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WHERE ARE THE MOVEMENTS GOING?: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE TEIKEI MOVEMENT IN JAPAN AND COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

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WHERE ARE THE MOVEMENTS GOING?: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE TEIKEI MOVEMENT IN JAPAN AND COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

By

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ABSTRACT

WHERE ARE THE MOVEMENTS GOING?: COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE TEIKEI MOVEMENT IN JAPAN AND COMMUNITY SUPPORTED AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

By

Naoki Okumura

The two alternative agriculture initiatives were created from people's concern for the industrialization and globalization of food systems: the Teikei movement in Japan and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) in the U.S. Teikei and CSA, which were initiated in the early 1970's and the middle of 1980's respectively, successfully expanded as an alternative food distribution. However, the original philosophy of Teikei and CSA largely degraded. Moreover, the Teikei movement struggles with large active membership decline. This paper raises the questions. Where are Teikei and CSA going? Will CSA face the similar membership erosion like Teikei a decade later?

This paper reviews the history, concept and current situation of Teikei and CSA. Then, the similarities and differences in Teikei and CSA are explored concerning their history and concept, and the relationship between (1) farmers and consumers, (2) farms and communities, (3) farms and the organic agriculture movement. While consumer-led Teikei focuses on organic agriculture, farmer-initiated CSA advocates local food systems. However, both Teikei and CSA intensified commodity-focused, market relationship between farmers and consumers in spite of the notion of mutual commitment. Moreover, Teikei and CSA farmers worked harder and gave more commitment exploiting their health. It is more important to steadily increase community farms to keep the integrity and viability of the Teikei and CSA movements.

Dedicated to my grandfather, Tadashige, died in July, 2003

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This is the final work of my study in the U.S. for four years. I believe I have learned more than I have in my life and have had a lot of support from my family, friends, professors and farmers. Dr. George Rowan always took into consideration my academic work since I came to the U.S. four years ago. He is not only my academic advisor but also my mentor who took care of my daily life in the U.S. I would like to acknowledge my committee professors, Dr. Jim Bingen and Dr. Laura DeLind. Dr. Bingen always encouraged me about my thesis work. Dr. DeLind helped me learn a lot about Teikei and CSA and led me to focus on my thesis. I also would like to thank Dr. Kim Chung, who patiently took care of my study about community development class, which I was most interested in.

Judy Reinhardt and Jim Schwantes always welcomed me and my wife, Noriko, to visit their CSA farm, Sweeter Song Farm in Cedar, Michigan. I met Judy and Jim at the small farmer conference in Michigan in January 2003. They invited us for dinner with tasty, fresh food from their farm. I could often refresh my mind and stomach before leaving their farm. They also took care of me and my wife well when we even had a car accident on the way to their farm.

I also would like to thank Kristen Markley, a manager of Sweet Meriam's Farm in Beaver Springs, Pennsylvania. I met her in the Michigan Conference on Organic Agriculture in March 2003. I stayed on her farm for several days when the summer farm festival was held. Her CSA had most member involvement among the CSA farms I had ever seen. I could share some work with her members in weeding, harvesting, and produce distribution. I realized how tough it is to grow produce organically through

fighting against many bags around me; however, beautiful scenery surrounded by mountains and lightning bugs in the evening relieved my mind. I enjoyed talking with the members and a yoga class which was instructed by a member in the farm. I also learned a lot about farming from two interns at the farm, Steve from New Zealand and Henna from England.

I also appreciate Professor Hiroko Kubota, a director of Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA) and Shinji Hashimoto, a Teikei farmer. We all participated in the first international symposium on local contracts between farmers and consumers in southern France in February 2004. Professor Kubota gave me a great deal of information about the Teikei movement and an opportunity to speak about Teikei and CSA in the Japan Organic Agriculture Research Conference in December 2003. I was also inspired from Shinji's ambitions for the future of Teikei. He also told me the real picture of Teikei farmers. He gave me much enthusiasm to work for the development of agriculture in Japan.

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I had a lot of help with my writing from Colleen and Chad at the MSU Writing Center. They have read through my thesis and worked with me on English grammar, vocabulary and paragraph organization.

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Fresh food, on the average, travels 1,300 miles from producers to shelves in grocery stores in the U.S. where most states produce about 10-15% of their own food (Paxton 1994; UME 2003). New food technologies as additives, radiation and conservation are created not for the purpose of quality but for the purpose of long-distance transportation, longer storage and a pleasing appearance (Groh and McFadden 1997:6). Most of what we pay for food goes not to producers but to the middle operators and companies that process and transport the food. In fact, 90 percent of the food value of processed products goes to the chopping, blending, cooking, extruding, packaging, distributing, and advertising (Henderson and Van En 1999:17). Farmers, who actually grow food, do not get paid enough to keep their operation (Henderson and Van En 1999). Consumers spend their money for symbols rather than substance and they pay for food with fewer calories, less salt, and no saturated fats (DeLind 2003a).

The family farms have been victims of a relentless marketplace in the U.S. Small and middle-size family operated farms are rapidly diminishing. Public policy has been pushing farms to "get bigger or get out" since the 1950's (Henderson and Van En 1999:13). Corporate farms prioritize short-run economic advantage over the long-term considerations of the relationship between farming system and the earth (Groh and McFadden 1997:xiii). As few as fifty thousand farmers supply 75 percent of agricultural production in the U.S. from 50 percent of the farmland with high-tech based efficient production technologies including genetically engineered seeds, chemical pesticides and

fertilizers (Henderson and Van En 1999:11). In an industrialized agriculture, an estimated 300,000 farm workers suffer from pesticide-related illnesses every year in the U.S. (Williamson, Imbroscio, and Alperovitz 2002:258). People are losing control in the food systems which are dominated by several multinational corporations which control the trading market, storage, transport and food processing (Henderson and Van En 1999).

Many food products are imported to the U.S. These products are not only coffee, chocolate, and bananas, but also produce that can be raised nationally (Henderson and Van En 1999). Tomatoes come all the way from Mexico following the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) allowed apples from China to crowd out the apples produced in the U.S. (Henderson and Van En 1999:3). Food travels longer distances following the free trade agreements. While large corporate farms in the U.S. produce tons of crops most of which are exported to other countries, at the same time it imports a lot of other agricultural produce such as fruits and vegetables.

The large corporate farms in the U.S. supply their crops to Japan. Japan largely depends on food from the U.S. and other countries. The food consumed in Japan travels much further than in the U.S. Tim Lang, a food policy researcher at Thames Valley University in England, proposed the concept of food mileage that is calculated as the distance food travels multiplied by the amount of food imported. In 2000, food mileage per person in Japan was 4,000tkm (ton kilometer[1]), while its rate in the U.S. was 500tkm (MAFF 2003). The calorie-based food self-sufficiency rate in the country, which started to decline in the 1960's following the trade-based economic development, is now below 40 percent (MAFF 2003). National food security is threatened. The dependence on food

[1] 1 km (kilometer) is 0.625 mile.

from overseas spoiled Japanese agriculture and influences the food stock in the international agricultural market which supplies food not only to Japan, but also to many poor countries which have less food.

Much money goes to food processing as well in Japan. Most farmers are part-time because they do not get paid enough from farming. The farming population is aging and few young people start farming. Many farmers suffered from chemical pesticides and fertilizers and food was seriously contaminated due to these chemicals and additives when the industrialization of agriculture started in Japan in the 1960's and 1970's. Many farmers were serious because of debt incurred by the cost of new technology. Loss of new farmers in Japan implies that people see no hope for Japanese agriculture and no pleasure in industrialized factory-like farming.

Both Japan and the U.S. have become more dependent on food which is produced far from consumers due to the prosperity of large agri-industry and the globalization of food systems. However, the concern of people regarding the detriment of current food systems and agricultural industrialization created two alternative agriculture initiatives in Japan and the U.S. These initiatives, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and the Teikei movement, seek to establish new agriculture in which producers and consumers are drawn closer to each other.

Producers and consumers create a direct relationship for the distribution of fresh and safe food in CSA and Teikei. The Teikei movement emerged in the 1970's and CSA was initiated a decade later. Many Teikei farmers are interested in the reasons for the current popularity of CSA in the U.S. How can they revitalize the Teikei movement? Many Japanese agriculture-related articles recently introduce the philosophy and concept

of CSA in the U.S. and show its popularity in the country (Furusawa 2001; Honjo 2000; Kodama 2003; Miyoshi 1998; Sawanobori 2003; Groh and McFadden 1996; Steinhoff 1998; Tsutaya 2003; Yamamoto 2001). The Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA), which is the national representative of the Teikei movement in Japan, invited a CSA leader, Elizabeth Henderson, from the U.S. to visit. She gave a lecture on CSA and alternative agriculture marketing for Teikei farmers and members (JOAA 2003; Henderson 2003a and 2003b).

An older Teikei participant mentioned (JOARC 2003) that the significance of the Teikei relationship was realized again in Japan inspired by the recent popularity of CSA in the U.S. Many Japanese people came to visit the U.S. for their business and some of them, who were interested in fresh food and farming activities, participated in CSAs during their stay in the U.S. These people often became interested in the Teikei movement in Japan. The author was inspired by the idea of CSA in the U.S. and moreover, very surprised to know about the Teikei movement which is a similar movement in my home country, Japan.

The movement of direct local contract or partnership between farmers and consumers began to spread worldwide. Association pour le Maintien de l'Agriculture Paysanne (AMAP), which is a French version of CSA, recently emerged in Aubagne, southern France. AMAP is becoming a viable strategy to protect local family-operated farms from the inflation of land price and the resort development pressure along the Mediterranean coast areas of south France. Alliance Paysans Ecologistes Consommateurs (APEC), which is a representative of AMAP, shows the number of CSAs in several countries.

Table 1. Development of Community Supported Agriculture Worldwide: The Main Countries

Country	Japan	UK	Quebec (Canada)	France	USA
Number of CSA	500 to 1,000	100	60	30	1,000

Source: APEC 2004 (Estimation 01/2004)

The first international symposium on local contracts between farmers and consumers was held in southern France in February 2004. The leaders and researchers in the initiative came from various countries such as Japan, United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Germany, Switzerland, France, Brazil, Senegal, Morocco and many more. The success of CSA in the U.S. appears to influence the direct partnership between farmers and consumers in other countries. Edith Vuillon, who is a French architect in the urban planning project in New York City, was inspired by many CSA projects going on in New York City. She helped the initiation of AMAP in France. A representative at the symposium from Buschberghof CSA in Germany mentioned that the cooperative activities in Germany were not organized like CSAs; however, the original idea of CSA in the U.S. was inspired from the cooperative activities in Germany. He says Trauger Groh brought the idea of CSA to the U.S. from Germany and they now learn about local economy and agriculture from the active CSAs in the U.S. CSA, or similar type activities, began to develop in many countries to support their local farmers and agriculture that struggle with the globalized food systems and industrialized agriculture. It is becoming more important to explore the common implications to keep the integrity and viability of the initiatives worldwide to support local agriculture and food systems in each country.

1.2 Community Supported Agriculture and the Teikei Movement

Concerned with the growth of industrialized agriculture and the decline of small family farms, Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) was brought to the U.S. in the middle of the 1980's. CSA is an organization of food producers and consumers (described as shareholders or members) who share the responsibilities, risks, and benefits of farming (Cone and Myhre 2000; DeLind 2003a; Groh and McFadden 1997). CSA provides fresh food, protects farmers and farmland, detaches from corporate food and shares in a farm and its produce. CSA activities facilitate the revitalization of local economy, democratic food distribution, environmental protection and the accessibility of fresh and safe food. CSA has successfully grown as an alternative food distribution system over the last decade (DeLind and Ferguson 1999). CSA has now expanded to more than 1,000 in the U.S., especially concentrated in the Northeast, the West Coast, and the cities of Madison, Wisconsin and Minneapolis, Minnesota (Groh and McFadden 1997; Ostrom 1997).

An agricultural movement of direct partnership between farmers and consumers in Japan is called the "Teikei" movement. The philosophy of Teikei movement has many similarities with the concept of CSA. Robyn Van En mentioned "I was amazed how similar each of our concerns and visions were for Teikei and CSA and for the future of agriculture as the basis of all culture (Henderson and Van En 1999:xvi)." Trauger Groh explains that a new agricultural practice through direct partnership of farmers and consumers, "known as community farms or CSAs, started as simple, isolated test plots" in the 1970s in Japan and Europe, and arrived in the mid-1980s in the United States (Groh and McFadden 1997:vii).

Teikei means "partnership" or "cooperation" in Japanese. Robyn Van En (Henderson and Van En 1999:xvi) translated it with a more philosophical meaning as "food with the farmer's face on it" following the explanation of a Teikei member, Mrs. Setsuko Shirane. She realized the face-to-face relationship between farmers and members is the most critical aspect of the Teikei movement (Kubota 2003). The Teikei movement was initiated in the early 1970's through the cooperation of farmers who were concerned with the industrialization of agriculture and consumers or housewives who sought safe and organic products (Arakawa 1995; Hatano 1998b; Kubota 2001; Aoki 1998). The movement largely expanded in Japan over decades under the influence of active housewives in the consumer cooperative movement of the country.

Both CSA and Teikei advocate the mutual relationship between farmers and consumers. However, CSA is often created by a farmer and local neighbors while Teikei is formed between several farmers and consumers or farmers' groups and consumers' groups. Members in CSA usually prepay for their shares all at once before the growing season, but consumers in Teikei pay for their shares on a monthly basis.

Many Teikei farms are quite small and intensively farmed. It is common to have a group of several farmers, dispersed throughout the countryside, networking with groups of many households to supply a consistent and diverse selection of products throughout the year (Henderson and Van En 1999:xvi).

Farmers and consumers create a mutual relationship through supporting the farms financially and sharing farming and produce distribution work. Teikei and CSA are hybrid institutions that not only engage in food production and distribution, but also conduct educational activities and community outreach programs (DeLind 2003a; Hatano

1998b). Teikei groups engage in group studies about food safety and health concerns; and they conduct rallying and lobbying to protect local agriculture and rural environment. CSA groups work for food and farming education such as home food processing classes and opening farms and improve local food security by providing fresh fruits and vegetables to food pantry and soup kitchens. Because of this mutual partnership in Teikei and CSA, they differ from other direct marketing strategies such as farmer's markets, farm stands and mail deliveries of produce.

Both Teikei and CSA largely expanded after a decade of their initiations. However, many leaders and researchers in Teikei and CSA have lamented that the original philosophy of the movements disintegrated following the growth of the group size and the popularity of the movements (Henderson and Van En 1999; Groh and McFadden 1997; Kubota and Masugata 1992). For example, Teikei and CSA members' engagement in farming work is not obligatory but optional. The larger the network of the Teikei groups became, the less farmers and consumers kept a face-to-face relationship (Kubota and Masugata 1992). CSA struggles with high member turn-over rate and fails to include low-income families (DeLind 2003a; Hinrichs 2002). The dilemma emerged when the ideals of Teikei and CSA were practiced in a market-centered, commodity-driven society. Participants in Teikei and CSA had to struggle with the adjustment of their practice between economic interest and civic responsibility or community building.

1.3 Research Questions and Directions

Then, the question, which is the theme of this paper, emerges. Indeed, the number of the Teikei and CSA groups largely increased. However, have the two movements of Teikei and CSA been developed or disintegrated? A similar question follows. Are Teikei and CSA developing toward the "farms of tomorrow"? Have these initiatives empowered local farmers and provided an alternative to an agriculture dominated by the globalized food system?

This paper explores these questions by reviewing the philosophy, history and development of Teikei and CSA. The paper focuses on:

1) How did Teikei and CSA start?
2) What is important within Teikei and CSA philosophy?
3) How were Teikei and CSA organized?
4) How did they evolve and grow?

The paper attempts to clarify the following points by comparing the two movements of Teikei in Japan and CSA in the U.S.:

a) What does this mean?
b) What implications can be drawn?
c) Problems
d) Strengths and weaknesses

This paper also raises an additional question; do Teikei and CSA have the same fate? The Teikei movement was initiated about a decade earlier than CSA. While the Teikei movement largely increased its membership after a decade of its initiation, the movement currently struggles with the degradation of its viability. CSA is becoming

popular in the U.S. However, will the CSA movement also face the same situation as Teikei ten years later?

1.4 Thesis Overview

The problems for current food systems and the significance of the alternative agriculture models, CSA in the U.S. and Teikei in Japan, were described in the last chapter. The research questions to be explored in this thesis were also set forth. In Chapter 2, the original philosophy and history of the Teikei movement in Japan are described. The difference between the Teikei movement and the consumer cooperative movement is also described. Chapter 3 discusses the current situation of the Teikei movement and how the movement was developed or changed over time. Chapter 3 considers changes in: (1) the relationship between farmers and consumers, (2) the relationship between Teikei groups and communities and (3) the relationship among Teikei groups, the Teikei movement as a whole and organic agriculture.

While Chapter 2 and 3 focus on the Teikei movement, Chapter 4 and 5 discuss the CSA movement. Like the previous chapters, Chapter 4 describes the original philosophy and history of CSA. Chapter 5 considers changes in CSA. Again an attention is paid to the relationship between farmers and members, the relationship between CSA farms/groups and community, and the relationship among CSA farms/groups, the overall CSA movement and organic agriculture. In the final chapter, Teikei and CSA are compared with respect to their: (1) original philosophy and history, (2) relationship between farmers and consumers/members, (3) relationship between farms/groups and communities, (4) relationship among farms/groups, the overall movement and organic agriculture. Reflections and conclusions are included in this chapter as are recommendations for strengthening the two related movements.

Chapter 2: History and Philosophy of the Teikei Movement

Chapter 2 and 3 discuss the Teikei movement in Japan. This chapter focuses on the concept and philosophy of the Teikei movement and the background of the emergence of the Teikei movement. The last section of this chapter also discusses the difference between the Teikei and consumer cooperative movement in Japan.

2.1 Introduction: the Teikei Movement in Japan

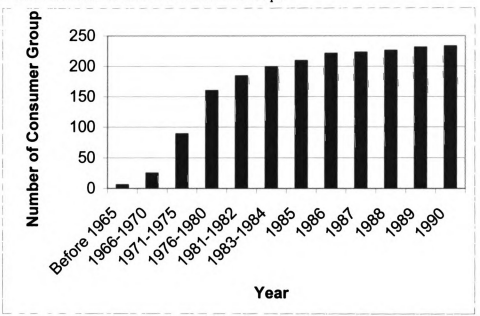
Though the idea of community-based agricultural systems is as old as agriculture, direct local partnership initiatives between farmers and consumers were begun in the 1960's in Germany, Switzerland, and Japan (Groh and McFadden 1990). The partnership between farmers and consumers in Japan is known as "Teikei" or "farmer's face on it [produce]." It is called "Sansho-Teikei." In Japanese, "Sansho" means producers and consumers, and "Teikei" means cooperation or partnership.

The Teikei movement was initiated through the cooperation of farmers who were concerned with the industrialization of agriculture and the degradation of rural society, and consumers, who were often housewives, sought organically grown and safe food (Kubota 2001; Hatano 1998b; Aoki 1998). The Teikei movement represents a direct relationship between consumer members who commit themselves to pay the full costs of ecologically sound and socially equitable farming and farmers who have the responsibility to provide safe and organically grown food to the consumer members (Kubota 2001; Hatano 1998b; Aoki 1998). Consumers and farmers create a mutual commitment in the Teikei relationship. They share works, feelings and risks in their own

food production and distribution. Moreover, they also engage in the issues they are concerned such as environmental protection and food safety.

The Teikei movement largely expanded under the influence of the active consumer cooperative movement in the 1970's and the early 1980's (Kubota 2003) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Total Number of Teikei Consumer Groups



Source: Kubota and Masugata 1992

The size of the consumers' groups ranges from less than 10 families to more than 5,000, and there are 500 to 1,000 Teikei consumers' groups (JOAA 1993). Many Teikei groups around the Tokyo metropolitan area had created the relationship between large farmers' and consumer members' groups including consumer cooperatives such as the Seikatsu Club in which the consumer members often lived far from the farmers. However, the Teikei groups in the Kansai area[1] had tended to maintain the relationship between small consumers' and farmers' groups in which the members lived relatively

[1] The Kansai area is the second largest economic area in Japan located in the west part of the country including Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, Shiga, Nara, and Wakayama prefectures.

close to the farmers (Hatano 1998a and 1998b) (see the map of Japan listed in Appendix A). The next section discusses the original concept and philosophy of the Teikei movement.

2.2 Original Concept and Philosophy of the Teikei Movement

Ideas from Buddhism, embedded in Japanese society, emphasize the local nutrition cycles and sustainability in society, and influence the philosophy of Teikei movement. The Buddhism philosophy of "Shindo Fuji" means the soil and human soul cannot be separated but stay together. People can stay healthy with the produce grown with the soil on the land on which they live. "Chisan Chisho" has a similar meaning that it is a natural rule to produce and consume locally.

Teruo Ichiraku, who is the founder of the Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA), proposed the ten principles of Teikei at the 4th Annual Organic Farmer Conference in Japan in November 1978 (see the principles listed in Table 2). The principles reflect the actual practice of the pioneer Teikei groups. It was proposed for the development of the Teikei movement with its integrity.

The principles express: (1) Teikei is not a food business relationship but a mutual relationship between farmers and consumers for the practice of organic agriculture; (2) farmers and consumers have to discuss the plan for planting a wide variety of crops, and consumers have to buy all crops the farmers produce and depend their diet on the food from the Teikei farms as much as possible; (3) The fee needs to be decided by discussion between farmers and consumers and it basically has to have a stable fixed price. Consumers pay fees based on their appreciation of farmers, not the cost of operation; (4) Teikei participants has to keep a small group. When the membership increases, the participants need to create another group.

Table 2. The Ten Principles of Teikei

1. Principle of mutual assistance

The essence of this partnership lies, not in trading itself, but in the friendly relationship between people. Therefore, both producers and consumers should help each other on the basis of mutual understanding. This relation should be established through the reflection of past experiences.

2. *Principle of intended production*

Producers should, through consultation with consumers, intend to produce the maximum amount and maximum variety of produce within the capacity of the farms.

3. *Principle of accepting the produce*

Consumers should accept all the produce that has been grown according to previous consultation between both groups, and their diet should depend as much as possible on this produce.

4. *Principle of mutual concession in the price decision*

In deciding the price of the produce, producers should take full account of savings in labor and cost, due to grading and packaging processes being curtailed, as well as of all their produce being accepted; and consumers should take into full account the benefit of getting fresh, safe, and tasty foods.

