to gain a richer understanding of how participants in natural food cooperative grocers (Co-op) and community-supported agriculture programs (CSA) view their memberships, make decisions about the food they buy, and think about hunting as a way to eat local, wild game meat. If you decide to participate, you and I will choose a time and place for an interview that should last about 90 minutes. During the interview, I will ask about your experience participating in a Co-op or CSA program, how you make decisions about the foods you buy, and your opinions and perceptions of hunting. Afterwards, you will be asked to take two minutes to fill out a brief survey about your background and interests. With your permission, I will audio record the interview to have a more accurate account of your responses. The tapes will only be heard by members of the research team who will help me transcribe and analyze the interviews, and will be destroyed after my research is complete.

I understand that opinions about hunting can be controversial, and although I didn't intend for any of the questions to be uncomfortable, you are welcome to skip any questions you'd prefer not to answer. There is a small risk that someone could overhear our conversation. To decrease this risk, we can choose a meeting place that is not affiliated with your CSA/Co-op.

Participation is confidential. Although I may discuss interview transcripts with my research team, you will be given a code name to be used instead of your real name. Your real name will not appear on notes taken during the interview, the interview transcript, or the audio file. Results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings will contain only your code name. Your privacy will be protected to the fullest extent allowable by law.

Although you probably won't benefit directly from this study, your participation in this interview will contribute to a growing body of research about local food consumers. As a reimbursement for your time, you will receive a locally made gift that is \$25 in value.

Participation in the interview is voluntary. You are welcome to end the interview at any time and may choose not to answer any question you are not comfortable with. You may also withdraw from the study at a later date if you change your mind about your participation.

You can contact me (248-877-7086; julianka@msu.edu) or my faculty advisor, Jordan Burroughs (517-353-4872; pusater3@msu.edu) with any questions you may have about the interview or the research study. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant that you'd like to report to someone outside the research study, you may contact Judy McMillan, Director of Michigan State's Human Research Protection Program (517-432-4502) or the Michigan State Human Research Institutional Review Board (irb@msu.edu).

If you would like to participate, please call or email me to let me know you're interested. I will return your call/email to confirm your interest in participating and schedule an interview time and location. I am planning to conduct interviews between April 1, 2012 – April 20, 2012. Thank you very much for your consideration!

Kind Regards,

Kate Julian
Graduate Research Assistant
Dept. of Fisheries & Wildlife at MSU
Phone: 248-877-7086
Email: julianka@msu.edu

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Research Participant Information and Consent Form

Study Title: Local Food Consumers' Perspectives on Hunting in Southern Michigan

Principle Investigator: Jordan Burroughs, Wildlife Outreach Specialist, Michigan State University

Sponsor: Michigan State University Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, Michigan Department of Natural Resources

Interviewer: Kate Julian, Masters of Science in Fisheries and Wildlife Candidate, Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, Michigan State University

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research study, the purpose of which is to gain a better understanding of how participants in natural food cooperative grocers and community-supported agriculture programs view their memberships, make decisions about the food they buy, and think about hunting as a way to eat local wild game. Below are some further details about this research, your role if you choose to participate, and what to expect during the interview. Please feel free to ask any questions you might have before you make the decision to sign this form.

Why have you been asked to participate?

You have been asked to participate because of your involvement in a food cooperative or community-supported agriculture program for over one year/season, and because you fit within the age range for this study, ages 18-54.

How long will the interview take?

Each interview will take about 90 minutes to complete. You will be asked several questions about your experience participating in a natural food cooperative grocer or community-supported agriculture program, several questions about how you make decisions about which foods to buy, and lastly, several questions about your opinions and perceptions of hunting. After the interview is complete, you will be asked to about three minutes to fill out a survey to tell researchers a little bit more about your background and hobbies.

What happens if you decide you'd like to participate?

We will go through this consent form together and take time to answer any questions you might have before the interview begins. If you decide to participate in the interview, we will each sign two copies of this form, one of which will be for you to take with you.

With your permission, to allow me to listen more closely to your responses, I'll record our interview on a digital audio recorder. Participating in the interview and agreeing to be audio taped are voluntary activities – you are free to end the interview at any time, to change your mind about being recorded before or after the interview takes place, and are free to decline to answer any question I ask. You do not have to agree to audio recording or complete the interview to be reimbursed for your time. If you do not wish me to record our interview, I will instead record your responses as complete as I can in my field journal.

In my thesis, papers submitted for publication, or presentations, I may use direct quotes from this interview – however, your responses will not be linked to your name. We'll choose a code name to be used in place of your real name, in order to keep your responses as confidential as possible.

What if I decide during the interview that I no longer want to participate?

Participating in this interview is voluntary. You are welcome to end the interview at any time and may choose not to answer any of the questions asked.

Are there any foreseeable risks or discomforts in participating in this interview?

There is a small risk that someone could overhear our conversation, and as attitudes towards hunting can be controversial, this could be hurtful to your reputation if the person overhearing disagrees with your opinion. None

of the questions I've planned to ask are meant to be uncomfortable in any way and you are free to decline to answer any of my questions.

Are there any benefits to me from participating in your research?

The results of this research are unlikely to directly benefit you. However, your participation in this interview will contribute to a better understanding of who local food consumers are, and how local food consumers feel about hunting for food. As there is little current research on this topic, your participation will contribute to a new body of research!

Does it cost anything to participate? Will I be compensated?

You will only be asked for your time in participating. To compensate you for your time, you will receive a gift that is \$25 in value. You will receive this gift even if you do not choose to complete the interview, if you choose to skip questions, or change your mind about being audio recorded.

How will you keep my personal information confidential?

Your name will not appear on the notes I take during our interview, or on any other documents that contain your responses, but instead you will be given a code name that corresponds to your identity. A key that links code names to participants' real names will be kept apart from any interview data in the form of a paper copy locked in a file cabinet in my office behind a locked door in the Natural Resources Building at Michigan State. I am the only person with a key to this cabinet. Information stored in digital form (the audio files from our video, notes that I make) will be labeled only with your code name and will be kept on a password protected computer.

Although I may discuss interview transcripts with the primary investigator for this project, Jordan Burroughs, and the additional members of my graduate committee, no information on these transcripts will contain your real name.

Your confidentiality will be protected to the fullest extent allowable by law.

Who can I contact if I have questions about the research study or my rights as a participant?

For questions about this research study, comments about the interview, or any complaints you may have, please contact the researcher, Kate Julian, at 248-877-7086, or email, julianka@msu.edu, or the primary investigator, Jordan Burroughs, Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, Michigan State University (517-353-4872). Regular mail can be addressed to 13 Natural Resources Building, Department of Fisheries and Wildlife, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Questions, comments, or concerns about your rights as a research participant that you'd like to report to someone outside the research project may be addressed (anonymously if you wish) to Judy McMillan, Director of Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program (517-432-4502), or emailed to irb@msu.edu, or sent by regular mail to 207 Olds Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Documentation of Informed Consent

Your signature on this form confirms that you've read the above information, have asked any questions you might like answers to before signing, and give your voluntary consent to participate in a 90 minute interview that will be included in a larger research study. Your signature does not legally bind you to participate in or complete the interview, you may decline to participate or terminate the interview at any time.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Interviewer

I have explained the research study, the participant's role in this study, and have answered any questions they may have before asking for their signature on this form. I have given a copy of this document to the participant.

Printed Name of Interviewer

Signature of Interviewer

Date

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW BACKGROUND SURVEY

Background Questions for In-depth Interviews

- ❖ Are you:
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female
- ❖ Please select your age in a range:
 - ☐ 18-24
 - ☐ 25-29
 - ☐ 30-34
 - ☐ 35-39
 - ☐ 40-44
 - ☐ 45-54
- ❖ Which of the following best describes the area where you grew up?
 - ☐ Rural
 - ☐ Suburban
 - ☐ Urban
- ❖ How would you describe your current residency?
 - ☐ Rural
 - ☐ Suburban
 - ☐ Urban
- ❖ What is your occupation? _____
- ❖ What is the highest grade or year of school you completed?
 - ☐ Some high school (grades 9 -11)
 - ☐ High school (grade 12 or GED)
 - ☐ Some college (1-3 years)
 - ☐ College (4 years, Bachelor's degree)
 - ☐ Graduate school (advanced degree)
- ❖ Which best describes your current household income?
 - ☐ Under \$10,000
 - ☐ \$10,000 - \$29,999
 - ☐ \$30,000 - \$49,999
 - ☐ \$50,000 – \$69,999
 - ☐ \$70,000 - \$99,999
 - ☐ \$100,000 or above
- ❖ Are you:
 - ☐ Single
 - ☐ Married
 - ☐ Divorced
 - ☐ Separated
 - ☐ Widowed
 - ☐ A member of an unmarried couple
- ❖ Do you have children at home who are:
 - ☐ Under 5 years old
 - ☐ 6-12 years old
 - ☐ 13-17 years old
 - ☐ Over 18 years old
 - ☐ Have no children
- ❖ How would you describe yourself?
 - ☐ African-American
 - ☐ Asian
 - ☐ Caucasian/White
 - ☐ Hispanic

- ☐ Native American
- ☐ Multiracial
- ☐ Other _____
- ☐ Prefer not to say
- ❖ What sorts of outdoor activities do you participate in? (Please select all that apply)
 - ☐ Hiking
 - ☐ Backpacking
 - ☐ Mountain or road biking
 - ☐ Jogging or running
 - ☐ Rock climbing
 - ☐ Horseback riding
 - ☐ Gardening
 - ☐ Wildlife watching (bird watching, etc.)
 - ☐ Camping
 - ☐ Canoeing/Kayaking/Sailing
 - ☐ Swimming
 - ☐ Power boating
 - ☐ Fishing
 - ☐ Hunting
 - ☐ Nature Photography, Painting, Drawing
 - ☐ Journaling
 - ☐ Snowshoeing
 - ☐ Snowmobiling
 - ☐ Skiing/Snowboarding
 - ☐ All-terrain, off-road vehicle riding
 - ☐ Other _____
- ❖ Do you belong to any local or community organizations? _____
- ❖ How often do you, or someone in your family, cook dinner from fresh ingredients at home?
 - ☐ Almost everyday
 - ☐ 3 to 5 days a week
 - ☐ Once a week
 - ☐ Less than once a week
 - ☐ Almost never
- ❖ How much would you say you enjoy cooking?
 - ☐ Very much
 - ☐ Somewhat
 - ☐ Not at all

Thank you very much for your participation!

