To Mom and Dad, who taught me to look to the interests of others,
and continue to be my example, even from afar

AN ALTERNATIVE MARKET FOR WELL-BEING: RECONNECTING PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS THROUGH SHARED COMMITMENTS

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

By

FORREST WATSON

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN MARKETING

THE DEPARTMENT OF
BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

June 2017

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Marketing.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Ekici
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Marketing.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zahide Karakitapoğlu Aygün
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Marketing.

Prof. Dr. Cengiz Yılmaz
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Marketing.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berna Tarı Kasnakoğlu
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Marketing.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Lale Gümüşlüoğlu
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

---
Prof. Dr. Halime Demirkan
Director

ABSTRACT

AN ALTERNATIVE MARKET FOR WELL-BEING:
RECONNECTING PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS THROUGH
SHARED COMMITMENTS

Watson, Forrest

Ph.D., Department of Business Administration
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Ekici

June 2017

Markets have increased consumption, but not necessarily improved social connections, also a vital part of well-being. Producers and consumers are anonymous to one another in the traditional capitalist paradigm, where each individual pursues his or her own gain on the grounds that markets effectively promote the interest of society. This thesis considers an alternative premise for an economy that balances financial and social benefits, where consumers and producers are reconnected for mutual benefit. An exploratory mixed methods research approach was applied to the case of a predominant alternative food network in Turkey. First, qualitative data collection and analysis revealed *shared commitment* between the owner, employees, and customers of this network. Second, through customer and employee surveys, the *collective action*, *congruent values and goals*, and *concern for the future welfare of others* dimensions of shared commitment between actors were measured and a structural model of its impact on well-being tested. The findings demonstrate the existence of an alternative market model, founded on shared commitment, which improves well-being for producers and consumers. Despite limitations in the community that can be built among consumers and producers who live geographically distant from one another, it is hopeful for an urbanizing world that shared commitments can still develop and well-being can be improved. Although the findings point to some vulnerabilities to dark sides, the research overall shows the well-being potential of shared commitment outweighs the risk of ill-being. A re-socialized market

can facilitate reduced alienation, rather than just instrumental exchanges, and enhance well-being.

Keywords: Alternative Food Network, Alternative Market, Producers and Consumers, Shared Commitment, Well-being

ÖZET

BİR ALTERNATİF PAZARDA YARATILAN REFAH:
ORTAK BAĞLILIK YOLUYLA TÜKETİCİLERİN VE ÜRETİCİLERİN
YENİDEN BULUŞTURULMASI

Watson, Forrest

Doktora, İşletme Fakültesi
Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Ahmet Ekici

Haziran 2017

Pazarlar, tüketimi arttırmasına rağmen, refahın en önemli unsurlarından biri olan sosyal bağlantıları geliştirmemiştir. Her bireyin kendi kazancını maksimize etmeye çalıştığı ve pazarların toplumun çıkarlarını desteklediği geleneksel kapitalist yaklaşımda, tüketiciler ve üreticiler birbirlerinden habersizdir. Bu tez çalışması, tüketicilerin ve üreticilerin ortak bir fayda için yeniden buluşturulduğu, finansal ve sosyal faydaların dengelendiği alternatif bir ekonomiyi incelemektedir. Türkiye'deki en bilinen alternatif gıda ağı örneklerinden birine, keşif amaçlı karma bir araştırma yöntemi uygulanmıştır. Öncelikle, nitel veri toplama ve analiz etme yöntemleri, şirket sahibi, çalışanlar ve müşterilerden oluşan bu ağda *ortak bağlılık* olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Daha sonra, müşteri ve çalışanlarla yapılan birer anket çalışması sonucunda aktörler arasında ortak bağlılık ölçütleri olan *kolektif eylem, uyuşan değerler ve hedefler*, ve *diğerlerinin gelecekteki refahı ile ilgilenme* boyutları ölçülmüş ve bu boyutların refah üzerindeki etkileri yapısal bir modelle test edilmiştir. Sonuçlar, üreticilerin ve tüketicilerin refahını geliştiren ve ortak bağlılıkla temellenen, alternatif bir pazar modelinin varlığını göstermektedir. Coğrafi olarak birbirinden uzak yaşayan tüketicilerden ve üreticilerden oluşan bir toplulukta, karşılaşılan engellere rağmen, hâlâ ortak bağlılığın gelişebilmesi ve

refahın arttırılabilir olması küreselleşen bir dünya için umut vericidir. Sonuçlar, karanlık taraflar ile ilgili bazı riskleri işaret etse de, araştırma genel olarak, ortak bağlılığın yarattığı refah potansiyelinin, karanlık taraflar oluşturma riskine ağır bastığını göstermektedir. Yeniden sosyalleşen bir pazar, yabancılaşmayı azaltmayı ve çıkara dayalı alışveriş yerine refahı arttırmayı kolaylaştırabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alternatif Gıda Ağı, Alternatif Pazar, Ortak Bağlılık, Refah, Tüketiciler ve Üreticiler

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express deep gratitude to my supervisor Ahmet Ekici, whose steady guidance and prompt feedback made the doctoral experience remarkably smooth. He stretched me to develop my work in a gracious way that always made me feel the improvements were attainable. He cared about my well-being and family throughout. I can sincerely say I experienced shared commitment with him, in how we worked together, had congruent values and goals, and he cared about my future welfare.

I would also like to thank Nedim Karakayalı and Zahide Karakitapoğlu Aygün for serving on my thesis committee and offering advice at crucial junctures to keep my work on the right track. Thank you also to Cengiz Yılmaz and Berna Tarı Kasnakoğlu for serving on the thesis jury and their support in preparing myself for a career after graduation. I benefited immensely from my time as a visiting scholar working with Mark Peterson at the University of Wyoming. I thank him for giving me my start as a modeler and showing us the ropes in Laramie.

I am grateful for the support of the Department of Business Administration of Bilkent University, including all the first-class professors and staff who taught and supported me over the last years. Through my data collection I met many fantastic

people who inspired my research with their insights and how they lived their lives. Reyyan Ayfer, Armağan Ateşkan, and Kadire Zeynep Sayım generously shared their experience about Miss Silk's Farm with me and introduced me to their personal networks.

Pinar Kaftancıoğlu opened the door wide to her farm, giving me access to all her customers and employees. I am grateful she trusted me enough to let me inquire freely of so many people, and I can say I am sincerely impressed that her private reputation is as inspiring as the farm she has built. I am also thankful to Hüsniye Hanım and the many employees who looked after me so well in my visits to the farm, patiently answering my questions and allowing me to observe their work. They modeled for me joy in their labor.

I also want to thank the other marketing students who shared in the successes and challenges of graduate life over the past years: Eren Eser, Aslı Zarakol, Anıl Işisağ, Gülay Taltekin, and Zeynep Baktır. Each of these peers offered a helping hand along the way, sometimes assisting me in Turkish, and more often offering much needed camaraderie. Thanks to Cem Müderrisoğlu who patiently worked with me to improve my Turkish and in the process became a lasting friend. Thank you to İlker Duymaz, a friend who served as a consistent sounding board for my ideas and stimulated deeper thinking about society and life. Thanks to the many faithful friends who kept my eyes lifted up.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. Thank you to Karalyn Watson who encouraged I do a PhD in marketing and backed it up with five years as a graduate student's wife, believing in me, and keeping the rest of our life afloat. "For better for

worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, here or on the far side of the sea…" My sons, Banner and Aslan, reminded me of the miracle and wonder of life each evening I walked in the door. They kept me from taking myself too seriously, like when Banner told me, "I am about to finish school too" (kindergarten) as I was trying to explain to him about my theisis defense. I thank God who gave me the strength to persevere and put a song in my heart. I thank my parents and mother-in-law who make some of the biggest sacrifices in our living in Turkey. I appreciate their investments to visit us regularly over the years, often times supporting us to get through challenging stretches in my work. I thank Mom for teaching me eternal truths since I was a child. I am grateful we didn't lose Dad to the heart attack on one of their many visits; we are all richer with his ongoing love and counsel.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Well-being: Financial *and* Social

It is not uncommon for citizens and economists to conflate financial well-being with overall well-being. Financial means enable people to live in nicer neighborhoods, obtain better education, and consume more products. Since utility maximization is limited by the funds one has at his or her disposal, classical economics suggests that more satisfaction can be obtained through more available funds (Veblen 1909). Economists have tended to assume that utility is a product of material well-being (Easterlin 1974; Helliwell and Putnam 2005).

However, increasing financial prosperity does not continue to make us happy. Kahneman and Kreuger (2006) argue in favor of utilizing different conceptions of utility, and specifically defend the use of subjective well-being as a way of gauging people's perception of their own experiences and happiness. Subjective well-being is people's cognitive and affective evaluation of their lives (Diener 2000). A growing body of work

has shown that many factors influence one's subjective well-being (Ahuvia and Friedman 1998; Diener and Biswas-Diener 1999; Diener and Seligman 2004; Layton 2009). Financial well-being is indeed one component, but not as much as people might think. "Money can buy you happiness, but not much, and, above a certain threshold, more money does not mean more happiness" (Helliwell and Putnam 2005). An abundance of research shows that only up to a certain point does financial well-being have any substantive impact on overall well-being. For example, while real per-capita incomes have quadrupled in the last 50 years in most advanced economies, aggregate levels of subjective well-being have remained essentially unchanged (Helliwell and Putnam 2004).

Scholars have therefore continued to seek out what else besides financial considerations may drive well-being. There is a wide body of work that supports the intuitive link between social connectedness and well-being (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Diener 2000; Putnam 2001; Geiger-Oneto and Arnould 2011). Maslow (1954) famously asserted that people have a need for affiliation and belongingness, which will be facilitated by social links and community. In social psychology there is a long literature on the link between social support and well-being (Leavy 1983; Cohen and Wills 1985). Baumeister and Leary (1995, p. 522) conclude their review of the empirical evidence of the human need for interpersonal attachment by stating that "human beings are fundamentally and pervasively motivated by a need to belong, that is, by a strong desire to form and maintain enduring interpersonal attachments." As societies grow wealthy, differences in well-being are less frequently associated with income, and more tied to non-economic predictors like social relationships and enjoyment at work (Diener and

Seligman 2004). Putnam's (2001) work on social capital has shown that communities with higher rates of social involvement have higher well-being.

1.2 Sociological Background on Changing Social Connectedness

While there is strong support for the importance of social connection and well-being, the societal shifts of modernism, capitalism, and urbanization, to consider but three, have altered social relationships. The aim here is not to tease out the intricate differences but rather to briefly explain these transformative forces that provide a backdrop for contemporary efforts to retain or restore community.

1.2.1 Modernism

One of the central themes in sociological studies is the way that modernity has separated the individual from their total belonging to and identity derived from their local community (Simmel 1896/1991; Tonnies 1887/1957). Modernity refers to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and became more or less worldwide in their influence (Giddens 1990). According to German sociological theory (Weber, Tonnies, Simmel), "modernity is contrasted to the traditional order and implies the progressive economic and administrative rationalization and differentiation of the social world" (Featherstone 1988, pp. 197-198). Modernization left the individual with great mental and psychological freedom, but there was no longer connectivity of a total person (Simmel

1896/1991). The modern man constantly tries to invent himself (Foucalt 1986 in Featherstone 1988). People tried to make sense of their experience of life in the consumer culture in developing urban centers (Featherstone 1988). Wellman (1979) explains how in the modern separation of residence, workplace, and kinship, urbanites are in multiple social networks with weak solidarity attachments and a potentially disorienting loss of identity. While before every external relationship bore a personal character, modernity has brought about the anonymity of others and indifference to their individuality (Simmel 1896/1991). Modernization theory considers the stages of social development, based upon ideas like industrialization, the growth of science and technology, the capitalist world market, and urbanization (Featherstone 1988), the latter two of which will be considered next.

1.2.2 Capitalism

Capitalism is the major transformative force shaping the modern world according to scholars influenced by Marx. Capitalism is a system of commodity production, centered upon the relation between private ownership of capital and free but capital-less wage labor.[1] Agrarian production based in the local community was replaced by production of national and international scope, leading to the commodification of material goods and human labor power (Giddens 1990). Cooper (2004, p. 80) writes that no other revolution in the last 200 years "can match capitalism for its ruthless tearing apart of all traditional bonds and the traditions societies they held together," all while making it feel inevitable.

[1]Britannica. https://global.britannica.com/topic/capitalism

One of the causes of deteriorating well-being is what has been termed "alienation." Alienation means "separation" or "estrangement from something" (Oldenquist and Rosner 1991, p. 5). According to Marxist theory, workers are alienated when their labor ceases to be a natural expression of their lives and becomes a commodity they sell for wages. As the work becomes external to the worker, no fulfillment is found in the work, and there are feelings of misery rather than "well-being" (Oldenquist and Rosner 1991, p.10). Even the contemporary worker at a software company may feel like a cog in a machine that can easily be replaced (Cooper 2004).

Many subjects are exploited and/or do not benefit equally from the traditional capitalist system (Day 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006; Varey 2013). This can include people who are alienated from their labor as well as laborers and producers who cannot make a living wage. As people become separated from another, there is a danger of abstraction, where people are anonymous and only a labor statistic (Sinek 2014). When there is no social connection to other people, it becomes easier to exploit them. In summary, while capitalism has brought financial growth, it has been a part of causing alienation of work, class differences, and exploitation of labor.

1.2.3 Urbanization

Urbanization is another interconnected trend with an impact on the social connections between people. The possession and enjoyment of common goods that characterized the community gave way to a society that is an artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the community (Tonnies 1887/1957). Max

Weber (1921/1958) had a pessimistic view about the urban world that personal mutual acquaintanceship which characterized social life in rural communities was lacking in urban life. Whereas in the small town one knew almost everyone with whom he or she interacted, in the city the person knows a smaller portion and has less intimate knowledge (Simmel 1903). As Wirth explains, "The contacts of the city may indeed be face to face, but they are nevertheless impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental" (Wirth 1938). Related to the influence of capitalism and industrialization, urbanites meet one another in highly segmental roles. While in specialized roles people become more dependent upon more people for the satisfaction of their life-needs, they are less dependent upon particular persons (Wirth 1938).

In this section, I have briefly summarized three of the interwoven threads of the shift from traditional communities to urban society. From the roots of German sociological theory, the modern man, living in a capitalist and urban world, is considered alienated and devoid of the close community he once had. Wirth (1938, p. 14) writes, "Typically, our physical contacts are close but our social contacts are distant." This summarizes well how more people may be living closer together than ever, and yet social contacts may be more distant than ever.

1.3 Contending Perspectives on Community

As discussed in the previous section, there is widespread acknowledgement that the social connectedness of people has been altered by major trends like modernism, capitalism, and urbanization. However, there is contention on how much community has

been lost rather than just taken on a different form in the modern world. There are also differing viewpoints on the merits of the traditional community. In this section I will present the communitarian approach that continues in the tradition of the aforementioned classical sociologists and then give voice to the dissenting school of thought.

1.3.1 Communitarian Approach

Following from the German sociological theory, there is a communitarian tradition that argues humans can only flourish if they are enmeshed in organic communities. Adherents to the communitarian tradition tie alienation to individualism. Societies create alienated citizens if there is too much individualism where members lack a sense of community and social identity (Oldenquist and Rosner 1991, p. 8). French sociologist Emile Durkheim's work on suicide (1897/ 1951) is the classic expression of the dangers of individualism that leads to alienation.

The communitarian conceives of humans as innately social animals who are emotionally dependent on group membership and become disconnected and function poorly in environments that are too individualistic (Oldenquist 1991, p. 92). "Alienation implies a weakening of social identity and a failure of commitment, an individualist pulling back from collective involvement—an emotional withdraw from the group and its values, a retreat from 'us' to 'me'" (Oldenquist 1991, p. 94).

In modern society, cities form with people who have left rural communities in hope of a more comfortable and prosperous life. They sacrifice close connections with large families or neighbors in order to have the freedom to live amongst neighbors who

mind their own business and to pursue friendships on their own terms. "Whereas, therefore, the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society" (Wirth 1938, p. 12). The communitarian likewise argues for the human need for belonging in an organic and integrated society in order to maximize well-being. This school of thought is skeptical of community being found in what they see as individualistic urban centers.

1.3.2 Opposing Views

Scholars such as Giddens (1990) warn against the romanticized view of community in comparing traditional cultures with the modern. While the lamenting of "lost" community is a consistent theme since the founding fathers of sociology, there are many scholars who argue that community has been "saved" in urban life, and that human beings will find ways to form community under any circumstances (Wellman 1979, p. 1205). For example, a recent work on urban life makes the case that while social bonds may look different than in the community of the past, they do still exist among urbanites (Karp et al. 2015).

While there is a distinction in the view point of the communitarians and those who celebrate new forms of social connectedness, I do not see them as incompatible. In my experience, as in the literature, there is a strong case to be made that people are isolated and community is fraying *and* that people are seeking out and finding new ways

to connect. I am of the mind that the ongoing theme of the deterioration of social connections points to the need to continue to explore ways that community can survive even in modern society.

1.4 The Market: Fulfilling Financial and Social Goals?

The Greek agora was the center of the ancient city. The agora was a large open space in which people would gather for festivals, elections, markets, and so on (Camp 1986). As Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Mittelstaedt (2006) explain, the agora was more than just a commercial center. The agora was also the center of civic, social, and religious life. In other words, the agora was not a place of merely exchange relationships, but rather a place where people congregated, related with other people, and fulfilled their social needs. The agora has been used as a synonym for the market (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Mittelstaedt 2006), to provide a richer and more historical understanding.

In contrast to the comprehensive meaning of the agora, a more truncated definition of the market is "an actual or nominal place where forces of demand and supply operate, and where buyers and sellers interact (directly or through intermediaries) to trade goods, services, or contracts or instruments, for money or barter."[2] The contemporary view of the market is a place or mechanism that facilitates an exchange between buyers and sellers. In this section I will consider how the narrower view of the market has prioritized financial goals at the cost of social ones. I will highlight the

[2]Business Dictionary.http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/market.html

consequences of this trade-off, because the market is one of the arenas in which people seek to satisfy a range of needs and attain well-being.

1.4.1 The De-socialized Market

The premise of commercial markets founded on neoclassical theory from modernist roots (Cooper 2004) is that as each individual actor pursues his or her own gain, the economy will grow, per-capita income will increase, and utility will be improved (Arndt 1981; Kilbourne 2004). Joseph Schumpeter (1954, p. 233) critiques Francois Quesnay, one of the early proponents of the rational utility maximization hypothesis, "He manifestly thought that if every individual strives to realize maximum satisfaction, then all individuals will 'of course' achieve maximum satisfaction." Through the market, each individual is encouraged to pursue his or her own interests. According to this theory, influenced, by capitalist thinking (Cooper 2004), people need not concern themselves with the well-being of others, because the market will take care of it. People are dissuaded from caring for others because the capitalist actually "promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it" (Adam Smith,*Wealth of Nations,* p. 423, in Cooper 2004). "Our acquaintances tend to stand in a relationship of utility to us in the sense that the role which each one plays in our life is overwhelmingly regarded as a means for the achievement of our own ends" (Wirth 1938, p. 12). People are treated as a means to an end, rather than a whole person whose well-being should be considered. "That market societies could maintain sufficient discipline

to see the crisis through during the 1930s while millions of ‘human beings’ were reduced to penury is truly amazing” (Cooper 2004, p. 86). The capitalist market triumphed.

The market has tended to reflect the predominance of financial interests. Money exchange reoriented consumers to consider goods based on their exchange value, rather than on particular characteristics and their emotional value, leading to the consumer having less consideration for the producer (Holt and Searls 1994). Tonnies (1887/1957, p. 94) laments how merchants and middlemen, who came to rule society, try to buy things for as little as possible, “with no regard for benevolence of the work.” The introduction of money and middlemen make the producer and consumer became less connected to each other. Urbanization, as discussed earlier, facilitates a system where buyers and sellers have very little interaction and are anonymous to one another. However, a market that improves financial well-being without addressing the need for social connections, as discussed above, will fail to deliver maximum overall well-being improvement. The trends considered of modernism, capitalism, and urbanization have led to financial growth and independence, but have also deteriorated people’s belonging to community, both in social connections and geographic rootedness to a place.

1.4.2 Re-socializing the Market

In the past, the market was intertwined in dense relationships in smaller communities (Tonnies 1887/1957). People in traditional communities yearned for greater freedom and economic opportunity, and therefore were drawn to a more modern society with a more expansive economy. The modern market is strong in offering financial benefit. If

financial importance and relational importance were placed on different sides of a scale, the traditional community would be weighted towards the relational, whereas the modern society would be weighted towards the financial. While the modern society has done more to raise the standard of living than any previous system (Giddens 1990), the social connectedness that people need for well-being has not kept pace.

This thesis aims to consider how the market may be re-socialized. Kahneman and Kreuger (2006, p. 22) conclude that "those interested in maximizing society's welfare should shift their attention from an emphasis on increasing consumption opportunities to an emphasis on increasing social contacts." Markets have been effective at creating consumption opportunities, but not in facilitating social contacts. Layton (2009, p. 11) argues that the health of a marketing system depends on performance in a narrow economic sense *and* a wider social sense because "growth may or may not lead to well-being." There is no reason that the market cannot be a place of both financial and social connection.

1.5 The Aim of the Thesis

The preceding overview of well-being, societal trends in transforming social connectedness, and de-socialized market leads to the central puzzle with which this thesis is concerned. The market has facilitated improvement in financial well-being for many people. However, overall well-being is not the same as financial well-being. Even as financial well-being has improved, alienation has continued. Is there a different way to

construct a market that balances financial interests with other well-being and societal concerns?

On the producer side, more people are choosing to leave their rural communities in favor of the financial promise of urban centers. In 1990, 43% of the world's population lived in urban areas; by 2015, this had increased to 54%. By 2050, this is expected to jump to 66% (UN World Cities Report 2016). Is it possible that the market could be restructured in such a way as to provide some of the financial benefits that people desire, while permitting them to remain in their local communities? Instead of people giving up their traditional way of life in favor of jobs that often times leads to alienation, is there a way they can be gainfully employed doing work that is significant to them?

On the consumer side, how can urban consumers improve their well-being through the market? As mentioned earlier, incomes have quadrupled in the last half century in most advanced economies, but aggregate well-being has remained essentially unchanged (Helliwell and Putnam 2004). It is unlikely that the trend of urbanization will be drastically reversed. Therefore, what are ways that consumers can reduce alienation even as they stay within the city?

The market is one mechanism that has the potential to reduce alienation. How can people find connectedness in their market-mediated encounters? More specifically, how can alienation be reduced through spatially extended markets?

The aim of this work is to consider how alternative markets can balance financial and social benefits, and in the process fulfill the communitarian goal of improving well-being through the connectedness of people. The scope is to explore an alternative market

model that can connect people toward a common goal and improve the well-being of everyone involved. Particularly, I study an alternative to the predominant form of provisioning that can decrease abstraction between producers and consumers, help them work toward the same goals, and bring mutual benefit for all.

1.6 Literature in which the Research is Grounded

This work is grounded in alternative market-based approaches to social connectedness and well-being. Rather than merely nostalgia for an antiquated rural life (Giddens 1990), this research is concerned with how markets may be adjusted to better satisfy the needs of people. Now living in urban centers, increasingly disconnected from families and community bonds, people are looking for a way to reconnect with place and with other people (Watts, Ilbery, and Maye 2005).

One of the ways people try to reconnect is through their consumption. People spend and consume "in the service of affiliation" (Mead et al. 2011). Brand communities—"non-geographically bound communities among admirers of a brand" (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001)—is one of the ways people are still finding community. The surge in social media over the last decade is a way people connect without regard to limits of geographic proximity. The communal approach to marketing is helpful in showing how people can connect to one another through a market (Cova 1997; Kozinets 1999; Cova and Cova 2002).

Macromarketing views markets, marketing, and society as connected into a networked system that "shapes quality-of-life, stakeholder well-being, environmental

sustainability and general societal flourishing."[3] Rather than the assumption of atomistic individualism in micromarketing, macromarketing is premised on the interdependence of elements in the marketing system (Kilbourne 2004; Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Mittelstaedt 2006).

Whereas the traditional commercial market tends to be associated with self-interested separate actors undertaking exchanges for material gain, alternative economic movements aim to re-socialize economic relations and provide opportunities "where ethical economic decisions can be made around recognized forms of interdependence" (Gibson-Graham 2006, p. 81). Alternative economies are where people take collective action for mutual aid and a better economic reality (Gibson-Graham 2006; Day 2005). As the hegemony of a singular capitalism is rejected (Gibson-Graham 1996; Williams 2005), a space is created for thinking about a diverse economy that sustains material survival and well-being in ways other than market transactions, wage labor, and capitalist enterprise (Gibson-Graham 2005). The essence of alternative economies is about improving well-being through minimizing economic domination and exploitation (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017).

I explore the importance of social capital—the connections between people—in the market place. Social capital, and not just economic capital, is important for well-being (Putnam 2000). The links or ties between consumers and producers across social and geographic distance may be weak (Grannoveter 1973), but can still be significant. I apply literature that suggests connections between people can improve well-being to the relationship between producers and consumers.

[3] The Macromarketing Society, http://www.macromarketing.org/about/

1.7 Significance of the Research

This work offers a theoretical contribution in proposing and testing an alternative marketing model that promises well-being improvements for both producers and consumers. I conceptualize and define a way of measuring the connectedness between actors in a network. The domain of alternative economies suggests that shared commitments are critical to improving the well-being of subordinated local subjects (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). S*hared commitments* has previously been presented only as a notion rather than as a specific concept. In this thesis, I define shared commitments and empirically demonstrate their existence, how they form between actors, and bolster well-being in alternative economies. Understanding shared commitments and how they can be developed is critical to the conceptualization and development of alternative economies that can reduce alienation and improve well-being.

Another underdeveloped area in the literature on alternative economies is place and space, and particularly the relationship between local and non-local. I am interested in how *non-local* "movement actors work towards localized development" (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017) to improve well-being for local subjects. I examine how shared commitments can develop in geographically dispersed and spatially extended networks (Wellman 1999; Marsden, Banks, and Bristow 2000). The research context, which is both grounded in a local community and ignites the motivation of non-local actors, provides a context for learning how distant people can be drawn into shared commitments and improve well-being outcomes locally and non-locally.

There are also managerial and policy implications for social entrepreneurs and policy makers who want to initiate ventures that can achieve a triple bottom line of creating social, environmental, and financial value. The model offers promise for connecting urban consumers and rural producers, and allowing producer communities to remain intact. I present evidence that consumers and producers can improve their well-being through shared commitments with one another. The hope is that through this alternative economy, people can be more connected to one another, happier, and healthier.

1.8 Introducing the Context

Food is one of the contexts in which the fraying of social connections between consumers and producers is most apparent. Many people are just a generation or two removed from agricultural lifestyles where they produced their own food or lived in a community where they knew the people who did. Now living in urban centers, with unprecedented access to remarkably affordable food, a growing number of people are questioning the predominant industrialized food system. In a "centralized exchange system," where economic and political power are used to direct transactions in the interests of the entity in power (Layton 2007), many consumers and producers see large agrofood companies in power and not advancing societal interests. In such food marketing systems, production, processing, and distribution are on an industrial scale and seen to be controlled predominantly by transnational corporations (Witkoswki 2008).The farmer and consumer are anonymous to one another in the dominant food system (Sharp, Imerman, and Peters

2002). Products have been stripped of their social and environmental relations (Hudson and Hudson 2003).

Consumers wonder about the health of the food that arrives to them through a long supply chain that obscures the producer. Consumers are unsettled by mass-produced food and are concerned about the health of the food they are eating. Food scares such as contaminated meats leave people feeling that the food system cannot be blindly trusted (Murdoch and Miele 1999), prompting a desire to know what one is eating, and by whom and how it is made. Chemicals from pesticides and uncertainties about hormones are unsettling to many. Consumers complain of tasteless fruits and vegetables as well as questioning whether produce grown out of season and produced with uniform shapes and enlarged sizes is "natural."

The producers, for their part, are being squeezed financially. They receive little of the final price paid by the consumer at the end of the supply chain. Farmers in developing countries (such as Turkey) frustrated by the lack of return on hard work are selling their land and moving to cities (Cinar 2014). The restructuring of Turkish agriculture over the last couple decades has led to "de-agrarianization and unprecedented levels of impoverishment in rural areas" (Aydin 2010, p. 150). Family farmers are not able to make a living, so millions of people in places like Turkey are selling their land and leaving agriculture (Aydin 2010). As local farming declines, so too does consumers' ability to get fresh, locally grown food. Less land to farm and fewer small farmers mean more processed and less healthy food, further decreasing well-being for consumers.

Alternative food networks (AFNs) are springing up in the face of the disillusionment that some producers and consumers feel with the traditional food system

(Murdoch, Marsden, and Banks 2000; Jarosz 2008). AFNs are alternative means of provisioning, shortening the distance between producers and consumers. Community Supported Agriculture, organic food, and fair trade are all alternative movements that address different aspects of the lack of knowledge about food and disconnection from farm to table. Each of these has limitations, and there is a need for considering alternative models of provisioning that evoke trust, shared commitments, and yield greater well-being improvement for the consumer and producer communities.

The context of this study is Turkey, a developing economy, with growing urbanization, and more people buying their food through supermarkets and long supply changes as they move away from villages and agricultural lifestyles. This research focuses on the case study of a predominant AFN to emerge in Turkey, a farm in a rural area in the west of Turkey. High demand from urban customers has driven the growth of the farm in recent years. Of particular interest is the well-being impact for consumers as well as the producing community. I adopted a network approach, considering the impact of this network on the owner, consumers, producers, and the local community.

1.9 Overview of the Thesis

In chapter 2, I ground the dissertation in the relevant literature on well-being, a communal approach to marketing, and alternative economies. I define the context of Alternative food networks and the case study of an innovative model in Turkey. In chapter 3, I explain the exploratory sequential mixed methodology used in the research to first understand the context, discover meanings, and hear what motivates people to be

employees and customers. In chapter 4, I share the qualitative findings from my research, including an inductive model based on the qualitative research. In chapter 5, I provide the results of the tested model based on customer and employee survey data. In chapter 6, I consider the dark sides that may accompany shared commitments. In the final chapter I discuss the theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of my combined qualitative and quantitative findings. I detail the contributions to the literature on alternative economies, AFNs, well-being, and community, as well as offer managerial and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Well-being

As presented in the introductory chapter, subjective well-being is a more comprehensive consideration than just financial well-being. Subjective well-being (SWB) is people's cognitive and affective evaluation of their lives (Ahuvia and Friedman 1998). "A prima facie case can be made that the ultimate 'dependent variable' in social science should be human well-being and, in particular, well-being as defined by the individual herself, or 'subjective well-being'" (Helliwell and Putnam 2004, p. 1435). Decades of research have shown a number of separable components of SWB: life satisfaction (global judgments of one's life), satisfaction with important domains (e.g., health and social contacts), positive affect (experiencing many pleasant emotions and moods), and low levels of negative affect (experiencing few unpleasant emotions and moods) (Diener 2000). Well-being captures an important range of outcomes (Diener 2000), is applicable for all actors in a network, and can be considered in aggregate.