5. *Principle of deepening friendly relationships*

The continuous development of this partnership requires the deepening of friendly relationships between producers and consumers. This will be achieved only through maximizing contact between the partners.

6. *Principle of self-distribution*

On this principle, the transportation of produce should be carried out by either the producer's or consumer's groups, up to the latter's depots, without dependence on professional transporters.

7. *Principle of democratic management*

Both groups should avoid over-reliance upon limited number of leaders in their activities, and try to practice democratic management with responsibility shared by all. The particular conditions of the members' families should be taken into consideration on the principle of mutual assistance.

8. *Principle of learning among each group*

Both groups of producers and consumers should attach much importance to studying among themselves, and should try to keep their activities from ending only in the distribution of safe foods.

9. *Principle of maintaining the appropriate group scale*

The full practice of the matters written in the above articles will be difficult if the membership or the territory of these groups becomes too large. That is the reason why both of them should be kept to an appropriate size. The development of this movement in terms of membership should be promoted through increasing the number of groups and the collaboration among them.

10. *Principle of steady development*

In most cases, neither producers nor consumers will be able to enjoy such good conditions as mentioned above from the very beginning. Therefore, it is necessary for both of them to choose promising partners, even if their present situation is unsatisfactory, and to go ahead with the effort to advance in mutual cooperation.

Source: Henderson and Van En 1999:215; Kubota 2001; JOAA 1993

Buntaro Tsukiji, a scholar of the cooperative research institute and a leader in the JOAA, wrote about the model of Teikei relationship (Tsukiji 1976) (see his concept of Teikei groups in Appendix B). His idea of a Teikei farm was a community farm model in which a farmer and several consumers create a local partnership for their food production and distribution. He advocated in the article: (1) staying small, (2) distributing food locally, and (3) sharing mutual trust and dependence through communication (face-to-face relationship) between farmers and consumers.

He recommended that each Teikei group should stay small. He questioned the large Teikei groups involving agriculture and consumer cooperatives because he was concerned that it would not nurture mutual trust and dependence between farmers and consumers due to large size of groups (Tsukiji 1976).

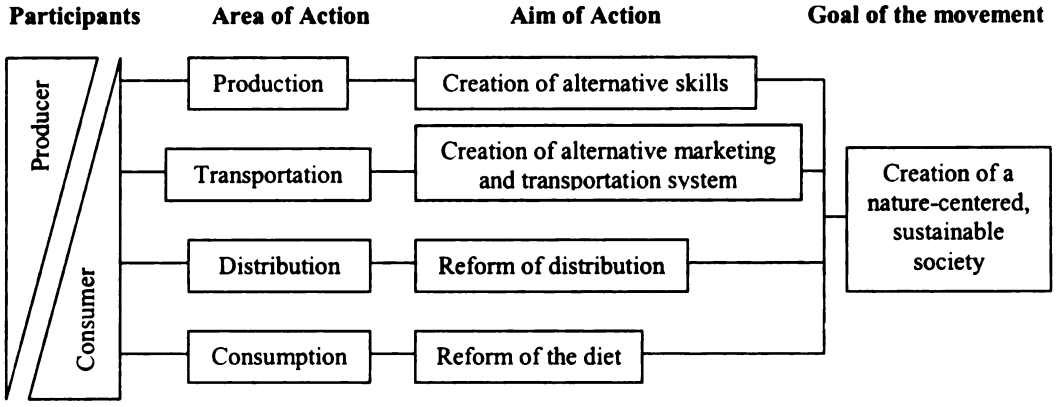
In the case of his story, farmer A provided his produce to the ten consumer households near his farm. It was easier for these consumers to come to the farm for farming assistance and dialogue with the farmer because the group was not large and they did not live far from the farm. Because the consumers visited the farm themselves, they realized the difficulties in organic farming such as labor shortages and pest control issues.

Communications between farmers and consumers are critical for the practice of the Teikei movement. Tsukiji (1976) states that in the best scenario, the consumer members willingly offer the farm management help and financial funds for the farm operation. This scenario would only emerge from the mutual trust and dependence between farmers and consumers through their communication. The consumer members feel that the farm also makes their life better, thus they want to support the farm financially. The next section discusses the actual Teikei practices and how Teikei works.

2.3 How Does Teikei Work?

Figure 1 shows the Teikei model which was proposed by Yasuda (1994). He has published many papers as a researcher about the significance of organic agriculture and the Teikei movement in Japan since the initiation of the movement. He worked hard with his college students creating a Teikei network of urban consumers and organic farmers in west Japan.

Figure 2. Model of the Teikei Movement



(Adapted and translated from Yasuda 1994:17)

Teikei consumer members try to share the financial risk of organic agriculture with the farmers. Teikei members usually do not prepay the cost of farming operations before the growing season, but pay for the produce on a monthly-basis. However, they are expected to buy all the food the farmers produce whether the amount of food is large or not, and the appearance of produce is good or not. This principle secures the economic basis of Teikei farmers. Some Teikei groups also contribute savings to the farm emergency fund.

Teikei members engage in the production and distribution work of fresh organic produce. They participate in farming assistance activities referred to as "En-no" several

times a year. The activities are the essential feature of the direct relationship of Teikei between the consumers and farmers. Farming help is the best way for members to communicate with their farmers and observe how produce is grown. It also provides agricultural education through hands-on farming experience. Consumer members often participate in the produce distribution at the delivery pick-up point. The bulk of produce previously ordered by the members is dropped off at several pick-up points. The members come to the points and distribute the produce.

Teikei consumer groups usually have a committee group to organize the consumer members and manage the Teikei relationship with the farmers. Consumer committee groups usually have a meeting before the growing season with the organic farmers and their groups. The consumers and farmers discuss the amount, variety and price of produce in the meeting. Consumer members try to follow the farmers' proposal of the amount, variety, and price of produce; however, consumer members tell the farmers how many units of produce they want.

Teikei groups consider organic agriculture a starting point towards the realization of sustainable society. Teikei farmers and consumers, for example, try to consume less, re-use materials, use natural soap and compost their garbage in their daily life. The farmers and consumer members create self-study groups about agricultural and environmental issues. Some active Teikei groups even engage in political action through their resistance to food transportation from overseas and the building of nuclear power plants in their farmers' villages.

This section showed the Teikei partnership is more than direct marketing, in which the farmers and consumers share risks, responsibilities and benefits of organic

farming. The next section discusses the background of the emergence of the Teikei movement.

2.4 Emergence of the Teikei Movement

2.4.1 Industrialization and Globalization of Food Systems in Japan

The year 1968 is known as the year of pollution in which the first environmental health diseases by cadmium and mercury, and PCB poisoning were recognized in Japan. These diseases were caused by residues of industrial chemicals in food. In the following year, the first agricultural chemical poisoning appeared in school children. BHC, an agricultural chemical, remained in the milk served for school lunch (Arakawa 1995). The Teikei movement emerged in the background of high social consciousness of environmental pollution by the rapid industrialization of Japan.

Japanese society was largely impacted by the involvement of food system globalization and agricultural industrialization due to the trade-oriented rapid economic development and industrialization. Agricultural industrialization was structurally and systematically promoted by the national government in Japan. Agricultural extensionists were sent to rural areas, and agricultural cooperatives were organized under the supervision of the government (Arakawa 1995). The number of mechanical tillers increased almost ten times from only 9,621 in 1949 to 88,000 in 1955. Five years later, in 1960, it increased to 612,000; then to more than two million in 1964, and finally in 1974, a record high of 3,370,000 (Yamashita 1986:133). The use of chemical fertilizers drastically increased as a substitution for organic fertilizers. Nitrogen increased 180 percent, potassium, 340 percent and phosphorus, 300 percent (Ono 1994:245).

Japan started importing food extensively in the 1960's in the export-oriented economic development. The Japanese food self-sufficiency, measured in terms of

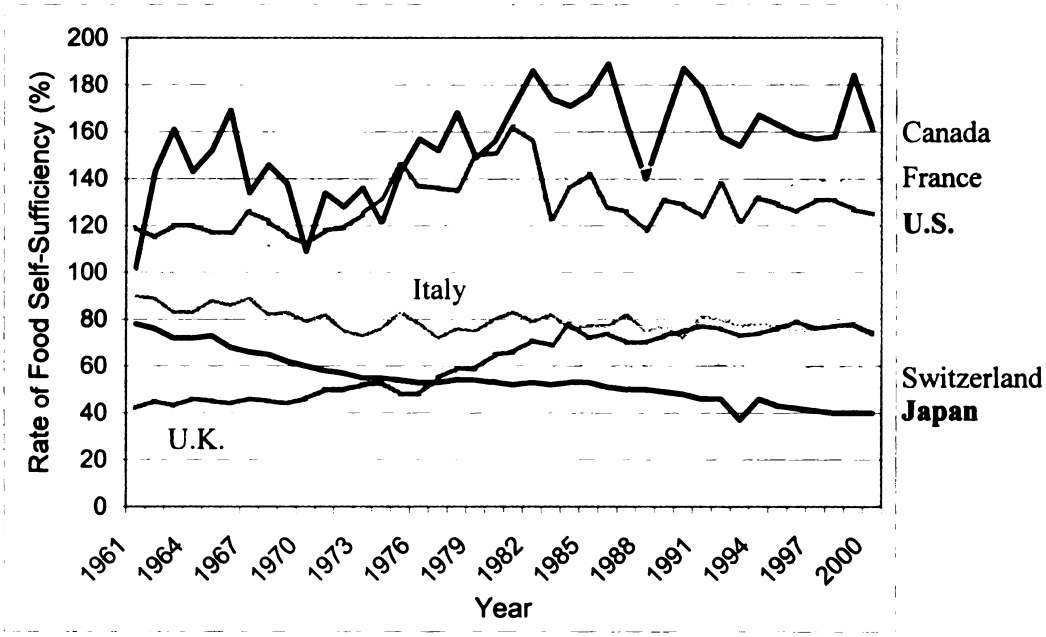
original calories, dropped rapidly; from 79% in 1960, to 53% in 1980 and 46 percent in 2000 (MAFF 2003) (See Table 3 and Figure 3).

Table 3. Food Self-Sufficiency Rate in Japan

	1960	1980	2001
Rate of Food Self-Sufficiency (based on calorific value)	79%	53%	40%
Grain Self-Sufficiency Rate (excluding feeding grain)	89%	69%	60%
Total Grain Self-Sufficiency Rate	82%	33%	28%

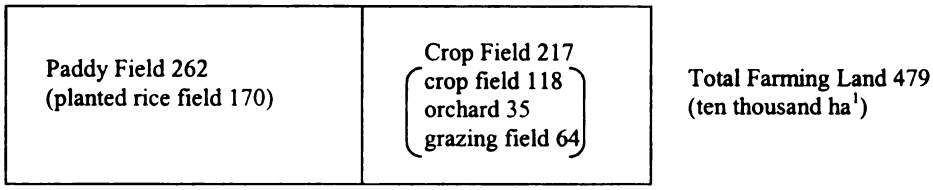
Source: MAFF (The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan) 2003

Figure 3. Rate of Food Self-Sufficiency in Developed Countries



Source: MAFF 2003 (based on FAO Food Balance Sheets)

Figure 4. Farming Land Area in Japan (Year 2002)



Source: MAFF 2003

[1] 1 ha (hectare) is about 2.5 acres; 1a (are) is about 0.025 acre.

group in Yasato-village, Ibaraki prefecture and Miyoshi-village, Chiba prefecture also started their activities around the same time (Hatano 1998a; Ogawa and Yasuda 2000). The first organized Teikei partnership was made between the consumers' group in Tokyo and the organic farmers' group in Miyoshi-village, Chiba[1] in 1973. The first Teikei relationship in the Kansai area, the second largest urban area in Japan, was initiated between the consumers' group in Kobe-city and the organic farmers' group in Ichijima-village, Hyogo prefecture in 1974 (Ogawa and Yasuda 2000).

Many Teikei groups around the Tokyo metropolitan area have created the relationship between large farmers' groups and consumer members' groups including consumer cooperatives such as Seikatsu Club in which the consumer members often live far from the farmers. However, the Teikei groups in the Kansai area have tended to keep the relationship between small consumers' groups and farmers group in which the members relatively live close to the farmers (Hatano 1998a) (see the map of Japan in Appendix A).

2.4.3 Influence of Mass Media in the Teikei Movement

Publications and media also facilitated the emergence and development of Teikei. *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson was translated into Japanese in 1962 and the book inspired many people in Japan about the concerns of environmental pollution. *Fukugo Osen* (Multi-synthesized pollution) by Mrs. Sawako Ariyoshi, called a Japanese version of *Silent Spring* (Shinchosya 2002), appeared serially from October 14,1974 for eight and a half months in the *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper, a major media in Japan. The publication advocated the pitfalls of industrialized agriculture and food systems, and revealed the

[1] Chiba prefecture is located next to Tokyo prefecture, included in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

harm of chemical additives and residues dominant in current food and life supplies. Her work had a large impact on Japanese society, especially on urban consumers who had concerns about chemical pollution in food and the environment. Many farmers and consumers, who actively started the Teikei movement and consumer cooperative movement, were inspired by the publications.

The previous sections discussed the concept and practice of the Teikei movement and the background of its emergence. The next section in this chapter discusses the Teikei and consumer cooperative movements. The Teikei and consumer cooperative movements are often confused because they have many similarities. However, they are different. The consumer cooperative movement became more well-known and popular among housewives in Japan.

Table 4. Population and Farming Land in Developed Countries (Year 2000)

	Japan	U.S.	U.K.	Germany	France
Population (10 thousand)	12,693	28,323	5,963	8,202	5,924
Total Land Area (10 thousand ha)	3,779	96,291	2,429	3,570	5,515
Farming Land Area (farming land/total land, 10 thousand ha)	483 (13%)	41,825 (43%)	1,696 (70%)	1,707 (48%)	2,97 (54%)
Farming Land per Person (a/person)	3.8	147.7	28.4	20.8	50.2

Source: MAFF 2003 (based on FAOSTAT)

Food mileage is high in Japan. The concept of food mileage was proposed by Tim Lang, a food policy researcher at Thames Valley University in England in 1994. Food mileage is calculated as the distance food travels multiplied by the amount of food imported. High rate of food mileage increases the environmental cost. In 2000, food mileage per person in Japan was 4,000tkm (ton kilometer[1]), while its rate in the U.S. was 500tkm (MAFF 2003).

Some farmers and their families became sick due to agri-chemicals and were against the MAFF policy for the industrialization and globalization of food systems in Japan. Consumers were concerned about the negative impact of chemical additives and residues in food on the health of their family, and sought safe and fresh food. The movement was initiated by these concerned participants of farmers and consumers. In other words, the Teikei movement was the farmers' and consumers' collective action against the globalization of food systems.

2.4.2 Initiation of the Japan Organic Agriculture Association and the Teikei Groups

The emergence of Teikei movement was facilitated by founding the Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA) in October 1971. The JOAA was initially a

[1] 1 km (kilometer) is 0.625 mile.

forum in which cooperative movement researchers, naturalists, nutrition specialists, rural health specialists, leaders and researchers in natural and organic farming discussed the future perspectives of Japanese agriculture with concern of the growth of high industrialized agriculture and food systems (Kubota 2001). The JOAA is a non-profit organization to promote organic agriculture and the Teikei movement. The JOAA recently has taken an important role to formulate (or lobby) the criteria for the organic certification system in Japan. The members in the JOAA also took a political action against the genetically engineered food. The JOAA has about 3,000 members, and producers occupy 20 to 25% of its membership (JOAA 1993).

Teruo Ichiraku, the founder of the JOAA, was a cooperativist and worked for the Norinchukin (Japan Agricultural Co-operatives) Bank and the central office of Japan Agricultural Co-operatives as an executive director. He was worried about the modern agriculture heavily depending on harmful pesticides and chemical fertilizers while he had executive positions in the agricultural cooperatives which promoted agricultural industrialization with the MAFF (Kubota 2001). After retiring the positions, he strongly advocated with other scholars and researchers in the JOAA how important it is to practice organic agriculture to produce safe food and to distribute food locally (Kubota 2001). Some farmers who met the JOAA leaders were deeply inspired by the passion of these leaders, and formed organic farmers' groups to start organic agriculture in their villages (Aoki 1998; Hoshi 1998).

The Takahata-village Organic Agriculture Association in Yamagata prefecture and the Hyogo Prefecture Organic Agriculture Association emerged in 1973. These organizations took leadership in the Teikei movement. The well-known Teikei farmers'

2.5 The Teikei Movement and the Consumer Cooperative Movement

The Teikei movement and consumer cooperative movement have developed together through mutual influence. They have many similarities but they are different. Teikei is a partnership between farmers and consumers which promotes mutual support of the farm economy and healthy food production as well as trust between farmers and consumers. However, the consumer cooperatives are buying groups of consumers.

Members in the consumer cooperatives might make a contract with Teikei organic farmers to purchase organic produce; however, they also make other contracts with many factories to get daily life supplies. While members in the consumer cooperatives have a business relationship with farmers to have high quality produce, the members in the consumer cooperatives are not as close to the farmers as Teikei members. Thus, some Teikei farmers' groups consider it troublesome to make a contract with the consumer cooperatives (Hoshi 1998).

Seikatsu Club, an urban housewives' consumer group, is well known in the Teikei movement. The Seikatsu Club started in 1965 and provides healthy foods, value-added products and daily life supplies to upwards of 200,000 member households (Worth 1993). However, the club is not a Teikei group but a consumer cooperative group.

The initiation of the Teikei movement is often misunderstood as the beginning of the Seikatsu Club activities. Teikei was initially created by individual farmers and consumers. Some consumers went to rural areas and asked farmers to start organic production for them. These consumers began group purchases of organically grown milk and eggs. This relationship later developed into Teikei groups. The first organized Teikei group is known as the relationship between the consumers' group in Tokyo and

the organic farmers' group in Miyoshi-village, Chiba, which was started in 1973 (Ogawa and Yasuda 2000).

Teikei became organized relationships between farmers' groups and consumers' groups. The participation of consumer groups from the consumer cooperatives, which have a large number of membership like the Seikatsu Club, facilitated the huge expansion of the Teikei movement. The involvement of the consumer cooperatives promoted consumers' leadership in the Teikei movement. Kubota (2003), a director of the Japan Organic Agriculture Association, understands the emergence of the Teikei movement from a long history of consumer movements which already existed in the 1940's and 1950's in Japan. There were a lot of potential active consumers who were empowered from the consumer movements in Japan. They were participants of the consumer buying groups or the Teikei and consumer cooperative movements. In this sense, the Teikei movement was created when the consumers asked organic producers to create a relationship for their own food production and distribution.

Consumer members' groups in the Teikei movement often use the system of group pick-up, a system developed in the consumer cooperative movement in Japan. Here, groups of six to thirteen families place and receive orders for food and other products at pick-up points. These groups are called *han* in the cooperative movement (Worth 1993). The trucks from the consumer cooperative distribution centers drop off the bulk of products which was previously ordered by the *han* groups at the pick-up points each week. The consumer members distribute the products by themselves at the point. Many Teikei groups also use the *han* system to distribute their organic produce. Communication mostly happens between truck drivers, who are often Teikei farmers, and

the consumer members, and within the consumer members on pick-up days in the Teikei movement.

The consumer cooperative movement facilitated the democratic management of food and life supply distribution. The Japanese consumer cooperative movement has 13 million members involved in 665 local cooperative societies, which operate 2,300 stores with over 50,000 employees. Over five million households participate regularly in nearly one million *han* (Worth 1993).

The consumer cooperative movement was very popular among urban housewives. Many high-story apartments were built in urban areas under the rapid economic development of Japan in the 1970's and the early 1980's; the influx of new residents in urban areas was great, and residents formed these new communities in apartment complexes during the period. The housewives of the new communities actively participated in the consumer cooperative activities to prepare safe food for their families and community building. They knew each other through the activities in their new neighborhoods. Some of them made good use of the cooperative groups to start other activities such as community festivals and group studies. The cooperative movement facilitated the new formation of social capital in urban communities.

I remember my mother also participating in the consumer cooperative activities when I was a child. My mother joined a women's new resident group meeting when my family moved to a newly-built 11-story apartment around the end of the 1970's (Okumura 2003). The group decided to start a consumer cooperative activity which was popular everywhere in Japan. My mother seemed excited to participate in the activity, especially when she went down to the first floor of the apartment building which was a

drop-off site on the distribution days. My mother really enjoyed the activity, and it was a good chance for her to make new friends. As a child, I believed everything from co-op was good, safe, and nutritious. I knew my mother was satisfied with the products and activities of the co-op.

2.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the concept, philosophy and history of the Teikei movement in Japan. The Teikei movement was initiated in the beginning of the 1970's by farmers who were concerned with the industrialization and globalization of agriculture and the degradation of rural society, and consumers who were concerned with food safety and environmental issues. The original philosophy of the Teikei movement advocates the local food distribution and the mutual relationship between farmers and consumers. They share costs and work for their farming operation within the relationship. This sharing relationship between farmers and consumers makes the Teikei movement different from consumer cooperative movement and other direct marketing for agricultural produce. Moreover, Teikei groups engage in their food production and distribution as well as outreach activities such as the group studying about environmental concerns and political action for food safety.

Organic farming has been practiced in the movement as a strategy to resist the industrialized agricultural production and distribution. The Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA), a representative organization of the Teikei movement, promoted the development of organic agriculture in Japan through the Teikei movement. The direct connection between farmers and consumers in the movement created the marketing channel for organic produce which had not existed before. The Teikei movement largely increased its membership during the 1970's and the early 1980's following a great demand for organic produce.

The next chapter discusses the change from the initial concept and the current situation of the Teikei movement.

Chapter 3 Change and Current Situation of the Teikei Movement

This chapter discusses the current situation of the Teikei movement from three viewpoints of the relationship between (1) farmers and consumers, (2) Teikei farm/group and community, and (3) Teikei farm/group and organic agriculture movement. The chapter shows the consumers' groups had more leadership in the movement. The movement gradually began to focus more on consumer's interests and organic business, thus the movement lost its viability due to degradation of the philosophy. The chapter also includes the case study of the Teikei movement in Takahata village, Yamagata prefecture which was actively led by the local farmers. The case shows the relationship among Teikei farmers, urban consumers, and other farmers in the rural community.