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOOD CO-OP MEMBERS

Interview Guide for Natural Food Cooperative Participants

Date:

Location:

Interviewee:

Start time:

End time:

Introduction

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with me today, I really appreciate it! My name is Kate Julian. I'm a graduate student in the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife at Michigan State University and am doing my Masters work in Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management. I've invited you to participate in an interview today because I'm interested in finding out how local food consumers think about their membership in a natural food cooperative (Co-op) and their views about hunting. I'm interested in these two topics because the purpose of my Master's research is to find out more about how local food consumers feel about hunting as a way to harvest wild game. Before we begin, I'd like to talk with you about what it means to agree to participate in this interview, and I'd like to give you a chance to ask any questions you might have about my research or the interview process. I have two copies of the consent form required by Michigan State University and will give you one of these to take with you today. Let's look through it together.

There are no right or wrong answers to these question either, I'm interested in what you personally, honestly, think and feel. Please feel free to be honest and open! Do you have any other questions before we get started?

Theme 1 – Learning More about Co-op membership

Goal – to find out more about the motivations, values, and perspectives of Co-op members

1. I'm pretty new to the idea of natural food co-ops. How would you describe the People's Food Co-op/East Lansing Food Co-op to someone who doesn't know very much about it?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. Could you please tell me a little bit more about your member/owner share?
 1. Have you attended a meeting for members?
 2. Have you been shopping on member discount days?
 3. Are there other benefits to membership?
 - b. Probes:
 - i. What does it mean to you that this is a "cooperative" grocer?
 - ii. How is a co-op different from a conventional grocery store?
 - iii. Okay, thanks! Let me make sure I caught the most important pieces of what you've told me. You mentioned that there are...

2. Backing up a little, when (or how) did you first become interested in participating in a Co-op?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. What was it about the advertisement that made you curious? What did your friend tell you, that made it sound like something you might like to try?
 - ii. Did you look into joining a Co-op right after you first became interested, or is it something you thought about for a while? Was there something else that prompted you to join?
 - iii. What did you know about the People's Food Co-op/East Lansing Food Co-op before you joined?
 - iv. How long have you been a member of the Co-op since?
 - b. Probes
 - i. Could you tell me more about that?
 - ii. So, you heard about it from your neighbor?

3. I'm interested in learning more about you as a person and your personal involvement in the Co-op. What is it about you – your situation, your personality, your desires, whatever – what is it about you that you think led you to become part of this Co-op?
 - a. Follow-up
 - i. Where do you think your interest in (sustainability, gardening, caring for the earth...etc) comes from?
 - ii. You mentioned _____ (wanting fresh food/healthy food/food grown without pesticides...) as things that influenced your decision to join, were these the most important factors to you, in choosing your membership?
 - iii. What are the best and worst parts of being a member?
 - iv. How does your family feel about being members?
 - v. Do you make most of the decisions about which foods your family eats at home?
 - b. Probes
 - i. So with your interest in joining a Co-op came your interest in _____. What was it about that experience _____ that made _____ important to you?

4. I understand you've been a member for more than one year, is there something in particular that brings you back again each year?
 - a. Follow-up
 - i. Has being a member been the experience you thought it would be?
 - ii. Have there been any changes in the Co-op since you first became a member?
 - b. Probes

- i. If you were to pick a few words or phrases to describe your experience so far, what would they be?
 - ii. If you could pick a few words or phrases to describe the Co-op, what would they be? /When you think about the Co-op, what are the first words or pictures that come to mind? Sounds or smells?
- 5. Are there foods that you or members of your household like to eat regularly that you aren't able to find at the Co-op? What do you do if you can't find these items?
 - a. *Follow-up*
 - i. Are there certain places you prefer to purchase foods that aren't available at the co-op?
 - ii. Is there a criterion you use to make decisions about the foods you eat that are not available through the Co-op?
 - b. *Probe*
 - i. How would you choose between two different packages of strawberries? [Is the brand important? Country of origin? Organic? Whether they look fresh?]
- 6. I'm particularly interested in how you make decisions about buying meat. Could you tell me a little bit more about how you decide which meats to buy?
 - a. *Follow-up:*
 - i. Are there certain kinds of meat you prefer over others?
 - ii. What factors are important to you when you compare two packages of meat?
 - 1. Could you give me an example of how you choose between two packages of chicken?
 - b. *Probe*
 - i. So when you were talking about how you make your decision about which meat to buy, you mentioned that _____ is important to you. Could you tell me a little bit more about that?

Theme 2 – Attitudes and Perceptions of Hunting

Goal – To find out more about how local food consumers view hunting as a broad concept, and more specifically, how they feel about hunting as a means to harvest local, wild game meat.

At this point in the interview, I'm going to switch directions and ask you a few questions on your thoughts about eating wild game meat and hunting as a way to be able to eat wild game meat.

1. So we talked a little bit about how you make decisions about the food you buy when you can't get it at the Co-op, and how you choose which meats to eat. Hunting is one alternative way to getting meat other than shopping at a store. Have you tried wild game meat, like deer, wild turkey, or duck before?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. IF NO:
 1. Do you think you might consider eating wild game?
 2. Are there reasons why you might want or not want to eat wild game?
 - ii.IF YES
 1. What was that like for you?
 2. How do you feel about eating wild game?
 - b. Probe:
 - i. How does eating wild game meat compare, for you, to eating meat you can purchase in a grocery store?
 - ii. Are certain types of game meat you prefer to eat over others?
 - iii. Could you tell me about an experience you had where you ate wild game?
 - iv. Could you tell me a little bit more about why you feel that way?
 - v. How does your family feel about eating wild game?
2. One big difference about the way we get wild game meat is that you really have to know someone who hunts or go hunting yourself. How do you feel about hunting as a way to eat wild game?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. Have you had a personal experience with hunting? Do any of your friends or family hunt?
 - ii. How does your family or friends feel about hunting?
 - iii. If you were to draw me a picture of a typical hunter, what do you think that person would be like?
 - b. Probes:
 - i. What do you think a typical hunter's gender is? Age? Income? Education? Race?
 - ii. Do you have any thoughts about why people might like hunting? /What do you think are this person's reasons for hunting?
3. Is hunting something you could picture yourself doing?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. As someone who doesn't have a lot of experience hunting (or as a new hunter at some point) what do you think are the biggest challenges in learning how to hunt?

- ii. Do you think you would be interested in learning how to hunt as a way to eat wild game?
 - b. Probe:
 - i. You mentioned _____ a reason why you could/could not see yourself hunting. Could you tell me more about that?
 - ii. What about _____ do you think is the most challenging?
- 4. So we've been talking about your membership at the Co-op which you've mentioned is a _____. We also talked about which aspects are important to you in buying meat, which you also mentioned were _____. And lastly, we've talked a little bit about your experiences with eating wild game meat and perceptions of hunting.
 - a. In your opinion, is there a connection between hunting for food and the desire to eat food that comes from a local source and has been grown or raised in a way that is environmentally friendly?
- 5. Throughout the interview today, we've discussed some of the ways that Co-ops offer some food choices that are more environmentally friendly, better for the community/for grower, etc., and one word that I've seen a lot in the marketing of natural food is "sustainable". How would you define "sustainable food", or what are some images that come to mind?
- 6. Similarly, in talking about the environment, "conservation" is often mentioned. I think conservation probably means a lot of different things to different people. What do you think of when you hear the word "conservation"?

Conclusion

We've just about reached the end of our time together today, but before we go, is there anything you'd like to tell me that I might not have asked you about? I would appreciate it if you could take two minutes and complete this brief questionnaire about your background and interests. Thank you so much again for your time!

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CSA MEMBERS

Interview Guide for Community-Supported Agriculture Participants

Date:

Location:

Interviewee:

Start time:

End time:

Introduction

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with me today, I really appreciate it! My name is Kate Julian. I'm a graduate student in the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife at Michigan State University and am doing my Masters work in Human Dimensions of Wildlife Management. I've invited you to participate in an interview today because I'm interested in finding out how local food consumers think about their membership in a community-supported agriculture (CSA) program and their views about hunting. I'm interested in these two topics because the purpose of my Master's research is to find out more about how local food consumers feel about hunting as a way to harvest wild game. Before we begin, I'd like to talk with you about what it means to agree to participate in this interview, and I'd like to give you a chance to ask any questions you might have about my research or the interview process. I have two copies of the consent form required by Michigan State University and will give you one of these to take with you today. Let's look through it together.

There are no right or wrong answers to these question either, I'm interested in what you personally, honestly, think and feel. Please feel free to be honest and open! Do you have any other questions before we get started?

Theme 1 – Learning More about CSA membership

Goal – to find out more about the motivations, values, and perspectives of CSA members

7. I'm pretty new to the idea of CSAs. How would you describe the CSA program you belong to, to someone who doesn't know very much about it?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. Could you please tell me a little bit about the share that you buy?
 1. *Where do you pick up your share? How far do you travel to get there?*
 2. *Do you have very much choice over what you get?*
 3. *How much produce usually comes in your share?*
 4. *Are there shares available for more than one season?*
 - b. Probes:
 - i. *What does it mean to you that this is a "community-supported" program?*
 - ii. *Okay, thanks! Let me make sure I caught the most important pieces of what you've told me. You mentioned that there are...*
8. Backing up a little, when (or how) did you first become interested in participating in a CSA?
 - a. Follow-ups:

- i. What was it about the advertisement that made you curious? What did your friend tell you, that made it sound like something you might like to try?
 - ii. Did you look into joining a CSA right after you first became interested, or is it something you thought about for a while?
 - iii. What did you know about community-supported agriculture programs before you joined? About this CSA?
 - iv. How long have you been a member of this CSA?
 - b. *Probes*
 - i. Could you tell me more about that?
 - ii. So, you heard about it from your neighbor?
9. I'm interested in learning more about you as a person and your personal involvement in the CSA. What is it about you – your situation, your personality, your desires, whatever – what is it about you that you think led you to become part of this CSA?
- a. *Follow-up*
 - i. Where do you think your interest in (sustainability, gardening, caring for the earth...etc) comes from?
 - ii. You mentioned _____ (wanting fresh food/healthy food/food grown without pesticides...) as things that influenced your decision to join, were these the most important factors to you, in choosing your membership?
 - iii. What are the best and worst parts of being a member?
 - iv. How does your family feel about being members?
 - v. Do you make most of the decisions about which foods your family eats at home?
 - b. *Probes*
 - i. So with your interest in joining a CSA came your interest in _____. What was it about that experience that made _____ important to you?
10. I understand you've been a member for more than one season, is there something in particular that brings you back each year?
- a. *Follow-up*
 - i. Has being a member been the experience you thought it would be?
 - ii. Have there been any changes in the CSA since you first became a member?
 - b. *Probes*
 - i. If you were to pick a few words or phrases to describe your experience so far, what would they be?