I begin by discussing literature that suggests a link between well-being and social connection and particularly well-being of consumers and producers. I then present two streams of literature that are concerned with people reconnecting through the market. I introduce the notion of *shared commitments* at the foundation of alternative economies. I then present the context of this thesis: alternative food networks (AFN) and specifically a predominant AFN in Turkey. This chapter concludes with the research questions for the dissertation.

2.2 Social Connection and Well-being

There is a wide body of work that supports the intuitive link between social connectedness and well-being (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Putnam 2001; Geiger-Oneto and Arnould 2011). Thousands of year ago ancient texts like the Torah, "It is not good for man to be alone," and King Solomon's words, "Two are better than one" have identified the underlying principle that people are better together. In more contemporary times, psychologist Abraham Maslow (1954) posited that after the fulfillment of lower-order biological and safety needs, people seek to fulfill social needs (e.g., need for affiliation, friendship, belongingness, etc.); esteem needs (e.g., need for achievement, success, recognition, etc.); and self-actualization needs (e.g., need for creativity, self-expression, integrity, self-fulfillment, etc.). Living in community facilitates the fulfillment of these needs, but most clearly the social needs. If Maslow is right that people have a need for affiliation and belongingness, it would follow that additional social links will improve their satisfaction with life and well-being.

Ryan and Deci (2000) postulate three innate psychological needs—competence, autonomy, and relatedness—that, if thwarted, lead to diminished motivation and well-being. A "lack of connectedness" (among other things) can "disrupt the inherent actualizing and organizational tendencies endowed by nature, and thus such factors result not only in the lack of initiative and responsibility but also in distress and psychopathology" (Ryan and Deci 2000, p.76). From childhood a secure relational base and the responsiveness of others are vital for motivation. Ryan and Deci's work points to a universal psychological need for connectedness that people will try to satisfy in order to avoid ill-being.

Baumeister and Leary (1995, p. 522) conclude their review of the empirical evidence of the human need for interpersonal attachment by stating that "human beings are fundamentally and pervasively motivated by a need to belong, that is, by a strong desire to form and maintain enduring interpersonal attachments." They explain that there is first a need for frequent, affectively pleasant interactions and, second, these interactions must take place in the context of a temporally stable and enduring framework of affective concern for each other's welfare. Baumeister and Leary (1995, p. 497) assert that "a great deal of human behavior, emotion, and thought is caused by this fundamental interpersonal motive" and that a lack of attachments is linked to a variety of ill effects on health and well-being. They also suggest that relationships of mutual, reciprocal concern and frequent contact are important. Links with "nonsupportive, indifferent others can go only so far in promoting one's general well-being" (Baumeister and Leary 1995, p. 500). It follows from this research that well-being can be enhanced wherever people can find enduring interpersonal attachments and a sense of belonging.

In social psychology there is a long literature on the link between social support and well-being. Support links, the existence of confidants, and community attachments are all connected with people's ability to cope (Leavy 1983). There is evidence that social resources have a general beneficial effect, as well as contributing to well-being because it helps "buffer" people from the influence of stressful events (Cohen and Wills 1985).

Putnam's (2001) work on social capital (characterized by volunteer activity, club and church membership, and social entertaining) has shown that communities with high rates of social capital have higher well-being than communities low in social capital. Helliwell and Putnam (2004, p. 1437) extend the work on social capital, "networks and norms of reciprocity and trust," measured by the strength of family, neighborhood, religious and community ties, to study its effect on physical health and subjective well-being. Based on their findings from three large data sources spanning 49 countries, they assert, "Marriage and family, ties to friends and neighbors, workplace ties, civic engagement (both individually and collectively), trustworthiness and trust all appear independently and robustly related to happiness and life satisfaction, both directly and through their impact on health" (Helliwell and Putnam 2004, p. 1444). Helliwell and Putnam (2005) summarize their research by stating that social networks have value. Social trust, the belief that those around you can be trusted, is higher in dense social networks. Dense social networks lead to lower crime rates, improved child welfare, better public health, decreased corruption, and so on. Ties of all kinds are a part of the dense social networks: having a family, spending time with the family, and frequent interaction with extended family members.

Oldenquist (1991, p. 107), writing from the communitarian sociological tradition mentioned in the Introduction chapter, stresses the human need for social contact:

> The human animal has a fundamental need for something more than individual advantage. Theologians and philosophers have been saying this for a few thousand years, but perhaps it will be thought a surprising claim to be reinforced by the twentieth-century's revolution in biology: if you do not love something besides yourself, you will find it nearly impossible to love yourself. Why? Because it is our nature, not a product of convention or contract, to be social animals; we are genetically primed to be socialized and brought up belonging to and caring about the good of our families, clans, tribes, towns, or countries. This social love or group egoism, including the need of children for the socializing process itself, is as essential to the flourishing of human beings as is self love or egoism, and its absence is a cause of the phenomenon we call alienation.

Oldenquist (1991) argues that the social belonging between people is essential for the well-being of humans. Apart from a love for something outside of himself or herself the human will feel alienated.

In summary, building on the psychology literature about the importance of social connections for emotional and physical health and social capital, there is a theoretical foundation for studying how stronger relational connections will lead to improved well-being.

2.3 Well-being of Producers and Consumers

Although there have been robust findings about the importance of social connections to well-being, there has been little work done specifically on the mutual well-being of producers and consumers. While I am interested in overall well-being, it can be helpful to think about well-being in particular domains of one's life (Diener 2000). For example, the well-being of people can be considered with regard to their work or their

consumption. In this section I will first review literature that deals with producer well-being and consumer well-being separately, and then the limited work that considers the well-being for consumers and producers collectively.

2.3.1 Producer Well-Being

On the producer side, I consider the well-being of producers with respect to a particular production activity. Marxist theory has long critiqued the fate of the laborer in the capitalistic and industrialized system, arguing that it creates a feeling of alienation.

> What constitutes alienation of labor? First that work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature, and that consequently he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies, but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. (Marx 1844/1932)

Marx describes the alienation of labor as the work being external to the worker, not finding any fulfillment in the work, with feelings of misery rather than "well-being."

More than 2,000 years earlier King Solomon lamented about the lack of satisfaction he felt in work. "So I hated life, because the work that is done under the sun was grievous to me. All of it is meaningless, a chasing after the wind. I hated all the things I had toiled for under the sun, because I must leave them to the one who comes after me" (Ecclesiastes 2:17-18). Solomon expresses a feeling of meaninglessness in work, which adversely effects his overall life satisfaction.

In contemporary research, the most closely related literature is on work or job satisfaction. Job satisfaction is one important influencer of well-being (Warr, Cook, and

Wall 1979; Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza 2000). Well-being in the workplace is impacted by work setting, personality traits, and occupational stress, including role in the organization, relationships at work, organizational structure and climate, and the home/work interface (Danna and Griffin 1999). Other research on job satisfaction has found that having an interesting job and good relations with one's boss have the largest effect on job satisfaction—larger than pay (Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza 2000). Gallup has generated considerable data on the links between job satisfaction, well-being, and productivity of employees, asserting that the well-being of entire communities is impacted by satisfaction of employees on their jobs (Harter, Schmidt, and Keyes 2003).

Producer well-being is of particular interest to scholars critical of capitalism and its use of labor. Subordinated local subjects, which include subsistence farmers, those doing non-commodified work, and especially women, have been exploited in many ways by the capitalist economy (Williams 2005; Day 2005).

2.3.2 Consumer Well-Being

I also consider well-being from a consumer perspective. As suggested by Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz (2007), consumer well-being (CWB) is about the link between consumer satisfaction and quality of life: higher levels of CWB can lead to improved well-being and societal welfare. They distinguish it from consumer satisfaction, which tends to emphasize its role in customer loyalty, repeat purchase behavior, and positive word-of-mouth communications, which in turn drive sales, market share, and profit.

Grzeskowiak and Sirgy (2007, p. 289) define CWB as "the extent to which a particular consumer good or service creates an overall perception of the quality-of-life impact of that product." They study CWB in relation to brand community and study how CWB can be predicted by brand loyalty and brand-community belongingness. A number of factors can influence CWB, such as even the sentiment that people feel toward marketing itself. Peterson and Ekici (2007) found in a developing context that people who have a positive sentiment toward marketing practice are more likely to experience higher levels of subjective well-being.

In reviewing the several alternative models of CWB (Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz 2007), noticeably missing is a model that directly relates CWB to the well-being of the producer of the products one consumes. For example, the globalization model addresses whether people have access to basic needs and non-basic needs, and not how the producers of these goods in other countries are impacted by globalization. The community model is about community residents' satisfaction with a variety of retail and service establishments in the local area, which does not explicitly account for issues such as environmental impacts or inequality between people in the community. The closest to considering the influence of producer well-being is the need satisfaction model, based on Maslow (1954)'s hierarchy of needs. The need satisfaction model postulates that consumer goods and services that serve to meet the full spectrum of human development needs (including self-actualization, esteem, knowledge, and social needs) should be more highly rated in terms of CWB than goods and services that satisfy only a small subset of needs.

Walker et al. (2007) consider the link between consumers' perceptions of the impact of a local business on the "sense of community" and CWB. The inclusion of measures such as the ties between people in the community, helping one another, and the general prosperity of the community go beyond the typical measures of service quality and customer satisfaction. However, the concern in the Walker et al. (2007) study is not whether the employees of the bank are better off, but only whether the bank is building a sense of community.

Hill, Felice, and Ainscough (2007) consider global social justice. They find gross injustice across the globe in consumption inequities. While it is important to consider the people who are suffering under the current global market, their work does not propose a link between the well-being of people in developing and developed contexts. My research aims to explore market-based approaches for links to be made between consumers in developed cities and producers in developing rural areas. The review of the CWB models shows that the link to producer well-being is not typically considered as influential in CWB.

2.3.3 Mutual Producer and Consumer Well-Being

Beyond just the well-being of either consumers or producers, I am more specifically interested in the extent to which a social link between consumers and producers can lead to their mutual well-being—a current gap in marketing literature. One of the few pieces of research on the benefits of the interpersonal aspects of consumers and producers is by Kirwan (2006), who proposes the convention "relations of regard" to acknowledge the

non-economic benefits of shorter food supply chains, characterized by direct marketing and, in particular, face-to-face interaction. Kirwan (2006) found that the human-level relationship of consumers with producers added a sense of participation and fulfillment beyond its benefits as a means of assessing trustworthiness. Producers experience enjoyment in interacting with consumers, "the sense of respect, reputation, and personalized recognition for what they do" (Kirwan 2006, p. 311). For consumers, it is the sociability, attention, friendship/friendliness they receive. They both appreciate not just being treated as anonymous individuals.

My research extends Kirwan's (2006) work beyond the face-to-face interactions that take place in farmer's markets to consider whether the connections can take place between geographically distant consumers and producers in an alternative food network. As Gouveia and Juska (2002) point out, the people that have face-to-face relations with their food producer are a small minority. A gap still remains in the literature on the role of personal relationship when there is a much larger physical distance.

Svenfelt and Carlsson-Kanyama (2010) found that the primary concern of many consumers they interviewed in a farmer's market was their personal relationship to the food producer and trust in the producers and their produce. They discuss how buying food from the producers themselves in local food markets can build social capital such as trust and improve a person's quality of life.

In their review of the impact of fair trade, Nelson and Pound (2009) point out that a broad range of well-being indicators must be considered, and not only questions of price and income differential. Previous research has shown non-monetary benefits to being involved in a fair trade group such as a "discernable identity" and a "sense of

community" (Moberg 2005, p. 12). Although Brown and Miller (2008) consider the impact of CSA on both consumers and farmers, they do so from a primarily financial perspective.

Press and Arnould (2011) investigate how constituents (both employees and consumers) come to identify with organizations. While Press and Arnould (2011) have a consumer behavior perspective, I take a macro perspective to evaluate the implications of commitments for the well-being of the constituents and overall community. Rather than an emphasis on individual identity, I address a need in how interdependence may help improve the well-being of others.

I will build on the limited literature that addresses the impact of the social link between consumers and producers on well-being. I adopt a network approach to consider the well-being of all actors in a network, including producers and consumers.

2.4 Literature on Reconnectedness of People through the Market

In the following section I consider the literatures that specifically deal with market-based approaches to improve consumer and producer well-being.

2.4.1 Communal Approach to Marketing

Bernard Cova (1997) explains that in a late modern or postmodern world consumers are looking for products that not just have use-value to help them express individuality, but also linking-value to facilitate social interaction of the communal type. Rather than the

focus of consumption being "to increase private pleasures and comforts" (Slater 1997, p. 28), consumption can be a means for linking with others. In the absence of traditional or modern references, the individual turns towards systems of consumption in order to form an identity. Consumption is being used less to find direct meanings for life and more for a means to form links with others in the context of communities, in the service of the "social link" (Cova 1997).

In marketing there has been a general neglect of non-individual level phenomena. One exception is the Macromarketing Society's focus on the networked system of markets, marketing, and society[4] and meso and macro level phenomena (Peterson 2016). Another exception is the communal approach to marketing or "tribal marketing," which stresses the importance of community. This stream of research (Kozinets 1999; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007) advances the idea that "the link is more important than the thing."

Postmodernity is an important premise for scholars of the communal approach to marketing. Featherstone (1991) described a move to a society without fixed status groups, where postmodern individuals are nomads with few durable social links. Appadurai (1990) wrote of a "fractal" world with growing "disjunctures." There are few solid reference points in a society in cultural flux. "Objects circulate from producer to consumer with no a priori social link" and the individual person is "freed of their public, social obligations" (Cova 1997, p. 304). In the face of such independence, some observers see a "return of community" in Western societies, also known as "neo-tribalism." These tribes have a local sense of identification, group narcissism, and a common denominator of community dimension. These attempts at social recomposition

[4]http://www.macromarketing.org/about/

(Cova 1997) can be held together by styles of life, senses of injustice, and consumption practices.

Cova and Cova (2002) apply the theories of earlier work on linking value (Cova 1997) more specifically to marketing and propose that the future of marketing is in offering and supporting a renewed sense of community. "Societing" facilitates social gathering by supporting products and services that hold people together as a group of enthusiasts or devotees.

One of the limitations of the literature on the communal approach to marketing is the emphasis on the relationship between consumers around a brand. The communal approach to marketing does very little to address the relationships between consumers and producers.

Another area for developing is the study of well-being as a result of the communal links. While other research has been about the ways that consumers tribes are activators, double-agents, plunderers, and entrepreneurs (Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007), there remains an opportunity to explore particularly what all this "tribal work" means for the well-being of consumers—as well as producers.

One tension in the literature is about the difference in connotations between the terms "tribe" and "community." The term "tribe" is usually used as opposed to "community," which has a modernist bent toward people bound together by having something in common (Cova and Cova 2002). However, other scholars like Muniz and O'Guinn (2001), prefer the term community because it is less "ephemeral" (Maffesoli 1996), where there can be relatively stable groupings and their members more committed. If affiliations of consumers are totally in flux, it still leaves the producer at tremendous

risk. There remains debate therefore on the extent to which well-being can be derived from communities or tribes.

2.4.2 Alternative Economies

In addition to the work on the communal approach to marketing, the field of alternative economies has also been concerned with the reconnection of people estranged through modernism (Watts, Ilbery, and Maye 2005). Alterative economies are more critical of the adverse consequences of the capitalist system. As the hegemony of a singular capitalism is rejected (Gibson-Graham 1996; Williams 2005), a space is created for thinking about a diverse economy that sustains material survival and well-being in ways other than market transactions, wage labor, and capitalist enterprise (Gibson-Graham 2005).

Different means of achieving well-being for subjects have been emphasized by different scholars. Williams (2005, p. 226) aims for the "repositioning of subjects outside a discourse that produces subservience, victimhood and economic impotence." Day (2005, p. 16) is concerned with the pursuit of emancipation from the logic of hegemony and advocates for "a commitment to minimizing domination in one's own individual and group practice, while at the same time warding off attempts at domination by others." Gibson-Graham (2005, p. 16) advocates "those economic practices that sustain lives and maintain wellbeing directly (without resort to the circuitous mechanisms of capitalist industrialization and income trickle-down), that distribute surplus to material and cultural maintenance of community and that actively make and share a commons." As such, the essence of alternative economies is about improving well-being through minimizing

economic domination and exploitation (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). As will be explained in the following sections, work on alternative economies is united in pursuing the well-being of actors by means other than the traditional commercial market's focus on income and growth.

2.4.2.1 Shared Commitments

The domain of alternative economies suggests that shared commitments are critical to improving the well-being of subordinated local subjects (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). *Shared commitments* has previously been presented only as a notion rather than as a specific concept. Based on the literature, I developed a definition that will help identify when these commitments are present and help determine how they are developed. Commitment is "an absolute moral choice of a course of action" (Oxford English 1948). In their enduring work on relationship marketing, Morgan and Hunt (1994, p. 23) define relationship commitment as "an exchange partner believing that an ongoing relationship with another is so important as to warrant maximum efforts at maintaining it." The commitment-trust theory maintains that those networks characterized by relationship commitment and trust engender cooperation, which contributes to overall network performance.

Organizational commitment "is viewed as the totality of internalized normative pressures to act in a way that meets organizational goals and interests" (Wiener 1982, p. 421). Committed individuals exhibit certain behaviors not because it is in their immediate self-interest, but because they believe it is the 'right' thing to do. A behavioral pattern

resulting from strong commitment should show varying degrees of personal sacrifice for the sake of the organization, behavior independent from environmental controls such as reinforcements or punishments, and preoccupation, such as devoting more personal time to the organization (Wiener and Gechman 1977).

The *shared* of shared commitments can mean "to have in common" or "partake of, use, experience, occupy, or enjoy with others" (Merriam-Webster 2003). Possessions can be shared (Belk 2010), but so can commitments, values, world views, and so on. For example, *cosmology* is a shared commitment to a world view (Thompson 1982). Similarly, Popke (2008) asserts that ethics involves collective responsibility and a shared sense of solidarity that goes beyond individual encounters and experiences.

Combining these explanations, I define shared commitment as *a moral choice of a course of action in common with others*. I turn now to address what the "course of action in common" is within alternative economies.

2.4.2.2 Alternative Economies and Shared Commitments

In traditional commercial markets there are typically no shared commitments to social goals and very little social concern for other actors. As Foucault explained, "The political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our day is not to try to liberate the individual from the economy…but to liberate us both from the economy and from the type of individualization that is linked to the economy"(Foucault 1983, p. 216 in Gibson-Graham 2006, p. xxxv). In traditional commercial markets, business owners and investors want profit, employees care about their wage, and customers are concerned with the

value of the product or service they consume. "Once people begin to see each other as merely economically or financially motivated, they treat them as such. And once they are so treated, they themselves will tend to behave in the same way" (Lessem, Muchineripi, and Kada 2012, p. 123). Exploitation will generally abound in a system where actors see each other as only economic beings, ignoring one another's well-being.

Simon Sinek (2015) is one commentator who has articulated how abstraction takes place when people are treated as statistics rather than human beings. He challenges the current business culture where it is commonplace for people to be fired to reach short-term financial goals. Executives feel a greater responsibility to deliver profits for their shareholders than to support their employees and their families through difficult times. Sinek's contemporary writing is building on long-standing critiques of the industrialized economy.

Quite different than the individualized and de-socialized picture of traditional commercial markets, alternative economies rest on people's commitment to one another and to joint endeavors. "A politics of collective action involves conscious and combined efforts to build a new kind of economic reality" (Gibson-Graham 2006, p. xxxvi). Day (2005) advocates working from affinity rather than from the logic of hegemony in the pursuit of emancipation. By *affinity*, he means "non-universalizing, non-hierarchical, non-coercive relationships based on mutual aid and shared ethical commitments" (Day 2005, p. 9). Day asserts the following: "We need to guide our relations with other communities according to the interlocking ethico-political commitments of *groundless solidarity* and *infinite responsibility*" (Day 2005, p. 18, italics in original). *Groundless solidarity* means seeing one's own privilege and oppression as interlinked and therefore

not claiming one form of inequality as the most important area of struggle. The concept arises from a "complex set of (partially) shared experiences of what it means to live under neoliberal hegemony, what it means to fight it—and to create alternatives to it" (Day 2005, p. 202). *Infinite responsibility* means remaining open to challenge of not being in solidarity.

There remains a need to further develop the understanding of shared commitments by exploring *who* comes to share these commitments to minimize economic domination and exploitation of the other actors in a network. The relationship between actors in an alternative economy and their varying levels of concern for each other's well-being is an understudied area in the literature. Day (2005), for example, offers very little on the way that actors within a network come to share the radical shared commitments he outlines. For example, how do different actors come to see their own privilege and oppression as interlinked with those of other actors?

One of the debates that involves the communal approaching to marketing and alternative economies is whether well-being improvements can be made within the market or outside of it. The communal approach to marketing focuses on ways that consumers are searching for and finding belonging through the market. However, there are also more radical approaches that target well-being through a mechanism outside of a capitalist market system, such as alternative economies. In my research, I am less concerned about whether the market is capitalist or not, and more concerned about whether shared commitments form and well-being is improved to a greater degree than is typical in traditional markets and exchanges.

2.5 Context

I will study shared commitments and their impact on well-being in the context of alternative food networks (AFN). I will therefore present a definition of AFNs, as well as evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of three existing strands of AFNs. Finally, I will introduce Miss Silk's Farm, the specific case study upon which this research focuses.

2.5.1 Alternative Food Networks

AFNs or "short food supply chains," are broad based terms that cover newly emerging networks of producers, consumers, and other actors that embody alternatives to the more standardized industrial mode of food supply (Murdoch, Marsden, and Banks 2000). One definition of AFNs has four components: (1) shorter distances between producers and consumers, (2) small farm size and scale and organic/holistic farming methods; (3) existence of food purchasing venues; (4) a commitment to social, economic, and environmental dimensions of food production, distribution, and consumption (Jarosz 2008). AFNs are largely the response to the alienation felt over food (Renting, Marsden, and Banks 2003). There is an effort "to reconnect food production and consumption by more direct mechanisms" (Montiel et al. 2010). The shorter supply chains enable AFNs to bypass middlemen, minimize transport distances, and do more direct marketing to consumers (Jarosz 2008).

According to Albrecht et al. (2013, p. 154) a goal embedded in AFNs is "the achievement of more equitable labor relations in comparison to the industrial food

system's exploitation of human workers." Within the food industry, there is a political struggle to redefine consumer-producer relationships that could create a broader farmer-consumer alliance (Goodman and DuPuis 2002). People desire more connectivity between consumers and producers (Alexander and Nicholls 2005). Goodman and DuPuis 2002, p. 13) argue for production and consumption not to be seen as separate spheres, but as mutually constitutive: "One has to see the mutual constitution of social relationships between producer and consumer, and the ways in which market and non-market activities are continually embedded within each other, rather than being contained in separate spheres."

It is worth noting that not all AFNs are technically alternative economies. For example, some work on alternative economies stresses that they should not be underpinned by profit motivations and not even be monetized (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). For the purposes of my research, I am interested in comparing all models that are an "alternative" to the predominant industrialized food system. Many AFNs likewise vary in the extent to which they emerged in local communities or alleviate subordinated position of local subjects (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). However, I believe that all such AFNs are taking steps towards connecting consumers and producers in a way that minimizes economic domination and exploitations in the predominant system.

AFNs are increasing market share in developed economies and receiving attention in the academic literature. "In networked exchange systems, the focus is on the relationships linking individuals and entities in the marketing system, relationships that underpin the flows of transactions" (Layton 2007, p. 233). There is a "search for new

mechanisms of belonging and rootedness, for which food is one of the most fundamental and existential" (Montiel et al. 2010). This thesis analyzes ways consumers and producers can link together and re-embed agriculture with social and ecological information (Raynolds 2000), improving the well-being of each.

Consumers and producers are questioning the predominant industrialized food system. In a "centralized exchange system," where economic and political power are used to direct transactions in the interests of the entity in power (Layton 2007), many consumers and producers see large agrofood companies in power and not advancing societal interests. In such food marketing systems, production, processing, and distribution are on an industrial scale and seen to be controlled predominantly by transnational corporations (Witkoswki 2008, p.265). The farmer and consumer are anonymous to one another in the dominant food system (Sharp, Imerman, and Peters 2002). Products have been stripped of their social and environmental relations (Hudson and Hudson 2003).

Consumers are unsettled by mass-produced food. They are concerned about the health of the food they are eating. Food scares such as contaminated meats leave people feeling that the food system cannot be blindly trusted (Murdoch and Miele 1999), prompting a desire to know what one is eating, and by whom and how it is made. Chemicals from pesticides and uncertainties about hormones are unsettling to many. Consumers complain of tasteless fruits and vegetables as well as questioning whether produce grown out of season and produced with uniform shapes and enlarged sizes is "natural."

Farmers in developing countries (such as Turkey) frustrated by the lack of return on hard work are selling their land and moving to cities. Deregulation of urban planning during the building boom in the 2000s has led to replacement of agricultural land, sprawling expansion of cities and environmental degradation (Balaban 2012, Duran et al. 2012). The restructuring of Turkish agriculture over the last couple decades has led to "de-agrarianization and unprecedented levels of impoverishment in rural areas" (Aydin 2010, p. 150). Family farmers are not able to make a living, so they sell their lands and urbanization continues. In the two years between 2004 and 2006 over 1.3 million people left agriculture (Aydin 2010, p. 180). As local farming declines, so too does consumers' ability to get fresh, locally grown food. Less land to farm and fewer small farmers mean more processed and less healthy food, further decreasing well-being for consumers.

These developments in the predominant food system are likely to negatively affect both consumers' and producers' well-being. There have been attempts to improve society's well-being through AFNs such as the organic food movement, fair trade, and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). However, due to various reasons, these existing systems have been limited in their ability to deliver improved societal well-being. In the following section I will review the advantages and drawback of existing AFNs.

2.5.2 Existing Alternative Food Networks to Improve Well-being

There are several different AFNs that address the alienation faced by consumers and producers. I consider organic food, fair trade, and Community Supported Agriculture

(CSA) as some of the most prominent AFNs in North America and Europe, but still fledgling in Turkey. I will discuss the literature on organic, fair trade, and CSA, exploring the advantages as well as limitations of each. I hasten to point out that these are not mutually exclusive, but represent three of the main strands of AFNs.

2.5.2.1 Organic Food

The impetus of the organic food movement is healthy food for consumers. The organic certification stipulates how a product is produced—both in a way that is healthy for the consumer and non-harmful to the environment. "Through environmentally sound practices, organic producers and processors strive to sustain the health of the earth while providing quality food for those who inhabit it" (OCIA.org). The emphasis here is on the producer working on behalf of the consumer to produce healthy food.

Organic food is grown and processed without the use of synthetic chemicals, fertilizers, antibiotics, hormones, or genetically modified organisms (GMOs). Accordingly, the most important outcome that consumers hope to achieve is health for themselves or their families. There is also a belief that this is better environmentally. Although there are many competing demands and motivations, the organic consumers' concern least likely to be compromised is personal and family health (Lockie et al. 2002, Makatouni 2002, p. 351). Centrally, an organic certification can improve a consumer's confidence that what he or she is eating has a minimal amount of chemical residues.

Despite the strengths, there are limitations. It is common for consumers to complain that products are labeled organic only to be sold at a higher price. Consumers

are wary of the commodification of social and ethical issues (Crane 1997). Large corporations have entered the organic market to capitalize on demand. Organic food itself is becoming another "rootless commodity" (Pollan 2006), made on industrialized farms and sold at Wal-Mart (Warner 2006). Organic food doesn't alter the relationship between producers and consumers. Hyde and Wiegand (2005) conclude their critique of the increasing corporatization of organic food by imploring consumers to, "Develop relationships with the folks creating your food."

Another major limitation of organic food is that it does very little to address the important producer side of food supply. "Organic trade in many ways re-enforces the traditional subordination of Southern producers" (Raynolds 2000, p. 304). Producers will likewise benefit from a better environment, but organic food does not address labor issues or promote family farming. Additionally, organic farming can make the job of the farmer that much harder, less able to utilize the full range of pesticides and fertilizers that have increased productivity. In sum, organic food is considered here as an AFN that can improve the well-being of consumers, but mostly neglects the well-being of the producer.

2.5.2.2 Fair Trade

Fair trade focuses on improved living and working conditions for producers in underdeveloped countries. Whereas organic certifications verify the conditions of production, fair trade initiatives seek to transform trade relations between producers and consumers (Raynolds 2002). Small-scale farmers in the fair trade network are guaranteed a fair price and an additional premium that they are able to invest back into their

community. “Connectivity” between those who grow and consume fair trade products is of fundamental importance (Alexander and Nichols 2006). Fair trade requires solidarity that goes against the individualism and price-based simplicity of the commodity-based market (Hudson and Hudson 2003). Geiger-Oneto and Arnould (2011) show that participants in the alternative trade organization they studied experience greater social support and improved subjective quality of life.

However, there are limitations that have kept fair trade from taking off. In the academic literature there is debate about how much fair trade actually raises the well-being of producing communities (Arnould, Plastina, and Ball 2009; Nelson and Pound 2009). There is critique of the way that fair trade and related prescriptions can be based on very Western notions of “sustainable development.” As with “sustainability,” fair trade may just be another effort to try to form the world in a Western image (Morse 2008).

Fair trade in and of itself is also limited in guaranteeing any difference in the quality of the product. For example, there is no stipulation on a product being organic. Indifference toward fair trade products is a bigger challenge to overcome then price or availability (De Pelsmacker and Janssens 2007). The opportunity to benefit a producing community is appealing to some, but the lack of differentiation in product quality limits the demand for fair trade.

Despite a principle of respect for the environment[5], an additional drawback of fair trade is the large carbon footprint as the products are transported long distances between developing and developed countries. Domestic fair trade is another consideration, with

[5] World Fair Trade Organization “10 Principles of Fair Trade” http://wfto.com/fair-trade/10-principles-fair-trade

the same value of a partnership between consumers and producers, but focused on producers closer to home (Jaffee, Kloppenburg, and Monroy 2004). There are still issues to negotiate such as a social justice versus the personal health or environmental goals (Brown and Getz 2008). In sum, fair trade establishes a link between consumers and producers, trying to improve the well-being for poor farmers, but the impact on the well-being of consumers and producing communities is less than certain.

2.5.2.3 Community Supported Agriculture (CSA)

CSA is an AFN that in many countries has served to facilitate the relationship between consumers and producers. Interested consumers purchase a share offered by a local farmer and in return receive a box of produce each week throughout the farming season (Locaharvest.org). Benefits to the consumer include fresh produce, the opportunity to visit the farm, and the feeling of supporting the local farmer. The producer benefits by being able to do the marketing in the offseason, receiving payment up front, and by the members sharing the risk of unpredictable crop. A CSA share price should cover operating costs and yield a fair return to the farmer's labor (Brown and Miller 2008).

The desire to support "the local food system" is one of the main reasons for the take-off of CSA farms and coops (Sharp, Imerman, and Peters 2002). Within the same community, consumers are able to visit farms, meet the farmers, and even join in the work. There is a countervailing market response to corporate co-optation of organic, returning to localness, "the most distinctive and inimitable asset of small organic farms" (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2006). In the transience of modern society and food

traveling long distances, a consumer's ability to buy food from a local farm is a way to contribute rootedness to his or her identity (Belk 1988). When consumption takes place in the same community as the production there is a natural feedback loop in place that forces people to live with the environment impact of their production and consumption decisions (Nozick 1992, p. 62 in Hudson and Hudson 2003).