3.1 Relationship between Farmers and Consumers

3.1.1 Background of Teikei Participants

Teikei farmers had been well aware of chemical hazards of industrialized food production and were concerned about their health in the movement (Tabeta 1981; Hatano 1998b). Tabeta (1981) found that 25% of organic farmers had an experience in which they or their family members became sick due to agri-chemicals. Hatano (1998b) describes the farmers' reasons for the participation in the Teikei movement: (1) health concerns of part-time farmers, (2) criticisms of conventional agriculture by full-time farmers, and (3) nature lovers and naturalists among new farmers.

Organic farmers participated in the Teikei movement because the Teikei relationship created a distribution channel for organic produce which had not existed

before. In other words, organic farming practice in Japan was promoted by the Teikei movement. Table 5 shows the difficulties organic farmers faced in their farming practice in the early stage of the Teikei movement. Organic farmers initially struggled with less developed organic farming skill and no supply system of materials for their farming. They also had difficulty to have an understanding of organic farming from other farmers.

Table 5. Obstacles Organic Farmers Faced for the First Time

a) Technical problems such as undeveloped organic farming method, production decrease in a transitional period, and emergence of pests and diseases.
b) Structural problems in farming operation related to difficulty in making compost due to mono-cropping and no livestock and difficulty producing organic food for livestock.
c) Labor shortage such as more farming labor needed for composting and weeding.
d) Economic instability vis-à-vis undeveloped marketing system for organic produce and concern about income decrease due to the reduction of productivity.
e) Relationship with other farmers in community specifically related to criticism of organic agriculture from other farmers, differences of opinion on pesticide spraying[1], difficulty of finding organic farmers within a community, and help and understanding about organic agriculture by family members.

Source: Tabeta 1981

Table 6. Focal Points and Reasons for Agricultural and Organic Produce Purchase

Focal points when consumers buy **agricultural** produce	Reasons to buy **organic** produce	Reasons **not** to buy **organic** produce
1. Freshness (54)[2] 2. Safety (14) 3. Price (14) 4. Nutrition (5) 5. Season (5)	1. Seems to be safe (82) 2. Good for health (73) 3. Everything organic is good (32) 4. Seems tasty (25) 5. To support farmer (19) 6. Seems fresh (16) 7. Seems nutritious (11)	1. Suspicious about organic produce (40.2) 2. High price (39.3) 3. Suspicious about certification (29.5) 4. Suspicious about safety (26.2) 5. Not available at near grocery stores (23.8) 6. Suspicious about organic produce which isn't distributed through the Teikei relationship (6.6) 7. Complicated organic produce handling (4.9)

Source: Hatano 1998b:54 (Based on the research by the MAFF and the city of Tokyo)

Most consumers are urban residents. It is known that many of these consumer participants in the Teikei and consumer cooperative movements are high-educated, middle class urban housewives. Teikei consumers are interested in safe and healthy

[1] See a good example in the case study of the Teikei movement in Takahata village in section 3.2.3
[2] The number in parentheses means percentage

produce from Teikei farmers in the movement (see Table 6). They actively participated in the movement to prepare safe food for their families and learn about environmental issues in a highly industrialized society (Hatano 1998b).

Hatano (1998b) separates characteristics of Teikei farmers and consumers into these categories:

(1) Politically active, socially concerned people who have political backgrounds, and have worked for other collective actions.

(2) Politically passive, socially concerned people who try to find solutions for conflicts in modern society by going back to nature and a more sustainable life

(3) People who are passionately concerned about their health

Many participants in the Teikei movement had an experience for other collective actions such as picketing against airport and nuclear power plant constructions.

Many Teikei farmers feel continuous support from consumer members' encouragement to keep the organic farming practices and continue with the Teikei relationship. The *Profile of Organic Farmers in Japan* (JOAA 2001) shows that the trust and respect from the consumer members support the farmers in the Teikei movement. For example, one farmer says he is always excited to see the faces of the members when he delivers organic produce to the Tokyo metropolitan area once a week. He appreciates this relationship with consumer members, which has not only supported his organic farming practice but also kept encouraging him (he has had a tough time because of the loss of his wife in a car accident). Other farmers feel their lives are supported by their members not only economically but also emotionally. For example, one farmer succeeded his parents in their organic farming. The farmer says his parents found

meaning for their life by providing good food to their members. This strong relationship with the members and passion for organic farming continuously revitalizes their everyday life. Many Teikei farmers feel their life is economically and emotionally supported by their consumer members through the face-to-face relationship in the movement.

3.1.2 Four Types of Teikei Groups in Hyogo Prefecture, Japan

In Hyogo prefecture[1] which is one of the states in which the Teikei movement is most active, Hatano (1998b) estimated that Teikei groups were serving almost 10,000 households. A chronological summary of the history of the Teikei groups in Hyogo by Hatano (1998b) follows: (1) the Teikei relationship between consumers' and farmers' groups emerged in the 1970's; (2) the relationship between consumers' groups and several farmers appeared in the early 1980's; and (3) the Teikei group between consumers' groups and the individual farmer appeared in the late 1980's. Hatano (1998b) mentions that diversification of the Teikei groups occurred not by the structural change of the current groups but by the emergence of new groups.

Hatano (1998b) classified the current Teikei groups in Hyogo prefecture into four types according to the characteristics of the groups: Original, Enlarged, Revised and Institutionalized. Hatano found these four different characteristics in the Teikei groups have a relationship with the emergent date of the groups. Table 7 shows the characteristics of these four Teikei types.

[1] Population in Japan is 130 million; Hyogo prefecture (state) has 5.6 million including the Kobe urban area of 1.5 million.

Table 7. Types and Characteristics of Teikei Groups

Type of group (Emergence date)	Original (1970's)	Enlarged (Early 1980's)	Revised (Late 1980's)	Institutionalized (1990's)
Stage of Teikei movement when the group emerged	Beginning	Developing	Diversified	Re-developing
Developed area	Close to urban area	Sub-urban and rural	Urban, sub-urban and rural	Close to urban
Price decision-making	Producers and consumers equally	Consumer-based	Producer-based	Producer-based
Way to determine price	Operational cost-based	Market price-based	Flexible	Operational cost-based
Delivery management	Both producer and consumer	Mainly producer	Mainly consumer	Full-time worker in group
Producer group structure	Organized	Un-organized	Organized or individual	Organized
Participants of consumer group	Only consumers	Producers are also members	Only consumers	Some producers are also in a committee

(Adapted and translated from Hatano 1998b)

The original type of Teikei groups which emerged in the 1970's, retain the Teikei principle that both producers and consumer members equally share responsibilities, risks, and benefits of organic farming. The producers and consumer members determine the price of their organic produce based on the operational costs of the farm. The enlarged type of Teikei groups in the early 1980's does not necessarily follow this principle. The groups emerged when the Teikei movement was expanding. The consumer members have more stakes in decision-making on the price based on the usual agricultural market, and the producers take a great role in produce delivery. These types of Teikei groups are more market based, and depend largely on farmer labor work. The revised type of Teikei groups in the late 1980's attempted to return to the original principle in which the producers can make decisions on the price of their produce, and the consumer members try to be more involved in the delivery work.

The latest Teikei groups which emerged in the 1990's (Institutionalized) have a well-established structure of operation. The groups employ full-time staff to support the management of the Teikei relationship doing such things as recruiting members, collecting memberships, accounting for operational cost of the groups, and delivery of the produce. While the original, enlarged and revised types of old Teikei groups lost many consumer members, the new Teikei groups (Institutionalized) increased its membership. The new Teikei groups are growing because consumer members find it easier to participate because of the reduced work share of the operation. The new Teikei groups let farmers decide the price and the amount of produce within share. These new Teikei groups in the 1990's appear to be an established enterprise for organic produce distribution.

Hatano (1998a and 1998b) mentions the producers and consumer members try to spend more time on communication, farm visits, activities of group studies and advocacy of food and environment issues due to the reduced work of organic distribution and operational management. However, it is questionable that the new types of Teikei groups can keep these other activities viable because of the lack of consumer participation in the Teikei operation.

While farmers and consumers initially tried to share their work for the Teikei operation, consumer participation gradually decreased.

3.1.3 Stagnation of the Teikei Movement

The Teikei movement currently struggles against the large decline of consumer membership. Many urban housewives had been an active core of the Teikei movement

(Arakawa 1995; Hatano 1998a and 1998b; Kubota 1998 and 2001). However, many of these housewives left the Teikei groups due to job opportunities and the growth of the commercial organic produce market (Hatano 1998a and 1998b; Kubota 1998 and 2001). More consumer members have difficulty spending enough time for the Teikei activities and the availability of organic food in grocery stores reduces the participation of consumers in the movement.

Hatano (1998b) provides the main reasons the consumers have left the Teikei groups. These reasons were; (1) too much produce, (2) inconvenience of distribution, (3) volunteer work (farming help and management of the Teikei relationship), and (4) member's disagreement with the goal of the group.

The Teikei groups easily lose consumer members who are not interested in volunteer work and just seek safe and healthy organic produce when organic produce is available in grocery stores. Organic farming has been practiced in the Teikei movement as a strategy to change the technology-based industrialized agriculture. The movement also used "organic" as a marketing strategy to recruit consumer members. While Teikei had been the only channel for organic produce distribution, the Teikei groups lost a lot of membership due to the current availability of organic produce in regular retailers.

While the Teikei movement has been in practice for more than 30 years, it has not become popular among farmers in Japan. Nakajima (1998) mentions that the JOAA, which is the national representative of the Teikei groups, advocated the non-economic significance of the Teikei movement without a financial strategy in conjunction with the movement development. One Teikei farmer complained that consumer members do not let farmers think about the economical side of the Teikei operation while the consumers

often advocate non-economic benefits of the movement (JOAA 2004). It is questionable if consumer members really have a good financial consideration of Teikei farms. In fact, the major concerns for consumers who buy organic produce (from Teikei farms) are freshness and safety while supporting farmers is very low for the reasons (see Table 6). Though Teikei farmers had to work harder in organic farming, they did not establish the Teikei operation effectively.

Aoki (1998) reports health illness of Teikei farmers due to hard working in organic farming. While consumers easily decide if they keep membership or not for the next year, farmers cannot. It was not Teikei consumers but farmers who worked hard in organic farming and financial management of the farms (Aoki 1998).

3.1.4 Movement Leadership by Consumers

The farmers and consumers agreed about the concept and philosophy of the Teikei movement and shared the work and burden of organic agriculture when the movement was initiated. However, the leadership of the movement was gradually taken over by consumer members (Hatano 1998b; Aoki 1998).

There are several reasons for the consumer leadership. First, the Teikei movement had a lot of influence for its development from the consumer cooperative movement as mentioned in the previous chapter. There was a soil for many active consumers from the long history of consumer movements since the 1940's and 1950's (Kubota 2003). Especially, the Teikei movement largely expanded its membership by the participation of the groups from the consumer cooperatives.

Secondly, while the Teikei farmers were oppressed by the MAFF policy of agricultural industrialization, The National Consumer Affairs Center of Japan (NCAC), which is a government agency whose responsibility is protect the rights of consumers, funded the research on food safety issues and the consumer participation of the Teikei movement. The research activities of NCAC supported the active engagement of Teikei consumers. This unbalance of the contradictory government policies of MAFF and NCAC increased the consumer leadership dominance within the Teikei movement. The government policy was more food safety focused and supported the protection of consumer health rather than the political and financial support of Teikei organic farmers.

3.1.5 Communication Gap between Farmers and Consumers

While the original concept of Teikei was a local group of farmers and consumers, many Teikei partnership had become a group relationship between consumer groups and organic farmers groups following the increase of participants in the movement. Each Teikei relationship consists of several organic farmers' and consumers' groups. The meetings of Teikei operation are held by the committee members from farmers' and consumers' groups in this relationship (see Figure 5).

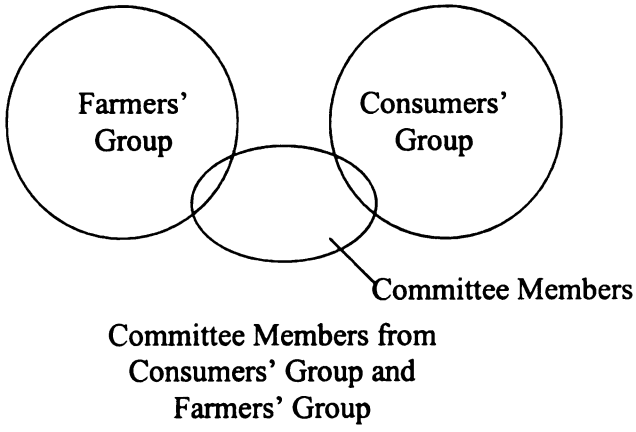


Figure 5. Decision-Making Process in Teikei

Hatano (1998a and 1998b:24) noted four factors essential to Teikei practice: (1) equal relationship between farmers' and consumers' groups, (2) price determination and financial security in poor production for farmers (3) determination of produce amount and security of food supply in poor production for consumers, and (4) facilitation of participation and group study activities as a collective action.

The group relationship of farmers and consumers in the Teikei movement enabled them to fulfill factors (2) and (3). They can manage the risk of their operation because Teikei groups can maintain the farmers' income and keep the variety and amount of produce even in poor production seasons by networking between several farmers' and consumers' groups in different regions.

However, the produce which consumers receive comes from various farms so that consumers are physically and mentally distanced from their farms compare to the small relationship of local farmers and consumers. Moreover, the decision-making process by the committee members becomes complicated.

Many Teikei groups around the Tokyo metropolitan area have created the relationship between large farmers' and consumer members' groups including consumer

cooperatives such as Seikatsu Club in which the consumer members often lived far from the farmers. However, the Teikei groups in the Kansai area have tended to keep the relationship between small consumers' and farmers' groups in which the members lived relatively close to the farmers (Hatano 1998a and 1998b). Thus, the size of the consumers' groups ranges from less than 10 families to more than 5,000 (JOAA 1993).

Large size and a long distance relationship between farmers and consumers around large cities like the Tokyo metropolitan area made it difficult for the members to participate in farming assistance activities and visit their farms. Aoki (1998 and 2000) mentions that this long distance relationship made communication difficult between farmers and consumers. Less communication caused the misunderstandings between farmers and consumers and sometimes became a huge conflict like the Teikei relationship between the farmers in the remote rural village of Takahata and the urban consumers (see Section 3.2.3).

Aoki (2000) points out that JOAA had no consensus about the distance of food transportation from farmers to consumers. The produce grown "organically" was prioritized than the one grown "locally" following the demand increase of organic produce. Many Teikei groups developed the large network of Teikei farms for a stable distribution of various organic produce. However, Teikei farmers and consumers became distanced physically and mentally from each other.

This section described the relationship between farmers and consumers. While farmers and consumers are equal stakeholders of the movement in the original concept, the leadership had been gradually taken over by the consumers. The consumer participation in Teikei operation decreased following the enlargement of the movement.

Thus, Teikei operation depended more on the work of farmers. Moreover, large network of organic produce distribution in the movement promoted the far relationship between Teikei farmers and consumers. The next section discusses the relationship between Teikei farm/group and community. The section first discusses the group activities of the Teikei movement. Second, the relationship among Teikei farmers, urban consumers and their communities is described. As an example of this relationship, the section includes the case study of the Teikei movement in the rural village of Takahata.

3.2 Relationship between Teikei Groups and Their Communities

3.2.1 Group Activities of the Teikei Movement

The Teikei movement has multiple tasks. It not only distributes fresh and safe food but also engages in many activities in rural and urban community issues such as a group study of environmental pollution. Consumer members are often leaders of these activities. Table 8 shows the type of activities Teikei groups engaged in and the number of groups that participated in those activities.

Table 8. The Focus of Activity in the Teikei Movement

Focus of Activity	Percentage of the group involved (multiple answer)
Synthesized Detergent Pollution	81.5
Food Additives	79.4
Food Contamination	69.7
Industrial Waste, Resource Scarcity	60.5
Nuclear Power Plant Construction	55.0
Food and Agriculture Issue	55.0
School Lunch	48.7
Chemical Pesticide Issue	36.6
Golf Range, Resort Development	35.7
Global Environmental Issue	35.3
Milk Contamination	35.3
Sewage and Water Contamination	34.9
Price and Label Issue	31.1

Source: Kubota and Masugata 1992:162-163

Environmental issues such as chemical pollution and food contamination are highly ranked. Interestingly, food issues and school lunch programs are not highly ranked. The consumer members took a leadership role in advocating these issues. The leadership of consumers in the Teikei movement facilitated issues framed by consumers. Food safety concerns and chemical contamination were advocated by consumers in the Teikei movement.

The Teikei groups of farmers and consumers organized activities to oppose the development of a golf range and nuclear power plant building in some villages of Teikei farmers (Hirakawa 1996). The consumer members who had previously experienced other collective actions took a leadership role to develop a strategy to organize the activities. They often took a conflict type approach in these activities.

3.2.2 Empowerment of Consumers and Isolation of Farmers from Rural Communities

Urban housewives who were concerned about food chemicals and additives actively organized their groups to find a good source of safe and fresh food through creating the Teikei relationship. They made good use of activities to expand community capacity in their urban communities. The new residents got to know each other through the activities and expanded community capacity in their neighborhood. In other words, they formed networks of new residents and improved social capital in their communities.

They believed their actions of buying produce from the Teikei farmers would change the current situation of the food system. They also saw the Teikei activity as a social participation and found the meaning of their role in a society (Arakawa 1995). The urban consumers were greatly empowered through the Teikei movement in the 1970's and the early 1980's with other consumer activities such as consumer cooperative movement. The research support from the government consumer agency of the NCAC also promoted their activity.

However, the situation of Teikei organic farmers in rural areas was not the same as the consumers in urban areas. Teikei organic farmers were opposed to the MAFF

policy of agricultural industrialization and thus had no support from the national government. Teikei farmers also had to be opposed to the local agricultural cooperatives which were supervised by the national government. The number of Teikei farmers increased only gradually and the proportion of Teikei organic farmers in rural communities was not yet significant.

Each rural community had been strongly tied together to cooperate for an equal water distribution of village irrigation and manage government taxes which were imposed based on communal groups (Takaya 2002). Many rural communities saw a few of the Teikei organic farmers in their communities as strange because the majority of other farmers in the communities considered organic agriculture an obsolete style of farming under the government policy of new technology-based agriculture. Teikei farmers had to accept isolation from their rural communities.

The situations of farmers and consumers were different because they usually did not live in the same communities. Active consumers often could not understand the hard situation of their farmers in the rural communities. The case of the Teikei movement in Takahata, described in the next, shows the relationship among Teikei farmers, urban consumers and rural communities. The Teikei movement in Takahata is known as a case which farmers had a leadership of the movement while most of the Teikei groups in other places were led by consumers. Though the Teikei farmers in Takahata had many difficulties to manage their relationship with urban consumers and other farmers in the community, they kept an effort to educate other farmers and vitalized agricultural activities in the community.

3.2.3 Case Study of the Teikei Movement in Takahata Village, Yamagata Prefecture

There are many studies[1] of the Teikei movement in Takahata village, Yamagata prefecture (state). This village provides many insights into the relationship among Teikei farmers, urban consumers and the rural community in the movement. It is also the site of many conflicts among Teikei farmers, consumer members and other conventional farmers. Takahata provides an example of how the leadership taken by Teikei farmers influenced rural development in the village as well as the importance of social capital and local government support in the community for the Teikei development.

Introduction

Thirty eight active farmers in Takahata village, Yamagata prefecture, alarmed by the degrading rural environment and society due to the industrialization of agriculture promoted by the Japanese government formed an organic farming group in 1973—the Takahata Organic Agriculture Association (TOAA). This organization followed the foundation of JOAA (Japan Organic Agriculture Association) which facilitated the emergence of the Teikei movement in Japan. TOAA started a Teikei movement in partnership with urban consumer groups.

Many rural villages in Japan struggle with the lack of new farmers, the decrease of population, the increase of uncultivated land, and the stagnation of rural economies. A recent government document from the Cabinet Office in Japan (2003) also reported that social capital in rural Japan is gradually declining. However, Takahata village is a vibrant community. New, young farmers and retired workers from urban areas are

[1] For example, Aoki 1998, 2000; Hoshi 1998. The case study of Takahata in this section is described referring to these studies.

moving to the village. College students and urban residents visit the village for ecotourism and agricultural education. The village is also famous for organic agriculture.

Takahata village is known as the pioneer of the Teikei movement. Takahata farmers also have taken leadership of the movement, though urban consumer groups have mainly led the movement in other places (Aoki 1998). The community in Takahata village has witnessed many conflicts. Teikei farmers, especially, have had a hard time managing relationships with other farmers in the community and urban consumer members. However, the nature of civil society in the village community, the relationship between the community and the local government, and the large role played by Teikei farmers in the movement have, allowed the Takahata community to overcome the conflicts. Organic agriculture and the Teikei movement have been accepted in the community because of the education provided by Teikei farmers. The farmers' community of Takahata village has nurtured their social capital through open communication among farmers, urban consumers, and local government in the Teikei movement. The social capital they nurtured largely influences the current vitality of the village community.

Prehistory of the Teikei Movement in Takahata: community group activities

Takahata village is a rural township with a population of 27,000 located in the southeast of Yamagata prefecture in Japan. Community self-study activities such as reading articles and doing dramas on community issues had often been held in Takahata village in the end of 1940's and 1950's before the initiation of the Teikei movement in 1970's. A community youth association was formed to direct the energy of young people

in the village for the revitalization of the community. The youth association became very active with 500 members on matters of the national defense of Japan after the 2nd World War at the end of the 1950's. The youth association broadened its viewpoint from the community level to national and worldwide levels as the young people in the association participated in the political activity during that time period. They always considered the future of their community in a global context.

The rural village of Takahata was also involved in the rapid economic development of Japan during the beginning of the 1960's. The Japanese cabinet under Prime Minister Ikeda formulated a rapid economic development policy and the agriculture basic law, a fundamental law of agriculture enforced in 1961, facilitated the industrialization and globalization of agriculture and food systems in Japan.

Highly processed convenient food became dominant on the table of farm households, and the increase of household expenditures caused the families to work off the farm for cash income. Many poor farmers had heavy debt because of purchasing agricultural machines. High labor demand for urban development around the period of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 absorbed many rural farmers in urban areas during winter seasons. Male farmers disappeared from the village during those seasons.

The absence of farmers in the village weakened the activity of community groups. However, the community leaders tried to keep up community activities. The community youth association held a three-day community discussion camp every year. Over 100 young people actively participated.