- ii. If you could pick a few words or phrases to describe the CSA farm what would they be?
/When you think about the CSA, what are the first words or pictures that come to mind?
Sounds or smells?

- 11. Earlier I asked you about your share at the CSA. If a fruit or vegetable you were planning on having doesn't come when anticipated, what do you do then? [Go without it, buy it at a conventional grocery store, try the food co-op...]
- a. Follow-up
 - i. Are there certain places you prefer to purchase foods that don't come as part of your CSA share?
 - ii. Is there a criterion you use to make decisions about the foods you eat that are not available through the CSA?
 - b. Probe
 - i. How would you choose between two different packages of strawberries? [Is the brand important? Country of origin? Organic? Whether they look fresh?]
 - ii. How about for two boxes of cereal?

- 12. I'm particularly interested in how you make decisions about buying meat at the grocery store, because I know that most CSAs might not have a large selection of meat, if any, available. Could you tell me a little bit more about how you decide which meats to buy at the grocery store?
- a. Follow-up:
 - i. Are there certain kinds of meat you prefer over others?
 - ii. What factors are important to you when you compare two packages of meat?
 - 1. Could you give me an example of how you choose between two packages of chicken?
 - b. Probe
 - i. So when you were talking about how you make your decision about which meat to buy, you mentioned that _____ is important to you. Could you tell me a little bit more about that?

Theme 2 – Attitudes and Perceptions of Hunting

Goal – To find out more about how local food consumers view hunting as a broad concept, and more specifically, how they feel about hunting as a means to harvest local, wild game meat.

At this point in the interview, I'm going to switch directions and ask you a few questions about your thoughts about eating wild game meat and hunting as a way to be able to eat wild game meat.

7. So we talked a little bit about how you make decisions about the food you buy when you can't get it at the CSA, especially meat. Hunting is one alternative way to getting meat other than shopping at a grocery store. Have you tried wild game meat, like deer, wild turkey, duck, or before?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. IF NO:
 1. Do you think you might consider eating wild game?
 2. Are there reasons why you might want or not want to eat wild game?
 - ii.IF YES
 1. What was that like for you?
 2. How do you feel about eating wild game?
 - b. Probe:
 - i. How does eating wild game meat compare, for you, to eating meat you can purchase in the grocery store?
 - ii. Are certain types of game meat you prefer to eat than others?
 - iii. Could you tell me about an experience you had where you ate wild game?
 - iv. Could you tell me a little bit more about why you feel that way?
 - v. How does your family feel about eating wild game?

8. One big difference about the way we get wild game meat is that you really have to know someone who hunts or go hunting yourself. How do you feel about hunting as a way to eat wild game?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. Have you had a personal experience with hunting? Do any of your friends or family hunt?
 - ii. How does your family or friends feel about hunting?
 - iii. If you were to draw me a picture of a typical hunter, what do you think that person would be like?
 - b. Probes:
 - i. What do you think a typical hunter's gender is? Age? Income? Education? Race?
 - ii. Do you have any thoughts about why people might like hunting? / What do you think are this person's reasons for hunting?

9. Is hunting something you could picture yourself doing?
 - a. Follow-ups:
 - i. As someone who doesn't have a lot of experience hunting (or as a new hunter at some point) what do you think the biggest challenges are in learning how to hunt?

- ii. Do you think you would be interested in learning how to hunt as a way to be able to eat wild game?
 - b. Probe:
 - i. You mentioned _____ a reason why you could/could not see yourself hunting. Could you tell me more about that?
 - ii. What about _____ do you think is the most challenging?
- 10. So we've been talking about your membership at the CSA, which you've mentioned is a _____. We also talked about which aspects are important to you in buying meat, which you also mentioned were _____. And lastly, we've talked a little bit about your experiences with eating wild game meat and perceptions of hunting.
 - a. One of the questions left in my mind is, in your opinion, is there a connection between hunting for food and the desire to eat food that comes from a local source and has been grown or raised in a way that is environmentally friendly?
- 11. Throughout the interview today, we've discussed some of the ways that CSA offer some food choices that are more environmentally friendly, better for the community/for grower, etc., and one word that I've seen used a lot in the marketing of environmentally friendly products is "sustainable." How would you define "sustainable food", or what are some images that come to mind?
- 12. Similarly, in talking about the environment, "conservation" is often mentioned. I think conservation probably means a lot of different things to different people. What do you think of when you hear the word "conservation"?

Conclusion

We've just about reached the end of our time together today, but before we go, is there anything you'd like to tell me that I might not have asked you about? I would appreciate it if you could take two minutes and complete this brief questionnaire about your background and interests. Thank you so much again for your time!

APPENDIX F

ATTITUDES ABOUT MEMBERSHIP AND FOOD CHOICES CODEBOOK

Food Data Codebook

Descriptions of Membership:

Table F1: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to factors that influenced interviewees' decisions to participate in CSA/co-op membership.

1.1.	Factors that Influence Membership					
	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Example	Note
1.1.1.	Childhood family members' interest in cooking and gardening	FAM	This concept refers to instances where interviewees describe how their current views about food (and their CSA/Co-op membership, later in life) were influenced by their family members' interests in gardening or cooking when they were young.	R002 My dad studied horticulture at MSU and I didn't get involved in this that much when I was younger but I grew up with a city garden, my grandpa had a big garden, and it was just all kinds of things I was exposed to. Fresh food, the taste of fresh food, that I think, uh, again, use that, so easy to say...planted the seeds.	R004 P: ...When I'd get home from school...on cable there was the "Great Chefs" of the west, And I'd come home from school and I would watch that with my mom, and I loved it...I would always say, well, I want to make something for dinner, and you know, to keep me busy my mom would give me one of those little colored handled paring knives...And she would say alright, cut up this onion or cut up this pepper or do whatever. So from that point I just developed a passion for cooking. It wasn't until really my adult life that I started to develop the passion for the garden.	
1.1.2.	Interest in a connection to nature	NAT	The idea that interviewees' interest in participating in a co-op or CSA membership was influenced by an interest and appreciation for nature that developed when they were children.	R002 I've always been a nature person, a caretaking person, I love the idea of nurturing a little seedling, ya know, I love all my precious little seedlings and my grow tables right now...my whole belief system is very nature oriented...	R008 ...particularly in this area, I grew up in metro Detroit, and watching all of the natural land be eaten up by development has been a disappointment and kind of a shock to me over my lifetime. It just gets harder to find green space, and I think that's incredibly important...	

Table F1 (cont'd)

1.1.3.	Personal Ethics	ETH-MEM	Use this code when interviewees discuss the personal morals (their standard of what's right and wrong) or personal code of ethics (the rules they follow to live up to their morals) that influenced their decision to participate in a co-op or CSA.	R004 [...] I've always been a deep thinker. As a counselor, the longer I've been here, the more I've been privy to societal problems and how they manifest within [people]. [...] I've just become more aware of what our issues are as a society. Globally, locally, the whole thing. [...] I think that all of that wrapped up in a big ball is what really pushed me toward doing these things [joining a co-op]. [...] I want to make sure that I'm doing the right thing for the world and my kids.	R005 ...I think just simply trying not to do harm. As much as possible, just don't do harm with the things that you do, the decisions you make. [...] if you buy conventional produce that goes back to possibly poisoning ground water of someone by that farm who want to drink that, you know? So, just being aware of the consequences of your decisions.	I only coded responses that dealt with sustainability if that was a concept the interviewee mentioned without me prompting them.
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Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Note" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Table F2: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to interviewees' perceived benefits of being a CSA/co-op member.

1.2.	Benefits of Being a Member					
	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Example	Note
1.2.1.	Support Local Farmers and Local Businesses	LOC-MEM	Use this code when interviewees talk about participating in their co-op/CSA membership as a way to financially or socially support local farmers, their local community, and local businesses through purchasing local food. Interviewees may discuss wanting to support individual farmers or may generally express wanting to support their community.	R004 He's like, "why don't you ever go to the co-op?" ...And he's like, "yeah, but, you're investing in the local economics." [...] he was challenging my intelligence and saying, "[...] I would think that because you do care about these things [environmental and economic sustainability, buying foods in season], that [joining the co-op] would be in line with you, but I guess if you're not aligned with that, maybe you don't care about those things." He knew that would get me, and it did.	R007 it's feeling like you're supporting the local community, knowing that they try and bring in product from local as much as they can, but... you know, I'm a member and the benefits are that, you know, I get special discounts, but... for me it's about supporting local things.	

Table F2 (cont'd)

1.2.2.	Customer Service	CUST	Interviewees discussed ways that the co-op staff and CSA staff provided great customer service. This code is used when participants discuss efforts that are made to improve the experience of members and to assist members in finding products or utilizing farm shares. Use this code when participants discuss their appreciation for being able to vote/give feedback on the types of products grown or carried or when participants mention ways that the farmers/co-op reach out to their members to provide information about the foods they grow/sell. This code also reflects an emphasis on people over profit – the satisfaction of the farm/co-op members is important to these organizations.	R005 P: ... the food that they stock and the way that they stock things and do things really has people in mind and what's best for the people who shop there, and not so much what's going to make them the most money or bring in the most customers to them. So they're more interested in what's good for people. And they also...if you ask for a particular item is organic or pesticide free, they'll do the research to figure it out where a normal grocery store would be like, 'oh, I don't know,' and leave it at that. 0:02:44.9	R011 ...part of it is that you have a voice in something that...there's a lot of things in our lives that we don't have much of a voice in. Or we feel like we don't have much of a voice in, state, federal policies, pollution levels in china...all sorts of things we have absolutely no control over. Miniscule amounts of control. I think it's...makes sense to have parts of your life, as much of your life as possible where you can make a conscious effort to have direct control. Or to participate in something where the values are aligned with yours....	
1.2.3.	Community Building	COMM	Use this code when interviewees discuss their appreciation for the social relationships and feelings of community and belonging that have developed as a result of being a co-op or CSA member. Interviewees may discuss relationships they've built with other members or staff.	R003 It is fun to go when we go pick up our share, you see the same people for the next nineteen weeks over and over again... we were making connections in the community of how do I know them, and they ended up being friends from my son's school, and so it's, it is fun to make those connections with people.	R016 [...] you have a direct connection to knowing how the person that's raising your food is doing, how their family is doing. They know about you and your family. [...] you start running into other people who also get their vegetable from the same place. And you get to know a sense of folks that way [...] so it [going to the CSA] was like, your social, Saturday morning thing [...] my kids can run around on the farm for a little while...you can show up and pull carrots or plant onions...which is a great way to get to know people and a great was to enjoy the pleasures of farming...	