However, there are limitations that arise with CSA. One is that CSA has limited reach because they tend to prosper in greenbelts of large cities (Stagl 2002). CSA requires favorable agricultural conditions as well as proximity to a population with the economic means to pay more for their food than from traditional channels. Because of the seasonal dependency due to restrictions of the local growing season, CSAs can only be considered complementary to other food channels (Stagl 2002). Local, alternative food systems are not necessarily beneficial for all who participate in them (Jarosz 2008). CSA farmers may have to work harder by taking on the additional responsibilities of processing and direct marketing. According to a couple studies (cited by Brown and Miller 2008), less than half of CSA farmers felt the share price provided a fair wage.

In summary, the literature shows that organic, fair trade, and CSA offer certain strengths in improving well-being of consumers and producers, but each has significant limitations. The organic food movement may improve well-being of consumers through healthier food, but in many ways only increases the burden on producers. Fair trade offers producers better terms of trade that can enhance producing communities, but the impact on consumers' well-being is not convincing enough to prompt high demand. CSA shows promise of strengthening the connection between producers and consumers, but in

an increasingly urbanized society the scope may be limited because of the need for farms to be close to consumers.

2.5.3 Miss Silk's Farm

The primary research site for this study is Miss Silk's Farm (MSF), one of the most successful AFNs to recently emerge in Turkey against a backdrop of urbanization and the decline of local farming (Aydin 2010; Balaban 2012). I chose to study one predominant case in-depth in order to generate learning about how shared commitments develop and can impact well-being. MSF is noteworthy because of the enormous demand it has generated for its products and other such efforts it has inspired in Turkey. It is geographically situated between typically local CSA and continent-spanning fair trade. Consumers have a remarkable trust in the healthiness of the products, although they are not certified organic.

Pinar Kaftancioglu established a small farm in Ocakli, a village in western Turkey near the larger city of Nazilli, to live a more rural life and grow healthy food for her daughter (after whom she named the farm). Pinar hired local villagers to work at the farm and began to send food to friends and others referred by her friends in Turkey's large cities. MSF has expanded to supply a wide variety of products (over 500) to customers who are accepted based on referrals. A weekly email in Turkish is sent out to over 50,000 people, with Pinar's commentary about the farm and Turkey's food sector and includes a large spreadsheet with prices and descriptions of the products, from which customers can select. Clients place their orders by emailing the spreadsheet, and then boxes are filled

and shipped to customers' doorsteps using a commercial cargo company. Approximately 2,500 large boxes are sent out weekly. MSF is not considered 'local' for most of her customers, as most of the boxes are shipped several hundred kilometers to Istanbul and Ankara. The "spatially extended" nature where food is shipped outside of the region makes it an interesting site to study local/non-local dynamics (Marsden, Banks, and Bristow 2000, pp. 425-426). MSF employs about 100 people, most of them women, year round from the surrounding villages, with others hired according to the season. The farm maintains approximately 50 hectares for crops and vegetables, 13,000 olive trees, 75 cows, and 500 chickens. Pinar outspokenly does not believe in obtaining organic certification, but sells food that she maintains is grown and processed in traditional ways.

On the one hand, the story of MSF could be viewed as that of a successful entrepreneur who brought efficiency and rationality to an undeveloped periphery of Turkey. Pinar utilized her capital from a water factory she started and then sold to buy farming equipment and the land near Ocakli. On the other hand, MSF is in the non-commodified sphere because while monetized transactions do take place the profit motive is absent (Williams 2005). The farm is an example of a firm that does not seem to maximize profits or exploit its workers (Gibson-Graham 1996). It does not try to continually increase capacity or efficiency and regularly turns away customers. Employees are provided fair wages and health insurance benefits, contrary to industry norms. Providing quality food and stimulating social change are the aims, rather than maximizing profits. Although enacted in a context influenced by capitalist norms and conventions, MSF is a space where alternative economic constructions and practices are evident (Lee 2000).

In her continuing body of work, Gibson-Graham (2008, p. 618) warns against conceding to a hegemonic discourse: "Experimental forays into building new economies are likely to be dismissed as capitalism in another guise or as always already coopted; they are often judged as inadequate before they are explored in all their complexity and incoherence." Accordingly, I argue that MSF is a space in which aspects of alternative economies can be studied (e.g. Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012).

2.6 Research Questions

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the literature that makes a case that social links can improve the well-being of people and communities. I introduced the concepts of shared commitment, a foundational notion in alternative economies. Despite such conceptual understandings, the extent to which shared commitments emerge in alternative economies and facilitate well-being for the actors involved is relatively less known. As such, this thesis aims to answer the following two broad research questions: How can shared commitments develop between geographically distant consumers and producers? What are the implications of shared commitments for the well-being of actors in an alternative market?

I also have two quantitative questions that guide my model testing. How can shared commitments be measured? What is the relationship between shared commitments and well-being? A question to guide my mixed methods integrations is: To what extent do the qualitative findings about shared commitments and their impact on well-being generalize to both employees and customers of the AFN?

In the following chapter, I describe the methods used to seek answers to the research questions and contribute to the body of literature about well-being, social connections, and alternative markets.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview of Methodology

As detailed in the opening chapters, this research aims to study the social links between consumers and producers and explore how these links can impact well-being. This study requires an in-depth look at the existence and nature of social links in one alternative food network and an evaluation of their connection to well-being. First, I will discuss the mixed methods approach to the case study. Then, I will explain the participants, instruments/ procedures, data analysis, and limitations of both the qualitative and quantitative portions of my research. Finally, I will discuss how I integrated these data sets to develop interpretations.

3.1.1 Mixed Methods

Creswell (2015, p. 2) defines mixed method research as an approach "in which the investigator gathers both quantitative (closed-ended) and qualitative (open-ended) data, integrates the two, and then draws interpretations based on the combined strengths of both sets of data to understand the research problem." It is not merely the gathering of different types of data, but the integration of them (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). Multi-method refers to when multiple forms of either just qualitative or quantitative data are collected, which I used within my qualitative data collection.

I utilized an exploratory sequential design (Creswell 2015), which involved collecting and analyzing qualitative data, developing a model, and then collecting and analyzing quantitative data to test this model. In the first qualitative phase of the study I used semi-structured interviews, observations, and analysis of texts generated by customers, employees, and the owner of a large AFN to understand the connections between them and the impact on their well-being. In the second phase, I used the results of the qualitative analysis of the network to build a model with defined components and variables. In the ensuing quantitative phase, I conducted a closed-ended survey among the customers and employees of the farm to test the conceptualization of shared commitments and their impact on well-being. Based on a synthesis of my qualitative and quantitative findings, along with comparison back to the relevant literature, I drew inferences about how alienation can be reduced and well-being improved through resocialization in alternative markets.

The steps of my exploratory sequential research design (also shown in Figure 1) are therefore:

1. Collected and analyzed the qualitative data from both consumers and producers.
2. Used the results of the qualitative analysis of the farm to build a model with defined components and variables.
3. Collected and analyzed quantitative data from customer and employees to test the model.
4. Compared quantitative results back to qualitative data and collected additional qualitative data to interpret results and draw inferences.

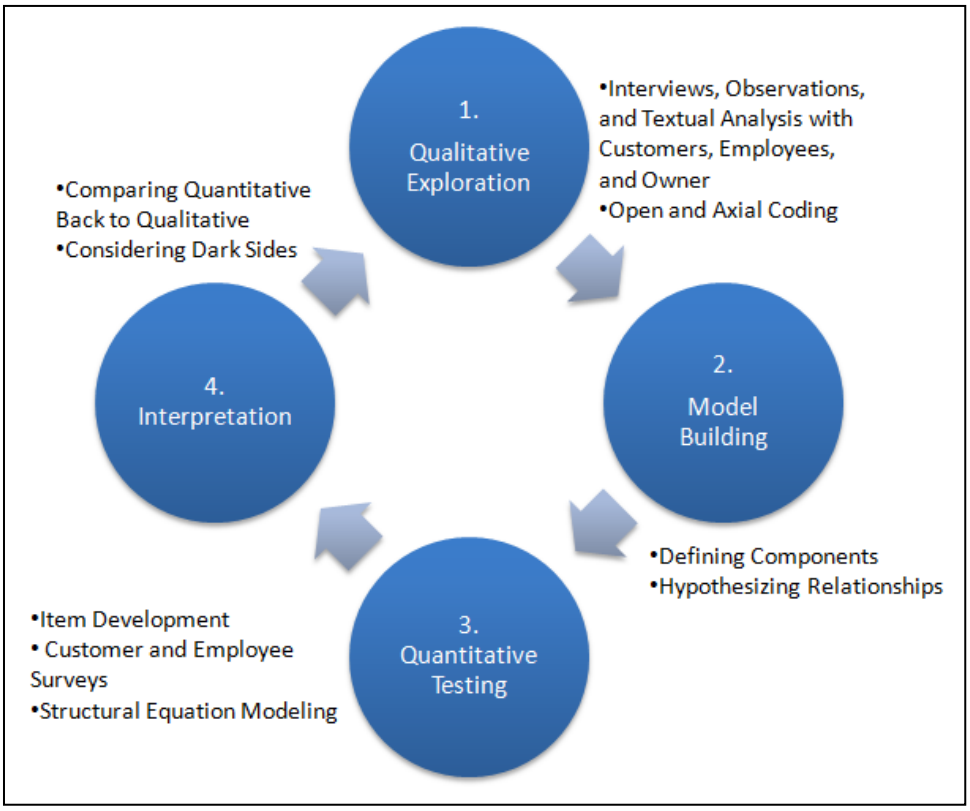

Figure 1 Exploratory Sequential Research Design

The relationship between quantitative and qualitative approaches is often contentious. Hudson and Ozanne (1988) warn that if the knowledge products and guiding assumptions are different, then methods cannot be merged to create a single approach. They discuss supremacy, synthesis, or dialective alternatives between positivist and interpretivist approaches (Hudson and Ozanne 1988). Throughout the mixed method approach, I aimed for a dialective approach between the different data sets and findings, juxtaposing different perspectives and trying to reconcile seemingly conflicting results.

Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte (1999) argue that both quantitative and qualitative data are vital parts of ethnographic research. They explain that ethnography does not test whether a theory is right or wrong, but rather expands and fills in a model, discovering the quantitative and qualitative associations between domains and variables, and compares observed and expected results. They argue that without textual description of the history, culture, politics, and so on, numerical data have little meaning. However, numerical data can be useful in trying to generalize the findings and to test the relationship between variables.

The mixed method approach seemed like the best one for my study because it allowed me to obtain a more comprehensive view and more data about the issue than just a qualitative or quantitative approach (Creswell 2015). Because this research was into a new area on shared commitments that had never been conceptualized before, qualitative research was initially needed. The open-ended qualitative data enabled me to understand participants' experiences in context, to hear their voices, and develop a richer and more nuanced understanding of the contexts. The quantitative data allowed me to efficiently

analyze data for a much larger sample of people, to investigate relationships in the data, and examine possible causes and effects (Creswell 2015).

3.1.2 Case Study

My mixed method research is focused on the case study of Miss Silk's Farm, as introduced in the previous chapter. "The case study is the examination of an instance in action" (McDonald and Walker 1975, p. 2), where studying the particular in-depth can yield generalizable insights of wider significance.

MSF is one instance of an alternative food network. MSF is noteworthy because of the enormous demand it has generated for its products and other such efforts it has inspired in Turkey. My case study of MSF is an example of an instrumental type of case study (Stake 1995), for the purpose of exploring the links between well-being of consumers and producers in a network. I chose to study one predominant case in-depth in order to generate learning about how shared commitments develop and can impact well-being. In addition, the knowledge produced through the study of this particular site has the potential to generate propositions that can be tested with a larger number of cases (Flyvbjerg 2001).

My case study approach is somewhat unusual in that I made an effort to learn as much as I could about all of the actors relating in the network of the farm. Instead of trying to understand just the ownership of the farm, the employees, the customers, or the community in which the farm is located, I tried to understand the perspective of all of these people/groups and how they relate to one another. In advocating for the value of

case studies, Campbell (1988) asserts that methodologists should aim for an applied epistemology that integrates quantitative and qualitative knowing. In my mixed methods approach I did just this, collecting quantitative and qualitative data from among the rural farm community and the urban customers. In other words, I had four major data collection efforts: qualitative with urban customers, qualitative on site at the farm (including with the owner, employees, and in the surrounding community), quantitative with urban customers, and quantitative with the farm employees. This chapter will detail how this data collection was carried out.

3.1.3 Gaining Access

Gaining access for the case study was relatively easy. My advisor had previously visited the farm and had a cordial relationship with Pinar, the owner of the farm. He wrote an email asking if I could visit the farm for my doctoral research. The owner responded favorably, at which point I corresponded with her directly, explaining my general interest in the farm and how I am studying alternative food networks throughout Turkey. Likely due to the volume of emails she receives and her busyness in running the farm, she was not always prompt in her replies, but through follow-up email reminders she was gracious and very receptive of my coming to the farm.

When I showed up at the farm for my first visit on the agreed upon date, Pinar ended up not being there. Because there are regular visitors to the farm, another employee welcomed me. The employee called Pinar, who confirmed the purpose of my visit. The other managers and employees took good care of me and were welcoming of

my research. I was never able to meet with Pinar on my first visit to the farm, which was one reason for a follow-up visit three months later.

3.2 Qualitative Methodology

In order to understand more about links between consumer and producers, my qualitative research was multi-method, collecting data from semi-structured interviews, observations, and written, visual and online documents. In this section, I will discuss the participants, methods, data analysis, and steps to improve the trustworthiness of the qualitative part of my research.

3.2.1 Participants/ Sampling

The sampling of informants (Kuzel 1992) consisted of customers, the employees, the owner, and the people in the community surrounding Miss Silk's Farm. The first segment of informants was customers. I conducted interviews with 12 customers who are involved in MSF. Building from initial contacts who were customers of MSF, I used snowballing to find other informants. Based on MSF's clientele, the sample was focused on middle- to upper-class women who live in Turkey's largest cities—Istanbul and Ankara. As I confirmed later in my quantitative survey, more than 85 percent of the customers are female, married, and at least university educated. 79 percent of the customers have one or two children.

While many informants had positive views about MSF, some had mixed or negative feelings. I also interviewed people who no longer buy from MSF, which helped prevent misguided generalizations. The interviews with the customers lasted between 60 and 120 minutes. I also interviewed a handful of people who are involved with other AFNs in Turkey in order to generate ideas and understand the variety of AFNs in Turkey.

The second segment of informants was the employees on the farm. Interviews were conducted with 19 people who work at the farm, most of whom were women aged 30-50 with only primary school education; working at MSF was their first formal employment. These interviews lasted between 10 and 45 minutes and were conducted as they did their jobs such as harvesting, baking bread, and loading the packages to be delivered to customers. An additional six interviews were conducted with managers and office staff, and lasted between 60 and 170 minutes.

In order to learn more about MSF's impact on the community, I also interviewed 10 people in the local community, including the *muhtar* (village leader), local business owners, people living in nearby villages, and former employees of MSF. A follow-up visit three months later enabled an interview with the owner, member checks with key informants, and observations of changes on site. Table 1 is a summary of informant profiles.

Table 1 Select Informant Profiles

Name*	Category	Gender	Age (approx.)	Residence	Education	Area/ Occupation	Years worked at/ Customer of MSF
Feyza	Employee	F	35	Ocakli (village)	Primary	Packer	6
Esra	Employee	F	40	Nazilli (small city)	Primary	Farmer	4
Meliha	Employee	F	35	Ocakli (village)	Primary	Baker	2
Hande	Employee	F	50	Hamzalli (village)	Primary	Packer	1
Damla	Employee	F	35	Nazilli (small city)	Primary	Cleaner	6
Figen	Employee	F	40	Yaylapinar (village)	Primary	Baker	3
Kevser	Employee	F	45	Ocakli (village)	Primary	Baker	7
Sibel	Employee	F	40	Nazilli (small city)	Primary	Dairy worker	2
Deren	Employee	F	35	Ocakli (village)	Primary	Dairy worker	2
Merve	Employee	F	30	Sinekciler (village)	Primary	Kitchen	2.5
Hatice	Employee	F	40	Nazilli (small city)	Secondary	Kitchen	3
Suzan	Employee	F	25	Ocakli (village)	Bachelor's	Office	7
Semra	Employee	F	50	Nazilli (small city)	Bachelor's	Office/ Manager	3
Nihal	Employee	F	25	Nazilli (small city)	Secondary	Office	1
Fatma	Employee	F	25	Ocakli (village)	Bachelor's	Office	7
Osman	Community	M	65	Yaylapinar (village)	Secondary	Village leader	N/A
Tarkan	Community	M	25	Yaylapinar (village)	Primary	Waiter	N/A
Veysel	Community	M	40	Nazilli (small city)	Bachelor's	Business owner	N/A
Rengin	Customer	F	60	Ankara (big city)	Graduate	Academic	5
Aleyna	Customer	F	40	Ankara (big city)	Graduate	Academic	1
Sarah	Customer	F	35	Ankara (big city)	Graduate	Housewife	3
Yasin	Customer	M	40	Ankara (big city)	Graduate	Academic	3
Gizem	Customer	F	45	Ankara (big city)	Graduate	Academic	1
Aslan	Customer	M	40	Istanbul (big city)	Graduate	Business owner	7
Emine	Customer	F	35	Istanbul (big city)	Graduate	Art curator	4
Ceren	Customer	F	40	Istanbul (big city)	Graduate	Lawyer	0.5
Ebru	Customer	F	40	Istanbul (big city)	Bachelor's	Engineer	2

*Names changed to protect privacy

3.2.2 Methods

I used three different primary qualitative methods in this part of my research: in-depth interviews, observation, and document analysis. I will explain how I used each to generate data for analysis.

3.2.2.1 In-depth interview

The primary qualitative method that I used was the semi-structured, in-depth interview, which is ideal for collecting nuanced data on the consumer and producer experience (Mason 2002). Mason explains that qualitative interviewing features the interactional exchange of dialogue, a relatively informal style, with a fluid and flexible structure. Qualitative interviewing operates from the perspective that knowledge is "situated and contextual," and the interview therefore brings relevant contexts into focus so that "situated knowledge" can be produced (Mason 2002, p. 62). Qualitative interviews emphasize depth, nuance, and complexity in data. Rather than only studying individual affective states, I also looked for cultural categories and shared meanings, which are especially important for the network-level analysis I desired (McCracken 1988).

In the interviews, I typically began with grand-tour questions about how informants first got involved with MSF or first moved to the community. I referred to prepared questions throughout the interviews, but kept things flexible as I probed and sensed where the informant had more to say.

A list of planned interview questions for different informants is included in the Appendix A. I used techniques such as extending and filling in the detail to probe more about informants' experience with MSF. I picked up on the "markers" that were put down by the interviewees, and went into more depth when there was a story to tell and unexpected themes to develop (Weiss 1995). I referred to prepared questions throughout the interviews, but keep flexibility as I probed and sensed where the informants had more to say.

If an informant had excellent English I conducted the interview in English, otherwise I conducted interviews in Turkish, especially on the farm and in the surrounding community. All of the interviews were recorded. I transcribed the ones in English myself. Most of the Turkish interviews I had transcribed by a native Turkish speaker.

I conducted the majority of the interviews with customers in Ankara between November 2013 and March 2014. I also took a trip to Istanbul in January 2014 for a series of interviews with customers there. In May 2015, I spent four days on the farm and in the surrounding community. In August 2015, I returned to the farm for three days of follow-up interviews and observations. I recorded over 35 hours of interviews with the customers, owner, MSF employees, and people in the producing community, which yielded over 520 pages of transcribed single-spaced text.

3.2.2.2 Observation

In addition to the interviews, I made observations to collect data. This enabled me to obtain a "perspective in action" on top of "perspectives of action" provided by the interviews (Wallendorf and Arnould, 1991). Observations helped me to ask more informed questions of the informants and notice what may be missing from interviews. I observed the producers and people in the producer community as they went about their lives and work on the farm and around the community. I observed the owner, managers, farmers, and employees of MSF as they went about their work. Observation was also an important point of triangulation as I considered well-being of the informants. I am interested in subjective well-being (Diener 2000), but observing producers and people in the community allowed me to make more informed probes. I jotted down notes throughout the day, and at the end of each day I took more detailed field notes about what I experienced (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2011), such as the following experience.

On one of my visits to the farm, at the end of a long day of interviewing, I finally returned to the guest house in the evening. When I arrived, the employee who was my host told me that he just got a call that a shipment of products was arriving and he was supposed to gather some people to go unload. He didn't ask, but I could tell they could use all the people they could get. I changed my clothes, and drove with him to the refrigerated depot. An 18-wheeler from the farm in Kars was packed full of 50 kilogram bags of flour and sugar, and massive blocks of cheese. Working with the other men hoisting these ingredients on to palates and using a hand truck to wheel them into storage gave me a different appreciation for their work than simply sitting down and interviewing

them. I feel it also helped me develop a greater rapport with the employees as I interviewed some of them the following day.

In the spirit of participating as a part of ethnography (Arnould 1998), I also became a customer of MSF myself. My wife was very willing to become a customer, and we have purchased regularly over the past three years. This was helpful to experience for myself what it feels like to receive a shipment of food from the farm. There is no better way to get a feel for the prices and understand the filling out of a spreadsheet, waiting for the package to be delivered, and so on. As my wife and family came with me on the second trip to the farm, it was helpful to interview her about her experience as she entered into the context. Being a customer also added a degree of affinity and belonging that made it is easier for me to relate with the other customers, employees, and owner. I better understood the customer experience and I could express appreciation to the employees for their work. My being a customer also allowed the owner to introduce me as a fellow-customer to the other customers with whom she connected me.

3.2.2.3 Document Analysis

The richest source of documents was the weekly emails (current and archived) Pinar sends to some 50,000 people. These emails range between one and five pages and are a substantial source of information about the farm's founding, its ethos, and its mission. These documents were a primary source in understanding the owner's perspective. From reading these emails I was able to generate more specific interview questions that I could ask the owner in subsequent face-to-face interviews. These emails were also a starting

point for understanding the life of the employees on the farm and also about the relationship between the customers and the owner. I understand that written communications with such a large audience have their own spin and peculiarities, but they were a vast source of data with which to compare other qualitative data.

I focused on a sample of emails from January to December 2013 and March to August 2015, at which point it felt like saturation had been reached. Miss Silk's Farm's website (www.ipekhanim.com) was another repository of information, including the story of the farm, photographs, and responses to frequently asked questions. Newspaper and magazine articles, as well as documentaries, also provided helpful sources for triangulating data about MSF to inform the interviews and challenge my assumptions and explanations.

3.2.3 Data Analysis

My analysis of the collected data is an emerging product of an open-ended and creative process of gradual induction (Lofland and Lofland 1995). I used a combination of open coding and axial coding to label, separate, compile, organize, and assign units of meaning to the data (Charmaz 1983; Miles and Huberman 1994). The first part of analysis involved scanning all the data (520 single-spaced pages of interview transcripts and 205 pages of documents) and searching for dominant and emerging themes. In this section, I will provide examples of three levels of axial coding: the existence of shared commitments, the development of shared commitments, and the well-being outcomes.

The first step in my analysis was to find what was underlying the motivation of the actors' involvement in MSF. In Figure 2, I provide an example of my open coding approach to one section of an interview transcript with a customer. As I read through the text, different words and phrases stood out. I noticed in the interview with Rengin that she said "people are getting involved with something wonderful." This caught my eye, because she thinks that beyond working at the farm, there is an involvement in something greater. She thinks working there is an entry point into something else. A superlative like "wonderful" jumped out because it goes beyond a typical workplace. Rengin went on to use many positive words like "benefit," "better," and mentioned the word "dream" twice. I noticed that the benefits she discussed here were primarily financial ones and the dreams realized were related to consumption. Clearly, she viewed this very favorably. It is also striking how she provided a summary for what she had been saying, that this is the "people part."

Rengin also mentioned many different types of jobs that people are doing, and was especially excited about an old man who is making wooden spoons. Based on my knowledge of the farm, I knew that this old man was not formally employed by the farm, but Rengin was excited about the way the farm was benefiting many villagers. And of particular interest to my thesis were the actions and relating of the different actors in the network, so I made a note of the actions, where the man makes the spoons, the owner posts it to the list, and "we" (the customers) order them. Pinar's writing was another action Rengin mentioned. In all of these, I made short notes with key words or concepts that allowed for future comparison with other texts.

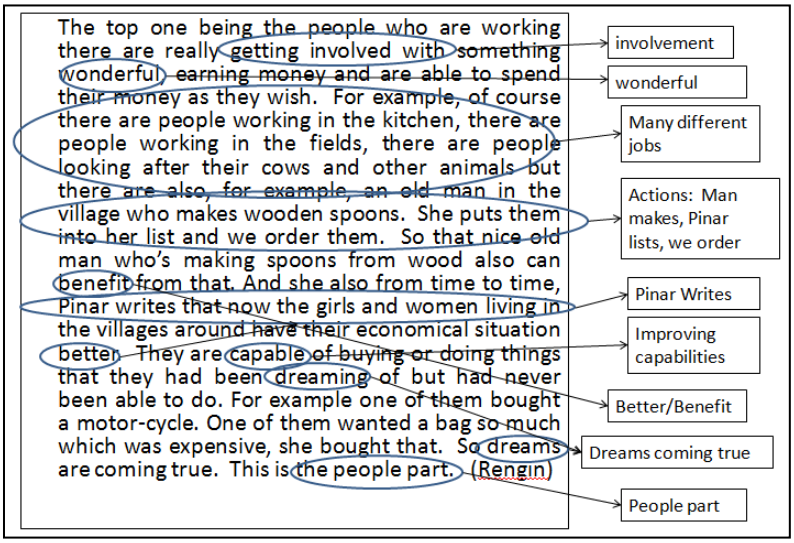

Figure 2 Open Coding of Interview Text

The next stage was axial coding, which involves exploring relationships and patterns in the data around the various open-coded categories and any other subcategories that have emerged (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Miles 1984; Strauss and Corbin 1990). Here I was "developing theses, formulating concepts, making assertions, and addressing problems" (Lofland and Lofland 1995, p. 182) posed through the literature review.

In Figure 3, I offer an example of how I moved from the open coding in Figure 2 to the axial codes. I noticed how Rengin connects the actions of the employees, owner and herself as a customer. This corresponds to the behavioral dimension of commitment in the literature. As I understand Rengin, she is closely tying these actions together in a way that makes me think of *collective action*. The employees are doing many different jobs and Pinar supports them through posting these products. Pinar also facilitates collective action with the customers, allowing them to order products from villagers they would otherwise not know about or have access to.

Rengin mentioning how Pinar writes about the improving economic conditions of girls and women in the village also shows a *concern for the future welfare of the employees*. Pinar cares enough to take action toward their welfare, to write about it, and Rengin as a customer also shows that she cares about it.

Another emerging theme is the well-being improvement for employees as they get involved with the farm. Many of the open codes are about the benefit to the employees and how dreams are coming true. Rengin has one vantage point in the network, so the inter-text analysis allows the emergence and comparison of themes from multiple perspectives.

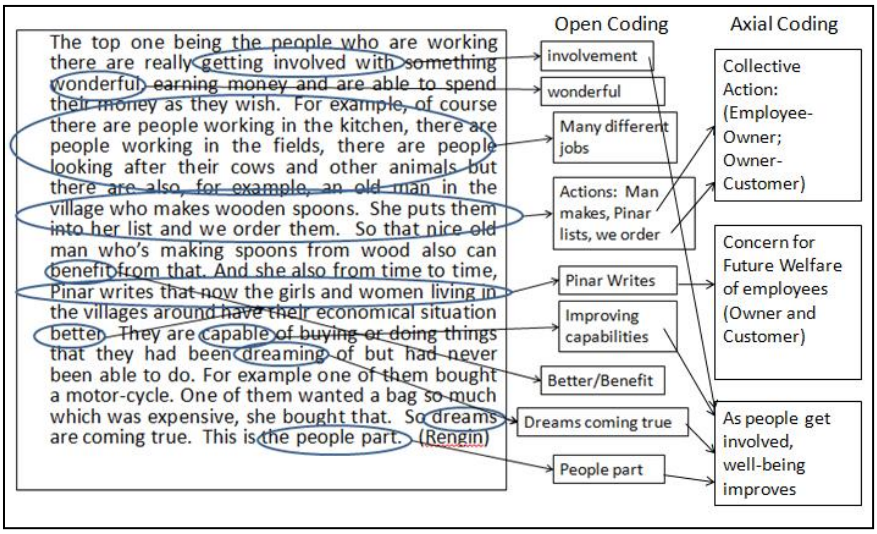

Figure 3 Axial Coding for Existence of Shared Commitments

After establishing there is the existence of something called shared commitments, I was interested in analyzing how these shared commitments are developed. In Figure 4, I show an excerpt from an interview with Ebru, another customer of MSF. I noticed that she thinks being able to watch the employees through a live video feed is an important

part of her feeling she has a connection with the employees. In the axial coding of this and many other texts, I identified *distance-spanning technologies* as one of the ways that shared commitments develop. I noticed that this is so effective that it makes Ebru feel as if she is part of the village, clearly something that is inspiring to her, and indicative of a well-being improvement.

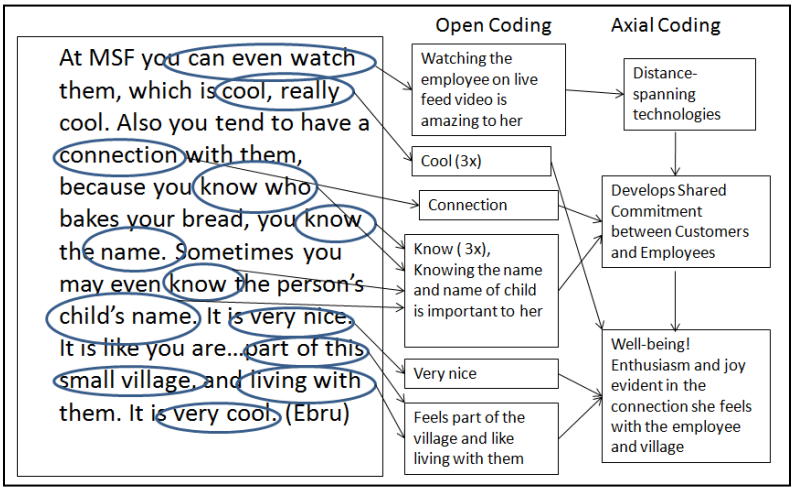

Figure 4 Axial Coding for Development of Shared Commitments

In Figure 5, I show an example of the third focus of the coding: the well-being outcomes of the shared commitments within the network. Here, I present an excerpt from an interview with Suzan, one of the youngest employees, who grew up in the village in which the farm is located. I made open codes about the meaning she feels in producing something that is of use to customers. She feels a belonging to the farm. I made axial codes of work satisfaction, financial satisfaction, and her personal development enabled by her involvement with MSF.