The local government in Takahata village initiated a youth training workshop to provide learning opportunities to prospective young people in the middle of the 1960's.

The workshop had challenging course work with lectures from well-known scholars. The local government also started the annual three-day community autonomy discussion camp in 1969 to make good use of the discussion of community groups in the village for the planning of community governance. The community leaders and local government personnel attended the lectures together and discussed urgent community issues and future perspectives of the community in the camp. The main topic in the camp was the cooperation of three sectors, agriculture, industry and commerce, for the development of the community in such various areas as local industry, community life, education, social welfare and health-care.

The community was concerned about air pollution from a factory next to the residential area in the center of the township. The community groups started to collect data through their own research and following-up on research done by their local government. A community petition forced the government to take action to force the company to put an air cleaner in the factory. The company finally decided to move the location of the factory from the township several years later. The community effort moved their government and the company toward a better environment for the community.

Takahata was one of the best production areas in Japan with new high-tech based agriculture in the 1960's. However, the young farmers started to realize that the source of environmental pollution was not only from the industrial sector but also from their farming practices of using pesticides and chemical fertilizers. While agri-chemicals promoted the productivity of their crops and vegetables, they questioned the chemical

pollution of the produce. They found that they increasingly needed more cash for agricultural machines and chemicals to keep their farming operations.

Farmers decided to stop working in urban areas for cash income and stay in the village, even in the winter season to follow their daily life more closely in the community. It was a very hard process for the farmers to make ends meet because their income as urban laborers was over three times greater than that obtained by farming even if they raised cows and grew mushrooms.

The young Takahata farmers who had been attending some youth community activities happened to meet the leader of the cooperative research institute on the way back home from the Tokyo metropolitan area. The leader passionately advocated to the young farmers from the village how important it was to produce food locally and the urgent need to produce safe food and practice organic agriculture. The young Takahata farmers were greatly inspired by his talk. The leaders of the cooperative research institute including Teruo Ichiraku, who founded the Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA), and Buntaro Tsukiji visited Takahata village to talk with prospective young farmers. They also met the leaders of local agricultural cooperatives in the village. The passionate talk for alternative agriculture in Japan made the young farmers in Takahata take action.

Foundation of the Takahata Organic Agriculture Association

Thirty eight Takahata farmers formed the Takahata Organic Agriculture Association (TOAA) in September 1973 under the leadership of young farmers in their 20's. The mission statement of the association advocates (1) the production of safe food,

(2) the building of composted soil, (3) the recovery of resource self-sufficiency, (4) the protection of the environment, and (5) the autonomy of farmers.

The young Takahata farmers practiced organic farming by trial and error because there was no established farming method. While the conventional farmers in the community criticized the "old fashioned" style of organic farming in the age of industrialized agriculture, the young organic farmers had strong enough beliefs to keep their organic farming practice, even though it required huge amounts of time and effort. The young organic farmers were asking themselves about the meaning of their practice in farming.

The first year, organic rice production was about 60 % of conventional production. However, the production level gradually recovered and the organic method of rice production proved its strength against cold weather in the third year in which production by conventional farming was very poor. The farmers in Takahata started to understand the significance of organic farming.

Teikei relationship between rural farmers and urban consumers

The Takahata organic agriculture association had no idea how to provide organic produce to consumers because they initially considered the goal of organic farming to be the self-sufficiency of agricultural production within the community. However, with the advice of Teruo Ichiraku, the farmers started to provide their surplus to neighboring consumer cooperatives through direct marketing. The first year of direct marketing was successful, but little organic produce was sold in the second year because production was very poor due to drought. The differences in views on the evaluation of organic produce

between the TOAA and the consumer cooperatives became apparent. The TOAA gradually formed a Teikei relationship with consumer groups in Tokyo and Kansai metropolitan areas five years after the initiation of organic farming. This linkage (social capital) between rural and urban areas had not existed before in the village. In turn, the relationship between the village and urban areas facilitated the exchange of information.

Problem in the local agricultural market

A conflict over the distribution of agricultural produce emerged in the community following the rapid increase of organic production. There was a problem in distinguishing organic and conventional products due to the system in which all agricultural produce was collected together in a central distribution center in the community. It was difficult to distinguish the nature and quality of organic produce because agricultural produce was sorted out by size, shape and appearance. Though the organic farmers in the TOAA wanted to claim the marketing of organic produce by themselves, they were, at the same time, afraid of alienating the rest of the community by pushing their claim. In fact, they already felt isolated from the community because of their farming methods and marketing strategies.

Air spraying conflict within the Teikei group and the rural community

A huge conflict involving aerial pesticide spraying emerged within the rural community of conventional and organic farmers. Takahata village has the oldest history of air pesticide spraying in Japan that started in 1961. Aerial spraying was started due to the lack of farming labor by the rapid decline of farming population in the village and the

increase in production of tasty rice which is difficult to grow. The coverage area for air spraying gradually increased up to 1,500 ha of the farmland which was almost half the area of the community in the end of the 1980's.

Each organic farmer of the TOAA was surrounded by conventional farmers in the village and could not escape from the pesticides in the air. The organic farmers set up red flags on their farms as a signal to the crop duster pilot not to spray on their farms. However, this practice seemed strange to other conventional farmers. Rural communities in Japan like Takahata village historically developed a tight relationship and strong cooperation among farmers. Any farmer in the community implicitly followed the same manner and the individual requests were less respected. Organic farming practice was considered a disruptive factor for the homogeneous community in Takahata village.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery (MAFF, Department of Agriculture) in Japan developed a policy of community-based subsidizing to achieve the total reduction of rice planting acreage within each community. The organic agriculture movement of TOAA was initiated due to not only the chemical hazard for the farmers but also because of dissatisfaction with the rice acreage reduction policy of MAFF which sought to improve the efficiency of agricultural production. An organic farmer of TOAA was told by other conventional farmers that he had no sake (Japanese alcohol) to drink in their community meeting because he was not willing to accept the MAFF policy (Aoki 1998). In Japanese culture, this would be considered offensive and a tough experience for the organic farmers in the communal society. The movement of TOAA was also to realize a more democratic society which takes individual requests into consideration in community decision-making.

The TOAA took a moderate approach to promoting the understanding of organic agriculture within the community by (1) setting up red flags on their farm land, (2) talking with local government and agriculture cooperatives and (3) propagating the risk of agri-chemicals. However, they could not change the situation concerning the lack of understanding of organic agriculture in the community all at once.

The reaction of the consumer members of the Teikei group on the issue of aerial spraying escalated conflict in the village. The consumer members took a radical approach to stop air spraying immediately. They sent a petitioning letter to the head of the agriculture cooperative in the community. Unlike TOAA farmers, consumer members did not know the norms of rural villages in Japan and misunderstood the communication channel of the rural community. Their action did not solve the conflict but increased the pressure on the organic farmers of TOAA within the community. The conventional farmers in the village were both critical and jealous of the organic farmers.

Emergence of the new organic farmer's group

While the TOAA and the village community could not reach a consensus on air spraying, a new organic farmer's group emerged in the TOAA in March 1987. The group, Uewada Organic Rice Production Group (Uewada Group), tried to cooperate with other non-TOAA farmers and the local agriculture cooperative members who had worked together in the Takahata community activities. The group took a moderate approach to organic farming with the acceptance of the minimal use of herbicides. The group put an emphasis on more involvement and wider networking of farmers in the community rather than holding the strict organic farming methods that the TOAA advocated. The Uewada

group successfully included a variety of farmers from each small region. Group membership consistently increased and the group achieved a membership of more than half of the farmers in the area. The group consequently achieved a large reduction of the aerial spraying area.

Networking community groups with local government support

The emergence of the new organic farmers' group of Uewada facilitated the eventual break-up of the TOAA into several groups in 1996 after its work of 24 years. Each group started organic farming practices with their own principles in each area. However, the local government called for organic farming and agricultural groups in the community to form a coalition to promote organic agriculture as a whole community. The government set up an office to facilitate organic agriculture in the community. This was a milestone for agricultural groups in the community and it started horizontal networking within the community for the first time. The coalition achieved a membership of more than half of the farmers in the community.

Moreover, several new community activities emerged to revitalize the rural community such as community learning groups, an agricultural education school, and community meetings. The new community learning group received half of its membership from the community and the rest from outside of the community. The group mainly studied organic agriculture and other environmental issues, education, culture, health, community building and international exchange. The agricultural education school was established for urban residents to obtain a hands-on agricultural experience in Takahata village based on the exchange experience between urban and rural residents

which had been nurtured through the Teikei relationship. The people in Takahata also discussed the future of community building in new community meetings.

Many students and residents in urban areas came to visit the village by themselves through college fieldwork and agricultural tourism. Some of the frequent visitors decided to live in the village based on their experience. About 40 urban residents moved to the village within five years and several marriages between urban and rural families were also made [which was not typical in Japan since more young people move to the cities] (Hoshi 1998). The village was revitalized by the new community activities and the people from urban areas.

Implications from the Teikei Movement in Takahata village

The Teikei farmers' group of Takahata Organic Agriculture Association (TOAA) is the pioneer of the Teikei movement. Many active farmers in Takahata had been involved in organic agriculture in Japan. The examining case of Takahata shows us many obstacles in the development process of the movement among the Teikei farmers, the urban consumers and other farmers in the community.

Today, the government is currently more supportive of organic agriculture as sustainable agriculture due to the change of its policy toward more environment-focused agriculture in the beginning of the 1990's. However, the Teikei farmers had to start organic farming with little support from the government and other farmers in rural communities.

Moreover, the distant relationship between Teikei farmers and consumers was problematic, and it became a large obstacle for the development of the Teikei movement

(Aoki 2000). While the original Teikei model advocates the local relationship of farmers and consumers, the relationship, in fact, was often created between the Teikei farmer groups in rural areas and the consumer groups in urban areas who lived far from each other like the Teikei movement in Takahata. The case shows there was little communication between the Teikei farmers and consumer groups and less respect of the farmers by the consumer members. Moreover, the consumers believed they were doing a good thing in the Teikei movement, but did not consider the situation of the rural community. This misunderstanding of consumer members worsened the situation of the conflict in the community. While the JOAA recently advocates the creation of Teikei groups locally, Aoki (2000) points out that there had been no consensus about the distance of food distribution in the Teikei movement.

However, Takahata farmers overcame the struggle. The Uewada group successfully used existing community networks to forge a consensus on organic farming in the community. They successfully educated the other farmers in the community about the significance of organic agriculture. Putnam (1995) says that successful outcomes are more likely in civically engaged communities. The Takahata organic farmers were empowered through the Teikei movement with their leadership and the stock of their social capital.

The accountability of the local government in Takahata, which has been nurtured through community meetings, shows that the role of local government is very critical for community development through community activities. The local government in Takahata village worked for a consensus on organic agriculture within the community. The government supported the facilitation of networking among agricultural groups in

the community. The local Takahata government provided proper support when the community needed it and greatly influenced farmer empowerment. Furthermore, the whole community developed through the Teikei movement.

This section described the empowerment of urban consumers and the tough situation for rural farmers in the Teikei movement. Teikei farmers had to take care of not only their crops but also the relationship with their consumers and other farmers in the community. The case study in 3.2.3 showed the relationship among Teikei farmers, consumer and rural communities in the movement. Teikei farmers in Takahata successfully revitalized their community with their leadership in the Teikei movement. Finally, the next section discusses the relationship between the Teikei farms/groups and the organic agriculture movement.

3.3 Relationship between Teikei Groups and Organic Agriculture Movement

3.3.1 Three Major Booms of Organic Agriculture

30 years have passed since the Teikei movement was initiated and organic farming practice was promoted in the Teikei movement for all of these years. Hatano (1998a and 1998b) characterizes the periods of the development of organic agriculture in Japan as: organic produce sought by some consumers through the Teikei groups in the 1970's; the increased demand for organic and the diversification of the quality in the 1980's; and the standardization of the quality of organic produce through JAS (Japan Agricultural Standard) in 1990's.

Kubota (1998) describes the three major booms of organic agriculture in Japan. The first one was in the beginning of the 1970's when many housewives sought chemical and additive-free food because of concerns with environmental and food pollution associated with the rapid industrialization of agriculture in Japan. The second wave happened in the 1980's when consumers resisted imported food due to post-harvest food contamination and the explosion of the nuclear plant in Chernobyl, Russia. The third wave of the organic food boom was triggered by the concerns associated with Genetic Modified Organisms (GMOs) and the globalization of the organic agricultural market in the 1990's. The organic booms were triggered by the consumer concerns of food safety.

The consumers and farmers in the Teikei movement believe in the significance of organic agriculture as well as in the importance of increasing the food self-sufficiency and the protection of local agriculture in Japan. Teikei members together with other consumer and agriculture groups took action against the imported food during the 1970's and 1980's (Kubota 2001). They often advocated a message to the public saying that

imported food might not be safe because chemical usage restrictions were different between Japan and other countries.

However, they were very confused during the third period of the 1990's due to the availability of imported organic food labeled as safe. This period was the first time the commercial sector largely supported the produce of organic agriculture and facilitated the good image of organic farming (Kubota 1998). This is also the first time that consumers in Japan began receiving information about high quality food even though the food was imported (Kubota 1998). As described previously, the Teikei movement in Japan has put the first priority on health concerns of agricultural and food chemicals. Advocates of Teikei groups had emphasized high quality and safety of organic produce available in the groups as a member recruiting strategy. However, they are currently struggling to find a rationale for their produce as they are forced to compete with the availability and increasingly high quality image of imported organic food.

The pioneers of the movement started organic farming under the belief that organic agriculture was the authentic way for agricultural development in Japan. The participants have kept advocating the significance of organic agriculture for over 30 years in spite of little support from other farmers and government policy. When organic agriculture was more acceptable by the society in Japan, the Teikei groups had to compete with imported commercial organic food. Ironically, the globalized food systems facilitated by the World Trade Organization asked the Teikei organic farmers to accept the standardization of organic agriculture, though the Teikei farmers started organic farming as a strategy to resist the involvement of Japanese agriculture in the globalization of world food systems.

While the agricultural policy of MAFF had never supported the Teikei movement and organic agriculture in Japan since the Teikei movement started, the MAFF formulated the organic agriculture standards in the JAS (Japan Agriculture Standard) system in the early 1990's following the worldwide standardization of organic agriculture. Thus, many Teikei farmers are reluctant to be certified because they promoted organic agriculture in Japan. Many Teikei farmers complain the cost and the less quality of the organic standards because they developed higher skills of organic farming without the certification system. Teikei groups resist the standardization of organic agriculture which promotes organic business.

3.3.2 Diversification of Marketing Channels for Organic Produce

Organic food was only available through the Teikei relationships at the beginning of the 1970's in Japan. However, marketing and distributing channels for organic produce, including imported organic products have expanded and diversified. Organic food is now available through a variety of Teikei groups, consumer cooperatives, commercial organic retailers, grocery stores and department stores.

Teikei groups such as Daichi, Radish Boya and Poran Hiroba have a large number of members across the country and supply channels of organic produce from organic farmers in any region of Japan. Each consumer member receives a box of organic produce which is individually delivered weekly. Consumer members can attend gatherings and meetings in Tokyo held only a few times annually. The relationship between farmers and consumers is more commercial-based in these Teikei groups. Each member has neither an opportunity to see farmers nor other members in this relationship.

These groups are almost offering a privately packaged delivery service of organic produce.

The activities of consumer cooperatives have also diversified. Some consumer cooperatives contract directly for a supply of organic produce with farmers in other countries such as Cuba, where organic agriculture is popular. Food delivery is also available on the web. First Retailing, which is known as "Uniqlo," offers a web order service for high quality produce delivery.

High quality produce through weekly delivery, which used to be a unique marketing strategy for Teikei groups, is currently available in many other ways. The Teikei groups struggle with the decline of membership and loss of active consumers due to their lack of an appealing strategy. They are seeking ways to revitalize their activities.

3.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the change from the original Teikei philosophy and the current situation of the movement. While the Teikei movement was initiated by the cooperation of farmers and consumers, the readership role was taken over by the consumers. The consumer participation in sharing work with their farmers for the Teikei operation decreased and the consumers became more dependent on farmer's labor. While Teikei farmers worked harder, they have not established their Teikei operation effectively. Moreover, the size of Teikei group became larger following the demand increase for the amount and variety of organic produce and farmers and consumers became distanced physically and mentally.

Communication difficulty between farmers and consumers due to the distant relationship led them to misunderstand each other. For example, Teikei consumers in urban areas did not understand the situation of their farmers and the rural community in Takahata, and the consumers' intervention of the village issue enlarged the conflict in the community. While consumers were empowered by utilizing the Teikei activities for building urban community capacity and advocating food safety issues with the support of NCAC, Teikei farmers neither had support for their organic farming from the government nor other farmers in their rural communities.

While the Teikei movement has been in practice for over 30 years, it has not yet become popular among Japanese farmers. In addition, the Teikei movement struggles with the decreasing membership of active consumers following the availability of organic produce everywhere and the increase of job opportunity for urban consumers who are often housewives.

Knowing the American version of Teikei through academic and popular trade journals and through local food activists, Teikei groups have become interested in the viability of CSA in the U.S. Elizabeth Henderson, for instance, made a presentation about CSA to the Teikei groups at the JOAA meeting in Japan on November 2002 (JOAA 2003). Teikei farmers and members wonder how the CSA movement in the U.S. remains popular and active while the viability of Teikei is now declining. In spite of the growing interest, the real situation of CSA in the U.S. is not well known in Japan. In the next two chapters, the concept, philosophy and history of CSA, and the current situation of CSA are discussed.

Chapter 4 History and Philosophy of CSA Movement

Chapter 4 and 5 discuss the CSA movement in the U.S. This chapter describes the philosophy and the original concept of CSA. Community farms, which were the original model of CSA, were established in the early years of the CSA movement. The purpose of CSA activities and how CSA works are also discussed in this chapter.

4.1 Introduction: CSA Movement in the U.S.

Community Supported Agriculture, or "CSA", refers to a relationship in which families directly support a local farm and economy, while the farmer produces fresh and locally grown food for the families (Groh and McFadden 1990:50). CSA represents a community-based group of producers and consumers (described as shareholders or members) who share the responsibilities, risks, and benefits of farming (Groh and McFadden 1997; Cone and Myhre 2000). The consumers agree to provide direct, upfront financial and labor support for the local growers who will produce their food. The growers agree to do their best to provide a sufficient quantity and quality of food to meet the needs and expectations of the consumers (Groh and McFadden 1990:107). In this way, farmers and consumers create a network of mutual support. Within the general framework of CSA, there is a wide range for variation, depending on the resources and desires of the participants so that no CSA is the same as others (Groh and McFadden 1997:xiv).

The first CSA farms in the U.S. were started in the mid 1980's by Jan Vander Tuin, Robyn Van En and John Root in Massachusetts, and Trauger Groh in New Hampshire (Groh and McFadden 1997). CSA has grown as an alternative food

distribution system over the last decade in the U.S. (DeLind and Ferguson 1999; Ostrom 1997). The number of CSA farms had grown to sixty from 1985 to 1990, and many hundreds more from 1990 to 1997 (Groh and McFadden 1997). There are now more than 1,000 CSA farms across the U.S., especially concentrated in the Northeast, the West Coast, and around the cities of Madison, Wisconsin and Minneapolis, Minnesota (Groh and McFadden 1997; Ostrom 1997). Two percent of the overall population in the U.S. is now aware of CSA as a form of alternative agriculture, and as a source of fresh food (Henderson and Van En 1999:xvi).

CSA attempts to protect small farmers and return the food production and distribution system to local communities. CSA farms promote sustainable agricultural practices and land stewardship. CSA is a marketing strategy that allows local farmers and consumers to disengage from the global food system. However, CSA is not only an alternative food production, but also "a means, with farming at its center, for re-establishing the connections and responsibilities that extend beyond self-interest and define community and create commonwealth" (DeLind 2003a).

The next section discusses the original concept and philosophy of CSA.

4.2 Original Concept and Philosophy of CSA

4.2.1 Initiation of Community Farm

In January of 1986, Trauger Groh, who has been a farmer for forty years and has been an advocate in the organic, biodynamic and community farm movements, came back from a community farm in North Germany where he helped to establish a widely-known community supported farm. He met with a farmer, Lincoln Geiger and several other families who shared the dream of supporting local farms to the local community. That was a starting point of the first CSA project in the U.S. The 63 independent families in Temple and Wilton, New Hampshire, together created a community farm (Groh and McFadden 1997).

At the same time, Jan Vander Tuin also brought the CSA concept from Switzerland to the U.S. He learned of a new kind of food production cooperative in Geneva, Basel, and Vaduz during his stay in the early 1980's. After studying them, he helped to establish a similar venture, the Co-operative Topinambur in Zurich (Groh and McFadden 1997). He shared his passion for the idea around Great Barrington, and introduced the idea to Robyn Van En at Indian Line Farm in C. Egremont, Massachusetts. Jan Vander Tuin, Robyn Van En, John Root, Jr., and Charlotte Zanecchia formed a core group. They started the CSA operation with a small apple orchard for the first season, and gradually introduced the CSA concept to the community. They began to offer vegetable shares by the spring of 1986 with the assistance of a gardener, Hugh Ratcliffe, who was a research biologist at Cornell University. Within four years, the Indian Line CSA expanded from 30 to 150 members (RVECCR 2003).

These farms established the model of community farms which dedicated its entire production to CSA members. Indian Line Farm divided its produce so that each member received an equal share or half-share. Temple-Wilton Farm allowed members to take what they needed regardless of how much they paid (Henderson and Van En 1999:7).

4.2.2 Perspectives for CSA by Robyn Van En and Trauger Groh

CSA is a relationship between a nearby farmer and people who eat the food that the farmer produces. The essence of the relationship is the mutual commitment between them: the farm feeds the people, the people support the farm and share the inherent risks and potential bounty of farming. Robyn Van En, a well-known advocate of the CSA movement, described the relationship as "food producers + food consumers + annual commitment to one another = CSA and untold possibilities (Henderson and Van En 1999:3)."