Table F2 (cont'd)

1.2.4.	Convenience	CONV-MEM	This code refers to instances where interviewees speak about ways that membership makes their lives easier or about ways that membership is a convenient choice for them. This concept includes instances where interviewees discuss how the price of the membership or discounts available to them are a benefit of belonging to a co-op or CSA. Interviewees may also talk about membership offering them a convenient way to purchase the type of foods they're interested in (ex. Natural/organic/local).	R015 And if you think about it dollar for dollar, if you went to the health food store and you spent ten dollars, you would probably only get one bunch of, you know, greens or lettuce...Here you get a whole bag full of food.	R008 ...they [the co-op] have a great selection of healthy and natural products. And they support local farmers and producers, so it's convenient because if I want to buy local products I can go to one place. I don't have to travel to this farm to buy milk and over here to buy eggs...	
1.2.5.	Education	EDU	For some participants, belonging to a CSA/co-op provides a way to learn more about food policy, politics, and how to grow food yourself. Use this code when participants discuss learning something valuable (a new skill, becoming more informed) from their co-op/CSA membership, or when they discuss how membership helps others in the community learn new skills or information.	R002 I did do their work CSA... and so I've tried to take advantage of [it]...I'll go help plant onions, because things that I know that I think I'm doing okay, I'd like to just go help them, and see if there's anything maybe I could be doing better.	R008 ...it's also very educational. They're constantly offering information on everything from nutrition to politics.	

Table F2 (cont'd)

1.2.6.	Trying New Foods	NEW	Use this code when interviewees discuss how the opportunity to experience new or interesting foods is a benefit of their membership, or an aspect of their membership that they find enjoyable. This code may also be used when interviewees talk about their enjoyment for learning how to cook the new or unique foods they receive through their membership.	R003 ...but what I also like about Titus Farms is that there's, they grow vegetables that I have never tried before, and I enjoy experimenting with food, and looking up recipes online, and trying to figure out how to cook it. But I was kind of surprised, I had a few people not sign back up for Titus Farms because they didn't like that part.// #00:03:27-1#	R005 I: How did you first become interested in the co-op? 0:03:40.0 P: I don't remember...you know what? My friend's mom was a member of the co-op when we were kids, and we used to kind of make fun of her because she used to buy this bulk stuff. It was like weird food, but we kind of liked it...Well it was, you know, it didn't come in a pre-package. It wasn't what I was used to eating in my own home. So...like the dried pineapple, I remember that, or things like that that were really good and unique, so a long time ago I was kind of interested in the idea, and then when I moved here I just heard that they had a lot more specialty food and organic 0:04:29.8	A few interviewees mention the diversity of produce offered through being a CSA member in their description of how a CSA share works. I did NOT code as NEW unless it was clear from their description that this was something they valued about their membership.
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Table F2 (cont'd)

1.2.7.	Tasty Food	TASTE-MEM	This code is used when interviewees talk about the flavor of the foods they receive through their membership as being a particularly enjoyable part of the experience.	R016 I know that the things I'm eating are really good for me and they're all delicious. I mean they're fresh and their local and they've got great flavor....So, yes I have to learn something to use them but it's not...with the internet at my fingertips it's not hard to learn. And I don't think it takes me any more time to meal plan than it does otherwise. And I get, you know, comments everywhere I go about my girls. "Your girls are the best eaters" [laughter], I hear that everywhere. And I think CSA probably had something to do with that you know.	R009 If I had been, I think if I were a bachelor and had not met my wife I would have joined the co-op for the coffee but not bought food there mostly. #00:20:05-7# I: What is it about the coffee that you like? #00:20:08-5# P: Well, it's very good.// #00:20:09-6# I: In taste? #00:20:10-5# P: Yeah. The taste is good.	
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Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Note" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Table F3: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to the types of foods interviewees stated membership offered them easy access to.

1.3. Access to Desirable Foods						
	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Example	Note
1.3.1.	Ecologically Friendly Production Practices	ECO-MEM	This code describes instances where interviewees speak about their desire to support environmentally friendly growing practices (for example, conserving water resources, reducing fossil fuel emissions, reducing negative impacts to the biodiversity of the agricultural ecosystem) and how belonging to a co-op/CSA allows them to access these types of foods, or supports their value for these practices.	R004 ...When you look at the giant agricultural corporations...they are capable of pushing out the hard working, industrialized farmer. And at the same time, they contribute thirty percent of our global climate change problem, all the carbon that goes into the air. So it's a multi-faceted economic issue. There's the education piece, the better tasting food, and climate change. You know, just environmentally more friendly if you buy local. Especially local organic.	R005 Do you think there's something about your personality or your desires that really brought you to be a co-op member? 0:08:57.2 P: ..Yeah...I mean, I think so. Just kind of growing up more with like...collective mystic ideas of things, but having things more natural instead of...and just really caring about people and the environment, and doing things the right way, you know? 0:09:40.4	
1.3.2.	Chemical Free	CHEM-MEM	Use this code when interviewees speak about how their membership allows them to access foods that are grown or produced without man-made chemicals (ex. Synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, hormones, or antibiotics) and are also grown from natural, rather than engineered, seeds or processes (not genetically modified).	R001 I: What was important to you about specifically that it's [the farm] certified organic or specifically local? #00:06:48-0# P: Well, coming from the hort[iculture] field, I know a lot about chemicals, and fertilizers and all that other stuff. And, I do try to limit my intake of things that have been not only fertilized with man-made chemicals, but also, that organic is also not GMO.	R021 Um, I also like to consider quality just like knowing where the sources are. So, quality in terms of like, back to the bananas example, like fair-trade, organic, um, looking at where things come from. I really like to know the source of where my food comes from, and I get a lot more transparency at the co-op. And I would consider that, and think of that like higher quality, I mean if you know where your food is coming from, like a low quality source, like maybe a big factory farm with GMOs, and basically fostered with chemicals, that would be lower quality to me.	

Table F3 (cont'd)

1.3.3.	Healthy	HEAL-MEM	This code describes instances where interviewees speak about how the foods they purchase through their memberships provide them with items that are nutritious and contribute to good physical health, or that support their philosophy that good physical health is important. This code may also include descriptions of how joining a co-op or CSA was motivated by a desire to eat healthier, or how their membership makes eating healthier an easier choice.	R003 I: So do you know, how did you first become interested in participating in the CSA? #00:05:56-4# P: Ok, so this is my, this is my third or fourth year. I think it's our third, year, I can't even remember. But what interests me was, in 2008, I started to, like, learn about health and food, better food choices and things. And then in 2009 I started my weight-loss journey, and then I started reading a lot of books and doing a lot of research on food, and chemicals, and all of that, and so, so since 2009 I've lost fifty pounds, and I was interested in...or, what was the question? (laughs) #00:07:01-2#	R006 I guess in the last few years I've started wanting to eat more healthy and um, incorporating more fresh food and trying to get away from as much prepackaged kind of stuff and so I guess that desire was kind of growing in me...	
1.3.4.	Known Origin	KNOW-MEM	An expression of valuing a direct knowledge of how food is grown and produced, as well as who produced it. For some interviewees, this value may be discussed in their desire to learn how to grow food themselves to be able to learn more about the process. For others, it may be an emphasis on being able to converse with the person who grows their food. Code as "KNOW-MEM" if it seems like the participant is saying that their <i>membership</i> allows them to know directly how their food is grown/provides them with food that they understand where it comes from.	R002 And the community aspect, though, of, of picking up your food directly from a farmer at either a CSA or a market is so huge to be able to talk to them about how it's grown.	R012 But, so I'd tell them the acronym and say you know it's a way, in one way to kind of cut out the middle man, you're buying directly from the farmer and you have an opportunity to build a relationship with that person and to understand what's actually going on to your food and who's the one cultivating it, ask direct questions and you also get an opportunity to be exposed to foods you may never have bought.	

Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Note" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

2. Characteristics of Food that are Important to Members in the Foods They Buy

Table F4: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to factors interviewees described as influential in making choices about the foods they purchase.

2.1.	Factors that Influence Food Purchases					
	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Example	Note
2.1.1.	Know Where Food Comes From	KNOW-GEN	Use this code when interviewees discuss wanting to understand how their food is produced and/or who produced it/where it was produced. Use when interviewees particularly emphasize that understanding where their food comes from influences the kinds of foods they purchase and how they make decisions about the foods they buy.	R019 I have kids and more and more...I think about my kids and how they are being raised in my household; they understand where meat comes from, they understand where vegetables come from, they understand how labor intensive it is, and that when we deplete certain things, it's gone. There is nothing, there's no more.	R017 [...] I went out and saw what these people are growing, and how they're growing it, I'm totally convinced. I want to meet my farmer, I want to see who they are, and I want to go to their farm [...] It was just an amazing experience to see people essentially growing these humungous garden beds that look like something you'd grow in your backyard...and that really solidified that I want to eat as close to locally produced food as I can and I try to know my farmers.	The best way to distinguish between the KNOW-GEN and KNOW-MEM codes is to pay attention to the <i>context</i> of the interview questions. If the interviewee is talking about how their <i>membership</i> allows them to have access to foods whose origin they can identify or resources to help them identify its origin, code as KNOW-MEM. If the interviewee is responding to a question about their general shopping habits, or characteristics important to them in the foods they buy in <i>general</i> , code as KNOW-GEN.

Table F4 (cont'd)

2.1.2.	Convenience	CONV-GEN	This code refers to instances where interviewees discuss choosing a food for the reason that it makes their lives easier (rather than for a more philosophical reason)— when they don't have the time/resources to purchase products using the criteria they'd prefer to, these are the other heuristic characteristics they use to make decisions. It could be that they choose between products based on what is available, based on the price, based on the location of the store, how it looks, etc.	R009 So, it depends on where we live. We switched places recently, so, the [independent grocery store chain] used to be directly on the way back from work, and now [conventional grocery store] [is] directly on the way back from work, so it's convenient to stop to buy the bulk of what we're going to eat...And then, we fill that in with things from either the farmer's market or from the co-op.	R006 ...and then it comes back to that convenience issue again, of that's what's easy to get... it's hard to avoid meat that comes from those circumstances...so I guess if there were a package that led me to believe that these cows had been treated well...not just be shoved in a stall and never allowed to move ever in their life, I'd prefer to eat meat from the cow that had the more natural lifestyle[...] so I guess it's easier to find that stuff in a more specialized store...then you're not looking at this 30-foot-long meat shelf trying to figure out what's what.	Context is also important in distinguishing between instances coded as CONV-GEN or CONV-MEM. When interviewees talk about making choices between foods (or where they shop for foods) based on factors like location, availability, budget, or where they can buy a wide variety of products, but DO NOT explicitly indicate that they are talking about foods purchased through their memberships, code as CONV-GEN.
2.1.3.	Distrust	DIST	Use this code when interviewees talk about their feelings of distrust towards the agricultural corporations or government regulations that are a part of the United States food industry. Interviewees may discuss their distrust of specific corporations or may mention a distrust of large agricultural companies in general.	R017 It's important to me because I don't have a lot of faith in the food industry...like any business trying to maximize their profit and minimize their cost...they'll cut corners...I think you have to be closer to your producer because if your producer accidentally kills you and you don't know who they are...the problem with like, spinach, the Salmonella problem, all that stuff came from California...you never see that guy's face, but I bought spinach from the co-op, from the farmers market, and if it kills me, my wife's going to go to [the farmer or the co-op] and say, "Your spinach killed my husband," you know?	R014 [talking about regulations on what can go in food] And one of my pet peeves, is putting ground chicory in everything to increase the fiber content, and they call it inulin, "I – n-u-l-i-n". It just bugs me because they are taking stuff out, and then they're putting stuff back in. Or, they are trying to say something is healthier that it really is, but, when it has no inherent nutritional value, and then people think, "Oh, this is healthy." And they don't even realize because they are not looking at labels.	This code can be distinguished from CHEM-GEN and CHEM-MEM codes by the fact that DIST is about the government regulations or business entities involved in the American agricultural industry, rather than describing specific chemicals or additives (CHEM codes).