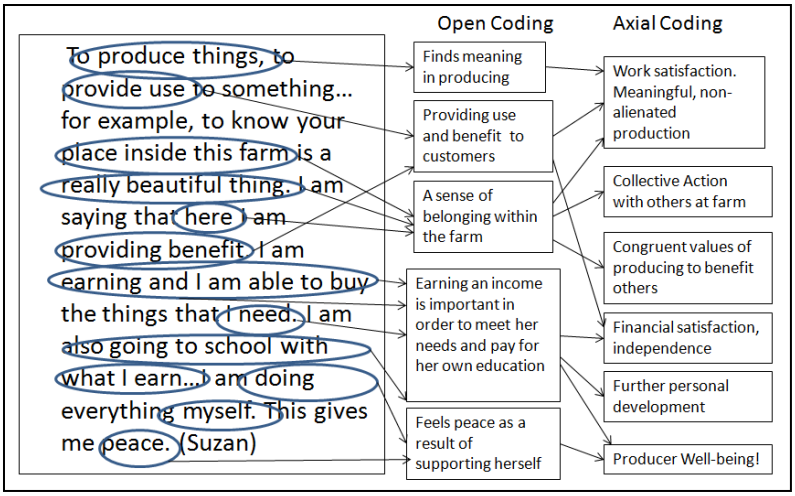

Figure 5 Axial Coding for Well-Being

The eventual aim through axial coding was to create a data-driven conceptual structure that would coherently integrate these categories and themes (Step 2 of research design). Rather than proposing a framework in a positivistic manner, I hoped to articulate an emerging framework that would help me understand shared commitments and well-being in alternative economies. I followed the suggestions of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Miles (1984), and Strauss and Corbin (1990) in developing this framework. Three questions guided the assessment of the framework: (1) Does the framework capture a large number of themes? (2) Is the framework a cohesive and concise summary of the themes? and (3) Does the framework offer new conceptual insights about alternative economies?

All of this data analysis yielded many significant findings, including a model which I will present in the following chapter. Later in this chapter I will share about the methodology for testing this model using quantitative data.

3.2.4. Trustworthiness Assessment

Throughout my qualitative research, I worked towards trustworthiness of my data collection and analysis. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested four concepts (with similar aims to validity and reliability of the positivist research paradigm) that can be used to address questions regarding trustworthiness of naturalistic research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. Wallendorf and Belk (1989) expanded on how trustworthiness can be assessed in naturalistic research, also adding "integrity" as a fifth dimension of trustworthiness.

Credibility is concerned with the adequate and believable representation of data, interpretation, and findings. In order to enhance credibility I used triangulation across data sources, debriefing by peers, and member checks to assess credibility. Triangulation across sources was done by interacting with several types of informants through purposive-sampling. Throughout the study, I also met with peer reviewers who served to critique and question the emerging interpretations. Conversations with my advisor, who was not on site for data collection, also provided an important check of the effects of the site on me as the researcher. I also had key informants perform member-checks, helping me to assess whether my findings were in congruence with their perspective and experience.

Transferability refers to the extent to which working hypotheses can also be employed in other contexts, based on an assessment of similarity between the two contexts. While I focused on the case study of MSF, I had in mind the transferability to other alternative economies. In the final chapter, I will discuss the potential implications

for other alternative markets. It will be up to future research to determine the transferability of hypotheses.

Dependability addresses whether the findings would be repeated if the study was replicated with similar subjects in similar contexts. The high number of informants—both amongst employees and customers—can offer some assurance of dependability. The triangulation across data sources also suggests the findings are robust and would stand in future studies. In order to test my findings, I used multiple data sources, including the aforementioned interviews with customers, employees, and many different types of people in the community, such as neighbors, farmers, others businesses, and so on. I also triangulated this data with my observations of MSF and the community, as well as analyzing documents about MSF from two different years. I also searched for negative evidence in the interviews, such as customers who feel no shared commitments with Pinar or people in the community who feel MSF has harmed the area's well-being.

Confirmability deals with the degree to which one can establish the findings of an inquiry are determined by the subjects and conditions of the study inquiry and not by the biases or interests of the inquirer. I began interviews with grand-tour questions that did not lead informants. The detailed explanations of open and axial coding earlier in this chapter are attempts to raise confirmability. Peer reviews and member checks are some of the other means by which confirmability is achieved in this study. Nevertheless, my chosen methodology acknowledges the variety of meanings that can be found within a network as complex as MSF. With the accountability of peers and member checks, I am confident the story I tell is a valid one, but I do not claim that it is the only one. My

personal interests and the literature with which I approached the context provided a certain lens in how I gathered and interpreted data.

Integrity, the final component of trustworthiness, addresses whether interpretation was impaired by "lies, evasions, misinformation, or misrepresentations by informants" (Wallendorf and Belk 1989, p.70). I promised and never compromised informant anonymity, which was one vital issue for the integrity of the employees. Integrity includes considerations about the relationship between the informants and researcher, such as a social desirability bias. Per the recommendations of Wallendorf and Belk (1989), I worked to establish rapport and trust, triangulate across sources and methods, use good interviewing technique, safeguard informant identity, and exercise self-analysis and introspection. Multiple visits to the research site helped develop rapport and trust with the owner and employees. Because visitors from other parts of Turkey and abroad come frequently to MSF to observe and talk to the workers, I feel potential research effects of the site were mitigated.

My subjective position as the researcher and its impact on the informants (Ger and Sandikci 2006) was another factor of which I was aware from the outset. As an American male, I stood out to everyone I interviewed as entirely "other." I was a researcher from a Turkish university, but from the capital city, which many respondents had never visited. Even before going to the site, I recognized there was a high likelihood of compliance in the interviews. Most of the employees were women with very little education being interviewed by a male from a higher social class (Lenski and Leggett 1960). However, my speaking imperfect Turkish helped break down some of the perceived distance. My interest in the farm and their opinions seemed to give others

general warmth towards me. In each ensuing visit to the farm, I feel the employees had an increased comfort level with me. Triangulation, such as multiple days observing the farm and the relating of the owner and employees, as well as talking to former employees and others in the community, increased my confidence that I was not being lied to or misinformed.

3.3 Quantitative Methodology

As the next step in my exploratory sequential mixed method design (Creswell 2015), I aimed to test whether the relationships I had discovered in my qualitative data collection analysis could be verified quantitatively. Returning to the research site to conduct a questionnaire was another step in utilizing a repertoire of tools in a case-study (Bulmer 1993). Through open and axial coding in my qualitative work, I came to the conclusion there was an unusual level of shared commitment, or "a choice of a course of action in common with others" (Watson and Ekici 2017), present among the actors of the farm. Based on the axial coding described above, in iteration with the literature on commitment (Gundlach, Achrol, and Mentzer 1995), I theorized three dimensions of shared commitment: collective action (behavioral), congruent values and goals (attitudinal), and concern for the future welfare of others (temporal).

3.3.1 Participants/Sampling

The core of the model that emerged from the axial coding was three links between three primary actors in the network: the employees, owner, and customers. In the qualitative data I could ask (and make observation about) each of these three actors about their relationship with the other two actors. In measuring a shared commitment, it is helpful to hear from the perspective of both of the parties involved. In the qualitative research I was able to include the owner of the farm in the analysis, but of course I could not utilize the owner in the quantitative portion. I therefore conducted two surveys to test the inductive model developed from the qualitative research amongst the employees and customers of MSF.

One of the surveys was to be conducted among the employees of the farm. As mentioned earlier, there are about 100 people employed on the farm, and I knew it could be less due to seasonality and turnover. Due to the low education level and the necessity of securing responses from as many of the employees as possible, I planned to collect this data face-to-face.

The second survey was conducted among the customers of MSF. As mentioned above, the customers tend to be located in Turkey's large cities, are well-educated, and have above average income levels. Because the customers make their purchases from the farm online, it was natural to complete the survey in an online format.

Mindful of the possible limitations of a cross-sectional survey, I worked hard to employ a combination of strong theory, careful design, and appropriate statistical tools

(Rindfleisch et al. 2008). One important aspect was that the surveys were just one part of a much longer longitudinal mixed methods study.

3.3.2 Instruments/ Measures

Step 3 of the research design was the quantitative testing of the proposed model. This included item development and conducting the employee and customer questionnaires.

3.3.2.1 Employee Questionnaire Development

Based on my analysis of extensive field notes and transcripts, I developed seven to 12 items for each of the three dimensions (collective action, congruent values and goals, and concern for the future welfare of others) to measure the level of shared commitment between employees and customers and employees and the owner. The items were evaluated, pruned, and refined based on multiple independent reviewers' feedback on validity. I was concerned with the high level concept of construct validity, which involves the empirical and theoretical support for the interpretation of the construct (Sapsford 2007). I was very concerned that each of the items operationalize the behavioral, attitudinal, and temporal components of commitments, as found in the literature. For example, I made sure that each of the items that operationalize *collective action* was in fact a specific action that an employee could take. I was also concerned about content validity, whether the items cover the domain to be measured. The rich qualitative data was helpful for pulling out all of the items that relate to a particular

domain. Discriminant validity between items was also a consideration, carefully editing items to differentiate between whether an item is, for example, more about shared values or about a concern for the long-term well-being of other actors. Conversation with independent reviewers was invaluable in this step.

In the item development I paid particular attention to avoiding double-barreled questions and tried to keep the items as easy to understand as possible (Fowler 1995). I decided to include several reversed items to act as mental speed bumps for the completion of the survey, reducing the potential confounding influence of common scale anchors (Podsakoff et al. 2003) and acquiescence on the part of participants (Winkler et al. 1982). This entire process took approximately 12 weeks and yielded five to eight items for each dimension.

The translation of the items from English to Turkish took another 10 weeks. Multiple independent translators reviewed each of the items, with a particular emphasis on the clarity of the items in straightforward Turkish. When translations differed, there was discussion between the author and the translators on which phrasing best captured the meaning of the item. I aimed for the most clear and accurate translations, that the interpretation of the items would be consistent, increasing the validity of measurement (Fowler 1995). This was one way I strove to eliminate item ambiguity (Podsakoff et al. 2003).

Once the translation was completed, the items were pretested among several reviewers of different educational and socio-economic backgrounds. Due to the already restricted population at the farm, I did not pretest the items amongst the employees themselves. Nevertheless, per the primary hope of Fowler (1995), I took considerable

effort to carefully evaluate questions before using them in the survey. The independent reviewers thought the survey was overall very clear and using their feedback I eliminated a few unclear items and rephrased a few other items.

There were 62 items on the final questionnaire and the pretests showed it would take about 15 minutes to complete verbally. There were 12 items about the employees' work on the farm, such as how long they have worked there and their satisfaction on the job. The bulk of the survey was 37 items measuring three different dimensions of shared commitment that employees feel with the owner and customers. I discussed with other scholars about whether these items should be mixed up or kept in their original groupings. In the end, we opted to keep them together so that the questionnaire would flow much more logically and feel less scattered to the respondent. There were of course no titles written for the different categories, they were just simply numbered. There were five items on measuring life satisfaction, the standard satisfaction with life scale (Diener et al. 1985). The scale for all of these items was a 1 to 7 Likert scale, anchored by "I completely disagree" and "I completely agree." The survey concluded with eight demographic questions, which were put last in order not to prime the rest of the responses (Podsakoff et al. 2003).

A scale with the associated meanings for each was placed at the start of each section on each new page. Below each question the 1 to 7 scale was listed so that the respondent (or interviewer) could simply circle each answer. This employee questionnaire is included in the Appendix B.

3.3.2.2 Customer Questionnaire Development

I developed the customer questionnaire in parallel, following the same steps. There were 65 items on the final questionnaire and the pretests showed it would take about 10 minutes to complete online. There were 17 items about being a customer of the farm, such as how frequently they purchase from the farm and their overall satisfaction. Included in these were items related to feelings of loyalty, a bond, and a long-term commitment to the overall network that would be used as indicators of the mediator "Overall Connection." The bulk of the survey was 35 items measuring three different dimensions of shared commitment that employees feel with the owner and customers. I asked the same standard satisfaction with life scale (Diener et al. 1985) that I asked the employees. The survey concluded with eight similar demographic questions.

I attempted to make the questions on the customer questionnaire as similar as possible to the employee questionnaire. Uniformity was not possible because, for example, the actions that customers would talk to demonstrate collective action are different than the ones taken by the employees of the farm. Screen shots of parts of the customer questionnaire are included in Appendix C.

3.3.3 Procedures

In this section I will present in detail the procedures I used to administer the employee and customers surveys.

3.3.3.1 Employee Survey at MSF

I went to the farm to administer the questionnaire face-to-face. Because I expected the numbers of employees at the farm to be under 100 people, it was vital that every questionnaire was completed carefully in order to have enough responses for meaningful analysis. As mentioned, I was prepared that the education level of many of the women would require me to verbally read the items and record their responses (Bulmer 1993).

I tried to employ best-practices in conducting survey research (Fowler and Mangione 1990) in order to yield reliable and valid data. In an introduction read to the employees, I told about my institution and the purpose of the research. I explained that I was entirely independent from the farm and was not working for the managers of the farm and that all responses would remain anonymous. The owner and managers were not present while the employees answered the questionnaire.

I encouraged the respondents to be open and honest in their answers. I emphasized that that there was no right or wrong answer and that the only thing that I wanted to learn was their opinions. I explained the 1 to 7 scale. In front of each of the employees as they answered was an additional piece of paper with the scale printed very clearly, with each number also labeled with the corresponding answers. In order to mitigate challenges in understanding my Turkish pronunciation and to not wear myself out reading the same items over and over again, I had a recording of a female native speaker reading each of the items. In most situations I would play the recording, pausing it as necessary for the employees to have the time to circle their response for each item.

I received the approval of the owner and the other managers to conduct a questionnaire a couple months before my site visit. As mentioned earlier, I had been previously granted access to the farm and meeting with the employees. In my two prior visits to the farm I had built trust with the employees and owner of the farm. Were it not for the previous visits and the interviews and observations I had conducted, I do not think I would have been given permission to conduct a more formal structured questionnaire.

Before going to the farm I went to great lengths to ask the managers of the farm to help me set up a schedule for conducting questionnaires with the employees. I did not want to show up and try to organize things on the fly. In past visits I had met with employees as they went about their jobs, but for conducting the questionnaire I requested a place where I could meet with the employees individually. It was not until I arrived that they provided me a list of employees, which was not entirely complete or up-to-date. While the management was generally supportive of my research, they did not help me create a schedule or give me a place to meet with the employees one-on-one.

I tried to adjust my approach based on the demands of the context. Often times four or five employees who were together were sent to me to complete the questionnaire at the same time. In these situations, I handed a copy of the questionnaire to each person. In a few situations someone told me that they were unable to complete it by themselves, and asked if I would write for them. In the findings section I will go in to greater depth about what I observed in this situation.

I completed questionnaires with 81 employees at the farm, 80 of which were usable. After a multivariate outlier analysis, the final sample size was 78. I had hoped there was closer to 100 employees, but the managers explained that there had been some

turnover and other employees were out due to recently having a baby or various family obligations. I am only aware of two employees who insisted on not responding to the questionnaire. I voice recorded many of the surveys and the discussion that transpired, and transcribed all of the conversations.

3.3.3.2 Customer Online Survey

The conducting of the online survey was much more straightforward. For ease of administration (Fowler 1995, p. 99) I favored an online distribution mechanism because AFN customers are using online systems for purchases. I entered all of the survey items into a GoogleDocs survey, which can be seen in Appendix C. The survey was accessible through an online link. The online format also provided the advantage of total anonymity of the participants, one of the primary ways of reducing social desirability bias (Nederoff 1984).

Pinar agreed to send out this link to the readers on the email list. When I was at the farm and met with her face-to-face, she asked me how many responses I hoped to obtain. She thought about just sending the link to the first part of her alphabetized list in order to limit the amount of responses, but in the end she surprised me by sending it to her entire list. She also prominently mentioned it at the very beginning of her email on October 29, 2016. I am not sure how carefully she reviewed the items before deciding to send, but she did not suggest any changes.

Pinar sends an email each week, on Saturday evenings, to she claims about 60,000 people. She estimates there are closer to 10,000 people who are somewhat regular

customers, which I think is a more conservative estimate for an average number of weekly readers. Based on interviews, I know that some customers do not read the emails every week, just as some people who are not regular customers still do read her emails. I received 700 completed surveys in just 24 hours. Over two weeks I received a total of 1,440 responses. I therefore estimate a response rate of approximately 14.4 percent. I found this high considering it was an independent research project, a relatively long on-line survey, and there was no follow-up. I included an open response item to give people the chance to share any other thoughts and feedback on the survey form, which scores of people did. Pinar also forwarded me a handful of emails from customers who wanted to ask me more about the survey and give feedback.

3.3.4 Data Analysis

With the hard work of the data collection behind me, I moved on to the rigorous analysis of the rich data. I will explain here how I prepared the data, dealt with missing values, and then performed confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling.

3.3.4.1 Data Preparation

Data cleaning and preparation took a considerable amount of effort. For the data preparation, I used IBM SPSS Statistics 24. I first inspected the data for a number of common problems. Looking at frequency histograms, I checked that the data had plausible distributions. As is typical in marketing, there was a negatively (left) skewed

distribution. It is not surprising that both the employees and customers tended to give answers closer to "Completely Agree" on the scale. In the employee data, the mean response for one of the items about a component of shared commitment was generally about 6 to 6.5 (On a 1 to 7 scale) with a standard deviation from 0.8 to 1.7. The kurtosis, or peakness of the data, was typically positive, showing a distribution more peaked than a normal distribution. In the customer data set there was still negative skewness, but lower mean responses, more in the 5.2 to 6.2 range with a standard deviation of 1.2 to 1.4. The kurtosis was again typically positive.

In neither data set was there a prevalence of variables with many missing values. The only variable that was missing more than 2 percent of responses was in the customer survey, "In which year did you begin purchasing from MSF?" This was missing 8 percent of values. This was due to the fact that this was an open response item, which some people skipped or wrote "I can't remember" because they were not sure which year they began. Nevertheless, there were no variables that needed to be excluded from the analysis.

In the employee survey there was only one survey response that had to be eliminated due to missing a large number of values. In a search for outliers using SPSS, I noticed that two cases were frequently problematic, suggesting they were multivariate outliers. There were many scores from these two cases that were identified as extreme outliers from the normal distribution. On several items, the box plot indicated that they were outside of three standard deviations of the mean (Kline 1998). Because it only involved eliminating two cases and would not be a substantial drop in sample size, I

opted to drop these cases from the sample, rather than modify the scores (Kline 1998, p. 80).

Per the guidelines of Kline (1998), I ran the analysis both with and without these two cases eliminated. Because of the small data set, SEM was very sensitive to these unrepresentative cases. When I eliminated these multivariate outliers, the direction of the relationships between variables did not change, but they became significant. In my extensive qualitative data collection, I was very keen to find exceptional cases. One of these respondents worked at MSF less than one month and was especially unhappy. In the other case, there was a lack of consistency in the answers, which may have something to do with the low educational level. In such a small data set, the unrepresentative data had a large impact on the results. Instead of allowing unrepresentative respondents to make the other 78 cases appear insignificant, I opted to eliminate these cases. Therefore, I report the results from the data (N=78) with the multivariate outlier cases omitted.

In the customer data set (N=1404) I did not eliminate any outliers because the large sample size was not overly impacted by them. The missing data in the larger customer sample of 1440 responses was expectedly greater due to being online. I decided to exclude any responses that had less than 90 percent of the responses. In some of the surveys it was clear that someone had skipped over an entire page to click to the end and submit. Eliminating the responses that were missing many answers yielded 1404 usable responses.

3.3.4.2 Dealing with Missing Values

In order to deal with the missing values, I followed the steps recommended by Hair et al. (2013). I first determined that the type of missing data was not ignorable and should warrant action. I used Little's Missing Completely at Random (MAR) test to select the proper imputation method. I used the Missing Values add-on in SPSS. In the end, for the customer data set I opted to use the multiple imputation method in order to supply the missing values, which is typically regarded as the most sophisticated way to impute missing values (Hair et al. 2013).

With the much smaller employee data set, I was able to deal with the missing values by simply using the series means. In the very few missing demographic responses, I based the new values on other people that would be a good comparison.

3.3.4.3 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

After obtaining a complete data set, I moved on to conducting a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). CFA is a way of testing how well measured variables represent a smaller number of constructs (Hair et al. 2013). In CFA, I specified both the number of factors that exist for a set of variables and the factor on which each variable would load. CFA is a tool that helps to confirm or reject my preconceived theory. The measurement theory specifies how measured variables logically and systematically represent constructs involved in a theoretical model (Hair et al. 2013). I utilized IBM SPSS AMOS 24 in conducting CFA. I followed the steps for CFA as outlined by Hair et al. (2013):

1. Defined individual constructs

   This process began with a theoretical definition of each construct, which I developed from my qualitative research. As I described in the development of the survey instrument earlier, I operationalized the construct by selecting its measurement scale items and scale type. Because there were no scales on shared commitments in prior research, I did new scale development. For example, for the construct *collective action* I developed seven items to measure the level of collective action that customers feel with the owner. Only for the life satisfaction scale was I able to use a scale from prior research (Diener et al. 1985).

2. Developed the overall measurement model

   With the scale items specified, in the next step I specified the measurement model. I identified each latent construct to be included in the model and assigned the measured indicator variables to each of the latent constructs. I started out with five to eight items/variables for each of the latent constructs.

3. Designed the study to produce empirical results

   In this step, I designed and executed a study for collecting data for the measurement model. I have explained in detail how I did this amongst both the employees on the farm and the customers online. The vastly different sample sizes (78 compared to over 1000) was one of the challenges I faced, as was the difference in the education level of the populations and their familiarity with surveys.

4. Assessed measurement model validity

   I next came to the crucial step of assessing whether the measurement model is valid. In chapter 5, I will detail how I assessed model fit, including measures for absolute fit, incremental fit, and parsimony fit. As recommended by Hair et al. (2013), I also compared different models, because it is much easier to tell whether one model is better than another, rather than to say whether one model is absolutely good or bad.

3.3.4.4 Structural Equation Modeling

Based on the measurement model I tested in CFA, I now moved on to test both the measurement and structural model in SEM. CFA alone is limited in its ability to examine the nature of relationships beyond simple correlations. Building on the steps from CFA, in SEM I took two additional steps:

5. Specified the structural model

   In step 5, I moved from the measurement model to the structural model. In this step, I assigned relationships from one construct to another based on my proposed theoretical model. I hypothesized a series of dependence relationships among existing constructs. For example, I hypothesized in the customer model that "shared commitment with the owner" will increase the "life satisfaction." Based on theory, I tested out a number of variations in the dependence relationships. For example, while I theorized that "shared commitment with the owner" and "shared commitment with the employees" would be correlated with each other in the

measurement model, in the structural model I also considered whether "shared commitment with the employees" is actually driven by "shared commitment with the owner."

6. Assessed the structural model validity.

   In this final step of SEM, I tested the validity of the structural model. Here, I am interested in not just whether the model has acceptable fit, but whether it performs better than any alternative model. I needed to not only achieve good model fit, but also establish that the individual parameter estimates are statistically significant in the proper direction and nontrivial.

3.3.5 Limitations

I was mindful of the risk of common method variance (CMV) having a confounding influence on the empirical results. CMV is the variance that is attributable to the measurement method rather than to the constructs the measures represent. All the measures in the survey were perceptual and were collected from the same source (i.e. self-report). The customers, for example, were responding to items about shared commitments with the owner and employees that were very similar. The parallel structure of the items for two different constructs was done intentionally, but it does present an issue of CMV. Furthermore, the dependent variable of life satisfaction was in the same survey with the same scale. While I was not able to obtain measures of the constructs from different sources (Podsakoff et al. 2003 p. 887), I tried to address many of the potential causes of CMV biases. The total anonymity of the participants on the

customer survey reduced common rater effects such as social desirability, leniency bias, and acquiescence bias. I also conducted tests of CMV, which suggest that CMV is not a significant threat in this study.

One of the concerns with the customer data set was also a sampling bias. The people who responded so quickly and enthusiastically are obviously the most likely to be regular readers of Pinar's emails and the most committed customers. In this way, "those who decline to take part may well have different attitudes and behaviours from those who do cooperate" (Sapsford 2007, p. 93). One of the measures I took to test the bias of the most committed customers being the primary respondents to the survey was to compare the differences between the first respondents and the later ones. Perhaps the more quickly someone replies is an indication of their commitment to the farm. In order to test this, I split the sample between the first 700 respondents and the next 700. Doing an independents sample t-test across all of the variables, I found only three variables that were statistically significant at the $p=0.01$ level. One of the variables that did show a significant difference was "I read Pinar Hanim's weekly emails," which confirms the validity of the data because the person was reading the email right away. However, there was no statistical difference between the early and late responders for any of the dependent variables, such as satisfaction with the farm, likeliness to recommend, or any of the life satisfaction items.

If I split the respondents based on the first 200 responses and the last 200 responses, a more stringent test of whether early respondents are more committed customers, greater differences become apparent. For example, there were now seven variables that were statistically different, including a person's willingness to recommend

the farm and their likelihood to defend the owner's principles. It is fitting that reading the emails and the effort to respond to the survey, which are examples of actions a customer can take to demonstrate shared commitment, will be higher amongst a more committed core of customers. If there was a way to force all customers to take the survey, the split sample comparison suggests that there is a drop-off in commitment level as more people respond.

This analysis suggests that the approximately 14 percent response rate contains a higher proportion of the most committed customers. However, while important to recognize this, it is not problematic for my research in that my objective is not to prove that all of the customers of MSF have high shared commitment, but rather that shared commitments do have a strong existence in the network. The fact that there are hundreds and even thousands of customers that will reply to a survey and report high commitment levels speaks to the promise of MSF as an alternative model. Seeking out negative cases in my qualitative research also helped guard against only hearing the voice of the most enthusiastic customers.

3.4 Integration of the Qualitative and Quantitative Data

As mentioned before, mixed method design involved the synthesis of all of the data together. Therefore, after testing the model, the methodology was not yet complete.

3.4.1 Assessing the Modeling Results

After the modeling efforts, it was time to go back to the extensive qualitative data that I had collected and compare what I had found. I wanted to be critical of assuming the superiority of the quantitative part of the research. There are strengths in the clarity of the dependence relationships between variables, but all of the exploration and discovery in the qualitative data collection and analysis could not be captured in a couple models. While SEM is a powerful analytical tool, it still has limitations in modeling multiple constructs for a network of actors. For example, the high correlation between shared commitments with the owner and the shared commitments employees is important theoretically, but made model fit very difficult.

Part of the integration process was a recognition of the limitation of the survey instrument that I had developed. Especially in the questionnaire on the farm with the employees, I felt the inadequacy of a 1 to 7 scale to capture the employees' experience and feelings. The quantitative analysis was also unable to account for the feelings of the owner within the network. I will share the related findings in the following chapters and discuss them in the concluding chapter.

3.4.2 Dark Sides of Shared Commitments

To this point in the research I had focused on the well-being outcomes of shared commitments. However, in addition to the bright side of the story I was mindful that there may also be a dark side. Related literatures on commitment, social capital,

relational marketing, and brand communities all address dark sides. Dark sides have been considered as the downsides of long-term relationships (Grayson and Ambler 1999) and trust (Numerato and Baglioni 2011). While pointing to many benefits to commitment such as certainty, efficiency, and effectiveness, Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh (1987, p. 25) also recognize that "There are bilateral sets of costs and benefits to relational exchange; a durable association is not necessarily desirable." In chapter 6, I develop an analytical framework grounded in a literature review of dark sides.

I did additional qualitative data collection to look for the dark sides, and more generally make sure that I was getting the entire story on the farm. In my last visit to the farm, I probed for dark sides of the farm for the owner and the employees. Sample interview questions are included in Appendix D. An additional step I took was to contact all of the customers that I had met with at the beginning of my data collection. I found out that many had left. In the final two chapters I will also present evidence of and discuss the dark sides of shared commitments as seen in the case study of MSF.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have detailed the exploratory sequential design mixed method approach to my thesis. I collected and analyzed qualitative data, developed a model, and then collected and analyzed quantitative data to test this model. Finally, I integrated the findings. In the next chapter I will present the qualitative findings from the research design planning and implementation.

CHAPTER 4: QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

4.1 Introducing the Model

Shared commitments among networked actors are oriented towards their shared goal. The emerging model shows a multi-agent conceptualization (Caruana and Chatzidakis 2014) of the interdependence of elements in the marketing system (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Mittelstaedt 2006). I introduce the model here (Figure 6) to orient the reader toward the direction of the findings.

As shown in Figure 6, the triangle formed by links 1, 2, and 3 depicts my findings about how shared commitments have developed between the owner, employees, and customers. Link 1 is between the owner and customers. Link 2 is between the owner and employees. Link 3 is between employees and customers. As previously mentioned, I theorize that each of these shared commitments between actors is characterized by a) collective action, b) congruent values and goals, and c) concern for the future welfare of

other actors. These elements are part of commitment *to* a particular goal or course of action, rather than to the organization or to an exchange partner.

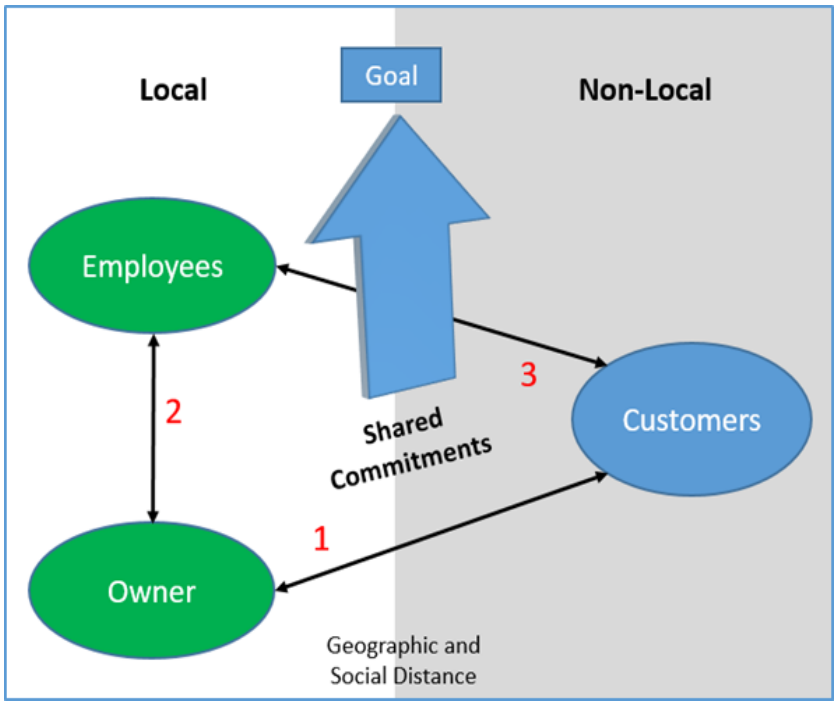

Figure 6 Model of Shared Commitments

The goal can change for every alternative market. The goal also is subjective in the sense that the goal may not be precisely defined and different actors may have a different goal in mind. The synthesis of my findings shows that there are two primary and interconnected goals of MSF, which will become clear as more evidence is presented. The first goal is to produce "real food" in response to the industrialized food sector.