Robyn Van En's vision of CSA is presented by Elizabeth Henderson in their book, *Sharing the Harvest*:

> The dream CSA is a smoothly functioning organic or Biodynamic farm dividing up all its produce among a committed group of supporters who share with the farmers the risks and benefits of farming. With a market assured and income guaranteed, the farmers can concentrate on producing high-quality food and practicing careful stewardship of the land. The members get to eat the freshest, tastiest, most nutritious food they have ever experienced, as though they were master gardeners, but with much less work. They and their children learn fascinating lessons about food production and, by eating seasonally, make a deep connection to a very special piece of land. They respect and honor the farmers' skills and hard work and express their appreciation through friendship, financial support, and helping on the farm. Members and farmers converge into a vital and creative community, which celebrates diversity, both social and biological, and makes food justice and security a living reality. Local, regional, and even international networks of CSAs and other sustainable food

> enterprises supply members year-round with ecologically produced and fairly traded food (Henderson and Van En 1999:29).

With Robyn's tireless passion and effort, she became a popular and effective speaker, organizer and educator for sustainable farming and food systems. She directly helped the development of more than 200 pioneer CSAs across the U.S. She dedicated her life to establishing and supporting CSA programs in the U.S. until she unexpectedly died in January 1997 (RVECCR 2003).

Trauger Groh (1990), one of the pioneer members who initiated a CSA farm, brought the idea of CSA from a community farm in Germany. He saw farmland increasingly becoming privately owned real estate and farmers ceasing to be businessmen. He advocated the "need to share the experience of farming with everyone who understands that our relationship with nature and the ways that we use the land will determine the future of the earth." He expressed the need for farming in the following manner:

> We have no choice about whether to farm or not, as we have a choice about whether to produce T.V. sets or not. So we have to either farm or to support farmers, everyone of us, at any cost. We cannot give it up because it is inconvenient or unprofitable (Groh and McFadden 1990:6).

The creation of community farms "liberates the farmer to work out of his spiritual intentions, not out of money considerations." Members of these community farms work together toward shared ideals to cover all the costs and share all the risks of their farms. He realized that the "farms of tomorrow" would be individualized organisms based on biodynamic farming and that each farm would be a closed system in harmony with an internal circle of nutrition, producing and recycling its own fertility.

Groh said these farms have something to offer beyond good food. He assigned a broad set of tasks to CSAs: education of the young, the revival of ethics, and the renewal of human health, culture, the economy, and social life.

> [CSAs] embody educational and cultural elements that draw the interest of many people. Besides clean, healthy, life-giving food, and a strong contribution to an improved environment, the educational and cultural elements constitute the third great gift that the farms of tomorrow have to offer (Groh and McFadden 1990:7).

Groh expressed "the primary need is not for the farm to be supported by the community, but rather for the community to support itself through farming" (Groh and McFadden 1990:6).

Within the CSA concept, Trauger Groh considers the whole food and farming systems in which people, animals and plants interact with each other, and Robyn Van En focuses on the mutual relationship between people in CSA. While Groh also advocates biodynamic farming and agricultural education with the ideal for establishing community farms, Van En has a more practical view for the CSA operation.

4.2.3 Purpose of CSA activities

Food production is the most basic use of the earth's natural resources and shapes local landscapes. How each society or country produces and distributes food in large measure determines its identity (Henderson and Van En 1999:11). CSA is an opportunity to connect people who care about food systems. Moreover, CSA not only engages in food production and distribution but also community outreach programs such as farming education and fresh food supply for the people who have less access to the food. Thus, CSA focuses on a variety of activities (see Table 9).

Table 9. Purpose of CSA Activities

a) Supply of safe and fresh seasonal produce
b) Support of small and middle-scale local farms
c) Revitalization of local economy
d) Local community building through local food distribution
e) Facilitation of local food security
f) Promotion of democratic food distribution through the direct connection between farmers and consumers
g) Land stewardship through sustainable agricultural practice
h) Agricultural education for adults and children
i) Restorative efforts for elderly, handicapped, and retarded people through their participation in farming

CSAs often provide fresh fruits and vegetables. However, they can offer meat, eggs, and milk as part of the regular share, or optional shares for vegetarians and meat eaters. Several local farms may join together with CSAs to supply a wider variety of products (Henderson and Van En 1999:169). CSA also facilitates local food systems in cooperation with other local farmers and direct marketing strategies such as farm stands, farmer's markets and u-pick farms.

CSA attempts to provide a stable source of income for local farmers who can not compete against large-scale agricultural enterprises. CSA members can directly support the growers by avoiding the middle operators such as distributors and retailers (Henderson and Van En 1999:6). It is critical in CSA philosophy to provide affordable produce and pay a decent living wage for work in agriculture (Henderson and Van En 1999:92).

CSA members know the farms their food comes from and how the food is grown. In this way, CSA provides an opportunity for the members to understand the complexities of food production. CSA members receive various kinds of produce. Many CSA farms produce more than 30 kinds of produce, some of which are not available in the conventional food system. CSA farms often provide recipes for cooking unfamiliar

vegetables. The produce is distributed according to the growing season, which means members cook and consume various produce seasonally. Tomatoes are available throughout the year in grocery stores, but members are aware that organically grown tomatoes are usually available during the late summer.

Agricultural chemicals are often added to preserve food that is transported. CSA members purchase organically and locally grown produce, thus avoiding high environmental and health costs (Henderson and Van En 1999:6). Some CSA farms keep the land through community initiatives such as land trusts. The initiatives keep local arable land out of housing and commercial development and protect the rural landscape.

Moreover, many CSAs donate excess and left-over produce to food banks, homeless shelters and other charity organizations (Henderson and Van En 1999:177; Williamson, Imbroscio, and Alperovitz 2002:256). Some CSAs also provide a program to enable low-income people to eat more fresh produce, learn about growing and preparing food, and connect with local farms by joining CSAs (Henderson and Van En 1999:195). Thus, CSA attempts to work towards community food security (Henderson and Van En 1999:67).

Some CSAs also provide a therapeutic opportunity for physically and mentally handicapped and chronically diseased people because there are few barriers to prevent them from farming. People who are tired of working at factories and offices can also make good use of CSA farms. Biodynamic farms and CSAs can offer educational and restorative opportunities to handicapped and elderly people as well as to young families with children (Groh and McFadden 1990:16). Several CSAs are operated on college campuses by students (e.g. Student Organic Farm at Michigan State University). These

farms provide students agricultural education, via hands-on farming skills, that cannot be taught in the educational classroom.

Not all activities described above are happening in every CSA, but each CSA engages in some of these activities depending on the resources and desires of the participants. Indeed, any CSAs theoretically engage in a variety of CSA activities showed in Table 9. However, there is a gap between the ideal and actual practice of CSA. The actual situation of CSA is discussed in Chapter 5. The next section describes how CSA works. The members' commitment to CSA farms through sharing costs and work with their farmers is critical for keeping CSA going.

4.3 How Does CSA Work?

The prominent difference between CSA and other direct marketing strategies such as farmer's market and u-picks is that farmers and members create a relationship of mutual commitment—they share the rewards of farming as well as risks and responsibilities. The relationship is essential for the CSA operation.

CSA members share the responsibilities of farm operation with the farmers. The members participate in some part of the farming work and organize themselves for produce distribution. In the original concept, CSA members actively engage in farming work while the CSAs which require all members to participate in farming work are not many nowadays. Some CSAs prepare "work share" which is discounted from the share which requires no farming work. Members learn the difficulty and complexity of food production through farming work activities.

Distribution styles depend on each CSA. The members in some CSAs come to the farm and weigh out their own share. They leave any items they do not want at a surplus table for someone who can use them. Other farms transport their share of produce to distribution points from which the members pick up the items (UME 2003). Members are supposed to participate in some way produce distribution, but farmers and farm staff recently manage all work for distribution with no members' help in some CSAs.

The core group is an important decision making body for CSA (see Figure 6). The core group consists of farmers, members, distributors and other key administrators. The group determines short and long-term goals, prepares the budget and harvesting schedule, and conducts publicity, educational activities and events. The group also

organizes member's farming work and distribution of produce (UME 2003). Some members in the core group work for publishing newsletters of their activity and recruiting new members. Community farm has the core group which performs an administrative role for the operation while CSA which does not have a core group recently increases.

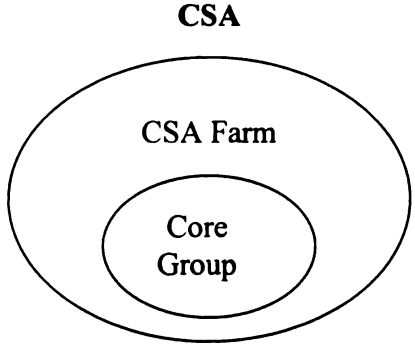


Figure 6. Decision-Making Process in CSA

CSA members also cover the costs of the farm operation. These are divided up among them before the growing season begins (RVECCR 2003; UME 2003; Groh and McFadden 1990:50). Members make a commitment to support the farm throughout the season, and assume the costs and risks of production such as drought, floods, and pests. Member shares typically cost from $200 to $600, and can last for 16-52 weeks depending on the region (DeLind 2003a). The members sign up and pay their shares at one time before the growing season, or divide payments into several installments throughout the season (UME 2003). Member's financial support of CSA is attractive to small local farmers because they can use the money which was prepaid by the members to cover the costs of salaries, investments for seeds and tools, machinery maintenance, land payments, etc.

In return for their financial commitment, CSA members receive a share of fresh, locally and often organically grown produce once a week from late spring through early fall, and sometimes throughout the winter and year-round in warmer climates (UME 2003). An agricultural produce share is usually enough to feed a family of four or a couple on a vegetarian diet. "Half shares" and flowers, fruit, meat, honey, eggs and dairy products, are also available from some CSAs. Crops are planted in succession in order to provide a continuous weekly supply of various vegetables. Weekly shares vary by size and types of produce depending on agricultural production in each season. A wide variety share of fruits and vegetables encourages integrated cropping and companion planting, which reduce risk factors and offer many benefits to the soil (UME 2003).

4.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the philosophy and the original concept of the CSA movement in the U.S. CSA is the local enterprise of farmers and consumers which creates their own food production and distribution. Farmers and members share the responsibilities, risks, and benefits of farming in the CSA operation. CSA members directly support a local farm and economy, and the farmer produces fresh, locally and often organically grown food for the families. CSA not only engages in food production and distribution but also conducts community outreach programs such as farming education and local food security. Through these food related activities, CSA tries to re-connect people and re-build local community with a farm at its center.

The community farm is the original model of CSA in which farmers and members are connected through their mutual commitment to CSA. This mutual commitment is the prominent difference between CSA and other direct marketing strategies such as farmer's market. Members commit themselves to support CSA farms financially and share production and distribution work with their farmers. Members learn the difficulty and complexity of production through participating in some part of the farming work and communicate with their farmers in produce distribution.

Members also share the responsibility of the CSA administration with their farmers through participating in the core group. The core group consists of farmers, members, distributors and other key administrators. The core group which a community farm has is an important decision making body for CSA. The group determines short and long-term goals, prepares the budget and harvesting schedule, and conducts publicity,

educational activities and events. The group also organizes member's farming work and distribution of produce.

CSA has grown as an alternative food distribution system over the last decade in the U.S. While the original CSA model is a community farm, the characteristics of CSA became diversified following the expansion of the CSA movement. There is a wide range for variation, depending on the resources and desires of the participants within the general framework of CSA described in this chapter. For example, the member participation in farming work and produce distribution decreased in many CSAs. Moreover, There are not many CSAs which have core groups. There is a gap between the ideal and actual practice of CSA.

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework of CSA. The next chapter focuses on the actual practice of CSA.

Chapter 5 Change and Current Situation of CSA

This chapter discusses the change from the original concept to the actual situation of CSA. The chapter especially focuses on the relationship between (1) farmers and members, (2) CSA farms and community, and (3) CSA farms and organic agriculture movement. The chapter shows the mutual commitment of members decreased and they became more dependent on farmer's work following the expansion of the CSA movement. Many CSA farmers and members became connected in a business-sense rather than a mutual and supportive relationship.

5.1 Relationship between Farmers and Members

5.1.1 Background of CSA Participants

CSA farms are often initiated by farmers. These farmers do not necessarily have previous farming experience. Laird (1995) conducted a national survey of CSA farms and found that 79 percent of CSAs were initiated by farmers, six percent by farmers and consumers together, and five percent by consumers. Forty-nine percent of these CSA farmers had no previous farming experience. Some of them even had jobs which had little relationship to agriculture (Laird 1995:45).

Laird (1995) also found 59 percent of the CSAs had their own farmland. The other 41 percent of the CSAs rented the land from private owners, secured property from land trusts, or it was provided to them by for-profit groups. In this case, rental payment might be included in a share.

Many CSA farmers increased their job satisfaction since they started CSA; 79 % of farmers said the satisfaction had increased, 17 percent said it remained the same, and

only four percent felt less satisfaction (Laird 1995). However, CSA farmers need to spend extra hours to grow a wider variety of produce and manage CSA operations well. According to Laird's survey (1995), 67 percent of the farmers felt their workload had increased since they started CSA. Thirty percent felt it remained the same, and only three percent found they worked less. Eighty-five percent of the 34 new farmers also said that their working hours had increased. Laird (1995:50) remarks that CSA farmers said instead of less marketing stress, they needed more time for training apprentices, educating members, socializing, spending time with family, organizing agricultural education programs, and giving extra care to farming.

The majority of CSA members is white and middle-class; they also have fairly high incomes and education levels (Henderson and Van En 1999). People who have chemical sensitivities, cancer victims, and families with allergic children are attracted to CSA for the alleviation of their illness. (Henderson and Van En 1999). Many CSAs increase membership by word of mouth (Henderson and Van En 1999).

Henderson (Henderson and Van En 1999) gives the reasons for member participation which are fresh locally grown food, organic produce, support for local farmers, environmental and health concerns, and food safety. It is critical for membership retention to meet members' expectations. Generally, many studies indicate that members join CSA for three major reasons: to obtain fresh vegetables, to protect the environment, and to support local agriculture (Cone and Kakaliouras 1995; DeLind 2003a; Henderson and Van En 1999).

5.1.2 Diversification of CSA Characteristics

CSA farmers have different ideas about how to farm, what they value for efficiency and quality, how much they want to earn and what kind of assistance they want. CSA members also have different expectations about food quality, farming education, and socializing at their farms. Human, financial and natural resources in each CSA are not the same. Thus, CSAs take on a variety of characteristics in response to their needs and resources (Groh and McFadden 1990; Henderson and Van En 1999). Moreover, each CSA is not a static organization but rather a living organism which constantly develops and changes (Groh and McFadden 1990). The relationship between farmers and members has also changed following the diversification of CSA characteristics.

For instance, the relationship between farmers and members in the participation of CSA activities has changed. The level of member participation in either growing or produce distribution largely differs from farm to farm. Community farm CSA involves high member participation that requires all members to do some work as part of their share payment. CSA which involves little member participation is called a subscription farm CSA in that the farm staff does all the work and members simply receive a share each week. Many of subscription farm CSA grow produce for 200, 500, 800, and sometimes 1,000 households (DeLind 2003a). The ultimate non-member participation is the home delivery in which the farm staff picks produce, sorts boxes, and delivers them to the doorsteps of the members. Most CSAs include a range of member's involvement of volunteering for some work days on the farm, helping with distribution, or providing an option of reduced payment with "working" shares (Henderson and Van En 1999:7-8).

In the eastern U.S. and the Midwest, CSAs came to emphasize principles and cooperation with concerns about sustainable agriculture and food quality. On the other hand, in the far west, especially California, some CSAs are organized on a larger scale with subscription farming for their marketing option, in which the non-economic features and attractions of CSA are less important (Groh and McFadden 1997; Ostrom 1997).

Organic farms in California began subscription shares to diversify their marketing channels (Henderson and Van En 1999:8). A subscription model would limit member involvement and the sense of connection to the farm. A large number of members in subscription CSAs reduce the intimacy of personal contact between farmers and members. In addition, CSAs in California have much less emphasis on sharing risk for production. Dru Rivers of Full Belly Farm mentions she does not want to emphasize risk sharing because of availability of organic produce and a lot of competition in the California organic market (Henderson and Van En 1999:8). The relationship between farmers and consumers within subscription CSAs is created more in a business-sense.

CSAs not only in California but also around large cities in other areas of the U.S. tend to have large memberships. However, the challenge for these CSAs is to retain the integrity, quality, and essential philosophy as well as education and community building roles.

A multi-farm CSA is formed by a group of local farmers who form an association to produce crops for a CSA. Each farm can produce the crops which best suit the farm's environment. Thus, the production system is more simple. There are advantages to sharing the farming work and the financial and production risks among the farmers (Henderson and Van En 1999:185). This cooperation offers wider consumer choice,

attracts more members, increases marketing options and results in more income for the farmers. A multi-farm CSA may become a social support system for local farmers and facilitate the development of the local food system (DeLind 2003b).

However, organizational work is required for multi-farm CSAs (Henderson and Van En 1999). This results in coordinating harvesting schedules and deliveries, apportioning crops fairly, and agreeing on quality standards and farming methods.

DeLind (2003b) also points out the difficulty of communication in multi-farm CSAs. She mentions that several farmers' associations of multi-farm CSAs have had difficulty deepening the relationship between farmers and members. She argues members might not know all the farmers, and some farmers might hesitate to communicate with their members. Communication between farmers and members becomes more difficult and complicated in multi-farm CSAs.

While CSA farms largely increased in the previous decade, types and scales of CSA became diversified. In other words, not all CSAs follow the community farm model which retains the original philosophy of CSA. Overall member participation in farming, distribution, and administration work decreased and farmers and members are physically and mentally distanced from each other following the expansion of the CSA movement.

5.1.3 CSA as Marketing Strategy

CSA farms are often initiated by farmers who own the land and view their farm as a private enterprise. Though CSA has various tasks of fresh local food production, educational role and community building, it is of critical concern for CSA farmers to make a comfortable and dependable living (DeLind 2003a). CSA farmers often adopt

CSA as one of the marketing strategies to diversify their income (DeLind 2003a). Laird (1995) found from his survey in 1993 that 74 percent of CSA farmers sold their produce to outside markets such as restaurants, farmer's markets, food co-ops, local stores, and natural food stores. Members are purchasing a set of relationships and amenities which add value to the produce (DeLind 2003). The cooperative relationship of farmers and members is not free from market economics.

In this sense, there is much similarity with other direct marketing such as farmer's markets, u-picks, farm stands, and the direct delivery of produce. CSA farmers and members assume a loosely cooperative relationship in a business sense (DeLind 2003a). In other words, CSA creates niche marketing, builds a more democratic local food system and provides good short-term management for local farmers.

5.1.4 Unequal Commitment of CSA Farmers and Members

Member turnover rates are as high as 40-50 percent a year (DeLind 2003a). The reasons members leave CSA are: moving out of town; having another baby; starting their own garden; going on vacation; preferring to choose their own menu; and having too much produce (Henderson and Van En 1999).

CSA members are more likely to be concerned about the value of the produce than the financing of the farm (Henderson and Van En 1999:91). Moreover, CSA members were far more willing to be "engaged," "forgiving" and "financially expansive" before their first seasonal experience than afterwards (DeLind 2003a).

Members' responsibility for participating in farm work, either volunteered or required, is becoming the exception rather than the rule (DeLind 2003a and 2003b). CSA

farmers understand their members do not have enough time to engage in farming work. Laird (1995) mentions only 22 percent of the CSAs he surveyed asked members to participate in farming work. DeLind (1999b) also noted that of the 35 CSAs she surveyed in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, 25 had no working members.

As described in the previous chapter, the core group is a decision-making body of CSA which helps management of the farm. Core groups often help CSA farmers with all tasks of growing, managing and conducting agricultural education at the farms. However, The number of CSA farms which have core groups is small. For instance, DeLind (1999b) shows only seven of 35 CSAs surveyed in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana had a group which resembled a core group. The national CSA survey in 1999 reports only 28 % of CSA farms had core groups (CIAS 2003)

While sharing risks and responsibilities is an essential philosophy of CSA, it is not actually happening. In fact, many CSA farmers eliminated using the words "shared risk" on their membership agreement according to the discussions of the CSA list serve (DeLind 2003a). Some CSAs reduce the risk sharing by purchasing produce from other farms to fill out their shares (Henderson and Van En 1999:8). The farmers are also very careful not to ask their members to take more produce than they want (DeLind 2003a). At the same time, farmers also limit the produce available for CSA distribution using the rest for farmer's markets.

With less member participation and risk sharing, CSA farmers have to work much harder and make more commitments at CSA farms than their members. It is the CSA farmers who exploit their health, money and time to keep CSA operations going. In fact, one of the main reasons farmers gave up CSA is because they found themselves

exhausted by doing all the tasks of growing, distribution, organization and management (Henderson and Van En 1999). They failed to find members or develop a strong core group that would help their management of CSAs.

In addition to unequal commitment of farmers and members to their CSAs, many CSA farmers were underpaid for their work and produce. CSA farms could charge more for what they provide (Henderson and Van En 1999:98). It is not CSA members but the farmers who often go without medial insurance (DeLind 2003a). Henderson (Henderson and Van En 1999:92) also says she had seen only a few budgets that involved a pension fund for the farmer. CSA farmers as well as other small business owners have to pay for their own health insurance and prepare for their retirement.

Though providing a decent wage for farming is an essential philosophy in CSA, a comfortable income for farmers had not been assured yet (Henderson and Van En 1999; DeLind 2003a). Many CSAs did not include farmer's salaries or capital expenditure in their budgets (Henderson and Van En 1999). According to Laird, the average farmers' annual salary was $11,225 with a range from $0 to $30,000 (Laird 1995).

Not surprisingly, there is a huge income disparity between farmers and members. Cone and Myhre (2000:19) found that the CSAs with the lowest member participation had the highest member income. In fact, 33 percent of this group had annual incomes greater than $100,000. On the other hand, DeLind (2003a) mentions Hu's research that found the annual income of CSA farmer was as high as $30,000 in a good season. However, the average farmer's annual income ($11,225) as Laird reported is much less than that amount.

While a shared commitment is the original philosophy of CSA, farmers made more commitments to their CSA than their members. Members began to depend more on their farmers' work and the farmers often overworked and exploited themselves. Farmers and members became connected more in a business-sense than mutual relationship following the expansion of CSA farms. Moreover, there is a huge income disparity between farmers and members. A comfortable income for farmers has not been assured yet. This section focused on the relationship between farmers and members. The next section discusses the relationship between CSA farms and their communities.