Table F4 (cont'd)

2.1.4.	Personal Ethics	ETH-GEN	This code refers to instances where interviewees discuss wanting foods that are produced in a way that they consider ethical, or that fit with their personal moral standards for how their choices as individuals impacted a larger population. Interviewees may discuss what it means to them that a food is produced in a sustainable fashion.	R018 ...I feel a sense of responsibility towards the well-being of everybody else [laughs]. Seven billion people...I feel like...I have the power every day to make decisions that allow for other people to...live...healthy, meaningful, existences, and If I can make small decisions that allow for other people to do that, then it's really my obligation as a person.	R004 ...Minimal impact with maximum product. And over time. So, economically is it worth it? Environmentally, is it low impact? Over time, can you maintain that practice on a consistent basis? Have it continue to flourish?	Again, context is important in understanding whether to use an ETH-GEN vs. ETH-MEM code. If the interviewee is speaking about foods they purchase outside of their membership, or speaks about their philosophy about purchasing food <i>in general</i> , code as ETH-GEN.
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Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Note" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Table F5: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definition; relating to the production practices interviewees consider important when making choices between foods and the specific attributes of foods that they value.

2.2.	Important Production Practices and Attributes					
	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Example	Note
2.2.1.	Animal Welfare	ANW	This code refers to instances where participants describe wanting the animals they choose to eat (or the foods made from animal products) to live as "good" a life as possible. For many people, this means that animals have the ability to move around in their enclosures, to go outside and get fresh air, are fed food items they would eat were they wild (grass, insects), and are generally treated with care.	R008 You know, I don't want to eat chicken from a factory farm where they're packed so close together that they peck each other's eyes out...I eat meat, so I think it's important for me to know how it's produced [...] I would rather have a cow that is not shoveled through a feed-lot or slaughterhouse and zapped with an electrode before it's killed...I want the process to be as humane as it can be [...]	R016 We get a lot of our meat at [a larger organic chain store] ...the standards are fairly low-ish in terms of animal welfare, if you actually look at what they're committed to [...] these aren't like beautiful, grassy farms with three cows on them...but they are committed to no antibiotics, no RGBH [recombinant bovine growth hormone], they officially have access to fresh air, and free-range...so it's kind of a more ethical choice than other places.	

Table F5 (cont'd)

2.2.2.	Environmentally-Friendly	ECO-GEN	This code describes instances in which interviewees speak about generally wanting the foods they purchase to have been grown or produced in a way that considers the well-being of the natural environment (for example, water, soil, air, biodiversity). Interviewees may speak about specific considerations, such as the carbon footprint of food production.	R020 ...I also know it takes way more energy to bring a cow to market than it does fruit. Vegetables, legumes, whatever. [Other people] complain about how much water it takes to water all these vegetables, but...it takes that much water plus some for cows to do the same thing [...] plus, you know, you produce all that waste and it goes right into the river and contaminates the water, and so many things are wrong with the way factory farms are run, that I just can't bring myself to eat that meat.	R004 When it comes to getting our proteins, we buy a quarter [of a] cow once a year, and then with our chicken...that's typically a little less local. There's not a very big organic chicken market that's also local, not in the state of Michigan...I'd rather...invest in the carbon footprint that's coming from Arkansas in the organic chicken [...] versus the carbon footprint of the non-organic corn that is being fed to the chicken that I can buy local. So to me it's kind of a trade-off.	Context is important in determining whether the interviewee is talking about a food they purchase through their membership, or are generally speaking about food purchases/foods they purchase outside of membership. Code as ECO-GEN if the interviewee is speaking generally about the characteristics they look for in the foods they buy or is talking about a food they purchase outside of membership.
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Table F5 (cont'd)

2.1.3.	Locally Grown	LOC-GEN	Use this code when interviewees speak about purchasing foods that are grown locally in order to support the local farmers who grow or produce the food, to support the local economy, or to help their local community. Interviewees may speak about economic or social support. Code as LOC-GEN when it's apparent interviewees are speaking about their general philosophy of purchasing food, or about foods that they purchase outside of their memberships.	R021 It probably depends on how local it is, and how far it's traveling, but...something that's local, there's a lot more beyond just the produce itself and the quality and the freshness, but also, the fact that the people, they are people in your community. And it goes back to that community supported agriculture and the co-op. You know, supporting your neighbors, and your fellow residents of where you live, and that I think is really important...	R004 I know that by us purchasing from him [the farmer], we've supported him. He's not a rich person, but he lives just fine. I know that my dollars that I earned didn't go to some rich person who's never even set foot on a farm [...]	An example of an instance that would NOT be coded as LOC-GEN: " I prefer local. All the time. Um, it's just fresher and it just tastes better. Which tastes better? A strawberry you picked yourself out of the field? Or a strawberry that was picked a week ago and came on an airplane from California. I know and I understand the environmental arguments. But for me, it's really if the strawberry from California tasted better, I would probably purchase it. But I think, things fresh out of the field are so much better. This wouldn't be coded as LOC-GEN because it's not about supporting the local community/economy/farmers. The interviewee states that she prefers local food because it tastes better, which would be coded as TASTE-GEN.
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Table F5 (cont'd)

2.1.4.	Chemical Free	CHEM-GEN	This code refers to instances where interviewees describe wanting the foods they purchase to have been grown or produced without the use of synthetic agricultural chemicals (fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides, etc.) and to be produced with minimal additives and preservatives.	R018 ...I'm not someone who needs thirty years of scientific research by the USDA to convince me that pesticides and most fertilizers are bad for me. They're bad for my family, they're bad for the environment, they're bad for the health of living creatures in general...small amounts of toxic substances aren't going to have a big effect but cumulatively over the course of many years	R020 ...I realized our fruits and vegetables are [...] being genetically modified and they're being altered; they're being grown and sprayed and chemicalized and it's like, "Oh my God, I'm eating that stuff?" I mean, I know it's not on there directly, I'm not drinking the chemicals, but there still has to be residue on there, they can't just go away. It doesn't evaporate. It's pretty harsh chemicals.	Code as CHEM-GEN when it's apparent that the interviewee is talking about either their general philosophy about purchasing food, or about foods that they purchase outside of membership.
2.1.5.	Healthy	HEAL-GEN	Use this code when interviewees speak about purchasing foods that are generally nutritious and contribute to overall physical health. Also use when interviewees generally state that they want to purchase healthy foods. Interviewees may mention specific qualities that they feel are healthy (e.g. low fat, no added sugar, containing protein or fiber, vitamins and minerals) or they may generally state that the health benefits of foods are important to them.	R012 [...] I've just start[ed] to believe more and more that food is our most natural and beneficial medicine and we've grown so far away from that...I've done different detoxes and cleanses and stuff for my own health, and seeing the connection between what I eat and how I feel [...] it's just so real and evident to me that there is a connection there...	R008 My family has a history of obesity and heart problems...and I didn't want to have those same health problems, so I started controlling what I ate and how I ate, so it's become gradual since I was in college and took my first nutrition class	

Table F5 (cont'd)

2.1.6.	In Season	INS	Use this code when interviewees talk about choosing the foods they purchase (generally, or outside of membership) based on what foods are currently in season (meaning, currently coming into natural ripeness). Interviewees may discuss specific foods they prefer to purchase in season, strategies for being able to eat seasonally all year, or why it's important to them to buy foods that are in season.	R007 I'm not hard and fast in seasonality, except on some things, like asparagus. It's my absolutely favorite vegetable. I absolutely will not buy it out of season until it's in Michigan. [...] and because I don't want it...flown in from South America...when the South America market opened for asparagus, it killed the Michigan farmers here that grow asparagus, so...if I can make a statement about that, I do, by not buying it.	R004 If I'm in the middle of January and I want a tomato, what do I do? I don't eat a tomato. ...so if I want a fresh tomato, I wait until it's either available through a hot house, which we found some nice Michigan raised organic heirloom tomatoes at whole foods this past weekend, and we got a couple of those 'cause they're local and they're organic and they were grown in a climate controlled environment. But typically, I just don't eat it. And it makes it that much better when you do.	Although interviewees occasionally mention participating in membership as a way to access foods that are in season, there were not enough instances to create a code for this concept. If interviewees are talking about eating foods in season through their membership, do not code as INS-GEN; leave uncoded.
2.1.7.	Taste	TASTE-GEN	This code is used when participants discuss the flavor of a food as an important characteristic in the foods they purchase. Interviewees may talk about choosing between two different types of food based on which one tastes better or about when taste becomes an important characteristic to them if other characteristics are usually more important.	R013 I prefer local. All the time. It's just fresher and it just tastes better. Which tastes better, a strawberry you picked yourself out in the field? Or a strawberry that was picked a week ago and came on an airplane from California. I know and I understand the environmental arguments, but for me, it's really if the strawberry from California tasted better, I would probably purchase it. But, I think things fresh out of the field are so much better.	R010 ...strawberries in particular are one of the top sprayed fruits[...] ...there's a huge difference between out-of-season, imported strawberries and strawberries that you pick from the local heirloom variety of strawberries. Just the flavor, you can't go back.	

Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Note" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

APPENDIX G

ATTITUDES ABOUT WILD GAME AND HUNTING CODEBOOK

Attitudes About Eating Wild Game/Hunting Codebook

Negative Attitudes About Eating Wild Game

Table G1: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to negative attitudes interviewees expressed about eating wild game meat.