> Turkey has a need for real food…I am very idealistic; if I wrote item by item all the fraudulent claims you would not put a bite of food in your mouth for weeks. I am expending effort to correct this cruel system. And I will correct it, you will see ☺. (Pinar, 1 July 2013 email).

The actors rally around the idea of traditionally grown, healthy, natural, and delicious food they feel should be grown and produced on small-scale farms without pesticides and additives.

The second related goal is to support villagers in their traditional way of life and ability to produce "real food." Pinar writes, "We will open the way for hundreds, or maybe thousands of people who love their country deeply, of earning money by doing the work they know best without migrating or melting away in the system" (Pinar, 12 August 2013 email). The actors within MSF are motivated to support the employees of the farm by affirming their traditional skills and enabling them to earn money.

Figure 6 also represents how the owner and employees are local, while the customers are non-local, separated by geographic and social distances (Raynolds 2002; Weber, Heinze, and DeSoucey 2008). Of the three links, links 1 and 3 depict how the geographic and social distances can be traversed.

I begin by presenting qualitative findings about the existence of shared commitments. I then present findings about how the shared commitments developed between the actors. For each of these first two sections I will share detailed qualitative evidence for the three different links. Finally, I present findings on the well-being outcomes for the employees, customers, owner, and the community and society.

4.2 Existence of Shared Commitments

I first present evidence that shared commitments, *a choice of a course of action in common with others,* do in fact *exist* between the three different actors. Based on the conceptualization of shared commitments, in order to say that shared commitments exist, there should be evidence of each of the following three components: a) collective action, b) congruent values and goals, and c) concern for the future welfare of other actors. Furthermore, in order to say that it is shared, there should be evidence that both of the actors have the commitment.

In the qualitative research, my effort was not to assess the degree of shared commitment or how much this is true throughout the entire network. Rather, I wanted to gauge if shared commitments were evident in each of the three primary links in the network. If shared commitments exist in MSF, it is hopeful that shared commitments can grow and are possible for other AFNs.

4.2.1 Existence of Shared Commitments between Owner and Customers

The owner and customers within MSF take *collective action* toward the same goals. In her regular emails to customers, Pinar calls people to collective action. "I need every one of your ideas, every suggestion. Every thought that comes to your mind…is very important to me…. At every step I am going to ask for your support" (Pinar, 19 August 2013 email). One male informant shared,

> To support Pinar is another good motivation for buying, to support this type of initiative; I want to be in support. I am also buying from her because of this. This kind of local and small agriculture against large scale production should be supported. (Yasin)

This quote shows a desire to take action in support of the owner's initiative for smaller-scale agriculture. The personal contact between the owner and customers is another form of collective action. Husniye, who is the long-time personnel manager and works closely with Pinar, explained, "They are taking my number, constantly calling or they are inviting me to their home, inviting me to dinner. They aren't like customers, there is a different communication between us" (Husniye). The personalized communication shows a mutual effort to build a different type of network between producers and consumers. Pinar believes that customers are typically considered dupes by the system, but she aims for something different. "Without treating customer as if he or she is stupid, without poisoning them, we were able to exist by empathizing with customers and by doing old style trading" (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email). By setting up an alternative market-place, Pinar believes she is taking collective action with the customers toward more sustainable agriculture.

Second, my interviews revealed that the customers have *congruent values and goals* with the owner.

> As far as I can see, MSF is not exploiting natural resources and is living together and behaving properly with the earth. This really pleases me because the typical trend is more, more, more production, more and more consumption. In contrast to this, MSF is about honest production and consuming only what one needs. For a sustainable world this is a really important concept. I applaud this about MSF. (Necmi)

This customer explains how he shares the same values of only producing and consuming what one needs. Another customer connects what Pinar is doing with her own background and beliefs:

> [Pinar] says that what they are doing is not organic, they don't have an organic certification, but they are using the old methods, which you know, I know about these things a little bit because I was raised in a small village. So I know about the things that she mentions, for example she says that she uses this on the tomatoes, for example, and I know that she is doing the right things when she says these small details. (Ebru)

Another customer explains further how what Pinar writes in her emails influences her and increases her confidence they share congruent values and goals.

> And her words maybe, that very warm, very welcoming… maybe the things that she wrote is also affecting. And also she is openly saying that I don't have an organic certificate because she does not believe in it. She is not looking for a paper, she is looking for something more than a paper, I think that is why I built trust. (Aleyna)

The customers feel shared commitment with an owner who does not just want an organic certification, but cares about using traditional farming methods and challenging the predominant production and consumption mentality in Turkey.

Third, my data show that the customers and owner have a concern for each other's long-term welfare. Pinar frequently writes about her concern for the well-being of her customers. She expresses a sadness for people in the cities who are earning money but being worn down physically (Pinar, TEDx Talks, 15 April 2013 email). She is motivated to fight against a system that is harming the long-term health of consumers. "If I wrote item by item all the fraudulent claims you would not put a bite of food in your mouth for weeks. I am expending effort to correct this cruel system" (Pinar, 1 July 2013 email). Pinar is concerned about the long-term welfare of consumers in Turkey, not just seeking profit or even incremental health improvements for a few people. The customers

also express a remarkable warmth and admiration towards Pinar. One customer commented that she is the "heart of our home" (open response item in online survey). Another respondent commented, "May God protect Pinar Hanim." In my qualitative data, customers' concern for the future welfare of the employees was more strongly expressed than for Pinar. Many customers made comments like, "I wish there would be many like Pinar Hanim all over" (Aslan). Other customers comment on the importance of Pinar not doing this for money, but also wish her to be profitable in order to continue.

> [Pinar] is always saying very openly that she has enough money, and she is not doing this to get rich. But obviously this has to make money, so that she pays for all these costs of labor, cost of raising produce in a more costly way, and also to make all these investments. So it has to be profitable. And I am totally for it. People who do good jobs have to make profit, so they can keep this going on. If it's not profitable, it won't keep going on. (Gizem)

Gizem desires for Pinar to be profitable and successful in order for the goals of MSF to be fulfilled. The customers wish for Pinar to be successful and continue her work, but they do not express as explicit a concern for her personal welfare, likely because they perceive her to be self-sufficient and more trying to improve the lives of others than her own. This will be discussed more in the integration with quantitative findings at the end of chapter 5.

4.2.2 Existence of Shared Commitments between Owner and Employees

I now turn to link 2 (in Figure 6), considering whether there is shared commitment between the owner and employees. Here, I am interested in whether there is a typical boss-worker relationship between them, or whether there is something additional taking

place on the farm. Do the employees have a sense they are working towards the same goal, share similar values, and care for one another's long-term welfare?

I indeed found evidence of *collective action* between the owner and employees. One person who has been an employee for 10 years shared,

> We started with three people. I mean we began with hard work. Together with our friends and our boss we fought to get where we are now. We are very pleased… We worked with our boss like a friend and a big sister. (Erkay)

Another long-time employee voiced the extra effort she and her coworkers are investing. "And we are also putting our heart and soul into our work for her. As it grows we are also very happy… It means that Sister Pinar's rising is all of our rising" (Nehir). This employee's comment also shows how the collective action they take is toward their mutual success. Many of the employees demonstrated collective action by talking favorably about the farm and bringing others to work with them. "I also brought many of my friends to work here. My contacts, from my friend group, I have brought many people. 'A very good place, you come work too.' Like, I was both an example and I brought people" (Kevser). Working hard alongside each other, putting their heart and soul into their work, talking favorably about the farm, and bringing others to work are examples of collective action between the owner and employees.

I also see evidence of *similarities in the values and goals* between the employees and owner. One of these values is the ability of a woman—even an unmarried one—to work and be successful.

> Pinar Hanim is a role model for me. Women's role model. She was successful, she worked, she started her own business and grew it. She was also a single woman when she came. I was here when the farm was first beginning. During the five years that I was working here with Pinar Hanim none of what you see was here. (Zehra)

Here, Zehra also refers to a shared goal they have of building up a farm from almost nothing. The employees and owner both talk frequently about the merits of village life, and how they are happier than their weary urban customers. It was common for the owner and employees to say that customers tell them, "You all are really beautiful, you stay so young. You live naturally. It's not like that in the city. Clean air, everything is organic" (Feyza). They have shared distaste for the packaged food industry and a shared goal of growing and producing healthy food according to their village traditions.

There is also abounding evidence of shared commitments in the *concern the employees and owner have for one another's future welfare*. Zehra shared with me how she was left with three kids when her husband died of cancer, and she had never worked outside of the home. Employment at the farm gave her a way to provide for her family.

> Thanks to Pinar Hanim, she provided me every kind of physical and emotional support. Therefore I could never repay her. She always helped me from every side and not just me, she has physically and emotionally been by the side of all of my friends who work here. This is the truth. I mean, no one could argue this. (Zehra)

Zehra shared further that for another health reason she had to leave for 18 months, but Pinar Hanim hired her back in a lighter job to help her get back on her feet. Reflecting on the overall different kind of relationships they have at MSF, one of the employees told me in an interview,

> There are no other jobs as comfortable as this one. Transportation, breakfast, lunch. Now we are like a family. People don't treat each other like they are at work. There is an altogether different family atmosphere. Whether Husniye Hanim or Pinar Hanim. It's not like worker-boss, but like a family. (Nehir)

4.2.3 Existence of Shared Commitments between Customers and Employees

Link 3, the link between customers and employees, is the most challenging of the shared commitments to develop in the spatially extended AFN. As shown above, link 1 is facilitated by Pinar's regular communication with customers, and link 2 is easier because of daily contact between the owner and employees on the farm. Here I focus on the findings that shared commitments can develop over a spatially extended network, even between customers and employees, who are more socially and culturally different. The owner plays a facilitating role in bringing the employees and customers together. If the employees and customers can directly work together, have congruent goals and values, and have a concern for one another's future welfare, the network becomes stronger, not just hinging on the owner. This relates to how "value can be cocreated by two or more actors in the service ecosystem without the explicit involvement of a lead actor" (Lusch and Nambisan 2015, p. 164).

First, despite the geographic distance, I see examples between customers and employees of *collective action* toward the same goals. Customers frequently mention how they pay more for products in order to provide employment for women in the village who grow and prepare natural food. "I know that a woman is working for me there and she is earning money; maybe she is bringing money to her family to her son or daughter and this makes me happy… I have a more direct contact" (Ceren). Visits to the farm and thanking the employees, phone calls to the employees for advice, and recommending to friends are other behavioral examples of how customers and employees work together.

One employee reflected on how meeting with the customers motivates their work, "When they say 'thanks for your good work' we also feel proud. We do our work with even greater joy" (Feyza).

Second, my time in the field shows that customers and employees have *congruent goals and values*. "The most important thing is that we really grow all of our own natural food…All of our customers know this" (Candan). According to one employee, customers say to them, "You live naturally. It's not like that in the city. Clean air, everything is organic" (Feyza). A customer reflected her related values and goals in this way:

> So the natural way of farming is dead I guess, except for small grass roots organizations like [MSF]…What we eat is really affecting us, our bodies, our children. So it is not just for a small number of people, for a city, it is for the world; it is very important. (Rengin)

Customers and employees have common values of growing natural food for a healthier lifestyle and future.

Third, my data show that employees and customers have a *concern for each other's long-term welfare* that goes well beyond an economic exchange. When asked the reasons for her involvement with MSF, one customer answered in the following way:

> The top one [is that] the people who are working there are really getting involved with something wonderful, earning money and are able to spend their money as they wish…. They are capable of buying or doing things that they had been dreaming of but had never been able to do… So dreams are coming true. (Rengin)

Another customer communicates her concern for the long-term welfare of the villagers: "People started to earn decent money by working under decent conditions—especially women. They've got their jobs now, their social security is paid…they enjoy what they do.... And [Pinar] has started to turn these villages into… self-sustaining, traditional

farming villages" (Gizem). One customer (Emine) shared that although she is turned off by what she perceives to be Pinar's greed and desire for fame, her commitment to the employed women's well-being is enough for her to continue as a customer. Employees frequently express concern about the health problems of their urban customers and share a deep belief that their health can be improved through the products from the farm. "Everyone else's health is as important as our own health." (Kevser). In this section I have shown the existence of the three components of shared commitments across the three links between actors in the network.

4.3 Development of Shared Commitments

In addition to conceptualizing and showing the existence of shared commitments, I aim to make a further contribution by considering in this case study *how* shared commitments were fostered, which could be replicated by other AFNs and alternative economies. In analyzing the data, several subthemes emerged as to how shared commitments developed across each of the links between actors. Table 2 summarizes the ways that shared commitments came into being between the owner and customers (link 1), the owner and employees (link 2), and customers and employees (3). The final column in Table 2 explains the dyadic or mutual nature.

Table 2 How Shared Commitments Develop

Shared Commitments	How Shared Commitments Develop	Explanation of Dyadic Nature
Shared Commitments between Owner and Customers (Link 1)	Connection to owner's story	Shared commitments are built as the customers relate with the owner's story
	Focus on quality over price	Owner selects price based on quality and sharing benefits with employees, rather than profit; likewise, consumers care less about price and more about the health and social value of the products
	Personalized communication	Personalizing reciprocal communications re-socializes the producer-consumer link
	"Inclusive" framing	Diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing that includes customers
	Customer involvement and acknowledgment	Shared commitments grow as the owner gives customers ways to be involved and thanks those who are
Shared Commitments between Owner and Employees (Link 2)	Founding with everyone's contributions	"There was my land, and their knowledge… we met up and began to work" (Pinar, 15 April 2013 email)
	Independence and respect at work	Given by the owner and earned by the employees
	Working alongside each other	Unity in their work and value of each other as people
	People first	Mutual commitment to continue employment despite changing family circumstances
Shared Commitments between Customers and Employees (Link 3)	Facilitated interactions	The owner introduces employees and customers
	Human touch in products/packaging	Employees do non-mechanized work; customers care that the food comes from people
	Distance-spanning technologies	Customers care about life on the farm, employees are willing to let their work and lives be displayed
	Physical visits	Mutual concern as customers visit the farm and employees travel to events in the cities

Table 2 serves as an outline for the following sections in which I present the evidence for each of these ways that shared commitments developed.

4.3.1 Development of Shared Commitments between Owner and Customers

An important basis of the shared commitments within Miss Silk's Farm is *connection to the owner's story*. Pinar sends weekly emails in which she frequently refers back to her own journey of leaving a busy city life and starting a new life in the village.

> Its founding philosophy was born from my own quest. I was born for a purpose, for this job. I was to live and give life to the soil, seed, trees, people, sayings, respect, feeling of trust, real Anatolia. With these I did not just want to be nourished, I also wanted to nourish them. Health to Istanbul, seeds to the soil that it deserves, earnings to Anatolia….Just earnings, honest earnings….I was not just going to sell products, it couldn't be that way. I was going to do something different, entirely other, crazy. Enduring all the conditions of the market, and ignoring the system, the farm was going to establish its own base. (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email)

Pinar's story is filled with moral choices and judgments with which her readers can connect: a choice to "give life"; that the soil "deserves" certain types of seeds; that some earnings are "just" and "honest" (while others are not). Many of the interviewees were eager to tell about Pinar's life story, which embodies many of their ideals. One informant said,

> I learned about the origins of that story bit by bit, how she gave up everything in Istanbul and went there and she had no idea of starting such a thing, she just wanted to raise some fruits and vegetables for her child, and then it got into this. (Gizem)

Shared commitments are built between producers and consumers as the products are embedded with the producer's story (Raynolds 2002).

Communicating a *lack of financial motivation* appears to be another important part of Pinar's ability to build shared commitments. In emails to consumers about the founding of the farm, Pinar explains she earned a lot of money from the water factory she started and then sold. When she then began MSF, "I never thought about the money or

the returns. My money was enough for me" (Pinar, 14 January 2015 email). Pinar's adequate money and lack of extrinsic motivation, in contrast to the norm of firstly financially motivated Turkish entrepreneurs (Benzing, Chu, and Kara 2009), is frequently mentioned by customers as a reason for their trust. One informant said,

> She did not start this for profit…. You will understand this when I tell you her life story, how it began…she has money, she has done everything in her life, she doesn't need money, she wouldn't do anything for money. (Rengin)

Nonprice considerations and social relationships take on greater importance as the levels of marketness and instrumentalism decrease (Hinrichs 2000).

MSF's loose payment system further engrains that Pinar is not profit motivated. One foreign customer was verbose about her experience in the farm never following up about payment and how it changes the relationship she feels with the farm. Commenting on an outstanding six-month month bill from multiple orders, she said:

> So I paid it all and we are all paid up now, but they never said anything. And that kind of relationship makes it feel very unlike a retailer who won't even start your order until they receive a payment. So that kind of behavior encourages me not to treat them like an online retailer. So if I receive a product that I am disappointed with from a different retailer I am likely to complain or write a bad review, give bad word-of-mouth publicity, or switch to another retailer the next time I need a similar kind of product, but with [MSF] I am just really forgiving…I mean who am I to complain, they are not even making me pay (laughing)…Or sometimes one of the tomatoes maybe gets rotten on the transport, but I am very you know okay with that because they have that kind of relationship with me, where they are not being demanding of me, so I am less likely to be demanding of them.
>
> I see it more like a friend than a retailer. A friend of mine, her husband's company has some employees from Erzincan, they're going to bring back some honey from Erzincan and they asked if I want to place an order from them, and I did. But it is a friend, so I am not going to get mad if the order is late, I don't even know when it is going to come, and that's okay. And that is kind of how I see [MSF], like kind of a friend of a friend that you make an order from. And I am going to pay for this honey from Erzincan, I'll pay the amount whenever they get it to me, but I'm not going to pay in advance. It's kind of a friend of a friend of a friend sort of thing so I am not going to pay this money in advance and demand it by Thursday. They will get it to me when they get it to me and I will

> pay when I get to it (laughing). So this is the way that [MSF] functions too, and it makes it feel more like it is your aunt's friend or something rather than an actual company. (Sarah)

The prominence of the theme about lack of financial motivation in the interview data, demonstrated in part by the loose payment expectation, suggests that customers in an alternative market are drawn to a moral choice of a course of action with an owner who they trust is not motivated by profit.

Pinar's and the customers' *personalized communication*, including their informality and openness about their personal lives, re-socializes the producer-consumer link (Raynolds 2002). The previously mentioned transfer of products embedded with the owner's story is not the only facet that builds connection; the reciprocal exchange of considerable personal information does so too. Pinar sets the tone in frequently mentioning her children and grandchild, and in using colloquial language and lots of emoticons.

> My job, our workers, you all, my children….In the corner of this perfect square is my grandchild, Miss Mavi, you all know. ☺ A while back I had shared a photo of her eating yogurt. She has gotten bigger, is now 13 months…. Even when I am not with her my daughter-in-law sends lots of photos…of course I will also share them with you.☺. (Pinar, 31 March 2013 email)

Pinar writes details about her family as if she is writing to friends. Customers likewise write to Pinar about their families. Informants told of how they sent Pinar a personal email to become customers:

> One day I had the time so I sent an email to [Pinar] and she sent me a reply. I sent her a small account of our family. She was very kind to reply and then I started to order from her. (Gizem)

The sharing about one's family and the nature of Pinar's reply show a personal connection between Pinar and her customers. Though she has never met her face-to-face,

one informant describes Pinar "like a friend that I have known for a very long time. I feel like that when I read her emails" (Rengin). Not all customers feel such strong affinity, such as one who alludes to a sense of tension about the personal nature of the correspondence. "Because [Pinar] shares her life so much with you, maybe we feel like we have to intervene, or we have to like or dislike her. But then you feel like, do I have to like or dislike my grocer?" (Ebru). Indeed, this is one reason for the appeal of capitalist economic relations, "in which the sticky ties of culture and social allegiance are banished" (Gibson-Graham 2006, p. 83).

In addition to sharing her story, her openness about her lack of financial motivation, and her personalized correspondence, Pinar helps stimulate shared commitments for a social movement by *inclusive framing*, involving customers through diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing (Benford and Snow 2000). Although Pinar herself may not be aware of the theoretical language for what she does, Laamanen, Wahlen, and Campana (2015) conceive framing as "a transformative practice intended to change and disrupt dominant institutions" (p. 7). As will be shown, Pinar is decidedly radical in her framing, working to change the system, and has been able to motivate consumers as choosers and citizens who can enact change. Pinar has been remarkably successful in transcending the within or without dichotomy of macromarketing (Golding 2009).

Pinar practices *diagnostic framing* (Benford and Snow 2000) by identifying many interconnected problems around the idea of people's well-being being destroyed as a connection with nature is lost at the hands of industrialization and the race for money and consumption. "Like hundreds of people around you, hundreds of people with the same

story…a rising graph, tiredness, a breaking down of my chemical balance…earning well and in return for this I was living terribly" (Pinar, TEDx Talks, 15 April 2013 email). Pinar is clearly framing the problem as being all around her readers and as something they should share a commitment to changing. Discussing her business studies at university, she states the following: "I never heard the word 'human' even one time" (Pinar, TEDx Talks, 15 April 2013 email). She laments the breakdown of human relationships, such as "[t]he old mother-child relations…we are also losing that" (Pinar, 4 March 2013 email). Pinar frames the issue from a "we" point of view, diagnosing a societal problem that concerns her and her customers.

Within the wider problem of declining well-being as a result of the fast pace of life, Pinar focuses on the industrialization of the food industry in Turkey and how "real" and "natural" food is being lost. She quotes a mother whose daughter asked, "But mommy, why would they put in ingredients that would make us sick?" (Pinar, 18 March 2013 email). As mentioned earlier, Pinar is intent on a grand vision of changing the food system in Turkey.

> Turkey has a need for real food…I am very idealistic; if I wrote item by item all the fraudulent claims you would not put a bite of food in your mouth for weeks. I am expending effort to correct this cruel system. And I will correct it, you will see ☺. (Pinar, 1 July 2013 email)

Pinar also does *prognostic framing*, articulating a proposed plan of attack and a solution to a problem (Benford and Snow 2000). She writes, "I am a revolutionary. I am a rebel. I am one who 'knows no rules,' one who is 'opposite the system'…and I am a producer" (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email). She sees herself leading a revolution of "real" food production, where people and the land are cared for. "Miss Silk's Farm's being taken as an example and spreading…this is what we want. We are on the road to moving the

expansion forward ☺" (Pinar, 2 September 2013 email). Seven years after establishing the farm near Nazilli, she decided to expand to a location in Kars, more than 1,300 kilometers away in the far East of Turkey.

> Nazilli is the place I've chosen to live in, Kars is where my roots are. Nowadays I experience the pride of being able to say both "mine" and "ours" for these two. We will open the way for hundreds, or maybe thousands of people who love their country deeply, of earning money by doing the work they know best without migrating or melting away in the system. I was able to actualize this revolution in Nazilli. And now…it will be much bigger, inclusive and ground-breaking. There is no limit to my excitement. For the sake of being able to say both "mine" and "ours," from now on I'll have a foot in both Nazilli and Kars. (Pinar, 12 August 2013 email)

Pinar's prognostic framing is drawing others into a shared commitment to provide a way for hundreds of people native to Kars to be able to make a living doing what they know best rather than having to leave their traditional farming communities to find work in the cities. In order to do this, she writes, "Coalitions, establishing common points, helping one another are necessary now. To break down prejudices, 'Another life is possible' needs to be said" (Pinar, 2 September 2013 email).

Pinar also practices *motivational framing*, providing a "call to arms" and inciting collective action (Benford and Snow 2000, p. 617). She works to empower consumers to help them recognize that their decisions matter. "Whatever you want to see in your life, spend your time and money pursuing those things" (Pinar, 4 March 2013 email). She sometimes will write quite detailed instructions to customers on how they should choose their food and what they should demand. "Grapes, dried figs, dried apricots, dried berries, etc…these shouldn't be shiny yellow and all. Don't buy them this way. But be certain to tell the seller why you didn't buy them." If more and more people make different demands of producers and retailers, in time the agricultural sector in Turkey can be

changed. Pinar is clear through her expansive call to collective action that she does not want people to merely buy her products, but to come to share her commitments to a revolution of the food system and way of life in Turkey.

Pinar also builds shared commitments through *customer involvement and acknowledgement*. For example, she invites participation as she kicks off the new Kars project. "I need every one of your ideas, every suggestion. Every thought that comes to your mind…is very important to me…. At every step I am going to ask for your support" (Pinar, 19 August 2013 email). Thanking the people who helped in earlier stages is a way to build commitment moving forward. For example, she thanks all the "volunteer ambassadors" who spread the word to their personal networks when the Kars farm first began (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email). She makes a clear effort to share the accolades given to the farm—and the credit. Announcing her "Female Entrepreneur of the Year" award, she tells customers, "Our strength is actually your strength. All the awards we have won are not actually ours, but yours. Thank you" (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email).

My interviews with customers indicate that Pinar's story, lack of financial motivation, personalized communication, inclusive framing, and involving and thanking others help develop shared commitments between her and customers. A customer's use of "we" suggests he shares the commitment with Pinar. "From now on we really need to form an alternative. People need to have their awareness raised. Pinar has made this her life goal…. This kind of local and small agriculture against large-scale production should be supported" (Yasin).

4.3.2 Development of Shared Commitments between Owner and Employees

Shared commitments were forged by Pinar and the villagers as they began the farm with everyone's contributions, through the personal independence and respect experienced at work, by working alongside each other, and by putting people first (Table 2). The farm began out of Pinar's commitment to provide jobs for the local people when they were thrown out of work by the holding company that purchased her water plant and violated the agreement to retain the employees. She writes of what happened when the villagers came to her house that day in tears:

> 'Get ready,' I said, 'we are going to do something all together.' I started to ask them all one by one, 'What can you add? What do you know?' One says, 'We are actually squash people, I plant squash well, I know how to do it like this and that, my grandmother has the seed, my grandfather has the young plants.' That day the foundations of Miss Silk's Farm were put down. (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email)

Shared commitments were formed through the farm's *founding with everyone's contributions*, as people in the local community contributed their skills to start the new initiative.

> We started in the tiny 14-home Ocakli village. Every one of my neighbors became a piece of this happening. Their neighbors, kids, the old women and grandfathers in the plateau villages…everyone came to be a unique part of the farm. There was my land and their knowledge…we met up and began to work. (Pinar, TEDx Talks, 15 April 2013 email)

Pinar's vision began with a commitment to the people and a belief in their competence and ability to contribute.

Shared commitment is also developed by *independence and respect at work*—the independence and respect given by Pinar and earned by the employees. The interviews

indicate that Pinar's employees take pride in these aspects of their work and workplace, and they are even more committed to Pinar and the goals of the farm as a result. "Everyone knows their job. The only expectation is that. Everyone is working to do their job in the best possible manner" (Nihal). Another informant expressed a common sentiment about how Pinar doesn't micromanage them. "She never follows behind the workers. Whether Miss Pinar is here or not the workplace keeps moving ahead. Everyone really owns their work. From the moment everyone enters the door in the mornings they know what to do" (Kevser). The following quote exemplifies the ownership the workers have and their shared commitments to Pinar and the customers: "[We show this kind of effort] for ourselves, for the customers, for our boss.... Because if the job we do is not good, our customers won't be pleased. If our customers aren't pleased, our boss won't be pleased, and then, you know, we also won't be pleased" (Sibel).

Pinar and the employees *working alongside each other* helps facilitate shared commitments. "At the root of Miss Silk's Farm is sharing. Sharing the soil…sharing the earnings…sharing life…the workers on the farm never feel like only 'personnel.' Each one has become an individual in our family" (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email). All of the interviews and observations at the farm resoundingly corroborated that her employees feel valued and not subordinated. "I never worked with a boss like Sister Pinar before, she is like a friend" (Fatma). The *muhtar* (village leader) said of Pinar,

> She is completely a loving woman, she is totally close in heart to the people. She has never been like, 'I'm great', she never shows herself to be a big deal, but is someone who just keeps working alongside you. (Osman)

Everyone working alongside each other, helping out where needed, and eating meals together in the dining area help the employees and the owner to be committed to a common course of action.

The flexibility of the work hours and the supportive conditions at MSF contribute to a *people first* ethos that also fosters shared commitments from the employees. One of the employees (Esra) told about how she was working at the farm's processing and packaging facility, but Pinar let her change to working in the fields so that she could get off earlier to care for her sick mother-in-law. Pinar allowed another employee to bring her granddaughter to work so that the employee and her daughter could work. "My daughter and I both raised my granddaughter here and worked here. We have more memories here than I can tell" (Kevser). Such decisions demonstrate Pinar's efforts to accommodate these women's family needs and prompt shared commitment from the employees.

4.3.3 Development of Shared Commitments between Customers and Employees

Although shared commitments between an owner and customers and an owner and employees are important, shared commitments to minimize economic domination and exploitation expand when a direct link between customers and employees is established. In MSF's case, there is a geographic and social distance between the local community and the majority of customers, who live hundreds of kilometers away in big cities. Shared commitments that traverse this distance have been developed by Pinar facilitating meetings between customers and workers, a human touch in products and packaging, the

use of distance-spanning technologies like weekly emails and cameras, and physical visits between locales (third section of Table 2).

Facilitated interactions are one way that customers develop shared commitments with employees. Pinar demonstrates an effort in her communication to help customers get to know the workers on the farm. She frequently refers to her neighbor Sefer, who does the planting, or the women who bake the bread, and in the following email she summarizes that practice:

> Seven years have now passed. ☺ In seven years we formed a dream, we made that dream real, we gave it a name….We began everything with my daughter Silk's name. After, the number of names grew and multiplied, did you realize it…? You learned my name. My father's, son's, daughter-in-law's, grandchild's…Sefer's, Derya's, Sister Ganimet's, Big Silk's, Ahmet's, Zubeyde's, Bilhan's…you came to know all the girls. (Pinar, 2 September 2013 email)

The interviews showed how customers believe their purchases help provide employment to women in the village. One informant explained,

> And there are women there. I should say that affects me too, really, because I am a bit feminist, and I like encouraging women in this area. So she is really helping local women working over there, that is what I believe. (Aleyna)

Another customer explains, "As far as I know the people working there are mostly from the village. There are more women helping at the farm. It really does please me that there is someone providing local jobs" (Yasin). Aleyna, Yasin, and others are motivated by a moral choice to provide job security for people local to the farm.

The *human touch in products and packaging* received by customers are another point of connection between employees and customers.

> [Human-] packed—you can understand that somebody packed it for you, you can easily understand this, so this is also effective for me. It is not like a machine…just doing the packing, no, it is someone who is doing it. (Aleyna)

I observed personally how the handwritten labels or expiration dates on many of the products, and the way there is a list of items checked off by hand with many different marking and notations and placed in the box, help the customer know (and really feel) that the box was sent by people, from women working on a farm, rather than a from a mechanized factory. These human touches help customers develop a concern for the farm's employees because the customers can visualize the employees working there.