5.2 Relationship between CSA Farms and Their Communities

CSA attempts to facilitate community activities through its outreach programs such as farming education, cooking classes and fresh food supplies to food banks and pantries. Through local agricultural production, CSA facilitates the development of farmer's market and other local direct marketing. In some cases, CSA activities revitalized other local agricultural organizations (Groh and McFadden 1990). USDA (United States Department of Agriculture) partially supports research activities in CSA through SARE (Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education) program and maintains the database of CSA farms and farmer's markets on the website. CSA has potential to revitalize local communities and local food distribution through its activities.

However, contrary to the notion of wider community involvement, CSAs have not yet achieved a membership which reflects variety of population economically, educationally, or ethnically (Hinrichs and Kramer 1998; Cone and Myhre 2000; Hinrichs 2000; DeLind 2003b). As shown in the previous section, most members are white and middle class, and relatively have high incomes and education levels. While many CSAs provide fresh produce to food banks and pantries, and some CSAs offer discounted or free shares to several low-income families, they have not attained significant number of membership from a variety of people. This is a major obstacle in the CSA movement.

It is surprising that CSA members give less priority to community. Though the surveys indicate that members join CSAs for such reasons as obtaining fresh vegetables, protecting the environment, and supporting local agriculture (see Section 5.1.1), the expectation for building "community" in the activities ranks very low (Cone and Kakaliouras 1995; Cone and Myhre 2000; DeLind 2003a). Moreover, members' interest

in attending festivals and events at the farms is also low (Cone and Kakaliouras 1995; Cone and Myhre 2000). Cone and Kakaliouras (1995) explain "community" in reality refers more to a community interest of CSA participants rather than community which is realized in reciprocal relationship of farmers and members.

While the total number of CSA farms have increased, countless CSAs have failed and tens of thousands of members have dropped out while these farmers and members were well aware of the deficiency of the current food system and ready to do something about it (DeLind 2003a). Farmers and members are often discouraged and exhausted when they expect to build a sense of community through their participation in CSA (DeLind 1999a and 2003a).

People did not choose to belong to the community in a traditional sense whether they liked it or not because they depended on it. However, CSA is a voluntary association in which people have a choice to participate without constraining individual freedom, and without which people cannot survive. DeLind (2003a) understands that the participants of CSA as well as green consumers manage their activism within a globally-oriented and commodity-driven world without challenging their society collectively.

While CSA revitalized local agricultural marketing and food distribution, CSA has not achieved community building through farming activities at its center as the original philosophy advocates. Community building and agricultural education are not the only responsibilities for farmers who work hard for caring soils and natural produce. Disruption of the market relationship between farmers and consumers, and development of long-term and wider community commitment is a challenge for the CSA movement to

ensure the potential for changing the current industrialized food system. CSA farmers, as small business owners, have to balance self-interest and community interest.

While many CSA farms have difficulty to keep community activities, there is another CSA arrangement. 501c3 CSA maintains non-profit status and focuses more on community programs such as agricultural education and local food security. This CSA model tries to maintain the operation financially through farming business and donation. However, it is more comfortable for the CSA to work on programs of education and community building which are essential for CSA philosophy because non-profit status reduces economic pressure on the farm (DeLind 2003b). DeLind (2003b) reports several 501c3 CSAs were formed by faith-based organizations and a few with public and private trusts in Michigan. All seem to emphasize connections to a living earth and the essential value of community.

501c3 CSA appears to maintain a deliberate balance between the demands of private enterprise and the responsibilities of public welfare. The CSA can take the social and educational burden from its farmers and constantly and widely provide opportunities for hands-on involvement to the members (DeLind 2003b). A 501c3 CSA model might be the better way to realize the ideal of CSA compared to other forms of CSAs.

This section focused on the relationship between CSA and community. The next section discusses the relationship between CSA farms and the organic agriculture movement.

5.3 Relationship between CSA Farms and Organic Agriculture Movement

DeLind (2000) advocates that organic agriculture has to involve social vision, otherwise the organic industry would be not very much different from conventional food systems. National standardization of organic production is very controversial whether the standardization promotes or degrades organic agriculture movement. While the codification system grows the organic market and increase the produce labeled "organic", the quality of organic produce become diversified and decreased. For example, corporate large farms and processors which often want to dominate the agricultural market recently attempted to weaken the National Organic Standard. There is a dilemma that as organic food and farming are increasingly integrated into the national-level agricultural policy, they are increasingly threatened by the disintegration of the original principles of organic agriculture (DeLind 2000). According to Henderson, to whom DeLind (2000) refers, the main impetus for national organic standards came not from farmers but from environmentalists, consumers and food manufacturers. Thus, the stimuli of standardization came more from the concern of food safety and health issues than from promoting natural farming and protecting diversified local farmers.

Most CSAs work for maintaining soil fertility which protects both food and the environment from contamination through sustainable farming strategies. Some CSAs are not organic farms but they work toward reducing pesticides and chemical fertilizer and maintaining their soil naturally. Community farm CSAs, which maintain a close relationship between farmers and consumers, do not need to be certified because the members know how their farmers cultivate the land. Indeed, there is no better way than

direct observation by farm visits by the members to assure whether their produce is grown organically (Hatano 1998a).

However, not all CSA farms maintain such a close relationship between farmers and consumers. Some CSAs try to acquire organic certification for the credibility of their produce from their members or consumers. For example, CSA farmers who also want to sell their produce to a farmer's market try to be certified. DeLind (2003b) found that as the number of associated enterprises grew larger, the members began to request organic certification of their produce in one of three multi-farm CSAs in Michigan. The members wanted a third party seal to ensure quality because they have less opportunity for a direct observation of food production. Subscription farm CSAs would also consider certification because the farmers do not maintain a close relationship with their members.

DeLind (2003b) raises three basic reasons for organic certification from her CSA farms survey in Michigan: (1) acquiring certification and maintaining national standards as a way to politically support the organic movement; (2) certification would help the farmers attract more members and allow them to charge higher prices for produce; (3) necessity to have a third party seal to show the quality of produce to customers because farmers have other marketing channels such as farmer's markets and restaurants.

DeLind (2003b) also found three main arguments by the farmers who see no reason to certify: (1) the codification of the organic process attracts large-scale commercial interests and reduces it to a finite set of materials and techniques which can be owned and controlled by national and transnational corporations; (2) certification is simply too expensive and requires too much paperwork; (3) certification is just irrelevant because CSA members can see how their food is organically grown at the farms. While

large farmers can invest their money into organic certification for their produce marketing, it is too expensive for small farmers to be certified.

CSA has an appealing point as "fresh" and "locally grown" organic produce which is not the same with long-transported organic produce from large-corporate organic farms. The competition between CSA and other organic markets would be more of an issue in California because many fresh organic produce from large farms are available. The issue might become more intense nationally when tasty and freshly grown organic produce is available and controlled by an advanced high-tech storage or production system in addition to easier access to organic food because the major reason for CSA participation is the availability of "fresh" organic food in CSA.

5.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the change from the original concept to the actual situation of CSA. CSA has successfully grown as an alternative food distribution system over the last decade in the U.S., the types and scales of CSA farms became diversified and the relationship between farmers and members has been changed. Farmers and members are physically and mentally distanced from each other following the expansion of the CSA movement.

Overall member participation in farming, distribution, and administration work decreased and they depend more on farmers' work. Most CSAs are farmer-initiated and farmers often adopt CSA as one of the marketing strategies to diversify their income. Many CSA farmers and members became connected in a business-sense rather than a mutual and supportive relationship.

Contrary to the original notion of CSA, most consumer members are not equally sharing the risks and responsibilities of farming and food production with their farmers. CSA farmers have to work much harder and make more commitments at CSA farms than their members. Moreover, many CSA farmers were underpaid for their work and produce. In fact, there is a huge income disparity between farmers and members.

While CSA revitalized local agricultural marketing and food distribution, CSA has not yet achieved community building through CSA activities. Surprisingly, the member's expectation for building "community" through participating in CSA is very low. Community building and agricultural education are not the only responsibilities for farmers but they have to balance self-interest and community interest. 501c3 CSA

maintains non-profit status and focuses more on community outreach programs. Non-profit status of the CSA reduces economic pressure on the farm.

Community farm CSAs, which maintain a close relationship between farmers and members, do not need the organic certification because the members know how their produce is grown. However, some CSAs try to acquire organic certification for the credibility of their produce due to the lack of a close relationship with members. CSA farmers who want to sell their produce to farmer's market try to be certified. Subscription farm CSAs would also consider certification because their members usually do not visit the farms to see how the produce is grown.

Many Teikei farmers believe the CSA movement is successful in the U.S. Teikei farmers are interested in the viability of CSA and ready to learn from CSA for the revitalization of the Teikei movement. However, CSA has not fully realized the original concept and embraces some problems such as less sharing of responsibilities and unreliable income of farmers in a real practice. The last four chapters discussed history, philosophy and the current situation of Teikei and CSA. The final chapter focuses the contrasts and comparisons of the Teikei and CSA movements.

Chapter 6: Comparisons and Contrasts of Teikei and CSA

This chapter compares the concept and the current situation of the Teikei and CSA movements which have been seen in the previous chapters. First, the philosophy and concept of Teikei and CSA are compared. In the next sections, the comparison of the current situation of Teikei and CSA is discussed. Especially, the sections focus on the similarities and differences about the relationship between (1) farmers and consumers, (2) farms and communities, and (3) farms and organic agriculture movement. Strengths and weaknesses, and problems in the Teikei and CSA movement are described. Finally, perspectives of the Teikei and CSA movement and future study recommendations are described. Table 10 briefly shows the characteristics of Teikei and CSA.

Table 10. Two Models of Alternative Agriculture in Japan and the U.S.

	CSA in the U.S.	Teikei in Japan
Date started	Middle of the 1980's	Beginning of the 1970's
Original model	Community farm model	Community farm model
Appealing focus	Local food system	Organic farming
Leadership	Farmers	Consumers
Initiation	Farmers	Farmers and consumers together
Group structure	Individual local farmers and members	Farmers' and consumers' groups
Relationship	Within locality	Distant relationship between farmers and consumers
Decision-making body	Core group or farmer	Group of farmers' and consumers' committee members
Major reasons for consumers' participation	-To obtain fresh vegetables -To protect the environment -To increase farmer income market	-To obtain fresh and safe food -To support farmers
Background for the emergence	-Decline of small family farms -Long transportation of food -Loss of food system control -Less quality of food	-Health concerns from chemical food contamination -Decline of farming population -Industrialization of agriculture and food system -Decline of food self-sufficiency
Emphasized difference from direct marketing	-Mutual commitment and risk sharing between farmers and members -Building community through farming activity at its center -Making an annual contract through prepaying share -Community outreach programs and civic responsibility	-Mutual relationship between farmers and consumers -Principle to purchase all amount of products farmers produce -Group studying and civic responsibility
Outreach activities	-Local food security -Agricultural education -Self-help type activities	-Food safety -Environmental Pollution -Conflict type lobbying and rallying
Problems	-Less sharing of risk and responsibility -Less member participation and increase of market relationship -Exclusion of low-income class -High member turn-over rate	-Far relationship between farmers and consumers -Competition in organic market -Degradation of the movement viability due to the loss of many members and active housewives

6.1 Comparison of Philosophy and History in Teikei and CSA

Both Japan and the U.S. have become more dependent on food which is produced far from consumers due to the prosperity of large agri-industry and the globalization of food systems. The Teikei and CSA movement emerged through struggles against the globalization of food systems and the industrialization of agriculture.

Teikei farmers and consumers proposed the development of organic agriculture as hope for an alternative food distribution and a strategy to rebuild the industrial agricultural production. They considered that the practice of organic agriculture in the Teikei movement would enable them to re-establish the relationship between farmers and consumers and to care for the farm and rural environment which was seriously damaged by chemical pesticides and fertilizers. Farmers and consumers had to create a direct relationship by themselves for organic food distribution because there was no marketing channel for the produce. Thus, the Teikei partnership is understood in Japan as a strategy for an establishment of organic farming and food distribution.

On the other hand, CSA focuses more on local food distribution and community building. Farmers and consumers created a direct relationship to support their local small farms financially. CSA focuses on the creation of an agriculture-centered community in which farmers and consumers are reconnected and the democratic management of food systems.

The focus between CSA and Teikei is slightly different: organic agriculture in Teikei and local food distribution in CSA. While the Teikei movement reconsiders how to cultivate the land or the farming methodology, CSA tries to rebuild relationships among food, agriculture and people. However both of them emerged to re-think the

current globalized and industrialized food system—one more politically (civically) and the other more individually (privately).

As Robyn Van En, a leader of the CSA movement said, the concept and original idea for the future of agriculture are very similar between the Teikei and CSA movement (Henderson and Van En 1999:xvi). Tsukiji (1976) showed the original Teikei model which keeps a reciprocal relationship between local farmers and consumers. Ichiraku, a founder of JOAA, advocated the importance of local food distribution by small local Teikei groups in the ten principles of Teikei. They believed that the Teikei relationship provided an opportunity for farmers and consumers to care about their food and agriculture and creates more farming-focused relationships. On the other hand, Van En expressed mutual commitment of farmers and members is the essential philosophy of CSA. Both the original philosophy of Teikei and CSA sought a community farm model in which farmers and consumers were mentally and physically close to each other.

Teikei members pay for their produce on a monthly-basis but they have a principle to purchase all of the products their farmers produce. CSA members financially support their farms by making an annual contract through prepaying for a share. Thus, Teikei and CSA members financially support their farms and share production risks. They also participate in farming and produce distribution work with their farmers.

Teikei and CSA are also hybrid institutions that not only engage in food production and distribution, but also conduct educational activities and community outreach programs (DeLind 2003a; Hatano 1998b). Though Teikei members were more concerned about food safety issues and environmental problems in these activities, CSA groups are likely to work on the issues of local food security and agricultural education.

Outreach activities in CSA are more local, self-help type activities; however, Teikei groups often organize national campaigns and political lobbying for issues which concern them. Teikei movement participants, especially urban housewives, were politically aware and cooperated with a large number of active consumers in the consumer cooperative movement. Important social issues in each age and country influence the focus of their activities in Teikei and CSA. Because of these community activities and a mutual relationship of farmers and consumers in Teikei and CSA, they differ from other direct marketing strategies such as farmer's markets, farm stands, u-picks and mail deliveries of produce.

This section discussed similarities and difference of the original concept and philosophy in Teikei and CSA. The next sections compare the current situation of Teikei and CSA.

6.2 Comparison of Change and Current Situation in Teikei and CSA

Section 6.2 discusses similarities and differences in the actual practice of Teikei and CSA. The section especially compares the relationship in Teikei and CSA between (1) farmers and consumers, (2) farms and communities, and (3) farms and organic agriculture movement. Many Teikei and CSA farms failed to achieve the original philosophy of the movements. Both Teikei and CSA members became more dependent on their farmers' work and the farmers and consumers are connected in a business-sense rather than a mutual relationship.

6.2.1 Relationship between Farmers and Members

While the Teikei movement is characterized by consumer or member-oriented leadership, CSAs are often initiated and led by farmers, and considered a survival strategy for small family farms. Many members of Teikei and CSA are highly educated and middle class. These members in Teikei were often housewives who sought safe and healthy food for their families. The participation in the Teikei and consumer cooperative movements were very popular among these housewives during the 1970's and 1980's. They considered their involvement in Teikei as social participation (Arakawa 1995).

The members' reasons for participating in the Teikei and CSA movements have many similarities. Access to fresh, healthy food and supporting farmers are ranked highly as two reasons for participation in Teikei and CSA. Teikei and CSA farmers mention their satisfaction increased in their activities and they feel support from their members while their work increased for the management of Teikei and CSA.

While Teikei and CSA largely expanded since the movements initiated, the types and scales of Teikei and CSA farms diversified. Teikei and CSA farms that follow community farm model decreased. Teikei and CSA farms that do not place less emphasis on a mutual relationship between farmers and members increased. For example, the participation of Teikei and CSA members in their activities decreased. These members became more dependent on their farmers' work. Teikei and CSA members' engagement in farming work is not obligatory but optional. CSAs without core groups are increasing. Aoki (1998) mentions Teikei farmers had to work harder for organic production, farm operation and relationship management of their members and other farmers in their rural communities. DeLind (2003a) notes that it is not members but farmers who have to work hard for not only food business, but also educational tasks and farm festivals that result in them often burning out at the end. Contrary to the notion of shared work between farmers and members, farmers tend to exploit their time and work harder for their Teikei and CSA. Teikei and CSA members are distanced mentally and physically from their farms following their reduced participation in their activities.

Ideally, Teikei and CSA members are not purchasing vegetables but investing in a more organic or sustainable way of life. Weekly produce is supposed to be a return on a member's long-term commitment and mutual relationship with their farmers. However, Teikei and CSA easily becomes a business relationship for selling and buying a quality product for farmers and members.

As described above, most primary members' interest for their participation is to obtain fresh organically grown food. The relationship between farmers and consumers in Teikei and CSA became more market-centered, and commodity focused and less mutual.

Teikei participants focused more on the development of an organic produce distribution and used their "organic" produce as a membership recruiting strategy. While the JOAA, which is a national representative of the Teikei movement in Japan, advocated the significance of the non-economic features of the movement, the actual Teikei practice was not much different from other direct marketing. CSA farmers adopt CSA as a marketing strategy to diversify their income. They limit the produce available for CSA distribution and use the rest for farmer's market, local stores and natural food stores. There are more subscription farm CSAs that have a great deal of membership. In subscription farm CSAs, the relationship between farmers and consumers is more commodity-focused and members do not interact a lot with their producers. Farmers and consumers in Teikei and CSA are connected more in a business-sense than a mutual relationship.

Hatano (1998a and 1998b:24) explained the difficulty of the Teikei movement to achieve four important elements for its development all at once. These elements are member/farmer equal relationship, price stability and financial security, stable amount of food production and supply, and collective identity. The difficulty for achieving all four elements created various types of Teikei groups. For instance, some Teikei groups emphasized an equal relationship of farmers and consumers and collective identity, and other groups prioritized financial security and stability of food distribution. The dilemma, which Teikei groups did not realize, affected all aspects of the essential Teikei concept. The CSA movement in the U.S. is not exempt from this dilemma.

Cynthia Cone (1995) referred to this dilemma as produce or market orientation versus deep eco-value or philosophical nature. Hinrichs (2000) expressed this

relationship as tension between embeddedness and marketness. CSA farmers have to create a balance between serving members and lowering risk, between managing production and sharing responsibility, and between personal income establishing and collective community building (DeLind 2003b). Teikei farmers have similar situations as well.

It is understandable that Teikei and CSA farmers want to distinguish their produce on the basis of quality and diversity because they have to compete with the conventional food system. In addition to their role of food production, Teikei and CSA farmers are required to take social and educational roles that challenge to reform the current food system. They need to protect themselves from such exploitative situations. Thus, Teikei and CSA farmers formed an association such as a multi-farm CSA to keep their income and minimize their production risk.

Many Teikei farmers cooperated and created their associations which have many similarities with a multi-farm CSA to share financial and production risks and provide a wider variety of produce to Teikei members. One of the reasons for the cooperation among Teikei farmers is that each farmer owned a small piece of land for farming purposes. Farmers in Japan often formed agricultural cooperatives to organize the distribution of their produce to the market. Teikei farmers also cooperated together for the distribution of organic produce.

However, the complexities of group organization caused many problems in their operation. Some Teikei farmer groups had conflicts due to the different levels of understanding the Teikei philosophy and the different views of quality standards among

the farmers. Multi-farm CSAs also have problems such as more difficulty in operational management and more relational distance between farmers and consumers.

DeLind (2003b) worries that the convenience of food availability and expanded choice may lead to increased market competition, enclose local markets and transform an interactive membership of CSA into a buying club. Indeed, many Teikei groups caused competition with other local markets and agricultural cooperatives. The competition between Teikei and other farmers created obstacles to facilitate local network of farmers and agricultural organizations and lead to a win-win situation for the whole local farming communities.

In addition, many Teikei farmer groups agreed to distribute their produce not only to one consumer group but also to also several consumer groups in different regions. Teikei groups have become large associations of consumers' and farmers' groups which often extend over wide areas. The larger the network of the Teikei groups became, the less farmers and consumers kept a face-to-face relationship (Kubota and Masugata 1992). The wide Teikei network for produce distribution made the relationship more complicated and the communication more difficult between farmers and consumers compared to CSA in the U.S. that is often created by a farmer and local neighbors. The relational complexity in Teikei sometimes led to a huge conflict between farmers and consumers. An example is the Teikei movement in Takahata village.

The decision-making body in Teikei is also more complicated than the core group in CSA in such a situation (see Figure 5 and Figure 6). A decision-making process in Teikei is created by farmer and consumer representatives from their groups while CSA forms the core group which is in a CSA farm. Teikei committee members of farmers and

consumers often live far from each other, thus they have to spend more time and cost to have their meetings than the core group members in CSA.

However, the wider network of Teikei groups enabled farmers in remote rural areas to participate in the Teikei movement. These farmers had difficulty finding supporters in their neighboring areas in Japan. In this situation, the Teikei relationship was created between Teikei farmers' groups in remote rural villages and consumers' groups in large urban areas. Henderson (Henderson and Van En 1999) explains the difficulty in recruiting members in remote rural areas in which people are not interested in the CSA concept and do not care about organically grown produce. Potential CSA members can be found easier in urban and sub-urban areas than remote rural villages. While more rural farmers in Japan were involved in the Teikei movement, they had a communication problem with their urban consumers.

6.2.2 Relationship between Farms and Their Communities

Teikei and CSA are hybrid organizations which engage not only in a food business but also in social issues and outreach community programs. Teikei groups work for food safety, health concerns and environmental issues. CSAs conduct programs of local food security, social justice and agricultural education. Outreach activities in CSA are more local, self-help type activities; however, Teikei groups often organize national campaigns and political lobbying for issues which concern them.

DeLind (2003a) refers to Stevenson's "warrior work" and "builder work."

> For him, warrior work is overtly political in nature, designed to influence political processes and shape public opinion by exposing and attacking the concentration of wealth and power within the global food sector. Builder work, by contrast, is more consumer and lifestyle oriented, seeking

economic and political change through alternative market behavior and patterns of personal consumption.

Though CSA in the U.S. is more like self-help, "builder-type" alternative to the existing agri-food system (DeLind 2003a), the Teikei movement in Japan is more "warrior work", especially in its activities such as lobbying and rallying against the trade companies and government policies which facilitate to import crops and organic produce. Teikei consumers who had an experience of social movement also organized the lobbying groups against the development of golf ranges, resorts, and nuclear power plants in the rural villages of Teikei farmers (Hirakawa 1996). The current Teikei groups take a conflict type approach to organize activities such as the national campaign against GMO (Genetic Modified Organism) produce. The Teikei movement was more radical and political and led by consumer activists.