	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Does Not Apply
1	Prefer Not to See the Process Involved in Preparing Wild Game	Process	A preference not to be reminded that the game meat a person eats used to be a living, breathing animal. For some, it is more difficult to consider eating a furry mammal than a bird. This code also refers to the tension a person feels between choosing to eat a <i>wild</i> animal but not feeling able to kill it themselves.	<i>#6 female CSA Ingham</i> "I just kind of like that separation between looking at the really cute fuzzy deer and what's on my plate."	<i>#4 male co-op Ingham</i> talks about how he thinks he could kill a chicken but not a cow (58:31), but more because he couldn't do it emotionally, NOT because he doesn't like thinking about animals becoming food.
2	Food Safety Concerns	FSafe	When doubts are expressed about whether game meat is safe to eat. This code addresses worries about whether meat is uncontaminated by wildlife diseases or the consumption of genetically modified crops, as well as issues of how safely the meat has been prepared for consumption.	<i>#7 female co-op Ingham</i> And this is maybe just illusion, but I don't know about the safety of it. I don't know how it was processed, what it had been eating...like for all I know, this deer had been eating garbage its whole life, you know? [laughs] So I don't know if there's any regulations for testing those things. And then disease. That's one thing too I always wonder about is when they process if they test for disease, or if that matters..."	This code applies when people talk about their concerns about eating wild game meat – the reasons they wouldn't eat it because of fear of disease or other contaminations – NOT if they just mention that animal diseases are something you have to think about when hunting.

Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Does Not Apply" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Neutral Attitudes About Eating Wild Game

Table G2: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to neutral attitudes interviewees expressed about eating wild game meat.

	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example
3	See No Difference Between Eating Wild Game Meat and Eating Domestically Raised Meat	NoDiff	A feeling that there is no difference between a person choosing to eat wild game meat in contrast with eating domestically raised meat animals	<i>#7 female co-op Ingham</i> ... but, so there's a part of me that thinks 'Oh, I'm eating Bambi,' but it's no different than eating a cow or eating a chicken, so I don't get too hung up on that part of it...

Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Does Not Apply" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Positive Attitudes About Eating Wild Game Meat

Table G3: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to positive attitudes interviewees expressed about eating wild game meat.

	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Does Not Apply
4	Wild Animals Live a Better Life than Domestic Meat Animals	Good Life	The belief that animals that are hunted live a better (more natural, healthier) life than animals that are raised for the domestic meat market. The idea that wild animals live their lives with greater freedom than domestic meat animals.	<i>#17 male co-op Washtenaw</i> ...even animals that are produced on non-factory farms that have a truly free range, they're still - they're still - they're not as full of life as a deer running through the woods, you know?	when just discussing feelings about domestic meat animals
5	Wild Game Meat is a Nutritious Source of Protein	Health	The thought that eating wild game meat is a nutritious for human consumption	<i>#8 female co-op Washtenaw</i> Well, I'm in favor of it because I think that there are a lot of health benefits to it. It's a... you know, they're living in the wild, so I could feel like it's a more natural... I really do think there's health benefits to it... I think it's a good, healthy product.	
6	Know Where Meat Came From	KnowOrigin	The idea that when eating wild game meat, a person can know where the animal was killed, who killed it, how it was processed (the steps it took to get it ready for to be stored or eaten in a meal). Generally people have a better idea of the types of food a wild animal has eaten and how those animals have lived their lives. This code also includes the expression of value in understanding how wild game meat comes to the table and appreciating the personal connection/ process involved with attaining this wild meat as opposed to domestically raised meat that can be purchased commercially.	<i>#11 male co-op Washtenaw</i> It's probably more...a direct connection to your food. Killing it yourself or knowing the person who did kill it...that's a good thing.	When discussing how hunting is a way to earn the meat you eat
7	Support Better Access to Wild Game Meat	Access	This code is applied when participants state that they would be interested in eating/purchasing more wild game meat if it were more easily available.	<i>#10 male co-op Washtenaw</i> Uh, so it, I think you're right on, if the, if the co-op was selling meat that members hunted, I would definitely buy that....	When just discussing access

Table G3 (cont'd)

8	Enjoy Trying New Foods	Adv	The expression that a participant is interested in eating wild game meat because it is something novel that they are curious about or that they look forward to because they don't have the opportunity to eat often.	<i>14 female co-op Ingham</i> You know a rat on a stick might be, depends on where the rat came from, (laughter) it kind of depends on the context. If everyone was eating rat on a stick, maybe. I have to dig pretty deep to find things I won't eat or won't try. Chilled monkey brains, I mean, we're getting really weird now, but, you know, I'm pretty much willing to try everything once. Especially if it's prepared well. If it's cooked well.	When people talk about being adventurous in general
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Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Does Not Apply" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Negative Attitudes About Hunting

Table G4: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions; relating to negative attitudes interviewees expressed about hunting.

	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Does Not Apply
9	Disapprove of Hunting that is Wasteful	Trophy	This code includes expressions of disapproval of hunting when the motivation of hunters is to hunt for a personal challenge, to take home an exemplary animal, or to showcase one's skills as a hunter. This code also incorporates instances where the participant states that a chosen method of hunting allows the hunter to be successful too easily – for example, incorporating too much equipment or technology; hunted animals should have a fair chance to escape and hunters should have to put effort into taking an animal.	<i>#20 male CSA Ingham</i> However, it does not seem like much of a hm... I don't know. They call it hunting for a sport and it doesn't seem like much of a sport because most hunting...I've been hunting before, I've experienced it....you sit in the woods freezing to death for hours and hours hoping that deer might walk by so you can shoot it. That just seems so counterproductive. If we were truly designed to eat meat we'd be much faster, much more cunning, much quieter, less smelly, we'd be able to jump out of a tree, grab a deer, snap its neck and kill it. I know a guy at work: 'I got me a big buck'...well, did you jump out of a tree with a bowie knife and stab it? 'No'. Well, that's hunting for ya. I feel like if you were on more even ground it would be much more of a sport or more challenging or exciting.	When talking about fishing

Table G4 (cont'd)

10	The Animal May Suffer if it's Not a Clean Kill	Suff	Displeasure with the thought that animals may not die quickly or easily if the hunter does not critically wound the animal.	<i>#7 female co-op Ingham</i> ... I didn't realize, then... he was a bow and arrow hunter. Well, with bow and arrow sometimes you strike the deer but it lives a long time and you have to trap it. That just, I can't stand thinking about that. You know? The thing is suffering.	When discussing not feeling able to take the life of an animal, personally
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Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Does Not Apply" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

Positive Attitudes About Hunting

Table G5: Codes generated in interview analysis and their definitions, relating to positive attitudes interviewees expressed about hunting.

	Code Name	Code Symbol	Code Definition	Example	Does Not Apply
11	Hunting Provides Food	Food	Approve of hunting when hunting provides sustenance.	<i>#14 female co-op Ingham</i> Both my husband and his friends will say it, that they need to hunt so that they can have food on the table. So in a lot of cases, local don't even come in to play. It's a necessity. its we're going out to hunt because we can't afford to get beef every week at the grocery store, for a variety of reasons...	For this code, I'm looking for instances where people specify that they approve of hunting when it provides food or feel that hunting for food is justified – not when they just mention eating hunted meat. For example. <i>#20 male CSA Ingham</i> talks about how if he were a hunter, he would prefer taking his own meat rather than buying it at the store (31:40), but he also says that he doesn't think people should eat meat. I don't think he's saying hunting is okay because it specifically provides food for people.

Table G5 (cont'd)

12	Aids With Wildlife Management	Mgmt	Belief that hunters play a role in preventing wildlife populations from growing too big for their ecosystems – causing some animals to starve or become more prone to wildlife diseases.	<i>#1 male CSA Ingham</i> ..one of the reasons that they have seasons for those deer and other animals is because their natural predators have pretty much been killed by us. So, to keep the herds in check, there's a certain amount that...you have to have someone thinning the herd for both the health of the herd because they will get sick during the year due to overpopulation, but also, and Oakland County has the largest amount of deer vehicle accidents...
13	A Responsible Way to Earn the Meat You Eat	Earn Meat	The idea that in hunting a person must accept the responsibility of killing an animal rather than having the animal killed for them without having to deal with the physical and emotional challenges of doing so, as in the domestic meat market	<i>#10 male co-op Washtenaw</i> And I see eating meat as, uh, important for that and, and so I also just kind of respect the idea of, you know, if you're going to eat meat you should be willing to kill these animals and you know, I also recognize in a lot of areas in my life I'm doing things that are destructive. And you just realize that it's part of life, is to, you know, to try and do good but also sometimes you're going to be the villain.
14	A Natural Human Instinct	Instinct	The thought that humans have a biological disposition to hunt for their food	<i>17 male co-op Washtenaw</i> I would vote for banning baiting, but if someone wanted to vote against banning hunting, first of all I'd be surprised it ever got on the ballot [laughs] but I'd be less inclined to vote in favor on that. But I think that plays some role - and there is some sort of human need to go out and hunt your own prey, go out and get it and bring it home and eat it - even if you did ban it, it would just make it illegal.

Note: "Examples" include excerpts of interview text that fit with the definition of the code. Information in the "Does Not Apply" section is for the benefit of my co-coders to help them understand when a section of text may or may not fit with this particular code.

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY OF CSA/CO-OP MEMBERSHIP AND FOOD CHOICE CODING NUANCES

Summary of the Nuances of Codes Regarding Attitudes About CSA/Co-op Membership and Food Choices

The following tables illustrate the nuances in how interviewees describe each of the concepts I coded for in Chapter 2 and how many individuals discussed these nuances.

1. CSA/CO-OP MEMBERS DESCRIPTIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

1.1. Factors that Influence Membership:

Table H1: A summary of the nuances in the code: "childhood family members' interest in cooking and gardening"; a factor interviewees described as influential in their decision to participate in membership.

Code Name:	1.1.1. [FAM] Childhood Family Members' Interest in Cooking and Gardening	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	The taste of eating fresh produce as children influenced current interest in fresh, local, and organic foods	R2, R5, R13	3
	Having a family garden as a child taught them to appreciate having in season foods	R13	1
	Cooking with produce from mother's garden as a child led to current interest in unique foods and gardening	R4	1
	Family tradition of eating meals together and family garden led to interest in CSA	R12	1
	R2, R4, R5, R12, R13	Total	5

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H2: A summary of the nuances in the NAT code: "interest in a connection to nature"; a factor interviewees described as influential in their decision to participate in membership.