Distance-spanning technologies help traverse the social and geographic distances between urban and rural communities. Pinar installed several web cameras around the farm so customers can actually see the employees, and each week she sends out a password through which customers can access the live feed. The cameras were mentioned in almost every interview, such as in the quote by this customer:

> At MSF you can even watch them, which is cool, really cool. Also you tend to have a connection with them, because you know who bakes your bread, you know the name. Sometimes you may even know the person's child's name. It is very nice. It is like you are…part of this small village, and living with them. It is very cool. (Ebru)

Technology is being used to close the geographic and social distances between the rural and the urban, to such an extent that this informant feels a connection with and part of the village. Customers also connect with employees over the telephone.

> Sometimes customers even call on the phone to learn something and to talk…. Some of our customers ask, 'How do you make this?' They want to listen. For example, they want to try our bread. They call to ask, 'How can we do it?' (Merve)

Live video and phone calls help close the distances between the consumers and producers.

Physical visits of customers to the farm and employees to trade shows in the cities are more physical ways that shared commitments are fostered in this spatially extended

alternative economy. Pinar frequently announces the availability of guest houses where customers can stay in order to see and help out at the farm, meet the workers, and experience village life. She reinforces this option by emphasizing how many people visit. "There is an amazing flow of visitors. We are in a time now where our days end only after meeting and talking to people all day" (Pinar, 19 August 2013 email). Her emails continue to invite guests to come and visit. "I am inviting you to visit. Escape, come…. Don't hold back, insist. There's room! ☺" (Pinar, 21 March 2015 email). According to one of the employees interviewed, whose job is to welcome guests to the farm, about 3,000 visitors come annually. Many of the guests want to get involved and not just be spectators. "The guests continually want to come here for 10 days, 20 days, one month, and they want to work. 'We don't want a vacation, we will work with you, we will help' is what they really want" (Nihal). While visitors must pay to stay at the farm, Pinar writes,

> There is a good chance this price won't even cover the costs but what is important to me is that you see the farm, production, fields, organization, workers, all of us….At the end of the summer if there is an increase in money from this job the workers will share it amongst themselves. (Pinar, 18 March 2013 email)

This exemplifies Pinar's (expressed) non-commodified values and an effort to build shared commitments more than to make a profit. Many of the employees discussed how much they appreciate customer visits.

> Guests come…. They all thank us, say they are very happy, love what they ate, and from now on can more comfortably eat based on what they see, how clean and nice our environment is. They always leave thanking us. We are pleased with them; they are pleased with us. (Sibel)

However, further questions reveal that the amount of contact between guests and employees is in fact very limited, and not all employees have equal contact with customers. When asked where the customers are from, one worker replied,

> Generally Istanbul and Ankara…. I don't know much. Because we aren't able to get much information, we don't know. Because we aren't able to continually have contact with them, other friends relate with them, we don't know exactly where they are from. (Deren)

Later in the interview, Deren continued, "We wonder [about the lives of the customers] but we don't get many chances to ask because we don't do things one-on-one with them." Employees from MSF also travel to Istanbul and other locations to meet with customers at trade shows, another way to create face-to-face opportunities to build connections. For many employees, this is the first time they have visited Istanbul, and it gives them more insight into the lives of their customers. However, the nature of talking to many people at a trade show often leaves the farm employees unable to connect at any depth with customers. Increased direct contact between more of the customers and the workers, as will be discussed later, could further strengthen shared commitments. Facilitated interactions, the packaging, the use of live video, and visits to the farm and city are ways that shared commitments are built between customers and employees.

4.4 Well-Being Outcomes

In this section, I will present the findings on the improvement in well-being for the employees, customers, owner, and the local community and society through the shared commitments in MSF. Figure 7, expanded from Figure 6, depicts how shared commitments toward the goal result in well-being improvements for all of the actors in a

network. As I present the well-being findings, I will emphasize how the three different shared commitments links, and more often a combination of them, brought about the well-being outcomes. To underscore the importance of the links in bringing about the well-being outcomes, I will mention link 1, link 2, and link 3 when I refer to the corresponding shared commitment. In some situations it may not be distinguishable, for example, whether the shared commitment a customer has is more with the employees or the owner, but I will highlight the predominant link.

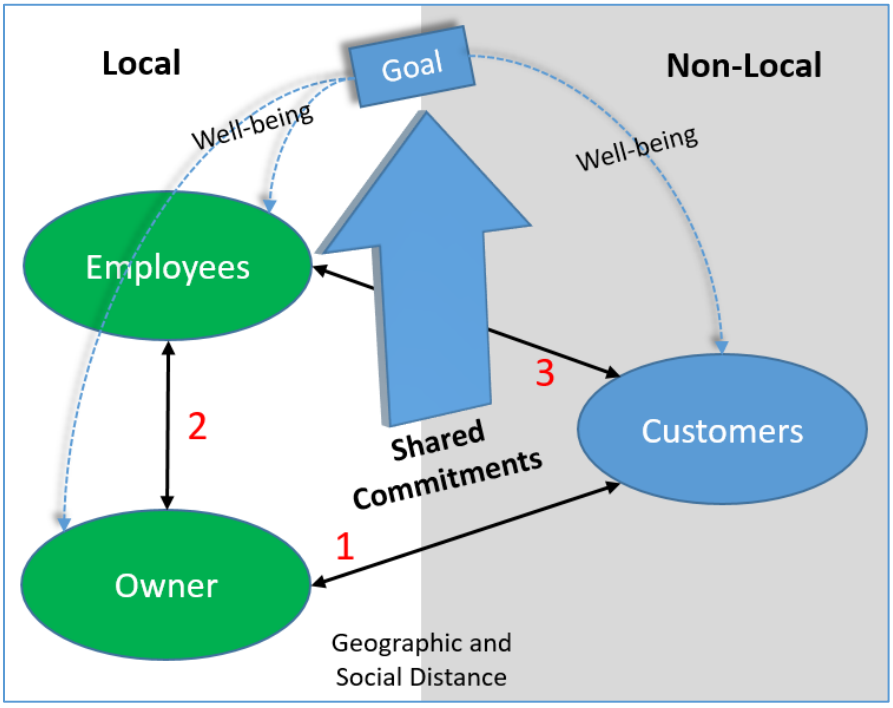

Figure 7 Model of Shared Commitments Leading to Well-Being

4.4.1 Employee Well-being Outcomes

Through my multi-method data, I observed strong well-being improvements for employees in work satisfaction, financially, psychologically, and in social connections.

Throughout this section I will provide evidence that these well-being outcomes came about through the shared commitments the employees shared with the owner (link 2) and with customers (link 3). Furthermore, I will also point out how even the shared commitments between the owner and customers (link 1), of which the employees are not even directly apart, still plays a part in improving their well-being.

Pinar's commitment to her employees (link 2) has allowed them to improve work satisfaction or experience work satisfaction outside the home for the first time, which has an important effect on subjective well-being, in part because of the opportunity for personal development (Lane 1992). Pinar provides the workers a way to do what they know and are good at. "They were owners of incredible skills, but up until today, these local women had never had a chance to show their skills; they have now been given a platform to show what they had learned about themselves" (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email). The platform exists because of the values the customers share with Pinar and the employees (links 1 and 3) for the "incredible skills" of the villagers. One of the bakery employees shared, "We make and send the baked goods, the cookies they love. We are also really pleased from being able to do this" (Meliha). One long-time employee shared the satisfaction of working and being able to support herself:

> To produce things, to provide use to something… for example, to know your place inside this farm is a really beautiful thing. I am saying that here I am providing benefit. I am earning and I am able to buy the things that I need. I am also going to school with what I earn…I am doing everything myself. This gives me peace. (Suzan)

Another employee emphasized how much happiness she gets from baking at the farm. When asked if she makes the same things at home, she said, "No, we make them at Miss Silk's Farm….We spend all our time here, we make them here. We get our desire here.

We show what we can do here. Here we are happy" (Meliha). Although this invites other questions about what may be lost as Meliha does her baking at work instead of at home, she is clear that her subjective well-being has improved, partly due to others noticing and appreciating her work.

The opportunity to work at MSF has been a turning point in personal development for many of the women who work at the farm. "Meeting Pinar and starting to work with her was…a second turning point in my life. Because here all together we are doing really great things" (Semra). Here Semra is emphasizing not just that beginning a new job improved her life, but specifically that the chance to take collective action toward the same goal with Pinar (link 2) was a turning point. My findings corroborate research that shows self-direction and discretion over one's work helps employees be more self-confident and less self-deprecatory (Kohn and Schooler 1983). For example, one baker shared the following: "Since coming here…my self-confidence has really increased. I have more trust in myself" (Kevser). Another woman has expanded her responsibilities at work from cleaning to welcoming and relating with guests. "Since beginning to work here I have learned so many things. Before I couldn't speak like this" (Damla). The growth in self-confidence comes about because the owner shares a commitment (link 2) to resist exploitation and subordination of the employees (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). Like Damla, many of the women shared that they have grown in their confidence in speaking with guests, in their assertiveness, and in self-confidence.

Pinar's commitment to share the farm's financial benefits (link 2) has improved the financial well-being of the employees and their families. One employee connects her happiness with the way Pinar relates to the workers.

> I do this job with a lot of joy. I can't even say "my boss"; Sister Pinar is a very good person. In tangible and intangible ways she is always by our side. She is never like a boss. We are really happy. Everyone is the same. When we have a meeting the conversation between us isn't like a worker and boss. Like normal friends, like a sister, like a big sister. (Feyza)

Feyza's comments exemplify the commitment that Pinar has for her employees (link 2), including in financial ways, and the happiness they feel. Her employees have greater financial freedom than before and can give greater opportunities to their children.

> I finished primary school. I really wanted to continue in school. There wasn't a school bus from [Ocakli] to Nazilli like there is now, so my dad said no. My aunts didn't want me staying with them, therefore I couldn't study. I really want my children to study. I was really good at handicrafts; my teacher even really wanted me to continue in art. My older daughter takes after me, and she is winning prizes and all now. (Esra)

The above is an example of a goal-attainment perspective, where money relates to subject well-being in its instrumental utility in helping people obtain (especially) intrinsic goals (Ahuvia and Friedman 1998). Many of the women mentioned the freedom they feel since making their own money and not being dependent on their husbands.

> Our lives changed a lot. Before only my husband was working. I was looking to my husband's hand [for things]. Sometimes when I wanted something he would say there was nothing. Struggling with life, children, this, that....Since coming here I have my salary, my health insurance.... I am able to pay for things for my kids. (Kevser)

It is the shared commitments of the customers with the owner and employees (link 1 and 3) that enables the financial well-being improvement. For example, customers take collective action by gladly paying higher prices in order for the owner to pay higher wages, provide benefits like breakfast and lunch, and have a work environment that is not driven by efficiency and cost-cutting to the detriment of the employees. Apart from the owner and customers sharing the values of reducing

exploitation of women in the village (link 1), the women would unlikely experience the financial well-being improvements they describe. The customer caring about the future welfare of the employees (link 3) encourages the collective action of purchasing from the farm. When asked the reasons for her involvement with MSF, one customer answered in the following way:

> The top one being the people who are working there are really getting involved with something wonderful, earning money and are able to spend their money as they wish…. Pinar writes that now the girls and women living in the villages around have [an improved economic situation].They are capable of buying or doing things that they had been dreaming of but had never been able to do. For example, one of them bought a motorcycle. [Another] wanted a bag so much, which was expensive, [but] she bought that. So dreams are coming true. This is the people part. (Rengin)

The psychological well-being of the employees has also improved through the increased pride they feel about their local community. Customers improve employee well-being through visiting and talking to them (link 3). There is a pride that the employees feel in having customers value their work.

> Guests are coming. They want to meet whoever is packaging their box. I have met a lot of them …. It's a beautiful thing. It's always great when they say 'Thanks for your good work'; we also feel proud. We do our work with even greater joy. (Feyza)

Visiting customers' affirmation of the quality of life in the village (link 3) also may improve employees' subjective well-being.

> Of course [the customers from the city] love it here more. We really do have, as you know, a very beautiful village. The water and air are beautiful. According to them, we are probably a bit luckier [to live here than they are in the city]. (Figen)

The modern discourse that people in developed cities with high incomes are better off is being challenged and the villagers' way of life is being affirmed.

The work environment at MSF has also given employees a chance to expand their social connections and affirm one another. One employee explains that she likes working at MSF because "I can make money and I can make friends" (Hande). Another employee said her favorite part of her job was, "To work closely with other women until evening. You can't understand how quickly time passes…. I am happy with my friends and my job" (Hatice). The social well-being improvements are facilitated by an owner who fosters a workplace where people have value and are encouraged to relate with each other (link 2). In my visits to the farm, I observed that almost everyone works closely with a few other people throughout the day, facilitating very close social relationships between them. I observed, and many of the employees mentioned in interviews, the social interaction of the employees at meal times. Contrary to industry norms, Pinar is committed to providing a healthy breakfast and lunch to all of the employees on the farm. Everyone, including the owner and office staff, eats family style in the dining area. People thrive in a workplace where they have positive connections with others and where their membership in a group with a shared sense of values and community is affirmed (Maslach, Schaufeli, and Leiter 2001).

The interviews and observations from my time at the farm indicated that the employees have a remarkable well-being. Their shared commitments with Pinar, each other, and the customers have led to their improved well-being vocationally, financially, psychologically, and socially. My data corroborate Geiger-Oneto and Arnould's (2011) findings about improved subjective producer well-being based on social support.

4.4.2 Customer Well-being Outcomes

Through the shared commitments within MSF's alternative economy, customers' health and psychological well-being have also improved. In this section, I will present findings that the shared commitments customers share with the owner (link 1) and employees (link 3), and even between the owner and employees (link 2), improve the well-being of the customers.

The combination of consuming delicious and healthy food was one of the primary well-being improvements that emerged from axial coding of the customer interviews. "[Pinar] supports the local people, employing them, paying for the social security, etc., so as a result we, living in Istanbul, can get real good stuff that we like to eat" (Aslan). Aslan makes a clear connection to how the support between owner and the local people (link 2) is what enables him to get "real good stuff that we like to eat." Many customers described their delight in trying the many new products created and delivered from the farm. "You know the first time your order certain things and then the box comes and you open it and you taste and you love it and want to share with others and order again and again" (Rengin). Many of the employees on the farm described how they are experimenting with new products and enjoying getting suggestions and feedback from customers. One employee mentioned how she thinks about the customers who will consume their dairy products. "Generally families are getting [our products]. Families eat...children eat. Sometimes we are thinking, 'Will they like it? Will they not like it?'" (Sibel). The shared commitment of the employees to the customers (link 3), for example valuing the creation of delicious and healthy food for the customers, is part of what

enables customers like Aslan and Rengin to feel delighted and healthier as a result of the products prepared at MSF. This underscores one of the tenants of alternative food networks, that the shortening of the supply chain can improve the knowledge the consumer and producer have from each other.

Customers feel their well-being and that of their family is improved because of the healthy food that is supplied to them, an example of instrumental motivation at the meso-level (Caruana and Chatzidakis 2014). "So that is my biggest motivation, to try to cook something healthy for my family" (Aleyna). Another customer explained in more detail:

> I mainly want to eat more wholesome food as a family, and I want to eat more like real food as a family and not eat things that are prepackaged in the store with unpronounceable ingredients. I know that [MSF] is doing real foods with milk that comes from cows that is not really processed, the way she does everything is as close to nature as possible and I feel that it's healthier for my family and my young kids. I feel like we should be buying naturally and sustainably, not supporting the prepackaged food industry that puts all kinds of crap in our food. I feel even good about eating. Even though the broccoli I get from there may taste the same, I just feel better about eating it, that I am putting good stuff in my system. Like even last night I had peas and Swiss chard from the farm and I just feel good, it feels right, like I am eating something that is more valuable than if I had bought it at [my local supermarket]. (Sarah)

The confidence Sarah feels from the congruent values with Pinar (link 1) allows her to feel that she is putting "good stuff in my system." Employees also share with the customers (link 3) the same value for the health of the food. One employee said, "Now health is more important than anything. Everyone else's health is as important as our own health. We don't want any complaints to come from customers" (Kevser). Customers indicated they feel their well-being is improved by this kind of personal attention given to their families' satisfaction and health.

Many customers feel that from traditional distribution channels they cannot get the kind of food MSF supplies. Another informant shares about why MSF is appealing to him:

> We feel safer, that's all. I feel better (laugh). You know, previously none of us grew up with MSF or something similar, because the food that we could get from the market or local stores was good food. At the moment, it's not possible. This is the effect of industrialization. You have to make more profit; if you want to make more profit you have to minimize your costs; if you want to minimize your costs you have to put something in it. I know one place they can harvest tomatoes almost every week….That's not possible, this shouldn't be possible, but this is the case. (Aslan)

In the context of the interview, Aslan is explaining how he feels "safer" because he believes the owner shares congruent values (link 1) about not cutting costs and growing food quickly through whatever means possible. The shared commitment to a traditional form of agriculture reminds him of his childhood when he feels the food was healthier and safer.

Customers also experience improvements in psychological well-being. The following customer emphasizes the pleasure she feels from her connection with a woman in the village:

> I know that a woman is working for me there and she is earning money; maybe she is bringing money to her family to her son or daughter and this makes me happy. Presumably you have this same thing with supermarkets because someone is producing this product, but I have a more direct contact or I can imagine more easily. I haven't been to the farm, but this is the impression that I have. If I want I can call her and I can just say that I want to meet the woman who is working for me. (Ceren)

Ceren's words show the importance of the connection she feels with the woman working at the farm (link 3). Ceren's involvement enables her to visualize a connection with the employee and feel she is improving her welfare, improving her own psychological well-being in the process.

Customers' psychological well-being is also improved by the satisfaction of a shared commitment to a larger cause:

> [Pinar] started talking more about her staff. And I started to realize that she's actually turned this small village and a couple of villages after, I think it is three or four villages now, into self-sustaining but traditional farming Turkish villages. People started to earn decent money by working under decent conditions—especially women. They've got their jobs now, their social security is paid, and they like what they do, they enjoy what they do.... And she has started to turn these villages into, like as I said, into self-sustaining, traditional farming villages. And being an academic who is coming from an HR background, that was very important to me and I thought I would definitely continue supporting Miss Silk's Farm, because [Pinar] was doing something really important, in terms of the labor and what she does for these villagers.(Gizem)

The quotation from Gizem highlights the shared commitment she feels with Pinar (link 1). She shares the same values and goal of creating "self-sustaining but traditional farming Turkish villages." She describes herself as "supporting Miss Silk's Farm, because [Pinar] was doing something really important," which goes beyond merely purchasing for the products themselves. The quotation also reveals how Pinar's shared commitment with the employees (link 2), such as enabling them to do work they enjoy and paying their social security, contributes to Gizem's own psychological well-being because it allows her a way to invest in issues that are very important to her. Gizem is delighted to have a means through which she can have shared commitments with village women (link 3). Gizem articulates a common sentiment among customers that personal satisfaction is derived from investing in a cause of great importance to them. Well-being is improved for customers through feeling healthier about the food they consume and psychologically, through the satisfaction of knowing employees' lives are being improved and investing in a larger project of social change.

4.4.3 Owner Well-being Outcomes

The shared commitments in the MSF network have also led to improved subjective well-being for Pinar, the owner. In analyzing the data, I looked for instances of when Pinar attributed well-being improvements to the shared commitments with customers (link 1), with employees (link 2), or between employees and customers (link 3). Self-actualization and family-like bonds were two emergent well-being outcomes from the data analysis. The owner's well-being outcomes are also important if the model is to continue and spread.

Pinar's story of well-being improvement began with personal choices to move away from a busy urban career. In this way, Pinar's story exemplifies finding well-being beyond financial considerations, connecting back to themes discussed in the first two chapters. The founding of the farm and the ongoing revolution in which Pinar sees herself and others have improved her life more than financial gain previously had. Writing about moving back to the village, she reflects,

> I began to look at the world with a different eye. What is 'profit'? Is the 'earnings' concept not actually what I thought it was? I questioned. I ripped up the meanings of the concepts I knew, and in their place new ones came. (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email)

Pinar learned new things about herself as she followed her heart and left behind the busy life of the city and business ventures. "When the greed to earn more left me, I was finally able to see myself, and I was this: A lover of my homeland!" (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email). Pinar sees MSF as her greatest success.

> From a profit-loss curve perspective it may appear to be one of my life's least successful jobs. From a commercial perspective it may not be glittering; but from now on everyone knows: it has become a legend. Today in five big cities it is shared from mouth to mouth, every day; every moment it is praised by someone. This is my greatest success and the greatest inheritance that I will leave to my children. (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email)

This quotation shows that the satisfaction Pinar has found would not be possible without the shared commitments of customers who are spreading the word about the movement and praising the impact (link 1). In other words, while her initial steps were very personal ones, the affirmation of others who adhere to the same values and applaud the farm is vital for feeling that the farm has been her greatest success. The shared commitment from customers (link 1) is one of the greatest sources of her ongoing motivation and well-being (Pinar, 4 April 2015 email). She wrote, "No one remained only a 'customer,' they became close friends and beneficiaries who did everything that they were able to support the development of the farm" (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email). The shared commitments of the customers (link 1), or what she prefers to call "friends and beneficiaries," have helped her dreams be fulfilled. She writes, "For seven years we dreamed, we fulfilled the dream, we made a name for ourselves" (Pinar, 2 September 2013 email). Her emails are filled with emphasis on "we," showing how the shared commitments with customer and employees (links 1 and 2) have brought about the success.

Pinar's life has been enriched by family-like bonds with her neighbors and employees (link 2).

> Sefer's family has been my family for many years. Or maybe we all became members of a big family? There is no lock on our doors. There is no separation of property, no this or that…. Sefer's kids have been my daughter's big brother and big sister for the whole time on the farm. His wife Fatma, she is Silk's second mother. And the other children; all the farm's children, young brothers and sisters…everyone has been taken under the wing of a common love. (Pinar, 20 June 2015 email)

Pinar mentions sharing a "common love" with the employees (link 2) that is a vital part of shared commitments. The employees likewise frequently mentioned the family-like bond they share. "Now we are like a family. People don't treat each other like they are at work. There is an altogether different family atmosphere. Whether Husniye Hanim or Pinar Hanim. It's not like worker-boss, but like a family" (Nehir). Pinar benefits from the social belonging and community she is a part of, as well as the esteem she receives from the employees who love her and look up to her like a big sister.

4.4.4 Community and Society Well-being Outcomes

According to my findings, shared commitments in alternative economies also have important implications for the well-being of communities, markets, and society. Urbanization and the decline of local farming are considerable trends in Turkey (Aydin 2010; Balaban 2012). One informant who recently returned to Yaylapinar, a village in the hills above MSF, described the situation in this way:

> Young people are no longer staying in the village. Everyone is going to Nazilli, because there are job possibilities there…. I mean everyone is going to work in the factories in order to get security from health and social insurance…. For their health and later for retirement everyone works below [in Nazilli]. (Tarkan)

An employee who grew up in the village Ocakli described how MSF is helping to stem the tide of villagers going to cities and working in factories.

> It is certainly good for this village [Ocakli]. Actually almost everyone in the village works here. It is opening the door of employment to women who have never worked before. They came and worked. They earned money. Certainly something very good has happened. Before this was a stagnant town. Later the farm got bigger and the workers who came from outside made it a more active place. (Suzan)

The commitment of Pinar to the employees and the local community (link 2) has enabled the transformation of the village. I went and visited the refrigerated storage area in town that Pinar paid off and now allows the villagers to use for free to store their own produce. Another woman from the village described the importance of having a job in her hometown:

> I am very happy here. Thanks be to God. In a small village to have this kind of a workplace is so great. Before, I was doing everything for my kids, my husband, because I was in a helpless place. You can't go anywhere, you can't work, you are in a village. You can't just come and go. But this place is close to our home. It's five minutes from the house. I am always so happy about that. (Kevser)

Customers' willingness to pay more for food that is embedded with information about Kevser and the other local workers (link 3) means fewer people need leave the villages in and around Nazilli and now Kars.

> I know that there are a lot of female workers there. I am very, very happy for that. Because this is a small village, I mean, she seems to have changed something in the place that she lives, the way women work. The way they can earn money. This is a good example for us Turkish women…. I would like to support her action in this part of Turkey, so even if it is higher prices, if it is employing women in her farm, it is a motivation for me. I prefer this to giving my money to [a supermarket] and…the [large holding that owns it]. (Ceren)

The impersonal and industrialized form of agriculture in Turkey is being challenged as tens of thousands of people are considering an alternative discourse and being influenced to think and consume differently.

> [Traditional] farming…is getting less and less. I have many worries about the country. People are moving from villages to the big cities. So farming is just left to the big companies that are doing other things, not villages that are doing it. And too much chemicals and hormones are used, too many different kinds of seeds….So the natural way of farming is dead, I guess, except for small grassroots organizations like Pinar's…but what we eat is really affecting us, our bodies, our children. So it is not just for a small number of people, for a city, it is for the world, it is very important….I cannot do anything except spread the word, raise awareness. (Rengin)

Rengin is describing a shared commitment she feels with the owner (link 1) to not let the "natural way of farming" die. By taking collective action with the owner, she feels like she is able to bring about transformation for the community and society. Another informant discusses how much she would like to see connections grow throughout the country to improve society.

> If this would be a big sector, it would be a very good thing for my country, for the society, for all those farms, for the end users. [Miss Silk's Farm] seems to be a good model. If it is more accessible, that would be best. If there are more of these. For example,…I also went once to Van, on the far east side, [where] there are people who [also] want to produce stuff, who are doing agriculture. If we can connect them, if we can connect the people, that would be the best for the country and for the society. (Ebru)

Informants including customers in urban centers and villagers working and not working at MSF shared a belief that this alternative food network is improving well-being for the villages and society as a whole. They are united in wanting to see the model expanded, to see greater connections between consumers and farmers who are producing in communities all over Turkey.

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter I presented my qualitative findings about shared commitments within the MSF network. I made an effort to show specific evidence of exactly how I came to call the links between actors shared commitments. Based on the data analysis methodology detailed in chapter 3, I presented evidence of how shared commitments developed in this network. As will be discussed in the final chapter, I believe these subthemes can offer practitioners and policy-makers specific ways to foster

a different kind of market. Instead of a market driven by low-price and cost-cutting, MSF is an example of an alternative market where people are working together toward common goals of societal well-being. In this chapter, I also specified in detail the improvements in well-being that I observed and people shared with me through their involvement in MSF. I particularly emphasized how the shared commitments between actors (links 1, 2, and 3) enabled these well-being improvements. The customers, employees, owner, and even the wider community were overwhelmingly favorable about the well-being improvement brought about through the shared commitments enacted in this alternative market. In the following chapter I will share my quantitative findings on measuring shared commitments and their relationship to well-being.

CHAPTER 5: QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented my qualitative findings about the existence of shared commitments, how they develop, and how the shared commitments lead to well-being outcomes. The qualitative exploration (part 1 of my exploratory research design) led to an inductive model where I defined components and hypothesized relationships (part 2). In this chapter I present the results of part 3 of my exploratory research design: the quantitative testing. I set out to answer two quantitative research questions, as presented in chapter 2: (1) how can shared commitments be measured?; and (2) what is the relationship between shared commitments and well-being outcomes?

As explained in detail in chapter 3, I collected data from separate customer and employee samples in order to test the model. Accordingly, in this chapter I will present the findings from each of these data sets in parallel. I begin by presenting the customer and employee samples. I then provide the details of the measures and the measurement

scale analysis, considering the reliability and validity of both samples. The model results follow, where I present the measurement model and structural model results, including a comparison to alternative models. In the final section, I integrate and compare the quantitative and qualitative findings.

5.2 Sample

Both the customers' and employees' perspectives were of great interest in my multi-actor approach to understanding shared commitments in the network of MSF. One of the most interesting and challenging aspects of my data collection was the differences between the customer and employee samples. There are thousands of customers and only around a hundred employees, creating a clear disparity in sample size. Furthermore, despite being in the same country, the gap in education level between the two samples meant additional challenges in the reliability of the data (Narayan and Krosnick 1996). In this section I present the two samples, highlighting some of the similarities and differences between them in age, education, income, marital status, and number of children.

5.2.1 Customer Sample

The customer survey resulted in 1,404 usable surveys. Females composed more than 87 percent of respondents. About 85 percent of the respondents were married. About three-quarters of the customers were between the ages of 31 and 50, with a mean age of 42

years. About 80 percent of the respondents had at least one child, with the mode being one child. Table 3 summarizes the descriptive statistics for the sample.

Table 3 Customer Sample (N=1404)

Percent female	87.2
Marital status	
Married	85.5
Never married	7.3
Divorced or widowed	7.2
Age group	
21-30	6.5
31-40	46.8
41-50	26.6
51-60	14.3
61 and above	5.8
Number of children	
0	18.7
1	50.2
2	28.4
3 or more	2.7
Highest attained formal education	
Less than university	12.4
University graduate	55.3
Graduate degree	32.3
Average monthly household income	
Less than 3000 TL	4.0
3000-6000 TL	29.7
6001-9000 TL	27.3
More than 9000 TL	39.1

The respondents are a very well-educated sample compared to the Turkish population. More than half had a university degree, and another third had a graduate degree. In contrast, in 2015, only 11% of Turks aged 25 to 64 had a university degree, and only 2% held a graduate degree (Compared to OECD averages of 16 and 12

percent).[6] Due to the disparity in education between women and men, the education level of the predominantly female sample is even more unusual.

The monthly household incomes ranged widely from 3,000 TL and above. The average monthly household income in Turkey for 2015 was 1,376 TL.[7] Considering that only 4 percent of the respondents were below 3,000 TL, these respondents are financially well-off compared to their compatriots. Overall, it can be said that the customers of MSF, as shown in this sample, are predominantly well-educated women, upper middle-class, married, and mothers.

5.2.2 Employee Sample

The employee survey procedures resulted in 80 usable surveys. Two surveys were eliminated due to multivariate outlier analysis (Kline 2005), yielding a final sample of 78. Females composed more than 78 percent of respondents. Most of the men work in physically strenuous tasks like loading. About 82 percent of the respondents were married. Approximately two-thirds of the employees were between the ages of 31 and 50, with a mean age of 39 years. Just over 80 percent of the respondents had at least one child, with the mode being two children.

The respondents are a low-educated group compared to the Turkish population. About two-thirds of the employees do not have more than primary education, and in interviews many said they went to school only sporadically and did not even complete

[6] OECD, "Education at a glance 2016," http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/education/education-at-a-glance-2016/turkey_eag-2016-84-en#.WNi5X2997IU#page6
[7] TUIK, 21 September 2016, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21584

primary school. Only two of the employees have university education and two more have continuing education after high school. This is well below even the Turkish average of 11 percent with a university degree, and speaks to the low educational opportunities for this generation (especially women) growing up in a village. Nearly three-quarters of these women grew up in a village, compared to just 2.4 percent of the customers. Table 4 summarizes the descriptive statistics for the sample.