The situations of Teikei farmers in rural communities and the consumers in urban-centers were opposite; while the consumers were empowered, the farmers were not. Teikei groups could not successfully revitalize local agriculture, though the new civic initiatives of Teikei had a potential for it. Conventional local farmers thought the value added to the produce by being organic would compete with their produce. Teikei farmers failed to educate other local farmers about the significance of organic agriculture and the Teikei movement. Conventional farmers also viewed organic farming practice in Teikei as an obsolete style of farming. Moreover, organic farmers had no support for their farming from the government because the government did not support organic farming. Teikei farmers were not only isolated from the rural community but also left out from the government policy.

While many Teikei farmers failed to revitalize their rural communities and local agriculture, consumer members in the urban areas were successful in building their neighboring communities through the activities in the Teikei movement. The participants saw each other for produce distribution on a weekly-basis, and they created other group activities in their urban communities. As previously described, some of the Teikei consumers became politically active involving several of their farmers from rural villages. Many consumer members or urban housewives achieved their social participation through the Teikei and consumer cooperative movement (Arakawa 1995). In this sense, they were empowered through the participation of the Teikei movement.

However, empowered Teikei members could not understand the situation of their farmers in rural communities due to the distant relationship. The empowerment of consumers in urban neighborhoods did not necessarily lead to the empowerment of their farmers in rural villages. The involvement of consumers in farming issues in rural communities did not help to resolve the conflict between conventional and organic farming in rural communities. Rather, their involvement made the conflict more troublesome and complicated because they were seen as outsiders.

CSA is less likely to have such problems in communication because farmers and consumers live closer. In addition, CSA has more community and political support than Teikei. For instance, CSA farmers have some political support from USDA through CSA research funding such as SARE and information services such as CSA farm database on their website. However, Teikei farmers had a hard time for their farming activities without political support from MAFF in Japan.

While the political support for CSA should benefit all, CSA does not include a variety of people. CSA and Teikei became a niche market for consumers who have high incomes and education levels. CSAs have not yet achieved a membership which reflects variety of population economically, educationally, or ethnically. Most Teikei consumers have high education levels. Organic produce from Teikei farms is considered more expensive. CSA and Teikei have difficulty to involve a variety of membership.

Not only a variety of people economically, educationally or ethnically, but also the membership involvement of various generations are important for Teikei and CSA. Hashimoto (2004), an active Teikei farmer for over 15 years, is concerned about the aging membership of the Teikei movement. Many active members are in their 50's and 60's. His Teikei farm established a loyal membership that has been active for decades but less young membership is involved. He estimates the Teikei relationship, which is a secured income source for his farm, would continue for a decade or a bit more, but he understands the need to find another way to market his produce in the near future.

Hashimoto (2004) also feels the Teikei activities, which the old Teikei members advocate, are obsolete. He advocates that Teikei needs new marketing strategy and community activities which attract more people. While Teikei struggles with membership degradation, do people in Japan not care about agriculture and food systems at all? It appears as though they do care. For instance, many people are interested in hands-on farming experience and agricultural education. The local government of Tokyo recently started a community gardening program. Many urban residents participate in growing various kinds of produce in small fields in which local retired farmers supervise

and give advice to the participants. Many people are on the waiting list for the program. Teikei groups can cooperate with these programs for their activities.

One old member criticized young people in Japan saying they have no interest in food and consuming behavior (JOAA 2004). However, I feel, it is more important for them to involve new young members through education rather than criticism.

Another Teikei farmer (JOAA 2004) complained about the dominant leadership of consumers in the Teikei movement. The Teikei farmers could become local teachers for agricultural education and leaders who facilitate local agriculture though they cannot achieve these roles. The farmer mentioned he believed his role was to do his best in organic production and supply safe food to his consumers. However, it was not enough because the consumers cannot understand their farmers. The issues of concerned in the Teikei movement were food safety and quality of food, which were often advocated not by the farmers but by the consumer members. He explained that the farmers also had to express their ideas and thoughts in the movement though they were already busy with their farming work.

One of the reasons for the stagnation of the Teikei movement seems that it has failed to reflect the farmer's concern and adopt new activities that people are more interested in. Thus, the movement struggles with the erosion of the membership and its viability. It is very important for the continuous viability of Teikei and CSA to balance interests from various people and generations.

6.2.3 Relationship between Farms and Organic Agriculture Movement

All Teikei farmers and most CSA farmers practice organic production in their farms. There appears to be less competition for organic produce distribution between CSA and other retailing of organic produce in the U.S., while the competition between CSA and other organic markets would be more of an issue in California because much fresh organic produce from large farms are available. There is much competition in the organic markets in Japan. CSA has an appealing point as "fresh" and "locally grown" organic produce which is not the same with long-transported organic produce from large-corporate organic farms. However, Teikei farmers face difficulty in attempting to differentiate their produce from organic produce at grocery stores and department stores because the organic produce in Teikei often travels for a long distance between states in Japan while the farmers worked hard for maintaining quality. The Teikei groups struggle with finding their own strategy to differentiate their produce from other commercial organic produce.

The organic certification system is very controversial in Japan and the U.S. While the certification system would facilitate the expansion of the organic market, Teikei and CSA farmers who are reluctant to be certified considers the codification of organic produce allow large agri-corporations to control the organic market. Many Teikei and CSA farmers also feel the acquisition of the certification is expensive and requires much paperwork.

Imported organic produce and the organic certification are huge issues in the Teikei movement in Japan. The Teikei movement advocated the significance of organic agriculture as a strategy to compete with the globalized and industrialized food and

farming systems. The Teikei farmers worked hard to explain the significance of organic agriculture for over 30 years even when the society at large did not accept organic produce. However, the global agri-industry, to which the Teikei participants were opposed, started the trading of organic produce. The industry also promoted the global standard of the organic certification for the development of commercial organic produce with WTO (World Trade Organization) and governments' policies. Teikei participants were surprised to find that organic agriculture was becoming industrialized.

Organic agriculture was the centerpiece of the Teikei movement. The name of JOAA, which is the national representative of the Teikei movement, illustrates this—the association was not named the Japan Teikei Association, but the Japan Organic Agriculture Association. Many organic farmers in Japan, most of whom are Teikei farmers, complain about the organic certification system because they have maintained the quality of produce without certification. Many Teikei farmers even keep higher standards for their organic production compared to the generalized organic standards (Kubota 2001). Teikei farmers are very upset by the installation of certification system by the government because the agricultural policy in Japan never supported organic agriculture while the Teikei movement struggled to survive.

Thus, many Teikei farmers, like some CSA farmers, are reluctant to spend their money and time for the organic certification because their organic farming practices have not changed. Teikei farmers resist the codification system of organic produce. On the other hand, CSA farmers are less nervous to the organic certification than Teikei farmers. Some CSA farmers might make good use of the system to diversify their marketing

channels such as farmer's markets and restaurants and to support the organic movement as a whole.

However, some Teikei consumers who are not directly connected to the farms have asked their farmers to become organically certified. A Teikei farmer who was an intern in a dairy farm in Wisconsin explained her family farm participated in the large Teikei farmers' group (Oura 2003). Her farm had been a Teikei organic farm for thirty years since her farther became a Teikei farmer. However, the consumer members asked her farm to be organically certified while the organic farming practice on her farm had not changed for thirty years.

There is a similar situation happening as well in CSA farms. DeLind (2003b) explains one of three multi-farm CSAs in Michigan found that as the number of associated enterprises grew larger, the members began to request the organic certification of their produce. The members wanted a third party seal to ensure quality because they have less opportunity for a direct observation of food production.

Teikei and CSA members who are distanced mentally and physically from their farms asked their farmers to be organically certified when the codification system of organic produce was introduced in Japan and the U.S. Their organic farming practice has not changed for decades even if they are certified; however, those farmers have to spend more time on paper work and money for the certification.

6.3 Reflections and Continuing Questions

6.3.1 Study Reflections

This paper attempts to compare the Teikei movement in Japan and the CSA movement in the U.S. While the social and cultural backgrounds are different, several similar characteristics were found in the practices of Teikei and CSA. Access to fresh, safe food and support for local farmers are the main reasons consumers participate in Teikei and CSA. The farmers tend to share fewer risks and responsibilities with their members and work harder than members, exploiting their health. The market relationship became intensified between the farmers and consumers though the original philosophies of Teikei and CSA expressed their mutual relationship. Thus, the actual practices of Teikei and CSA have largely changed from their original concepts following the growth of Teikei and CSA groups.

Teikei and CSA farmers have to earn a living. It is not easy for CSA farmers to have enough income from small community farms. While many Teikei farmers created a network of their groups to reduce their production risks and keep steady income, the relationship with their consumers became distanced and increased market relationships. Many dilemmas exist between the ideal and the reality in the Teikei and CSA practices. The farmers have to make an effort to do not only farm business but also community outreach and education. Here, the farmers are required to decide how they operate their farms while they try to make a balance between profit and social responsibility. The key thing is that farmers feel happy in their farming practice because it is neither easy nor profitable to operate Teikei and CSA.

Teikei farmers face a very paradoxical situation. While Teikei participants have struggled against the agri-industry for over thirty years, the corporate-controlled agriculture did not degrade, but expanded and globalized, and they even attempted to industrialize organic agriculture. The recent large decline of Teikei members suggests that the produce from Teikei farms is no longer attractive to the members or that organic produce can be gotten elsewhere. It appears to be much easier for consumers to buy imported organic produce at grocery stores.

The Teikei movement appears to have intensified the market relationship between farmers and consumers. Many Teikei relationships became just buying clubs of farmers and consumers who often live far from each other. Most consumers see little or no difference between Teikei produce and imported organic produce because both of them are transported a long distance. The Teikei movement struggles to find an effective strategy to revitalize their membership.

Does the CSA movement follow the similar scenario of the Teikei movement which struggles with the degradation of its viability? The market relationship between farmers and members is more intensified in the CSA movement. It is becoming closer to the current situation of the Teikei movement.

Thus, it is risky to increase a commodity-focused relationship between farmers and consumers for the expansion of the movements. The current stagnation of the Teikei movement showed it was not long-term management. The market relationship between farmers and consumers in Teikei and CSA would not continue because the choice of consumers in a market frequently changes. The viability of the overall movements degrades toward disintegration once the market value of Teikei and CSA start to decline.

The market value of the produce from CSA farms has not degraded yet because the agri-industry does not sell "locally grown" produce. However, the same problem might emerge when CSA farmers assume a greater market relationship with their members. The state of California might have such an issue in that the corporate grown organic produce is not much different from organic produce from CSA farms because many industrialized organic products are available in California. The corporate food systems might start delivering fresh, locally grown produce by contracting with local farmers in each region.

While Teikei and CSA can label their produce as "organic" or "locally grown" for the recruitment of new membership, building a face-to-face, mutual relationship is the most powerful strategy to keep their members longer. The Teikei movement prioritized the market value of "organic" rather than a steadily building of mutual relationship between farmers and consumers. Indeed, the JOAA does not know how many community farms exist in Teikei. While the community farm is the original model of the Teikei movement, the number of community farm is not significant in Japan.

It is easier to increase membership through making use of Teikei and CSA as a marketing strategy. However, it is more important to keep the steady increase of small local community farms which maintain a face-to-face, mutual relationship between farmers and members as a model for the movements to keep the integrity and long-term viability of the Teikei and CSA movements.

Finally, suggestions and recommendations for the development of Teikei and CSA follow.

It is very important for Teikei and CSA to create local networks of other local farmers and agricultural organizations for the promotion of local-based sustainable agriculture. Ideally, CSA farmers facilitate local agriculture and empower other local farmers. It was unfortunate that many Teikei farmers were isolated from their rural communities. Henderson (Henderson and Van En 1999:182) mentions that it is important for CSAs to be aware of other struggling local sustainable businesses, such as food co-ops, so as not to become competitive where cooperation might be possible for the development of local markets. Community capacity building is essential to enable CSA activities to work successfully and achieve the networking of local farmers and agricultural organizations.

Teikei and CSA have great potential toward agricultural education and social welfare. The educational process of local farmers and consumers on their food systems is very critical for the food security and sustainability in agriculture in both the U.S. and Japan. Some Teikei farmers periodically open their farms to provide therapeutic opportunities for mentally and physically handicapped people (JOAA 2001). Oura (2003) also mentioned her Teikei farm provides shelter and working opportunities on the farm for handicapped homeless people with the assistance of the faith-based organization. Some CSA groups conduct such programs as well. Most of these programs are financially scarce, thus the government support is important for continuous operations of these programs. It is also important to cooperate with other local non-profit organizations to conduct educational and social welfare programs.

Government support for the Teikei and CSA activities is very effective for the development of the initiatives. It also creates a positive image for the initiatives in a society. For instance, the coordination support by the local government in the Takahata village helped the networking of the Teikei farmers and other farmers and agricultural organizations, and facilitated the development of the whole community. It is important to have a place in which farmers and officials discuss the needs for the promotion of local agriculture.

USDA supports the national database of CSA farms. People can get information and find their neighboring CSA farms and farmers. Neither the department of agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture, Fishery and Forestry) in Japan nor the Japan Organic Agriculture Association maintains a web database of the Teikei groups. It is an urgent need to create such a database in Japan to support the initiatives of alternative agriculture.

Though the Japanese government had only promoted high-tech based agriculture in the past, they also started to support organic agriculture. However, they still hesitate to support the Teikei groups because the government thought that the Teikei farmers were opposed to their policy for a long period. It is very troublesome that the government is not likely to support organic farmers, most of whom are the Teikei farmers. It appears the government needs to afford various perspectives of agricultural policies.

Hashimoto (2004), an active Teikei farmer, points out the advantages of farmer's markets in the U.S. because CSA farmers can find their potential members in these markets. Such direct marketing of farmer's markets involving local farmers has not developed well in Japan. He considers the potential to market his produce and find his customers and develop local food markets.

The Japan Organic Agriculture Association (JOAA) needs to clarify their perspectives in the Teikei movement. Organic agriculture, which they advocated as a strategy to rebuild the relationship among farmers, consumers and agriculture, has increasingly been industrialized while the Teikei groups became larger and intensified the market relationship between farmers and consumers. It appears that the JOAA has no effective perspective to show the significance of the Teikei movement. The JOAA keeps neither a web-based database of Teikei farms nor the number of community farms in Japan. While the distribution system of organic produce was largely established, the community farm model, in which the essential original philosophy of Teikei is embedded, was dismissed in the enlargement process of the Teikei movement. Community farms might not be the only model in the Teikei movement. However, it is essential for the JOAA to look back to the original Teikei model and its philosophy. It is especially important for the JOAA to take a role for the facilitation of local relationship of farmers and consumers. The significance of non-economic features of the Teikei movement has been strongly advocated by the JOAA. However, the JOAA needs to have a real picture of Teikei farm economy and support the economic viability of Teikei farmers as well.

Initiation of CSA type initiatives in many countries implies people in the world question the current food production and distribution systems. The initiative would become a powerful voice against the current globalized and industrialized food systems through their steady development and networking worldwide. It is very important to carefully promote the initiatives with a mutual relationship of participants within a long-term perspective.

6.3.2 Future Study Recommendations

It is very important to understand how CSA works for the revitalization of local farms, farmers, economies and communities. There is a need to understand how Teikei and CSA can cooperate with other local agricultural organizations. Unfortunately, many Teikei farmers were considered a competitive factor by other conventional farmers in rural villages in Japan. How about the relationship between CSA farmers and other local farmers? What kind of conditions are needed for their collaboration?

The JOAA publishes newsletters for Teikei farmers and consumers and hold an annual conference. The Robyn Van En Center for CSA resources helps to maintain the CSA database and provide other information to start up CSAs. What kind of other support can Teikei and CSA organizations provide for the development of Teikei and CSA?

What kind of role can government take to support Teikei and CSA initiatives, other than providing informational service and research funding? Furthermore, how can Teikei and CSA collaborate with their government programs in educational and social welfare activities.

Teikei and CSA farmers in urban and suburban areas appear to find their potential members more easily. Is there little possibility for remote rural farmers to find their potential members? Moreover, how can remote rural farmers in Teikei and CSA build close relationship with their consumers. How can Teikei and CSA involve families who are not economically well-situated? There is a need for Teikei and CSA to include people in various situations.

How can we put the limitations to the scale and cooperation of such regional multi-farm CSAs and Teikei farms? The key for maintaining the integrity of Teikei and CSA movements is to keep the organizational form and relationship between farmers and members as simple as possible, and keep a moderate group size within a local community.

It is also important to investigate the decision-making process in Teikei and CSA groups. While consumers took a leadership role in Teikei movement, most CSA farms were initiated by farmers and they took many roles for CSA operation. How are the directions of the Teikei and CSA formed in Teikei and CSA groups? Do farmers and consumers keep an equal relationship in a decision-making processes in the movements?

Teikei research has focused more on the meaning of the Teikei movement in a society at large and the technical side of organic farming, the economic viability of Teikei farms has not been revealed yet. There is a need for more detailed studies of financial situations in Teikei farms. The research about the turn-over rate of membership as well as demographic characteristics of Teikei farmers and members are also needed.

This paper discussed the similarities and differences of the Teikei and CSA movement. Direct relationships between farmers and consumers have started to emerge not only in Japan and the U.S., but also in Europe and other countries. For example, it appears to be an inspiring study to compare the relationship between farmers and members in the United States and the United Kingdom. Another research question follows: do the farmers in AMAP, a French version of CSA, also use the initiative to diversify their marketing channels? How are these consumer members in Europe attracted to participate in these initiatives?

It is very important to understand how we can keep the continuous viability of the worldwide initiatives of Teikei, CSA or AMAP. It is also important to explore the effective strategies for cooperation in the international network of CSAs for the development of worldwide local food systems. These initiatives have a potential to become a powerful counterpart of the current globalized and industrialized food and farming systems.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Map of the Regions and Prefectures (States) in Japan

Appendix B

Concept of the Teikei Group proposed by Tsukiji Buntaro
(Adapted and Translated from Tsukiji 1976)

From agri-chemical neurosis to organic agriculture

Farmer A is 32 years old living in a sub-urban area. He has 1.5 acres of paddy fields, 2.5 acres of crop fields (including 1.2 acres of feeding crop fields), and ten herds of milk cows. He started organic agriculture ten years ago. The definition of organic agriculture did not exist when he changed farming styles, and he also did not try to define his agriculture. One day, he was intoxicated by the agri-chemicals and suffered from health damage for several days. He became annoyed by agri-chemicals since his experience. The pesticide spraying was done by the community group due to the lack of farmers, but the other farmers in the village knew the situation that farmer A damaged his health by the chemicals and felt sorry for him. The other farmers understood his unwillingness to use agri-chemicals well and let him decide whether to use the chemicals in his farm.

The farmer's field had a lot of diseases and pests, and poor agricultural production for the first time. However, he kept farming without agri-chemicals and the production of his farm gradually recovered several years later. He managed to shift to farming without pesticides during those years; he started to raise more milk cows, increased feeding crop fields and stopped shipping his green produce to a central market system. For a while, he increased feeding crop fields by two more acres, and grew crops and vegetables in the rest of his fields, trying to keep self-sustenance within his farm and to reduce money expenditures. He produced not only rice, vegetables, eggs and milk but also miso paste, soy sauce and tofu. He even produced honey and edible carp fish by himself. He grew over 50 kinds of vegetables and made many canned foods such as pickles.

Let us examine his strategy of changing farming styles. It is true that his experience of health damage by agri-chemicals motivated his decision not to use pesticides, however, he thought about ways to do organic farming without using chemicals. His farm is fortunately located up-stream of a river, so there was little possibility that pesticides and chemical fertilizers came in from further up-stream. Thus, he started edible carp raising and beekeeping. These activities would not have stood up with pesticide and chemical fertilizer spraying.

He was even opposed to a reduced amount of chemical agriculture because he believed even a small amount of chemicals killed agriculturally useful bugs such as spiders, frogs and mantises. He was correct on his decision. These bugs soon revived in his farm.

His farm became stable around the fall of 1971 through the high self-sustaining of resources within the farm and the decrease of pests and diseases around. He began to realize that his farming style was one of organic agriculture. It helped him to build relationship with surrounding consumer families later.

From self-sustaining to local food distribution

"It is possible for farmers to manage their own food and resources within the farms. However, it is a role for farmers to provide food not only for them but also for other people. The agricultural fields which farmers hold have to be a place to produce food for several households of citizens in a country," the farmer stated. He considered his farm, at least, had to provide the whole amount of food to four to five households based on his farm size.

How could he understand the food distribution system? He used to distribute his produce through the central market system, and gain credit from the market. It was difficult for him to understand distribution. However, the market system was an organization to separate producers and consumers. This segmentation made agricultural produce evaluated by the appearance rather than the quality of the produce.

Farmer A, who had the harsh experience of agri-chemicals, first thought about the safety of his food without chemical residues rather than its appearance when he provided his produce to his families, relatives and friends; however, the produce grown by the permitted agri-chemicals in an admitted way of usage from Department of Agriculture would be acceptable in the appearance-based market system. Most agri-chemicals once accepted and widespread often lost the permission of usage suddenly.

The market distribution system was not made to communicate mutual appreciation between farmers and consumers. If the communication possible, the relationship between producers and consumers would be different, as he thought.

Difference between selling and free offering

He brought greens with bug bites and unique shaped fruits to the market, and found himself getting only a little money. However, farmer A was proud of his agri-chemical free produce, and believed it tastes better than other conventional produce. If no body eats his produce, however, he had to use it as compost.

So he brought a surplus of his organic produce using a carrier to a town and began to sell his produce by himself. However, this attempt did not go well. Though many housewives living in a housing complex were interested in organic produce and came to buy them, they were really careful about the price of the produce. They compared the price to a large wholesaler and only bought his produce when it was cheaper, saying that "I don't want buy bug bite produce at a higher price."

Then, he decided to offer his produce for free to people walking on the street. He set up a signboard saying that "I would like to give my organic produce for free. Feel free to take the produce." However, it was not successful as expected. People who passed by considered him as a stranger with suspicious mind and had difficulty to understand his intention to provide his organic produce for free.