Code Name:	1.1.2. [NAT] Interest in a Connection to Nature	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Interest in joining a co-op came from land stewardship values	R8	1
	Early childhood experiences outdoors and environmental studies in college influenced joining a co-op/CAS	R16, R21	2
	Nature-oriented belief system	R2	1
	R2, R8, R16, R21	Total	4

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H3: A summary of the nuances in the code "personal ethics"; a factor interviewees described as influential in their decision to participate in membership.

Code Name:	1.1.3. [ETH-MEM] Personal ethics	Interviewees	#
Nuances	Being part of membership is a way to "do the right thing"	R4, R5, R7	3
	Fit with spiritual beliefs about stewardship	R5	1
	Think about consequences of your actions/sense of responsibility to future generations	R4, R5, R6, R8, R10, R11	6
	R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R10, R11	Total	7

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

1.2. Benefits of Being a Member

Table H4: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers a way to support local farmers and local businesses"; interviewees described this concept as a benefit provided by their memberships.

Code Name:	1.2.1. [LOC-MEM] Membership Offers a Way to Support Local Farmers and Local Businesses	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Join as a way to financially support businesses you care about - "put your money where your mouth is"	R4, R5, R13, R17, R18	5
	Want to specifically financially support the individual farmers who grow their food	R3, R6, R7, R10, R11, R12, R16	7
	Want to financially support local economies/local community	R4, R6, R7, R8, R10, R11, R19	7
	Want to financially support local businesses/local farmers in general	R3, R6, R7, R8, R11, R14, R16, R19, R21	9
	Express that farming is valued/important	R12	1
	Increase self-reliance/independence of community	R15	1
	R3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R10, R11, R12, R13, R14, R15, R16, R17, R18, R19, R21	Total	17

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H5: A summary of the nuances in the code "customer service"; interviewees described this concept as a benefit provided by their memberships.

Code Name:	1.2.2. [CUST] Customer Service	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	CSA members state farmers and staff go out of their way to help customers learn how to cook and store their produce	R2, R4, R6,	3
	CSA farmers offer personal touches in the presentation and distribution of their shares that makes them special (make share aesthetically pleasing, offer extra produce, ability to trade produce that isn't wanted...	R2, R6, R12, R20	4
	Co-op offers transparency about decision making/what's sold, make an effort to order products members are interested in	R4, R5, R8, R10, R11, R19, R21	7
	Co-op members able to give input/feedback, feel like they "have a say" in the co-op, vote on decisions	R7, R8, R10, R11, R17	7
	CSA/co-op management care about people, not just profit	R5, R6, R8, R10, R12	5
	Feel sense of trust in management	R8, R9	2
	R2, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R9, R10, R11, R12, R17, R19, R20, R21	Total	14

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H6: A summary of the nuances in the code "community building with like-minded individuals"; interviewees described this concept as a benefit of their memberships.

Code Name:	1.2.3. [COMM] Community Building with Like-Minded Individuals	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Enjoyed getting to know farm managers/other people at CSA pickup	R3, R12, R16	3
	Enjoyed getting to know staff/other members at co-op	R5, R7, R10, R18	4
	Enjoy co-op as a safe and comfortable place to shop with children	R7, R18	2
	Co-op members feel larger sense of community in belonging to org with like-minded people	R5, R8, R10, R17, R19	5
	Feel a sense of pride and ownership in belonging to a co-op	R10, R17	2
	CSA/co-op connects members to farming, builds understanding of farming	R6, R12, R16, R19	4
	Participating is a social activity	R18, R7, R16	3
	R3, R5, R6, R7, R8, R10, R12, R16, R17, R18, R19	Total	11

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H7: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers convenient access to desired foods"; interviewees described this concept as a benefit of their memberships.

Code Name:	1.2.4. [CONV-MEM] Membership Offers Convenient Access to Desired Foods	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Price of CSA is a good value	R1, R3, R6, R12, R15, R16, R20	7
	Price/discount offered to co-op members influenced decision to join	R4, R7, R9, R11, R13, R14, R17, R18, R21	9
	CSA/co-op physical location is convenient (close to work/home)	R2, R4, R8, R9, R12	5
	Offers access to the types of food desired (fresh, local, organic, natural, healthy, vegetarian) R1 (organic, ripe), R4 (find things there you can't find elsewhere, organic, local) R6 (healthy, fresh, organic, healthy), R7 (organic), R8 (healthy, natural, organic), R16 (healthy), R17 (vegetarian), R20 (organic, local), R21 (vegetarian, local, organic)	R1, R4, R6, R7, R8, R16, R17, R20, R21	9
	Offers "one-stop" shopping, don't have to go multiple places	R8, R13, R20	3
	Co-op is easier to navigate than a large grocery store, fewer choices makes it easier	R11, R13, R18	3
	Membership provides a more pleasant shopping experience	R8, R12, R18	4
	R1, R2, R3, R4, R6, R7, R8, R9, R11, R12, R13, R14, R15, R16, R17, R18, R20, R21	Total	18

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H8: A summary of the nuances in the code "belonging to a CSA/co-op has educational benefits"; interviewees described this concept as a benefit of their memberships.

Code Name:	1.2.5. [EDU] Belonging to a CSA/Co-op Has Educational Benefits	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Co-op membership offers a source of information about topics members are interested in (nutrition to politics)	R8, R10, R11	3
	Belonging to a CSA/co-op helped interviewees learn how to grow their own produce	R2,R4	2
	Enjoys that CSA program offers educational opportunities for disadvantaged to learn how to farm	R20	1
	R1, R2, R4, R8, R10, R11, R20	Total	7

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H9: A summary of the nuances in the code "interest in trying new food influences the decision to join/continue to participate in a CSA/co-op."

Code Name:	1.2.6. [NEW] Interest in Trying New Foods Influences Decision to Join/Continue to Participate in a CSA/Co-op	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Enjoy that the CSA introduces them to new vegetables they haven't tried before	R3, R6, R12, R20	4
	Enjoy learning how to cook new foods introduced to them through CSA membership	R3, R12	2
	Joined the co-op because they were interested in the specialty/unique foods sold there	R5, R13,	2
	R3, R5, R6, R12, R13, R20, R21	Total	6

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H10: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers tasty food"; interviewees described this concept as a benefit of their memberships.

Code Name:	1.2.7. [TASTE-MEM] Membership Offers Tasty Food	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Good tasting food influenced decision to join a CSA/co-op	R1, R9	2
	Good tasting food is something they appreciate about membership but didn't influence decision to join	R6, R16	2
	Fresh food tastes better, CSA provides fresh food	R1,R6, R16	3
	Taste of the coffee at the co-op influenced decision to join	R9	1
	R1, R6, R9, R16	Total	4

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

1.3. Membership Offers Access to Desired Foods

Table H11: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers products that are produced in an environmentally friendly manner"; interviewees described this concept as a desirable characteristic of the foods that membership offers them access to.

Code Name:	1.3.1. [ECO-MEM] Membership Offers Products that Are Produced in an Environmentally Friendly Manner	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Generally expressed wanting products produced in environmentally friendly way, which they feel membership provides	R2, R5, R6, R8, R10, R11, R14, R19	8
	CSA farmers make an extra effort to produce in eco-friendly ways	R6	1
	Co-op sells products grown/produced with ecologic sustainability in mind	R5, R8, R10, R11, R19	5
	Reduce food miles by participating in CSA or co-op	R6, R14	2
	R2, R5, R6, R8, R10, R11, R14, R19	Total	8

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H12: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers products that are free of synthetic agrochemicals and food additives; interviewees described this concept as a desirable characteristic of the foods that membership offers them access to.

Code Name:	1.3.2. [CHEM-MEM] Membership Offers Products that are Free of Synthetic Agrochemicals and Food Additives	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Membership offers access to organic/natural/non-GMO foods R1- organic and non-GMO R2 – pesticide-free, non-GMO R4 – organic R21-organic, non-GMO	R1,R2, R4, R21	4
	Generally disapprove of foods produced with “chemicals”	R3, R5, R15	3
	Preference for organic produce	R1, R4, R21	3
	Preference for non-GMO foods	R1, R2, R21	3
	R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R15, R21	Total	7

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H13: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers a way to eat healthfully"; interviewees described this concept as a desirable characteristic of the foods that membership offers them access to.

Code Name:	1.3.3. [HEAL-MEM] Membership Offers a Way to Eat Healthfully	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Joined CSA/co-op because of an interest in eating healthy food	R3, R6, R8, R15	4
	Appreciate healthy foods offered through membership	R2, R3, R5, R6, R8, R12, R15, R16, R18	9
	CSA “forces” you to eat healthier by providing variety of vegetables	R1, R6, R16	3
	Co-op membership leads to eating healthier	R5, R8, R9, R18	4
	R1, R2, R3, R5, R6, R8, R9, R12, R15, R16, R18	Total	11

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H14: A summary of the nuances in the code "membership offers a way to know where food comes from"; interviewees described this concept as a desirable characteristic of the foods that membership provides them access to.

Code Name	1.3.4. [KNOW-MEM] Membership Offers a Way to Know Where Food Comes From	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Literally able to find out who grew/produced food	R2, R3, R12, R19, R21	5
	Able to find out if food was humanely produced	R11, R19	2
	Want to build relationship with people who grow food	R12, R16	2
	Want to understand what it takes to produce food/how & who produces it	R2, R4, R12, R19	4
	R2, R3, R4, R11, R12, R16, R19, R21	Total	8

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

2. CHARACTERISTICS IMPORTANT TO INTERVIEWEES IN THE FOODS THAT THEY BUY

2.1. Factors that Influence Decisions about Food Purchases

Table H15: A summary of the nuances in the code "know where food comes from"; interviewees described this concept as a factor that influences their decisions about the foods they purchase, in general.

Code Name	2.1.1. [KNOW-GEN] Know where food comes from	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Want to be able to find out about farmers' production practices	R6, R7, R8, R10, R15, R16, R17, R18	8
	Want to actually meet farmers and visit their farm (or see pictures)	R4, R7, R10, R11, R14, R15, R17, R18	8
	Want to know where food comes from because of concerns about food safety (single source burger, unpasteurized milk, no pesticides)	R8, R10, R17, R15, R18, R19	6
	Want to know where food comes from because of concerns about the ethical treatment of animals	R6, R7, R8, R10, R17, R19, R20	7
	Want children to understand where food comes from	R4, R19	2
	Knowing where food comes from is an antithesis to convenience food	R6	1
	General statement that knowing where their food comes from is important	R2	1
	R2, R4, R6, R7, R8, R10, R11, R14, R15, R16, R17, R18, R19, R20	Total	14

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H16: A summary of the nuances in the code "convenience"; interviewees described this concept as a factor that influences their decisions about the foods they purchase, in general.