Table 4 Employee Sample (N=78)

Percent female	78.8
Marital status	
Married	82.5
Never married	8.8
Divorced or widowed	8.8
Age group	
21-30	22.5
31-40	30.0
41-50	35.0
51-60	11.3
61 and above	1.3
Number of children	
0	18.8
1	18.8
2	40.0
3 or more	22.5
Highest attained formal education	
Primary School	65.0
Middle School	15.0
High School	15.0
University or continuing	5.0
Average monthly household income	
Less than 1500 TL	36.3
1501-3000 TL	42.5
3001-4500 TL	16.3
4501-6000 TL	2.5
More than 6001 TL	2.5

About 64 percent of the employees reported monthly household incomes above 1,500 TL. Considering that the average monthly household income in Turkey for 2015

was 1,376 TL,[8] these employees are above average financially. The higher-than-average incomes are due to these women working and most being married, therefore having on average dual-income households.

Overall, it can be said that the employees of MSF, as shown in this sample, are predominantly low-educated women, married and mothers, with household incomes above the Turkish average. It is interesting both the strong similarities and differences that the employees share with their customers. Both of the groups are overwhelmingly married mothers in their 30s and 40s. The employees are primarily low-educated but middle-class villagers, whereas the customers are highly-educated upper-middle class urbanites.

5.3 Procedure

As detailed in chapter 3 (Section 3.3.3), I administered separate customer and employee surveys. I administered the customer survey via an online link that the owner sent to her customer database in one of her weekly emails. The respondents were assured of the anonymity of their responses. I received 1,440 responses from a list the owner claims is about 60,000 people, including closer to 10,000 people who are regular customers.

Based on the trust built from two previous site visits, the owner also allowed me to administer a survey with the employee on-site at the farm. I was prepared that the education level of many of the women would require me to verbally read the items and record their responses. In an introduction read to the employees, I told about my institution and the purpose of the research. I explained that I was entirely independent

[8]TUIK, 21 September 2016, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21584

from the farm and was not working for the managers of the farm and that all responses would remain anonymous. The owner and managers were not present while the employees answered the questionnaire. In order to mitigate challenges in understanding my Turkish pronunciation and not to wear myself out reading the same items over and over again, I had a recording of a female native speaker reading each of the items. In most situations I would play the recording, pausing it as necessary for the employees to have the time to circle their response for each item.

5.4 Measures

There were eight similar constructs measured in both the customer and employee surveys. As explained in detail in chapter 3 (section 3.3.2), items were developed for the three components of shared commitment (Collective Action, Congruent Values and Goals, and Concern for the Future Welfare of Others), which came from the qualitative data analysis as shown in the previous chapters. Conversations with independent reviewers helped in the refinement of items. Multiple independent translators reviewed each of the items, with a particular emphasis on the clarity of the items in straightforward Turkish. All items in the study are rated on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 "I completely disagree" to 7 "I completely agree."

On the customer survey, six of the measurement scales measure the components of shared commitments. The first three measure the customers' level of shared commitment with the owner: Collective Action with Owner (CAO), Congruent Values and Goals with Owner (CVO), and Concern for the Future Welfare of Owner (FWO).

The second three measure the customers' level of shared commitment with the employees: Collective Action with Employees (CAE), Congruent Values and Goals with Employees (CVE), and Concern for the Future Welfare of Employees (FWE).

The final two scales are concerned with the outcomes of shared commitments. Overall Connection (OC) serves as a proxy for the overall connection that a customer feels with the network. The items deal with loyalty, long-term commitment, and a feeling that the farm is more than just a company. As previously noted, whereas the shared commitment measures are focused on particularly the owner or employees, the OC measure is concerned with a higher level feeling of connection to the ethos of the farm. Life Satisfaction (LS) is measured by the standard five-question life-satisfaction scale (Diener et al. 1985), and used as a measurement of well-being of the customers.

The employee survey parallels the eight constructs on the customer survey. There are different items for measuring the employees' Collective Action with Owner (CAO), Congruent Values and Goals with Owner (CVO), and Concern for the Future Welfare of Owner (FWO). The second three constructs measure the employees' level of shared commitment with the customers: Collective Action with Customers (CAC), Congruent Values and Goals with Customers (CVC), and Concern for the Future Welfare of Customers (FWC).

The final two scales are again Overall Connection (OC) and Life Satisfaction (LS). The two items for OC deal with intention to continue at the farm and a feeling that involvement with the farm is more than just a job. As in the customer survey, Life Satisfaction (LS) is measured by the standard five-question life-satisfaction scale (Diener et al. 1985) and is used as measurement of well-being of the employees.

5.5 Measurement Scale Analysis

Steenkamp's (2004) Survey Research/Theory Testing Paradigm (in Peterson and Ekici 2007) was employed as criteria assessing the measurement scales and models. In this paradigm, four criteria for satisfactory results in construct identification and theory testing were employed as follows: (1) reliability Cronbach's $\alpha > 0.7$), (2) validity (factor loadings >0.4, with a simple structure amongst the factors), (3) overall model fit (CFI, TLI, GFI > 0.9; RMSEA < 0.08), and (4) support for hypotheses ($p < 0.05$). The first two criteria, reliability and validity, are considered in the following sections. Indicators with poor factor loadings (typically below 0.5) were pruned in order to improve reliability and validity.

I was mindful of the risk of common method variance (CMV), the variance that is attributable to the measurement method rather than to the constructs the measures represent, having a confounding influence on the empirical results (Podsakoff et al. 2003). All the measures in the survey, including the dependent variables, were perceptual and were collected from the same source (i.e. self-report). While I was not able to obtain measures of the constructs from different sources (Podsakoff et al. 2003), I tried to address many of the potential causes of CMV biases. The total anonymity of the participants on the customer survey reduced common rater effects such as social desirability, leniency bias, and acquiescence bias. In order to test for CMV, I used Harman's single factor method in SPSS, which showed that a single factor does not emerge with either the customer or employee data. Furthermore, when restrained to one

factor, it explained less than 50 percent of the variance in both data sets, suggesting that CMV is not a significant threat in this study.

5.5.1 Reliability and Validity of Measure Scale in Customer Sample

Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a set of indicators of a latent construct is internally consistent (Hair et al. 2013). Internal consistency reliability is the degree to which responses are consistent across the items within a measurement scale (Kline 2005). "As reliability goes up, the relationships between a construct and the indictors are greater, meaning that the construct explains more of the variance in each indicator" (Hair et al. 2013, p. 548). In other words, reliability is concerned with the consistency and stability of the measurement. Cronbach's coefficient alphas, which are calculated based on average inter-item correlations, were used to measure internal consistency. Hinton et al. (2004) propose four degrees of reliability, while Hair et al. (2006) state that construct reliability should be 0.70 and above to indicate adequate convergence and internal consistency.

I performed a scale reliability analysis to assess the internal consistency. Utilizing SPSS, I ran a reliability coefficient for each set of constructs, the results of which are presented in Table 5. I also present each of the items used for each of the eight constructs.

Table 5 Customer Survey Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliabilities (N=1404)

Constructs *Item*	Label	Factor Loading	Cronbach's alpha (α) Reliability	Comment (Hinton et al. 2014)
Collective Action with Owner (CAO)			0.707	High Reliability
I advocate for the same goals as Pinar in my personal network.	CAO_Defend	0.841		
I talk up MSF to my friends as a great place to buy from.	CAO_WOM	0.849		
I gladly pay more for food from MSF to support its goals.	CAO_Pay	0.758		
Congruent Values and Goals with Owner (CVO)			0.853	High Reliability
For Pinar, this work is about more than financial success.	CVO_Greed	0.854		
The more I learn of what Pinar is trying to achieve, the more I want to be a part of it.	CVO_Success	0.888		
I am proud to tell others about Pinar's values.	CVO_Pride	0.895		
Concern for the Future Welfare of Owner (FWO)			0.870	High Reliability
It motivates me to support someone like Pinar.	FWO_Support	0.896		
It is important to me that everyone benefits through their involvement with MSF.	FWO_Everyone	0.874		
I feel that Pinar Hanim cares about my long-term well-being.	FWO_MyWB	0.904		
Collective Action with Employees (CAE)			0.793	High Reliability
I gladly communicate with the employees of MSF.	CAE_Contact	0.837		
If I could do something extra to help an employee at MSF, I probably would.	CAE_Extra	0.877		
I talk up MSF's impact on the villagers who live near the farm.	CAE_Praise	0.817		
Congruent Values and Goals with Employees (CVE)			0.837	High Reliability
The more I hear about the lives of villagers improving, the more I want to be a part of it.	CVE_Improve	0.868		
I find that my values and the values of the employees at MSF are very similar.	CVE_Same	0.891		
The employees and I value the same type of agriculture.	CVE_Ag	0.847		
Concern for the Future Welfare of Employees (FWE)			0.917	Excellent Reliability
The employees' long-term welfare is important to me.	FWE_LTWB	0.917		
The employees' well-being should also be considered beyond what MSF produces.	FWE_WB	0.934		
I am concerned that the employees of MSF and others like them be able to retain their way of life in the villages.	FWE_Village	0.931		

Overall Connection (OC)			0.724	High Reliability
I am a loyal customer of MSF.	OC_Commit	0.813		
MSF is not just a company to me.	OC_More	0.786		
I don't feel any long-term commitment to MSF. (Reverse)	OC_LTCommit	0.814		
Life Satisfaction (LS)			0.867	High Reliability
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	LS_Ideal	0.774		
The conditions of my life are excellent.	LS_Conditions	0.843		
I am satisfied with life.	LS_Satis	0.870		
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	LS_Important	0.842		
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	LS_Change	0.761		

The results of the analysis show that all of the constructs have a high or excellent reliability, ranging from 0.707 to 0.917. Overall, these results provide support that the constructs measured in the research are reliable and demonstrate appropriate construct reliability.

The construct validity is the degree to which an operational measure correlates with the theoretical concept being investigated (Hair et al. 2013). Factor analysis is considered one of the primary analytic tools to assess construct validity (Turocy 2002). Factors loadings above 0.5 are an indication that the variables have practical significance. I report the factor loading based on extracting one component for each of the constructs using Principal Component Analysis in SPSS. As shown in Table 5, the factor loadings for each component are well above the 0.50 threshold. In fact every one of the loading in the customer model is above 0.75 and most are above 0.80.

These validity tests affirm that the measurement scales I used in the customer survey correlate with the theoretical concepts being investigated. I also test the discriminant validity, the extent to which a construct is different from other constructs (Hair et al. 2013). In Table 6, I present the zero-order correlations between the item

averages for each of the customer constructs. Several of these are above 0.70, suggesting a strong relationship between constructs. However, none of the correlations are above the 0.85 threshold that would indicate discriminant validity is a definite problem (Kline 2005, p. 60).

Table 6 Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Reliabilities in Customer Sample (N=1404)

Construct	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Collective Action with Owner	5.97	1.10	(0.71)							
2. Congruent Values and Goals with Owner	6.01	1.17	**0.77**	(0.85)						
3. Concern for Future Welfare of Owner	6.08	1.15	**0.75**	**0.81**	(0.87)					
4. Collective Action with Employees	5.90	1.14	**0.60**	**0.65**	**0.65**	(0.79)				
5. Congruent Values and Goals with Employees	5.97	1.05	**0.67**	**0.70**	**0.73**	**0.68**	(0.84)			
6. Concern for Future Welfare of Employees	6.47	0.84	**0.48**	**0.49**	**0.59**	**0.55**	**0.64**	(0.92)		
7. Overall Connection	5.75	1.23	**0.64**	**0.63**	**0.66**	**0.59**	**0.85**	**0.46**	(0.72)	
8. Life Satisfaction	5.11	1.15	**0.13**	**0.11**	**0.10**	0.07	**0.10**	0.05	0.06	(0.87)

Note: All of the zero-order correlations in bold are significant at the .01 level. Reliabilities are in parentheses.

5.5.2 Reliability and Validity of Measure Scale in Employee Sample

The Cronbach's alpha reliability results for the employee sample (shown in Table 7) again suggest overall high reliability. Only two Cronbach's alpha values, Collective Action with Customers (0.674) and Collective Action with Owner (0.622) are below the

0.70 threshold for high reliability. Nevertheless, the values still suggest there is high moderate reliability (Hinton et al. 2014).

Table 7 Employee Survey Items, Factor Loadings, and Reliabilities (N=78)

Constructs *Item*	Label	Factor Loading	Cronbach's alpha (α) Reliability	Comment (Hinton et al 2014)
Collective Action with Owner (CAO)			0.622	High Moderate Reliability
I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this farm be successful.	CAO_Effort	0.611		
I look for ways that we can make our products even better.	CAO_Improve	0.741		
I talk up MSF to my friends as a great place to work.	CAO_WOM	0.742		
I do whatever I can each day to make the farm better.	CAO_Better	0.685		
Congruent Values and Goals with Owner (CVO)			0.741	High Reliability
For Pinar, this work is about more than financial success.	CVO_Success	0.905		
I am proud to tell others about Pinar Hanim's values.	CVO_Pride	0.905		
Concern for the Future Welfare of Owner (FWO)			0.776	High Reliability
Pinar Hanim's long-term welfare is important to me.	FWO_WB	0.872		
It motivates me to support someone like Pinar Hanim.	FWO_Support	0.792		
I would be sad if Pinar Hanim burned out from her work on MSF.	FWO_Burnout	0.848		
Collective Action with Customers (CAC)			0.674	High Moderate Reliability
I talk up the farm's positive impacts to my friends.	CAC_Effects	0.809		
I look for ways that we can make our products even better for customers.	CAC_Improve	0.753		
I gladly and willingly communicate with the farm's customers.	CAC_Commun	0.822		
Congruent Values and Goals with Customer (CVC)			0.741	High Reliability
I find that my values and our customers' values are very similar.	CVC_Values	0.785		
The more I hear about the lives of customers improving, the more I want to be a part of it.	CVC_Part	0.712		

I think I know what our customers value.	CVC_Know	0.788		
I share the same overall objectives for MSF with our customers.	CVC_Goals	0.735		
Concern for the Future Welfare of Employees (FWE)			0.725	High Reliability
The customers' long-term welfare is important to me.	FWC_ LTWB	0.876		
Our customer's well-being should be considered in everything we produce.	FWC_WB	0.833		
I am concerned about what the quality of what consumers in cities eat and drink.	FWC_Worries	0.740		
Overall Connection (OC)			0.703	High Reliability
I intend to work at this farm in the coming years.	OC_Continue	0.878		
MSF is not just a job for me.	OC_More	0.878		
Life Satisfaction (LS)			0.777	High Reliability
In most ways my life is close to my ideal.	LS_Ideal	0.752		
The conditions of my life are excellent.	LS_Conditions	0.772		
I am satisfied with life.	LS_Satis	0.805		
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.	LS_Important	0.768		
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.	LS_Change	0.586		

As for validity of the employee survey items, the factor loadings for each item are well above the 0.50 threshold. None of correlations shown in Table 8 indicate concern for discriminant validity (Kline 2005). Overall the zero-order correlations indicate lower correlation between the constructs than in the customer data, especially with Overall Connection and Life Satisfaction.

Table 8 Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Reliabilities in Employee Sample (N=78)

Construct	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Collective Action with Owner	6.64	0.49	(0.62)							
2. Congruent Values and Goals with Owner	6.61	0.57	**0.61**	(0.74)						
3. Concern for Future Welfare of Owner	6.45	0.57	**0.61**	**0.43**	(0.78)					
4. Collective Action with Customers	6.41	0.72	**0.41**	**0.42**	**0.61**	(0.67)				
5. Congruent Values and Goals with Customers	5.78	1.00	0.24	**0.30**	**0.38**	**0.52**	(0.74)			
6. Concern for Future Welfare of Customers	6.24	0.88	0.28	0.23	**0.41**	**0.39**	**0.50**	(0.73)		
7. Overall Connection	6.17	1.23	0.20	0.06	0.16	0.21	0.05	0.12	(0.70)	
8. Life Satisfaction	5.47	1.05	0.06	0.26	0.27	**0.31**	0.12	0.17	0.01	(0.78)

Note: All of the zero-order correlations in bold are significant at the .01 level. Reliabilities are in parentheses.

5.6 Measurement Model Results

Having assessed the measurement scales, I now present an analysis of the customer and employee models. A structural equation model typically consists of two parts (Hair et al. 2013), the results of which are covered in the next two sections:

1. A measurement model , which specifics the rules of correspondence between measured and latent variables, and
2. A structural model, which involves specifying that a relationship exists between latent constructs, and the direction of the relationship.

5.6.1 Customer Measurement Model Results

First, the measurement model for the customer data is tested. This model (shown in Figure 8) was derived by using a second-order factor analysis approach. Here, three unidimensional factors served as the elements identifying Shared Commitment with Employees and Shared Commitment with Owner. The results revealed there is a simple structure among the items with each construct measured by its own set of three unique items. Fit indices for the model are acceptable: Chi-square (283, N=1404)=1169.41, Chi-square/df=4.13, GFI= 0.94, RMSEA= 0.047).

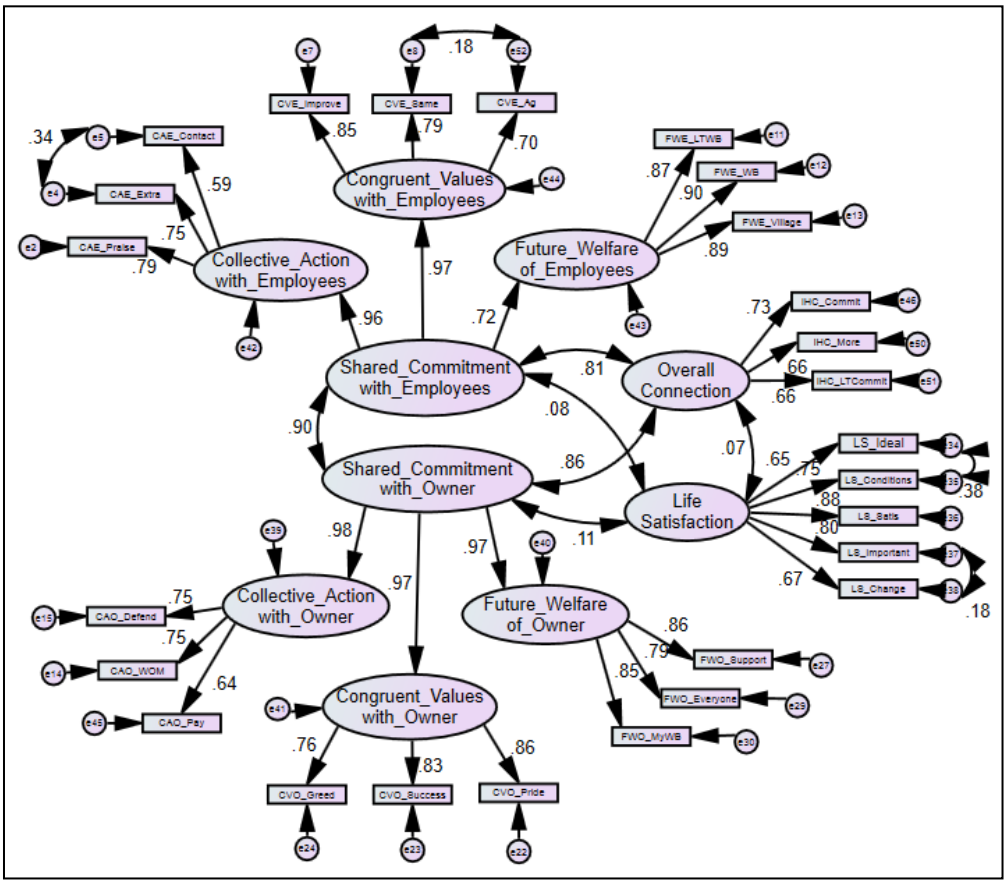

Figure 8 Measurement Model for Customer Data (N=1404)

Four correlations between indicators were added due to the modification indices indicating high correlation. It is theoretically meaningful that the items for the same construct would be highly related (Green and Hershberger 2000). The loadings of observed indicators on their respective latent constructs are all above 0.5. I expected that the three underlying components would be significant in measuring shared commitment. Shared Commitment with Employees has strong path coefficients for *Collective Action with Employees* (β=0.96), *Congruent Values and Goals with Employees* (β=0.97), and *Concern for Future Welfare of Employees* (β=0.72). The measurement of shared commitments is likewise confirmed on the owner side (lower half) of Figure 8, with respective path coefficients of 0.98, 0.97, and 0.97. These results are summarized in Table 9.

Table 9 Customer Measurement Model Second Order Path Coefficients (N=1404)

Path		Standardized Path Coefficient (Beta)	Significance	Supported?
Collective Action with Owner	Shared Commitment with Owner	0.98	p< 0.001	Yes
Congruent Values and Goals with Owner	Shared Commitment with Owner	0.97	p< 0.001	Yes
Concern for Future Welfare of Owner	Shared Commitment with Owner	0.97	p< 0.001	Yes
Collective Action with Employees	Shared Commitment with Employees	0.96	p< 0.001	Yes
Congruent Values and Goals with Employees	Shared Commitment with Employees	0.97	p< 0.001	Yes
Concern for Future Welfare of Employees	Shared Commitment with Employees	0.72	p< 0.001	Yes

The model fit indices against the criteria are summarized in Table 10. Absolute fit indices are a direct measure of how well a specified model reproduces the observed data (Hair et al. 2013). The Goodness-of-Fit (GFI) statistic (.940) is above the 0.90

threshold (Hair et al. 2013). The RMSEA(0.047), a test for parsimony, is well-below the upper limit of 0.08 and below the ideal cut-off of 0.05 (Hooper, Coughlan, and Mullen 2008). Chi-square (283, N=1404) =1169.41 and Chi-square/df= 4.132, are high, but due to a very high N and a large number of observed variables, other measures are preferred for assessing this model (Hair et al. 2013).

Table 10 Customer Measurement Model Fit Indices Compared to Criteria (N=1404)

Goodness of Fit Test	Criteria (Hair et al. 2013)	Measurement Model	Comment
GFI	> 0.90	0.940	Excellent
RMSEA	< 0.08, ideally <0.05	0.047	Excellent
Chi-square	--	1169.411	Acceptable
Df	>0	283	Acceptable
Chi-square/df	< 3 or <5	4.132	Acceptable
CFI	> 0.90, ideally >0.95	0.963	Excellent
TLI	> 0.90	0.957	Excellent
AGFI	> 0.90	0.925	Excellent
Factor Loadings	> 0.50	>0.58	Acceptable

The incremental fit indices compare the proposed model to a baseline or null model (Hair et al. 2013). The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) (0.963) and Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) (0.957) are both above 0.95, indicative of excellent fit (Hu and Bentler, 1999; Hooper 2008). Parsimony fit indices specifically addresses which model among a set of competing models is best, considering its fit relative to its complexity (Hair et al. 2013). The adjusted goodness-of-fit (AGFI) (0.925) also indicates a well-fitting model (Hooper, Coughlan, and Mullen 2008).

5.6.2 Employee Measurement Model Results

The measurement model results for the employee dataare presented in Figure 9. Fit indices for the model are moderate: Chi-square/df (N=78)= 1.735, CFI= 0.730, RMSEA= 0.098).

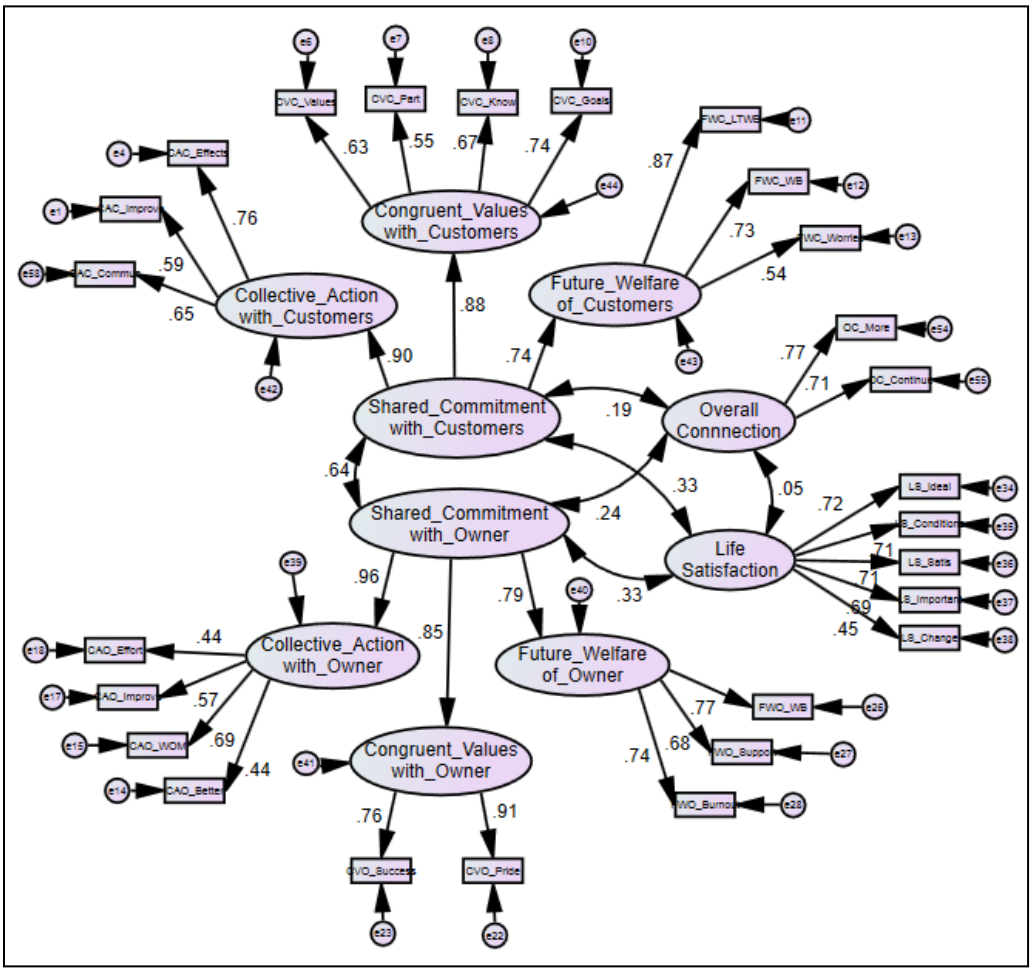

Figure 9 Measurement Model for Employee Data (N=78)

Evident in the figure are the loadings for each of the variables, as well as the covarations between each of the constructs. The loadings of observed indicators on their respective latent constructs are all above 0.4 and usually well over 0.5.

I expected the employee data set to validate the multi-dimensional measure of shared commitment. Indeed, Shared Commitment with Customers has strong path coefficients for *Collective Action with Customers* (β=0.90), *Congruent Values and Goals with Customers* (β=0.88), and *Concern for Future Welfare of Customers* (β=0.74). The measurement of shared commitments is likewise confirmed on the owner side (lower half) of Figure 10, with respective path coefficients of 0.96, 0.85, and 0.79. These results are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11 Employee Measurement Model Second Order Path Coefficients (N=78)

Path		Standardized Path Coefficient (Beta)	Significance	Supported?
Collective Action with Owner	Shared Commitment with Owner	0.96	p< 0.001	Yes
Congruent Values and Goals with Owner	Shared Commitment with Owner	0.85	p< 0.001	Yes
Concern for Future Welfare of Owner	Shared Commitment with Owner	0.79	p< 0.001	Yes
Collective Action with Customers	Shared Commitment with Customers	0.90	p< 0.001	Yes
Congruent Values and Goals with Customers	Shared Commitment with Customers	0.88	p< 0.001	Yes
Concern for Future Welfare of Customers	Shared Commitment with Customers	0.74	p< 0.001	Yes

5.7 Structural Model Results

In the next step of structural equations modeling, I specified the structural model by assigning relationships from one construct to another (Hair et al. 2013) based on the model derived from my qualitative exploration in chapter 4.

The second quantitative research question of this research focused on the relationships between shared commitments and well-being. I expected shared

commitments to have a positive impact on well-being, mediated by Overall Connection. Because well-being is an all-encompassing subjective measure of one's life, I theorized that there would be a mediator between well-being and the more specific shared commitment measures with other actors in the network. Rather than a direct causal relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable, I proposed a mediation model where the independent variables influence the (non-observable) mediator variable, which in turn influences the dependent variable. Overall Connection is a construct that measures the feeling of loyalty, a bond, and a long-term commitment with the overall network. Whereas the shared commitments constructs were focused on the relationship on the link with just one actor in the system, Overall Connection combines this into a global measure of connection to the overall network. Thus, the mediator variable serves to clarify the nature of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. I will now present the results from the customer and employee data sets.

5.7.1 Customer Structural Model Results

I tested the theorized structural relationships between the Shared Commitments constructs, Overall Connection, and Life Satisfaction, as shown in Figure 10. Fit indices for the model are acceptable: Chi-square (285, N=1404) =1173.91, Chi-square/df= 4.12, GFI= 0.94, RMSEA= .047).

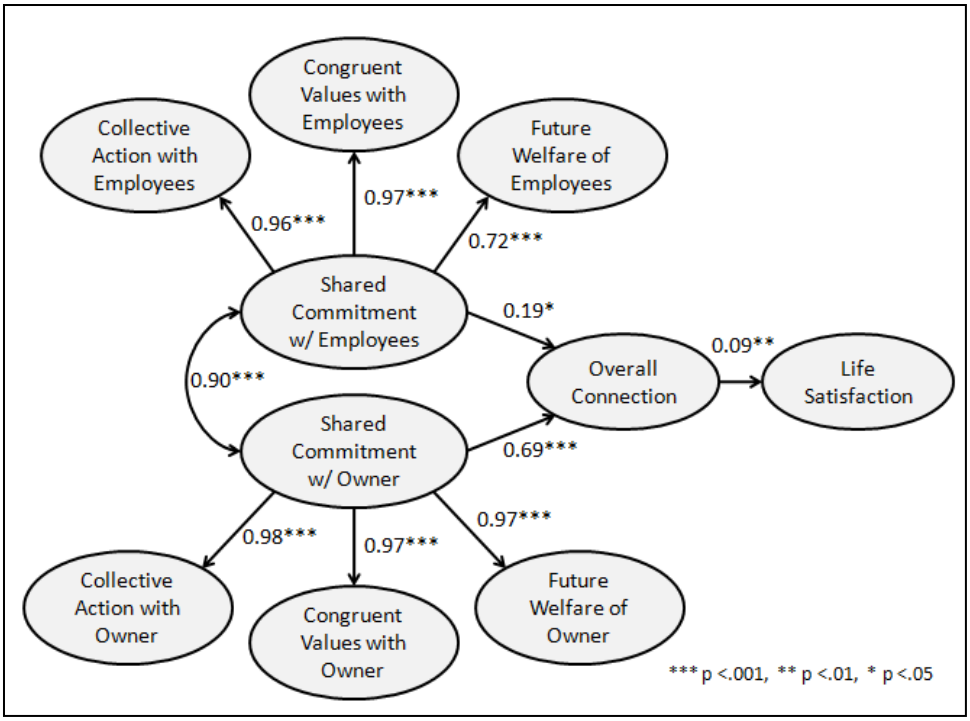

Figure 10 Customer Model with Standardized Path Coefficients (N=1404)

All the predicted paths in the customer model were confirmed to be significant. Rather than show all of the indicators again as I showed in the measurement model (Figure 9), I present just the path loadings between the latent constructs. The evaluation of the research question on the relationship between shared commitments and life satisfaction is summarized in Table 12. Overall, there is strong support that shared commitments with both the owner and the employees have a positive impact on well-being for the customers of MSF, as mediated through Overall Connection.