Farmer A stopped both selling and giving his produce away without a good idea of how to distribute his produce, and decided to talk more with housewives. He called for his patron housewives to study together about the popular topics of food additives and colorings, and synthetic detergents with a textbook they choose. A marketing channel for his produce started to emerge through these interactions with housewives. The housewives asked him to bring his organic produce again, and, at this time, they bought his produce at the price he wanted without referring to the price of wholesalers.

However, the housewives, who had a lot of knowledge on the environment through group study activities, began to request several things about his way of farming.

"You use herbicides in a paddy field, don't you. Can you manage to stop using them?" He explained well with an illustration that he had to spend whole days to weed by hand if he stops using herbicides in his paddy field, and then he would not have enough time to spend for vegetable growing. He explained several vegetables would not be available due to the lack of labor.

The housewives understood the labor shortage and saw no way to achieve their request. However, they finally thought of an idea saying that "we will weed in your paddy field; so would you grow all the vegetables as before?"

Who is the real owner of farming land?

Thus, the housewives began to come up the paddy field of farmer A for weeding at a specific time everyday. Many people historically used to weed by hand in paddy fields before the replacement of agricultural machines and chemicals. This traditional view of weeding by hand only came back to the A's farm within the village. The involvement of the housewives in farming started by this process. Though farmer A didn't pay to housewives after weeding, they didn't complain about it. They brought back vegetables grown on his farm instead of receiving monetary payment. They actually brought back the vegetables which they thinned out from the field. Strawberry picking was also done by the housewives. Then, the time allocation for farming work gradually changed. The housewives also began to help rice harvesting in fall. When farmer A was away from the farm for study meetings and conferences, the housewives helped with milking cows and barn management.

Moreover, the relationship between farmer A and the housewives developed in a way he didn't expect. The housewives said, "This farm is, in fact, owned by you, however, we feel the farm is also ours." Then, they said "let's start saving little by little for cultivation machines in case of an emergency." They also said, "Our households usually depend on a salary, but we cannot overlook it if your life standard is not as good as ours because our families are well supported by your organic produce. We are willing to pay enough for you to have a decent wage."

Farmer A and the housewives discussed this. Then, they decided that these ten housewives, who had the produce and sometimes helped with farming, would pay $200 for membership to have his produce and $70 towards savings to keep the maintenance of machines every month. Farmer A, on the other hand, decided to provide many kinds of agricultural produce and value-added products to these ten households.

Appendix C

Teikei and CSA farms in Japan and the U.S.
(Adapted and Translated from Miyoshi 1998)

Teikei and CSA Farm	Shimosato Farm in Ogawa-cho, Saitama prefecture (Japan)	Meno Village Farm in Naganuma-cho, Hokkaido prefecture (Japan)	Caretaker Community Farm in Williamstown, MA (U.S.)	Our Farm in Woodside, CA (U.S.)
Farm Land Area	2 ha[1] + forest 2 ha	6 ha + forest 3 ha	8 ha including forest area	1.5 ha
Production Field for CSA (Teikei) Package	Same as above (0.6 ha for vegetable)	2-3 ha	1.4 ha	Same as above
Contents of Package	Vegetables, rice, eggs etc.	Vegetables, cereals etc.	Vegetables, cereals etc.	Vegetable
Variety of Produce	80 kinds[2] (total 150 kinds)	31 kinds (total 50 kinds)	N/A	45 kinds (total 200 kinds)
Number of Delivery	3 times/month, year round	Every week: May-November, Twice/month: December-February, No delivery: March and April	Every week: May-November, Once/month: December-February, No delivery: March and April	Year round
Membership Fee	7,000 yen[3] ($58)/month	69,000 yen ($575)/year	$650/year	$24/week
Amount of Produce (per week)	About 10 kg[4]	N/A	12-13 kg	About 6 kg
Price per Weight (kg)	Around $1.94	$1.64-2.05 (when the amount of produce is 8-10 kg/week)	$1.92-2.08	$4
Number of Membership	40	60	170	300
Way of Delivery	¼ farm pick-up ¼ UPS delivery ½ Mr. Kaneko delivers by his track	10 pick-up points (they delivered to members until the last year)	Farm pick-up	40 members of the delivery group come to the farm for pick-up
Budget	About $48,300?	$34,500	$81,250	$250,000?

[1] 1 ha (hectare) is about 2.5 acres.
[2] Seasonal variety of produce
[3] 1 dollar = about 120 yen (August, 2003).
[4] 1 kg (kilogram) is about 2.7 pounds.

Future Plans	Provide all agricultural produce including value-added products to 4 households	Membership increase up to 150 households	Keep current number of membership	Keep current number of membership
Note	10 households who receive all agricultural produce including rice, eggs and value-added products, pay $225/month	400 yen/time for individual delivery and 200 yen/time for pick-up point delivery	There are two options of full share (12-13 kg) and half share (6-7 kg)	Share is free for members who come to the farm for pick-up for other members

1) The average wholesale price of vegetables at the Tokyo central market was $1.99/kg from 1991 to 1995
2) The data about Meno Village Farm was a plan for the 1998 season; the data of the other farms was collected in 1997.

Appendix D

CSA and Small Farm Trip Essay

July 16-17, 2003

Sweeter Song Farm in Cedar, MI

Sweeter Song Farm is operated by Judy Reinhardt and Jim Schwantes. Judy is a career counselor at the Leland K-12 school and Jim is an occupational therapist. When I first visited the farm in the beginning of last April, a snowstorm had hit northern Michigan and the farm was covered with snow. However, everything had changed by this summer. Flowers were blooming and there were a variety of crops and vegetables growing at the farm. Sweeter Song Farm has 35 shares this season and the members came to pick up their boxes from 4 pm to 6 pm every Wednesday. This is the third season for this CSA and most of the members from the last season stayed this season too. The members knew the farm by word of mouth. They also sell their produce at the farmer's market in Empire every Saturday.

I stayed at the farm to see how they enjoyed the pick-up day. I was very surprised to see the pick-up day which was like a small festival. The members brought their children, cats and dogs to the farm. Some people brought wine and snacks, and they stayed at the farm a couple of hours enjoying talking with the members at the terrace of the farmhouse. Some of them even seemed to forget to take their shares. It was a really inspiring experience for me because I had never seen how the pick-up day is held. A local egg grower also came to the farm with her daughter. They sold their eggs to the CSA members. The members also took locally made bread, and locally grown beef

which were pre-ordered last week. The share was already paid before the season started but the members order other additional produce on a weekly-basis, so the people put their money for produce into the box by themselves. I was inspired to see the place in which the local food comes.

I thought about how tough it is to have this festival every week, but Judy says it is worth to keep such a small festival every week. She considers it very important that the members come and see the farm to keep the members stick to the farm as shareholders. One member told me that they switched from another CSA in Traverse City area which sets up the picking-up point in the downtown of Traverse City because they wanted to come to the farm to pick up produce by themselves. They have a dog so they play with their dog along a small river shed close to the farm before the picking-up time every week.

The members in Sweeter Song Farm do not have a farming help responsibility. However, Judy started to think about that though Judy and Jim haven't decided it yet. I think she has the strategy that she first establishes the member's community well, and then she might ask the members about the option of farming help.

Sweeter Song Farm provides an opportunity for one member who has a financial difficulty to get a share for free. A woman who is teaching at the Northwestern Community College is also a member of the farm and she organizes the group to bring the leftovers of the shares and surplus of weekly produce to the food pantry and soup kitchen in the area. She and other members were really excited to talk about the growth of the project at the terrace on the pick-up day. I imagined such a grass-root effort is growing in many CSAs and I felt their powerful passion to encounter the globalized food

system and promote local food security. CSA can contribute to local food security by providing a place for people to start their own projects.

I wondered how Judy and Jim develop their skill for organic production because Judy and Jim were not farmers before. They have just started farming three years ago!! However, I realized they really know how to acquire knowledge. They read a lot of books, and try to learn from their previous experiences well. They also ask their questions to neighboring farmers. I realized organic farming is not just for farmers who have a lot of farming experience.

July 30-August 3, 2003

Sweet Meriam's Farm in Beaver Springs, Pennsylvania

Mrs. Kristen Markley is the manager of the farm whom I met at the Michigan Conference on Organic Agriculture held at Michigan State University on March 8th and 9th in 2003. She also works for the community food security coalition and used to work for the agriculture extension office in Pennsylvania. I visited the farm to see the members at the pick-up day on Thursday and the farm festival held on Saturday, August 2nd when the member's meeting was also held about the CSA operation.

She started farming when she was a rural sociology master student at Pennsylvania State University (her thesis is about community food security, which is cited in the Elizabeth Henderson's book, "*Sharing the Harvest*") and has practiced organic farming for several years. She used to go to a farmer's market to sell her produce before starting her own CSA four years ago.

She told me the story that her ancestor founded the town where her farm is located. She wants to lead local agriculture as a CSA farmer and the descendent of her ancestor. She mentioned she has to try to get people not to consider her as a special or odd farmer in the local community in which, she explains, people are conservative.

In Japan, most Teikei farmers actually have been considered as special, odd, and anti-stream farmers from the majority of the farmers under the background of powerful government support for efficient and technology-based agriculture using the agricultural cooperative as a high-tech tool and equipment distribution center. While Teikei farmers tried to show the significance of organic farming to their rural community and lead ecologically sound farming, it took much time and energy for them to be accepted in the community. On the other hand, they are strongly supported by urban consumers so Teikei groups have tended to be internal-minded groups and isolated within the rural village. Teikei farmers could be the leaders of agricultural development in Japan but they failed to make a horizontal network with other farmers in the rural community. This is one of the major reasons Teikei movement ended up to be the scattered niche market.

Kristen got two interns Steve from New Zealand and Henna from England. This is the third year for Steve to come to the farm as an intern. He visited Kristen through his friend and they got to know each other. He wanted to experience farming but he has no friends and relatives who are farmers in his country so he decided to come to the farm in Pennsylvania. Henna met Steve in New Zealand when she was traveling there and she came to the farm for the first time this year.

Sweet Meriam's Farm got around 25 shares this year and the members make groups according to the place they live. They take turns to pick-up the share boxes for

other group members and distribute the boxes every Thursday. I was surprised to see many members often come to the farm for farming help. The members do not have farming help obligation (there is an option of farming help membership which is cheaper than no farming help membership) but people come to the farm because they really enjoy helping the farm. Many of them come to the farm for harvesting vegetables which takes a great deal of time in the morning of a distribution day. Some of them stay at the farm for help on the night before a harvesting day. Some people come to help farming twice a week. I think they learn and realize how hard it is to grow organic produce. They would also understand the reason why produce with many holes has been eaten by bugs.

Sweet Meriam's Farm is surrounded by mountains and has the humid weather, and there were so many biomass at the farm. Many bugs annoyed me a lot when I was harvesting and really realized the difficulty of organic farming. The appearance of the produce which has many holes is totally not qualified as commodity in a conventional market system. The relationship between the members and the farm in CSA is really needed for the members to understand the difficulty of organic farming and how the produce is shaped through observation of the environment.

Farming help by the members greatly supports continuing the farm operation due to the large labor needs of organic farming. I had never seen such a CSA where many members often come to help farming. The members seemed to really enjoy farming. I think each member understands the essential need of their help to keep the project going. Teikei farms in Japan also have a farming help called "En-no" but it seems the members come to the farms only in several occasions such as spring planting and fall rice harvesting. Even in that time, the farmers do most of the work and the en-no ended up

like agricultural tourism in the farm for the members. I think few member consumers consider their help as critical for the farm operation in those Teikei farms. However, I think it is very important to create the environment that the members consider their role of farming help as necessary and this consideration makes operational help from the members possible.

There is a variety of people in the members including a pastor, a director of a community center who used to work as a director of YMCA, an organic certifier who also makes horseshoes for Amish, Hispanic families, and a low-income family which has 7 children. The low-income family receives a share for free and some members bought more shares to provide fresh food to low-income families for free this year.

Kristen told me that she has a hard time recruiting new members to her CSA. However, I think Kristen makes good use of such an opportunity as making a presentation in a conference and writing articles for local journals and newspapers to inform others about her CSA. Two young members told me that they knew about the farm through the local newspaper. I think it is very important to consider the marketing potential for members when starting CSAs. It would be difficult to start a CSA in an area where few people understands the significance of organic farming and local food distribution. There would be more of an organic market in an urban area. The pioneer Teikei groups also got most of their shareholders from urban area consumers who sought organic produce.

Sweet Meriam's Farm is also becoming a place where local food comes in. A local poultry farmer started to come to the CSA and take an order from the members. He was also taking a pre-order of turkey for the Thanksgiving holiday to start raising organic

turkey when I visited the farm. He knew the existence of Sweet Meriam's CSA, but had a little idea of local food systems. Now he is really involved in the CSA development and is also a shareholder of the farm who receives a box of vegetable weekly. A local carrot farmer also comes to bring his produce and his carrots are a part of weekly share. I was inspired by the fact that the CSA educates the local people about local food distribution little by little through the very grass-root initiative.

A weekly yoga class was started in Sweet Meriam's Farm by a member who was a yoga instructor. The very first class was held when I visited the farm. It was very relaxing to try yoga on the farm field in the evening. It was smooth to breeze the air. Many lightening bugs started to flash to lighten the darkness of the evening at the end of the class. After the yoga class, the members had a tea and enjoyed talking in the farmhouse. I felt the members came to the farm to meet people and enjoy talking with other members. It is good to expand activities for the members to have more opportunities to communicate each other using the talent of each member within the CSA community. I think those activities contribute to reduce the turn-over rate of CSAs. A CSA could be the nursery of local community activity.

CSA and Teikei are the movements which require more variety of cooking skills and change of daily diet according to seasons. A box with a variety of seasonal vegetables comes to the member's family every week. There might be some vegetables the members have never seen before due to the many varieties of vegetables. One member said she was having a hard time changing her husband's diet because he tended to have more meat and fewer vegetables. We became accustomed to less diversified and seasonal food following the current food systems. However, CSA and Teikei remind us

of the wide variety of crops and vegetables which are seasonally available. The member said her husband was getting used to vegetable meals but it's very challenging. The members have to change their diet through Teikei and CSA activities, which is the one aim of the movements. However, it can be a big struggle for Teikei and CSA members to change their diet. Indeed, it is one of the major reasons for members to leave CSAs.

I understand Sweet Meriam's Farm tries hard to approach the original, community farm model of CSA in which farmers and members share their risk and responsibility equally for a CSA operation. I think the farm is making a good CSA performance through more communication between the members and the farm and the member's farming help compared to other CSAs which tend to become a subscription type and more market oriented CSA. However, Kristen also wants to have a core member group for decision-making on farm operation and management. She suggested to create a core group at the member's meeting in the farm festival. Most members appeared to agree with her suggestion. However, one member said he didn't want to be a member of the core group because he had lots of things to do while he also thought the idea was good. People understand the importance of the core group, but realize its difficulty to build. It needs a lot of time to discuss the core group building.

August 14-17, 2003

Brook Farm in Harvard, Illinois

The Brook Farm has been operated for about 25 years by Richard and Sonja, the parents of Karen Brook who was my classmate in my department. I visited the farm with my best friend, Masa, who is a doctoral student in Environmental Engineering. I met

Karen's parents last May and I visited their farm this summer. The Brook Farm is located in a small town, Harvard in Illinois, to which it takes two hours drive northwest from downtown Chicago. Richard used to work for a company as a chemist but now he is a full-time farmer after retiring from his job. Richard and Sonja moved to Harvard with their son 25 years ago when Karen was born.

They have been operating a U-pick farm for over 20 years. Many customers come to the farm and harvest the vegetables whenever they want to come. Richard and Sonja seemed busy taking care of their customers because they come to the farm any time between Monday to Sunday. However, Richard was enjoying talking with the customers when they came to the farm. The produce in the farm is much cheaper than local grocery stores.

The Brook Farm also sells their produce at the farmer's market in Woodstock which is a 30 minutes drive away from the farm every Thursday and Saturday. Masa and I helped harvest the vegetable with two Mexican-Americans in the evening of Friday for the farmer's market on Saturday

These Mexican-American farmers come to the farm in their free-time when the farm is busy harvesting and planting. They have other jobs working in factories, but they come to help the farm for their additional income.

Masa and I had a hard time harvesting corns by hand. The corn field was like a jungle with humidity and many bugs. We harvested corn and filled 50 ears of corn in one bag, and then brought the bags to the cart. It was a back-bone breaking job. Masa and I were really surprised to see the Mexican-American farmers who worked hard and fast in the cornfield. We harvested 1,500 ears of corn that evening for the farmer's market.

Masa and I followed Richard to the farmer's market on Saturday morning. Sonja stayed on the farm and took care of their U-pick customers while Richard sold the produce at the farmer's market. It was a small farmer's market with about ten stalls in Woodstock on Saturday. There were three other farmers selling their produce at the market. There were also stalls selling silver-metal crafts and locally baked bread. Richard says the number of stalls in the market is too small and hopes more farmers come to the market to call for more customers. A variety of produce at each farmer's stall would be also important for the development of the market.

Masa and I helped sell the produce at the stall. I realized that the customers were really picky and most of them bought these three items: tomatoes, corn, or green beans. Masa and I were surprised to see nobody bought eggplant which many Japanese love.

Many customers seemed to know Richard from before. Many of them were returning customers to the farmer's market. One customer told me that she comes to the market at least one time in a week. One of them was also a member of CSA. Surprisingly, a customer who bought corns from Richard last year came back saying his corn is really good. She bought five dozen ears of corn. She told me that she packs the corn in the bins and stores for the winter. Richard gave his name card with directions to his farm and told her she can come directly to the farm to get his corn and other produce.

Two people passed by in front of our stall saying that such a beautiful-looking produce can't be an organic. It's true that the produce of Brook Farm is not totally organic, but Richard tries to reduce the use of pesticides and chemical fertilizers. The people probably consider organic produce not good looking.

It seemed to me that the people who come to the farmer's market seek freshness in the produce and fun in talking with the farmers. However, I felt most of them at the market were picky in terms of the variety of produce (tomatoes, corn, or green beans). Some of them were careful about the appearance of the produce.

One neighboring farmer in the market told me that he tried operating a CSA in his farm several years ago. However he quit the CSA three years later because it took much time to take care of his CSA members on top of his farming work. He says it's more comfortable for him to sell produce at the farmer's market. I guess there are many farmers who have tried CSA for a while but find difficulty keeping a CSA. CSA requires a farmer's communication skills to take care of his members and continuing support of members to keep the project going. CSA would not be applicable for all farmers.

August 15, 2003

Angelic Organics in Caledonia, Illinois

Masa, Richard and I visited Angelic Organics CSA on Friday afternoon, which is just a 20 minutes drive away from the Brook Farm. This was also the first time for Richard to visit the farm though he had heard about the CSA before. When we visited the farm, I was surprised to see a lot of equipments and many farmhouses there. We could see many interns weeding in the field. On the other side, many interns from South America were washing vegetables with the help of machines for distribution. This was my first time seeing such a huge organic CSA farm with such a lot of farm staff and workers.

Two interns from Ecuador took us to the CSA learning center on the farm. Tom, the director of the learning center, took care of us and showed us the farm. He was speaking Spanish with the two interns for a while. The CSA learning center is the entity of 501(c)3 and an independent organization from the farm. They built the learning center to separate educational and farming roles in CSA according to the growth of Angelic Organics. The biggest source of funding for the organization comes from church donations. Tom says it is easy to depend on the farm budget for the operation of the learning center but he wants to make the center independent financially and works hard to find funding.

For instance, the CSA learning center carries on a farm visit program for handicapped groups from Chicago. Angelic Organics also tries to include low-income families as its members. They provide the share at half the price to the low-income families, and 20 families are having this package now.

The large membership or subscription type CSAs such as Angelic Organics might have a non-profit organization which is independent from the farm business to conduct educational and community building activities. The arrangement makes it easier to achieve both ecological farming and agricultural education in CSA. Otherwise, the large CSA tends to be busy with a large amount of production to serve many members. On the other hand, more informal agricultural education happens in small, community farm CSAs through weekly pick-up at the farm and farming help. Both large subscription type CSAs and small community farms can have their own way to contribute to the development of local food systems and community education.

Tom started working for the learning center with his ambition to work for sustainability of the earth at the grassroots level. He has been a shareholder of Angelic Organics before the center was built. In addition to the development work he experienced in South America, he used to be a delegate for the U.S. government at the Earth Summit in 1992. However, he found many limitations in his job and he decided to leave his job after the conference. He changed his paradigm from working at the top to working at the bottom to approach his concerning issue, sustainability. He is a really smart person and I was really amazed to meet such a great person working hard at the grassroots level.

There are many interns and seven farming managers working at Angelic Organics. The CSA currently has a 1,000 family membership and plans to increase to 1,500. The CSA was started by a farmer, but now Angelic Organics has grown as a sustainable farming organization serving neighboring communities. I was amazed to see such an established organization of CSA. This is not a family farm anymore but a community business.

August 16, 2003

Dayna's Daily Farm in East Troy, Wisconsin

Masa and I visited his friend, Dayna who runs the livestock farm for children's education in East Troy, Wisconsin, which is an hour drive from the Brook farm on Saturday evening. Mrs. Makiko Oura, whose family is a Teikei farm in Wakayama Prefecture in Japan, was also there as an intern on the farm during the summer. I could hear about her Teikei farm experience.

Her father started Teikei farm about 25 years ago. Makiko has her sister and brother who are also working in the farm. All of them graduated from an agricultural high school which was founded by a Teikei group. Surprisingly, his father also graduated from the school.

Her farm mainly grows organic onions which are famous in the area. Her brother is operating an organic daily farm by himself in their family farm. The produce from her farm is first brought to the Teikei central distribution center. A variety of organic produce brought by several Teikei farmers is then redistributed to the Teikei members.

She told me that the farm has established a way to grow produce organically for a long time. However, her Teikei consumers asked her farm to be organically certified when the codification system of organic produce was installed by the MAFF (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries) of Japan. Her family questions the cost and the paper workload for the registration while they have been practicing organic farming for decades without the certification.

She told me an interesting story that her father started the project with a church to provide farming jobs to daily blue-collar workers and homeless people. He provided them with shelter and decent wages. One worker damaged part of his body in a factory and was fired from the company. He was staying at a cheap hotel after the firing but he worked well at the farm.

I had never heard of such a voluntarily activity when I was in Japan. But I thought there is much potential for CSA and Teikei to take roles in society. CSA and Teikei can provide opportunities such as social education, personal development and

social welfare activities to the people who have less power in society such as old people, disabled people, and homeless people through the cultivation of the fields.

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