Code Name	2.1.2. [CONV-GEN] Convenience	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Choose vendors close to work/home	R1, R3, R6, R9, R14, R16	6
	Choose foods based on what vendor sells (availability; don't make more than one trip)	R1, R6, R9, R19	4
	Choose between characteristics of foods based on how much they feel they need the product (buy conventional and organic because large family needs food; buy non-local organic when local organic isn't available)	R3, R20	2
	Financial budget determines which foods interviewees purchase (many had rationale for when they would purchase more-expensive organic food)	R3, R4, R6, R7, R9, R13, R14, R15, R16, R17	10
	Price becomes a factor when other characteristics (organic, local) are not as important to them for particular items (e.g. chips, paper products)	R17	1
	Choose where they shop depending on which stores have widest variety of products	R4, R13, R14	3
	R1, R3, R4, R6, R7, R9, R13, R14, R15, R16, R17, R19, R20	Total	13

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H17: A summary of the nuances in the code "distrust of the agricultural industry"; interviewees described this concept as a factor that influences their decisions about the foods they purchase, in general.

Code Name	2.1.3. [DIST] Distrust of the Agricultural Industry	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Believe large agricultural companies/agricultural industry don't care about health/safety, only profit	R4, R5, R6, R11, R17, R18, R20	7
	Distrust government regulations of agriculture (not strict enough)	R2, R8,	2
	Small farmers are taken advantage of (sued) unfairly for having genetically modified crops in their field (even if unintentional)	R1, R20	2
	Propagate chemicals that could lead to more dangerous pests/diseases	R4, R20	2
	R1, R2, R4, R5, R6, R8, R11 R17, R18, R20	Total	9

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H18: A summary of the nuances in the code "prefer foods that are produced with ethical or moral standards"; interviewees described this concept as a factor that influences their decisions about the foods they purchase, in general.

Code Name	2.1.4. [ETH-GEN] Prefer Foods that are Produced with Ethical or Moral Standards	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Concerned with practices that leave land ecologically able to produce in the future (ecologic sustainability)	R2, R4, R11, R12, R14, R16, R20	7
	Economic/social sustainability – (farmer/farm workers are able to financially continue in the future, relationships are sustainable)	R4, R11, R12, R16, R21	5
	Concerned with impact of their food choices on future generations of people (feel sense of responsibility to others, grandchildren)	R11, R12, R18, R19, R20, R21	6
	Choose products whose production practices align with spiritual morals/values	R5, R12	2
	Humanely treated animal products	R5, R12, R16, R18	4
	Able to feed the global population	R14	1
	Producing food without "creating harm"	R16	1
	R2, R4, R5, R11, R12, R14, R16, R18, R19, R20, R21	Total	11

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

2.2. Important Food Attributes and Production Practices

Table H19: A summary of the nuances in the code "animal welfare"; interviewees described this concept as a production practice that they consider when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.1. [ANW] Animal Welfare	Interviewees	#
Nuances	Humanely treated and/or humanely killed (lived in good, clean, conditions; happy and healthy until end of lifecycle)	R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R16, R18, R19, R20	10
	Want pasture-raised/free-range/access to the outdoors	R4, R5, R6, R8, R15, R16, R20	7
	Want animals to be grass-fed/eat natural foods	R7, R8, R15, R16, R18, R20	6
	Don't want animals to be constrained in movement	R6, R7, R8, R15	4
	"Live a natural life"	R5, R6, R7, R20	4
	Was/is a vegetarian due to how meat animals are treated	R7, R18	2
	Feel responsible for eating humanely produced meat	R5, R18	2
	Object to factory-farming/large scale meat operations due to perceptions of animal welfare	R6, R8, R7, R20	4
	Feel that the way animals are treated influences how nutritious they are to eat	R6, R8, R12, R21	4
	Have to make pragmatic choices when it comes to animal welfare	R6, R16, R18	3
	R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R12, R15, R16, R18, R19, R20, R21	Total	12

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H20: A summary of the nuances in the code "prefer to purchase products grown/produced in an environmentally friendly manner"; interviewees described this concept as a production practice that they consider when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.2. [ECO-GEN] Prefer to Purchase Products Grown/Produced in Environmentally Manner	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Concerned about the impact of production practices and impact on:		
	Water usage/water pollution	R4, R8, R18, R20, R21	5
	Soil erosion/soil pollution/soil health	R2, R5, R8, R16, R17, R20	6
	Air pollution/fossil fuel use and emissions/food miles in transportation	R4, R7, R8, R14, R17, R20	6
	Specifically mention carbon footprint	R4, R8, R17	3
	Impact on biodiversity/ecosystem health	R2, R18, R20	3
	R2, R4, R5, R7, R8, R14, R16, R17, R18, R20, R21	Total	11

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H21: A summary of the nuances in the code "locally grown"; interviewees described this concept as a production practice they consider when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.3. [LOC-GEN] Locally Grown	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Support local economy/local community	R4, R7, R8, R12, R14, R15, R18, R19, R21	9
	Support local business over corporations	R4, R15	2
	Support local farmers (individuals)	R4, R15	2
	Supporting local business diversifies types of businesses	R14	1
	Reduce food miles/environmental impact	R7, R8, R14, R21	4
	R4, R7, R8, R12, R14, R15, R18, R19, R21	Total	9

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H22: A summary of the nuances in the code "chemical free"; interviewees described this concept as an attribute they considered when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.4. [CHEM-GEN] Chemical Free	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Prefer non-GMO foods	R20, R21	2
	Prefer foods produced without synthetic chemicals (no pesticides/herbicides/fungicides) (organic/natural) - R2 (organic, no pesticides) R3 (no chemicals), R4 (no pesticides, no chemicals), R6 (no pesticides, no chemicals), R7 (no pesticides), R8 (no pesticides, organic), R10 (no pesticides or fertilizers), R11 (pesticide, herbicide), R14 (no pesticides), R15 (no chemical), R17 (organic), R18 (no pesticides, fertilizers), R20 (no pesticides, no chemicals)	R2, R3, R4, R6, R7, R8, R10, R11, R14, R15, R17, R18, R20,	13
	Prefer unprocessed foods (no high fructose corn syrup, whole wheat) R19 (no preservatives)	R1, R3, R6, R7, R8, R9, R10, R14, R15, R19	10
	Prefer unprocessed foods without "too many ingredients"	R6, R7, R8, R13,	4
	Non-fillers, hormones, antibiotics in meats - R4 (no hormones), R8 (no bovine growth hormones), R9 (no fillers), R15 (no hormones), R16 (no hormones, no RGBH), R19 (no steroids or hormones), R20 (no hormones), R21 (no hormones, no antibiotics)	R4, R8, R9, R15, R16, R19, R20, R21	8
	Read nutrition labels	R8, R14, R15	3
	Fear agrochemicals cause cancer/disease - R3(cancer/diseases), R10 (neurotoxicity, cancer),	R3, R8, R10, R21	4
	Mention the "dirty dozen" list or similar publications as a source of information about which foods to purchase organic/natural	R2, R3, R8, R14, R17	5
	R1, R2, R3, R4, R6, R7, R8, R9, R10, R11, R13, R14, R15, R16, R17, R18, R19, R20, R21	Total	19

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H23: A summary of the nuances in the code "prefer to purchase healthy foods"; interviewees described this concept as an attribute they considered when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.5. [HEAL-GEN] Prefer to Purchase Healthy Foods	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Express wanting to eat generally healthy foods	R1, R2, R3, R5, R6, R8, R12, R13, R14, R16, R18, R19, R20, R21	14
	<i>Characteristics of healthy food:</i>		
	Low fat/low oil	R1, R6, R8, R13	4
	Less sugar/no added sugar/sugar additives/high fructose corn syrup	R6, R8, R13, R14, R19	5
	Low sodium	R13, R19	2
	Whole wheat/whole grain	R6, R13, R14	3
	Fiber	R6, R14	2
	Protein	R6, R14	2
	Limit processed foods	R2, R3, R8, R13, R14, R19, R20	6
	Contains vitamins and minerals	R14, R16	2
	Limit amount of meat they eat	R20	1
	Discuss choosing the foods they eat based on ideas of food as a preventative health measure	R2, R7, R8, R12, R16, R20	6
	R1, R2, R3, R5, R6, R7, R8, R12, R13, R14, R16, R18, R19, R20, R21	Total	15

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H24: A summary of the nuances in the code "prefer to purchase foods that are in season"; interviewees described this concept as an attribute they considered when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.6. [INS] Prefer to Purchase Foods that are In Season	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	<i>Don't eat certain foods out of season at all</i>		
	Tomatoes	R2, R4	2
	Asparagus	R7, R17	2
	Strawberries	R4, R7, R8, R17	4
	Raspberries	R2	1
	Sweet corn	R7	1
	<i>Strategies to be able to eat in season food all year:</i>		
	Dehydration	R2	1
	Freezing fruit they grow/pick	R2, R8, R16, R21	4
	Canning	R4, R16	2
	Processing (make applesauce, spaghetti sauce)	R12, R21	2
	<i>Ways to get local in season food all year:</i>		
	Join a winter/all-year CSA (both co-op members)	R8, R14	2
	Buy frozen produce that was frozen when in season	R2, R8, R10	3
	Buy canned products from vendors that sell locally harvested food	R4	1
	Purchase foods that were put in cold storage after season	R12	1
	Purchase food grown in a "hot house"/hoop house during off season	R4, R10,	2
	Make some exceptions/augment with some out of season food	R2, R7, R8, R11	3
	Buy food that is in season somewhere else that's still close to home (ex. FL citrus)	R2, R4, R7, R12, R14, R17	6
	<i>Why buy in season:</i>		
	Support local farmers	R7	1
	Reduce food miles/distance food travels	R7, R17	2
	Foods taste better/are more special	R4, R7	2
	R2, R4, R7, R8, R10, R11, R12, R14, R17, R21	Total	10

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

Table H25: A summary of the nuances in the code "taste preferences"; interviewees described this concept as an attribute they considered when making choices about foods, in general.

Code Name	2.2.7. [TASTE-GEN] Taste Preferences Impact Food Choices	Interviewees	#
Nuances:	Make decisions between foods based on which one tastes better	R1, R7, R11, R14, R19, R21	6
	Taste is important when other characteristics (organic, local) are not as important	R19, R21	2
	Choose organic/natural/local/in season foods b/c they taste better than conventionally grown	R3, R4, R5, R7, R8, R10, R13, R14, R15, R17	10
	R1, R3, R4, R5, R7, R8, R10, R11, R13, R14, R15, R17, R19, R21	Total	14

Note: In the "interviewees" column, individual interviewees are represented by "R" for "respondent" and the order in which their interview was conducted.

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