Table 12 Customer Structural Model Results (N=1404)

Path		Standardized Path Coefficient (Beta)	Significance	Supported?
Shared Commitment with Owner	Overall Connection	0.69	p< 0.001	Yes
Shared Commitment with Employees	Overall Connection	0.19	p< 0.05	Yes
Overall Connection	Life Satisfaction	0.09	p< 0.01	Yes

These results suggest there is a much stronger relationship between Shared Commitment with the Owner and Overall Connection than Shared Commitment with Employees. As will be discussed in the final chapter, this points to the importance of the owner of an AFN making an effort to encourage shared commitments with the employees, lest the shared commitments of the employees be out of balance and entirely dependent on an owner. However,covariances in the measurement model (Figure 9) suggest this difference is exaggerated in the structural model. The high correlation between the two shared commitment constructs (0.90), which was expected, leads to challenges in the structural model. Nevertheless, both of these relationships are still significant.

The relationship between Overall Connection and Life Satisfaction is relatively low (0.09) and yet still significant. This result was expected because many factors contribute to someone's global assessment of their life satisfaction. It would be unrealistic to expect that overall connection to a network like MSF would alone drastically influence someone's subjective well-being. Nonetheless, it is an important

finding that shared commitments in an alternative food network create a small but significant improvement in one's well-being.

Hair et al. (2013) recommend the comparing of different model alternatives to assess the best one. I aimed for the most parsimonious model with the most explanatory power. I considered an alternative model (shown in Figure 11). Like my original model, it has the second order constructs of shared commitment, but it eliminates the mediator of Overall Connection. There is a direct hypothesized relationship between shared commitments and Life Satisfaction.

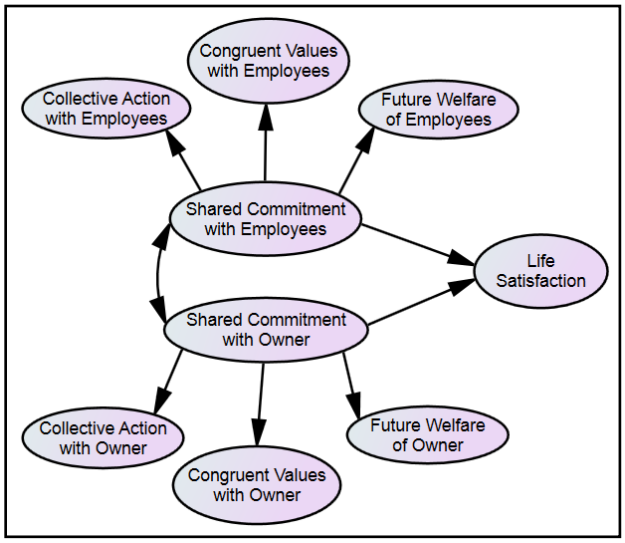

Figure 11 Alternative Unmediated Customer Model

If the models have a similar fit, then the principle of parsimony advises that the less complicated model (the model with the higher degrees of freedom (df) value) should be preferred (Kline 2005). As shown in Table 13, many of the measures are very similar. The original mediated model has as better (lower) Chi-square/df and the higher degrees of freedom, therefore this is confirmed as the preferred model.

Table 13 Comparison between Customer Model Fit Indices

	Alternative Unmediated Model (Figure 11)	Original Mediated Model (Figure 10)	Change
GFI	0.943	0.939	-0.004
RMSEA	0.050	0.047	-0.003
Chi-square	964.657	1173.913	209.256
df	217	285	68
Chi-square/df	4.445	4.119	-0.326
CFI	0.966	0.963	-.003
TLI	0.960	0.957	-.003
AGFI	0.928	0.925	-.003

Furthermore, in the alternative unmediated model, the coefficients between Shared Commitment with Employees and Owner and Life Satisfaction are *not* significant. This is another reason the original model is preferable, because all paths are significant.

5.7.2 Employee Structural Model Results

Due to the aforementioned limitations in the employee data set, there is not enough statistical power for the mediated model. Therefore, I decided to test an unmediated model using item parcels for the respective components of shared commitments (represented by the rectangular boxes in Figure 12). A parcel is as an aggregate-level indicator comprised of the average of two or more items (Little, Cunnigham, and Shahar 2002). Because of the small sample size, I took the average of the items for each of the components of shared commitment, as shown earlier in Table 8. In doing so I kept the

multidimensional nature of the construct explicit (Little, Cunnigham, and Shahar 2002). Although fit indices for the model are relatively poor (Chi-square (42, N=78) = 102.43, Chi-square/df= 2.44, GFI= 0.83, RMSEA= 0.137)), the path coefficients between shared commitments with the owner/customers and life satisfaction were significant.

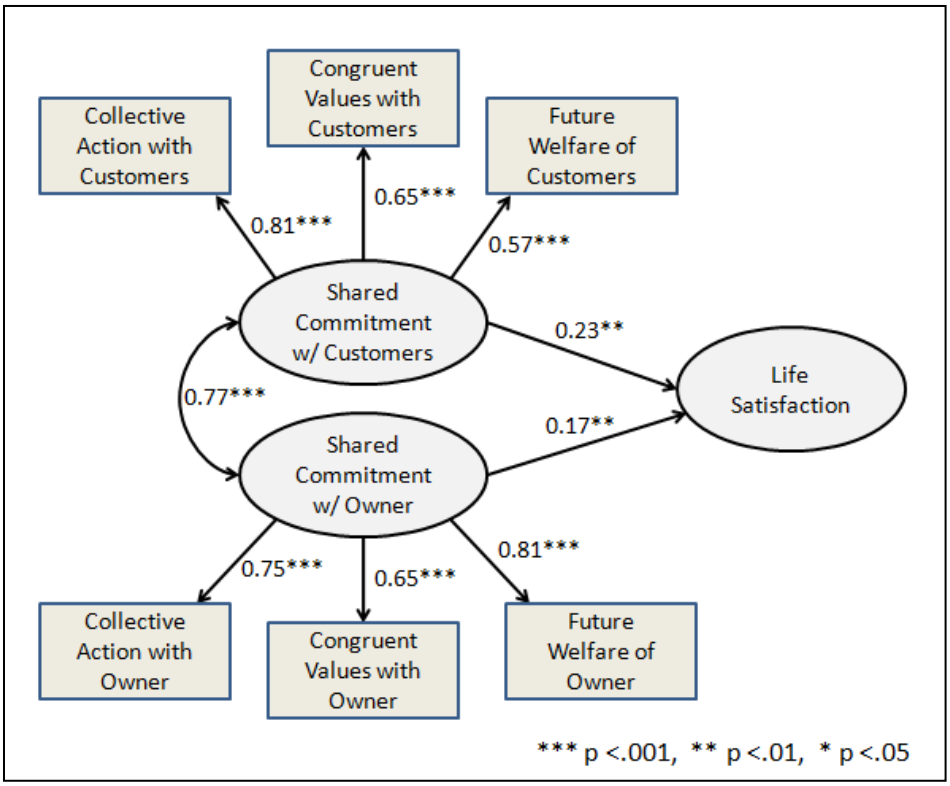

Figure 12 Unmediated Employee Model with Standardized Path Coefficients (N=78)

The loadings of each of the item parcels is significant. The 0.23 and 0.17 path coefficients are also significant (p< 0.01), indicating a positive relationship between shared commitments and Life Satisfaction. Although the model fit is weak, the model nevertheless points to the validity of the shared commitment constructs and their positive impact on well-being.

5.8 Integration of Qualitative and Quantitative Findings

In this section I will integrate and compare the qualitative and quantitative findings. As explained in chapter 3, I utilized an exploratory sequential design (Creswell 2015), which involved collecting and analyzing qualitative data, developing a model, and then collecting and analyzing quantitative data to test this model. In this section I complete the fourth and final step of my research design process depicted in Figure 1 in chapter 3, "Compared quantitative results back to qualitative data and collected additional qualitative data to interpret results and draw inferences." I integrate and discuss the qualitative and quantitative findings on three central questions: (1) How to measure shared commitments?; (2) Is there evidence for the existence of shared commitments; and, (3) Is there a relationship between shared commitments and well-being? Table 14 shows these questions and the qualitative and quantitative data that will be integrated based on the corresponding sections from chapter 4.

Table 14 Integrating Qualitative and Quantitative Findings

Research Question for Evaluation	Qualitative (Chap 4)	Quantitative (Chap 5)
7.2.1 How to measure shared commitments?	Development of items to measure from open and axial coding (3.2.3, 4.2)	Measurement scale analysis (5.5) presents reliability and validity measures.
7.2.2 Evidence of shared commitments?	"Existence of Shared Commitments" (4.2) for owner, employees, and customers	Analysis of relevant items on the employee and customer surveys. (5.5) Measurement model supports existence of three underlying components of shared commitment (5.6)
7.2.3 Shared commitments' impact on well-being?	"Well-being Outcomes" (4.4) for owner, employees, customers, and community	Model assessment (5.7)

5.8.1 Measurement of Shared Commitments

In this section I address the first question in Table 14 as to how shared commitments can be measured. In my research methodology, I first did exploratory research with the customers and employees to try to understand what was making MSF work. Through synthesis of the qualitative data and the literature, I hypothesized that there was something liked shared commitments driving MSF's success. Through analysis described in chapters 3 and 4, I used open and axial coding to try to discover what shared commitment was composed of and consider how it could be measured.

Shared commitment was previously presented only as a notion in the domain of alternative economies rather than as a specific concept (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). Therefore, the tasks before me were to define shared commitment, determine its dimensions, and consider which actors held the shared commitments. I defined shared commitment as *a choice of a course of action in common with others* (Watson and Ekici 2017). Based on open and axial coding, along with comparison to the main themes of commitment in the literature (Gundlach, Achrol, and Mentzer 1995), I theorized that shared commitment is characterized by a) collective action (behavioral), b) congruent values and goals (attitudinal), and c) concern for the future welfare of other actors (temporal). All of these are part of commitment *to* a particular goal or course of action, rather than to the organization or to an exchange partner.

In section 5.5, I performed a measurement scale analysis, with tests of validity and reliability. The results of the reliability analysis for the customer data showed that all of the constructs had a high or excellent reliability, ranging from 0.71 to 0.92. The

reliability of the constructs in the employee survey was not as high, with most of the items just above the 0.70 threshold and one construct just below (0.69) and having only high moderate reliability. Due to low sample size and contextual challenges of collecting data on the farm, the statistical tests with the employee data are not as robust, and I will therefore focus here on presenting the tests from the customer data. The validity tests, including high correlations between items in each construct (well above the 0.30 threshold) and high factor loadings (well above the 0.50 threshold) also resoundingly affirmed that the measurement scales I used in the customer survey correlate with the theoretical concepts being investigated.

While the other measures for reliability and validity of the measurement of shared commitments were very high, discriminant validity, the extent to which a construct is different from other constructs, was a concern. Many of the zero-order correlations were over 0.70. In order to evaluate the indicators of low disciminant validity, I returned to the face validity of the constructs based on the theoretical understanding from which the constructs and items were first developed. In Table 5, I presented all of the items for each construct. Continuing with the same example, the Collective Action with Owner construct is based on the behavioral component of shared commitment, based on the literature on commitment. Indeed, the items here are about "advocating", "talking up" and "gladly paying more." In contrast, the Congruent Values and Goals with Owner are from the attitudinal dimension of commitment in the literature. However, evaluation of the items shows why there is high convergent validity but low discriminant validity. One of the items is, "I am proud to tell others about Pinar's values." This is modeled after similar items in the commitment literature measuring attitudinal commitment. The

intended emphasis is on Pinar's values, which has face validity with the construct. However, it is not unique enough from the Collective Action with Owner items like "I talk up MSF to my friends as a great place to buy from." In other words, the high correlation between these items is to be expected. For the customers of MSF, it is hard to discriminate between the collective actions they take and the values they share, especially because the collective action items are still towards a goal, as conceptualized in chapter 4.

Issues in disciminant validity do not challenge the notion of shared commitment, but rather suggests it may not be meaningful to try to tease out the differences between the dimensions of it. This is confirming of the qualitative findings, where respondents do not talk about distinct dimensions of shared commitments. For example, in chapter 3 I showed the open and axial coding of one of the customer's quotations.

> The top one being the people who are working there are really getting involved with something wonderful, earning money and are able to spend their money as they wish…. Pinar writes that now the girls and women living in the villages around have [an improved economic situation].They are capable of buying or doing things that they had been dreaming of but had never been able to do. For example, one of them bought a motorcycle. [Another] wanted a bag so much, which was expensive, [but] she bought that. So dreams are coming true. This is the people part.(Rengin)

In the qualitative data, I see evidence of collective action, congruent values, and concern for the future welfare of other actors, but these are admittedly interconnected to one another. It is hardly surprising that there would be a high correlation between the items that measure these different dimensions. I expect that someone who values good working conditions for villagers will care about their long-term well-being and will want to take collective action with them.

Nevertheless, the literature on commitment has long supported distinct behavioral, attitudinal, and temporal dimensions of commitment (e.g. Meyer and Allen 1991). For example, Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979) called on researchers to compare behavioral and attitudinal conceptualizations of commitment (p. 28). They also found higher levels of convergent validity than disciminant validity, underscoring the ongoing challenge of differentiating the dimensions of commitment and other related measures. Meyer and Allen (1991) also addressed concerns of significant correlation between components of commitment, specifically in measurers of what one *wants* to do and *ought* to do. Gundlach, Achrol, and Mentzer (1995) outline the three different complementary components of commitment: "A behavior intentions conceptualization of attitudinal commitment complements the instrumental component and at the same time foreshadows the third component, the long-term commitment (p.80). This quote implies challenges in clearly differentiating between the behavioral, attitudinal, and temporal dimensions of commitment.

Taken together, my findings do show that shared commitments can be measured using the three components. This is supported through strong factor loadings and reliabilities (Table 5). My work follows the literature on the dimensionality of commitment, and it retains some familiar challenges in discriminant validity between the dimensions. Nevertheless, the significant path coefficients across two data sets (Tables 9 and 11) indicate that the components are valid. In alternative model testing I found that the absence of congruent values, collective action, or mutual concern for long-term welfare lowered the model fit for the shared commitment constructs.

5.8.2 Evidence of Shared Commitments

Having discussed measures of shared commitment, I now turn to an evaluation of the qualitative and quantitative data for the existence of shared commitments. As explained earlier, it was the robust qualitative findings of something like shared commitments that led to studying and defining what had previously only been mentioned in the literature as a notion. In this section, I want to briefly revisit the qualitative and quantitative support for the existence of shared commitments, integrating the findings into a discussion.

Table 15 is a joint display of qualitative and quantitative data about the existence of customers' shared commitments. Open and axial coding revealed three dimensions of shared commitments. I present one representative quotation from the customer interviews, as well as the results to one item on the customer questionnaire that indicate shared commitment. Many customers I interviewed explained that buying from MSF was a way that they could take collective action toward an alternative form of agriculture and benefit local producers. For example, Yasin shared:

> To support Pinar is another good motivation for buying, to support this type of initiative; I want to be in support. I am also buying from her because of this. This kind of local and small agriculture against large scale production should be supported. (Yasin)

In buying from MSF, Yasin feels he is supporting "small agriculture against large scale production." In my qualitative interviews, I noticed that customers acknowledged the higher prices but generally seemed glad to pay them. The willingness of customers to gladly pay higher prices is one of the ways that I hypothesized customers demonstrate their shared commitment to the same goals. Accordingly, one of the items on the

questionnaires for customers was, “I gladly pay more for food from MSF to support its goals.” Almost two-thirds of customer agreed to this item with a 5, 6, or 7, including more than one-third indicating “I completely agree” (7). Although by no means everyone gladly pays more, a strong percentage of customers takes collective action by gladly paying more to support goals. The other items measuring shared commitment have even higher means, but this item was one of the clearest indicators of a feeling of shared commitment among the customers with the owner.

Table 15 Side-by-Side Joint Display of Customer Shared Commitments

Shared Commitment	Dimension	Representative Qualitative Findings	Representative Quantitative Item	Mean (1-7) (Stand Dev)
Customer-Owner (link 1)	Collective Action with Owner	To support Pinar is another good motivation for buying, to support this type of initiative; I want to be in support. I am also buying from her because of this. This kind of local and small agriculture against large scale production should be supported. (Yasin)	*I gladly pay more for food from MSF to support its goals.*	5.27 (1.75)
Customer-Owner (link 1)	Congruent Values and Goals with Owner	As far as I can see, MSF is not exploiting natural resources and is living together and behaving properly with the earth. This really pleases me because the typical trend is more, more, more production, more and more consumption. In contrast to this, MSF is about honest production and consuming only what one needs. For a sustainable world this is a really important concept. I applaud this about MSF. (Necmi)	*The more I learn of what Pinar is trying to achieve, the more I want to be a part of it.*	5.81 (1.40)

Customer-Owner (link 1)	Concern for Future Welfare of Owner	[Pinar] is not doing this to get rich. But obviously this has to make money, so that she pays for all these costs of labor, cost of raising produce in a more costly way, and also to make all these investments. So it has to be profitable. And I am totally for it. People who do good jobs have to make profit, so they can keep this going on. If it's not profitable, it won't keep going on.(Gizem)	*It motivates me to support someone like Pinar.*	6.15(1.26)
Customer-Employee (link 3)	Collective Action with Employees	"I know that a woman is working for me there and she is earning money; maybe she is bringing money to her family to her son or daughter and this makes me happy… I have a more direct contact" (Ceren).	*I gladly communicate with the employees of MSF.*	5.70 (1.52)
Customer-Employee (link 3)	Congruent Values and Goals with Employees	"You live naturally. It's not like that in the city. Clean air, everything is organic" (Feyza). So the natural way of farming is dead I guess, except for small grass roots organizations like [MSF]…What we eat is really affecting us, our bodies, our children. So it is not just for a small number of people, for a city, it is for the world; it is very important. (Rengin)	*I find that my values and the values of the employees at MSF are very similar.*	5.70 (1.29)
Customer-Employee (link 3)	Concern for Future Welfare of Employees	"People started to earn decent money by working under decent conditions—especially women. They've got their jobs now, their social security is paid…they enjoy what they do.... And [Pinar] has started to turn these villages into… self-sustaining, traditional farming villages" (Gizem)	*The employees' long-term welfare is important to me.*	6.43 (.95)

The qualitative and quantitative data both show that customers are more concerned about the future welfare of the employees than of Pinar. It was noticeable from the qualitative interviews that customers did not talk directly about Pinar's personal welfare, presumably because she is more self-sufficient than the employees. Indeed, the average of the concern for future welfare for the employees (6.47) is higher than for the owner (6.08) (as shown in Table 6). While Pinar is the customer's initial point of contact, it is critical that Pinar do more to connect them directly with the employees, whose welfare is a more motivating concern.

My intention here is not to go through each component of shared commitment with customers and employees, which I have already done in chapters 4 and 5. Rather, I aim to show that there are many customers and employees who do indicate they have shared commitments. One issue this brings me to is how to quantify the amount of shared commitment within MSF. My aim in this thesis is to explore an alternative market that balances financial and well-being outcomes. I see that shared commitments are a foundation for the alternative model of MSF. In future research I am interested in creating a "shared commitment index," where shared commitment in different organizations could be measured and meaningfully compared, but that was beyond the scope of this thesis. Even if only a few people have something called shared commitments that lead to well-being, this is hopeful for its growth in other AFNs.

As I used snow-balling to find informants for qualitative interviews, I was surprised to find that several of the customers were relatively new. Some had just recently started buying and were unsure about whether they would continue. Perhaps half of the customers I interviewed had what I defined as shared commitments: *a choice*

of a course of action in common with others in MSF. Almost all of the informants read Pinar's emails regularly, for example, but only some seemed eager to take collective action, to buy regularly, and be genuinely concerned for the welfare of the other actors in the network.

The customer survey provided me a much more expanded view into the level of shared commitments throughout MSF. About two-thirds of customers (approximately 1000 people) say that they are buying at least once a month. More than 50 percent of respondents had bought more than 13 times. On the other hand, almost 20 percent of survey respondents had bought five times or fewer. In other words, there are many multiple-year customers, but also some who have been customers for just a few months. Since most of the casual customers I interviewed still read the emails, the sample was not necessarily among the most committed customers. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that the action of taking 10 minutes to complete a survey about MSF will be weighted towards the more devoted customers. The means to the items shown in Table 6 indicate that the responses are skewed towards responses of high agreement, but they are not approaching 7 and the standard deviations indicate there is a diversity of opinions. In the item "The employees' long-term welfare is important to me" with a mean of 6.43, about two-thirds of customers responded with a 7. Only about 14 percent of people replied with a 1 to 5. This is low, but still remarkably honest for an item about people's well-being. Other items, such as "The more I learn of what Pinar is trying to achieve, the more I want to be a part of it" have a lower average (5.81). Although almost two-thirds answered with a 6 or 7, more than a third answered 5 or below. Overall, the combination of qualitative and

quantitative data suggests perhaps two-thirds of respondents feel a high level of shared commitment.

On the employee side, my qualitative and quantitative findings indicated there is a higher level of shared commitment. In doing in-depth interviews with many of the employees and a questionnaire with nearly all of the employees, I was amazed by their enthusiasm to take collective action, their feeling congruence in values with Pinar, and caring about the long-term welfare of other actors in the network. For example, even the night-shift workers who clean the property that I interviewed were glowing about their commitment to Pinar and they put in extra effort in fulfilling the goals of the farm. According to the survey results, almost 60 percent of employees have worked at the farm three years or more. While I acknowledge there was an acquiescence bias on the employee survey, it is still remarkable the high responses to the items about shared commitment. I can also say that the employees were not straight-lining high scores across the board: the few unhappy employees were forthcoming about their feelings. 70 to 80 percent of the answer were typically in the 6 to 7 range for the shared commitment items, about both the owner and the customers. For example, for the item, "I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this farm be successful," about 70 percent of employees responded with "I completely agree," and another 20 percent with "I agree."

In sum, I found that there are high levels of shared commitment among the employees and customers (and certainly the owner, which was not discussed here). Determining the percentage of actors who have shared commitments was not my aim, but my findings suggest perhaps two-thirds of customers and three-quarters of employees

have shared commitments, promising numbers for the growth of other alternative markets founded on shared commitments.

5.8.3 Well-Being Outcomes from Shared Commitments

In the opening chapters, I discussed how it is common for citizens and economists to conflate financial well-being with overall well-being (Easterlin 1974; Helliwell and Putnam 2005). However, increasing financial prosperity does not continue to make us happy. My work contributes to a growing body of work that has shown that many factors influence one's subjective well-being (Ahuvia and Friedman 1998; Diener and Biswas-Diener 1999; Diener and Seligman 2004; Layton 2009).

The quantitative and qualitative responses of the employees and customers suggest that the employees have a higher subjective well-being than the customers. The raw average response for Life Satisfaction for the employees was 5.47 compared to 5.11 for the employees (Tables 8 and 6). These are the raw scores, quite striking because the employee sample has much lower household incomes and education level. This is only one measure, but my qualititave interviews also suggest that the villagers have less stress, and enjoy their pace of life and work more than the predominantly urban customers.

Figure 7 (in chapter 4) depicts the well-being outcomes flowing from the shared goal to each of the actors in the network. As detailed in the qualitative findings, employees are being empowered and the stream of people leaving the villages has been stemmed. If shared commitments were absent in any of the links in the network, I reason that the well-being of all of the actors in the alternative economy would decrease. If the

customer and owner do not have shared commitments (link 1), they will relate more on the basis of price and profit. The employees would likewise be squeezed in their work conditions and benefits in order to reduce costs. If the owner and employees do not have shared commitments (link 2), the employees are more likely to be quickly replaced with cheaper employees and the owner and customers are less assured of the quality of the food and denied the satisfaction of seeing the empowerment of employees and improvements in the local community. If the customers and employees do not have shared commitments (link 3), the customers will be less likely to pay a premium for the satisfaction of the personalized labor of the employees, thus shrinking employment opportunities in the village. The existence of shared commitments is the foundation for the goals of alternative markets being met.

In Table 16, I summarize highlights of my qualitative and quantitative findings about the impact of shared commitments on customer well-being outcomes. Customers like Gizem feel that they are investing in "something really important" and have a way to express their values through their consumption behavior in the market. Ceren says that it makes her happy to have direct contact with a woman she knows produces her food and is earning money for her children. Far beyond satisfying physiological needs, customers are fulfilling higher social, esteem, and self-actualization needs (Maslow 1954) through their shared commitments with the owner and employees of MSF. These findings were also supported by structural equation modeling in section 5.7. There was a significant relationship between the shared commitments customers and employees feel with the other actors and Life Satisfaction. My research supports the idea that factors other than finances contribute to one's well-being.

Table 16 Side-by-Side Joint Display of Customer Well-being Outcomes

Well-being Outcome	Qualitative Findings	Quantitative Findings	Discussion of Convergence/ Divergence
Customer well-being due to shared commitment with Owner (link 1)	"And [Pinar] has started to turn these villages into, like as I said, into self-sustaining, traditional farming villages. And being an academic who is coming from an HR background, that was very important to me and I thought I would definitely continue supporting Miss Silk's Farm, because [Pinar] was doing something really important, in terms of the labor and what she does for these villagers." (Gizem)	0.69 ($p < .001$) standardized path coefficient to "Overall connection" and 0.09 ($p < .01$) to Life Satisfaction	The qualitative and quantitative results both support a significant relationship between a customer's shared commitment with owner and the customer's well-being.
Customer well-being due to shared commitment with employees (link 3)	"I know that a woman is working for me there and she is earning money; maybe she is bringing money to her family to her son or daughter and this makes me happy… I have a more direct contact" (Ceren).	0.19 ($p < .05$) standardized path coefficient to "Overall connection" and 0.09 ($p < .01$) to Life Satisfaction	The qualitative and quantitative results both support a signficicant relationship between a customer's shared commitment with employees and the customer's well-being.

Table 17 summarizes the findings about the impact of shared commitments on employee well-being. Through days of on-site observations at the farm and dozens of hours of qualitative interviews and questionnaires conducted with nearly every employee of MSF, I can say that the employees have experienced substantial improvement to their well-being through the shared commitments they feel. Living far below the average financial level of the customers, the financial boost of a steady income or a second income in the family improved well-being for the people working at the farm. The employees' self-confidence has improved because they are paid for the skills they know well and are valued by the owner and customers. Some of the employees like Semra (quoted in Table 17) talk of accomplishing "great things" together and it being a "turning point" in their lives. Social connections with an expanding network of coworkers and

customers has also improved the lives of the women. For example, employees like Feyza and Figen (quoted in Table 17) share that they feel affirmed by the customers in their work and their village lifestyle. While mean incomes are rising in the village due to the employment at MSF, well-being has the potential to continue to rise if the social capital for employees keeps pace (Helliwell and Putnam 2004). My quantitative findings support the relationship between shared commitment and well-being.

Table 17 Side-by-Side Joint Display of Employee Well-being Outcomes

Well-being Outcome	Qualitative Findings	Quantitative Findings	Discussion of Convergence/ Divergence
Employee well-being due to shared commitment with Owner (link 2)	"Meeting Pinar and starting to work with her was…a second turning point in my life. Because here all together we are doing really great things" (Semra).	0.17 ($p < .01$) standardized path coefficient to Life Satisfaction	The qualitative and quantitative results suggest a strong relationship between shared commitment with the owner and well-being improvements.
Employee well-being due to shared commitment with customers (link 3)	"Guests are coming. They want to meet whoever is packaging their box. I have met a lot of them …. It's a beautiful thing. It's always great when they say 'Thanks for your good work'; we also feel proud. We do our work with even greater joy." (Feyza) "Of course [the customers from the city] love it here more. We really do have, as you know, a very beautiful village. The water and air are beautiful. According to them, we are probably a bit luckier [to live here than they are in the city]." (Figen)	0.23 ($p < .01$) standardized path coefficient to Life Satisfaction	The qualitative and quantitative results suggest a strong relationship between an employee's shared commitment with the customers and the employee's well-being.

Taken together, the significant relationship between shared commitments and life satisfaction match my qualitative findings about the link between shared commitments

and well-being. It is also fitting that there is more variance in well-being explained by shared commitments for the employees than for the customers. While for the customers there is a boost in well-being associated with shared commitments, for most customers it is a smaller part of their lives than for the employees. The employees spend full-time hours working at the farm, therefore the shared commitments are expected to have a bigger impact on their well-being.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I shared the results of part 3 of my exploratory research design: the quantitative testing. I answered two quantitative research questions,(1) how can shared commitments be measured?; and (2) what is the relationship between shared commitments and well-being outcomes? The measurement scale analysis and measurement model results demonstrate valid measures for shared commitment, although there are concerns about the discriminant validity of the three-component structure of shared commitment.

The answer to the second research question was also supported. In the customer model, the results showed a significant relationship between the second-order shared commitment constructs and Life Satisfaction, as mediated through Overall Connection. With the employee data, an alternative unmediated model using item parcels showed that the shared commitments with both customers and the owner do have a significant positive impact on Life Satisfaction. Taken together, the quantitative results demonstrate the robustness of the shared commitment measurement across two very diverse samples

and provide evidence that there is a positive relationship between shared commitments and life satisfaction. The integration of the quantitative and qualitative findings further validates the existence and measurement of shared commitments, as well as its positive impact on well-being.

CHAPTER 6: DARK SIDES FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

To this point, I have focused on the well-being outcomes of shared commitments. I have presented data that point to a positive relationship between *a choice of a course of action in common with others* and well-being outcomes for the actors involved. However, in addition to the bright side of the story I am mindful that there may also be a dark side.

Almost any social phenomenon also has a dark side. What many people and scholars praise, likely has a downside as well. Other scholars offer critiques that issue caution about the detrimental outcomes of the phenomenon. For example, scholars have written about the dark sides of democracy (Mann 2005) and organizations (Vaughan 1999). Of particular interestto this research on shared commitments is the research on long-term relationships (Grayson and Ambler 1999), buyer-supplier relationships (Villena, Revilla, and Choi 2011), organizational citizenship behavior (Bolino et al.

2013), brand communities (Hickman and Ward 2007) and social capital (Gargiulo and Benassi 1999; Numerato and Baglioni 2012).

My aim in this chapter is to present an analytical framework for the dark sides of shared commitment. The dark sides of shared commitment are the potential downsides related to the *collective action*, *congruent values and goals*, and *concern for the future welfare of other actors* dimensions of shared commitment for the involved actors. I begin by presenting relevant work on dark sides in related areas, based on the multi-actor approach. I then present an analytical framework of five dark sides of shared commitments. I offer empirical analysis of each of the dark sides within Miss Silk's Farm (MSF). I conclude with integrating and discussing these findings in relationship to the qualitative and quantitative findings presented in the previous chapters.

6.2 Literature Review of Dark Sides

In the following section I provide a review of the literature review on the downsides that customers, employees, and an owner of an organization may experience due to their involvement and commitment to one another. I consider concepts related to shared commitment such as trust, commitment, social capital, and organizational citizenship behaviors. These dark sides in the literatures provide the background for an analytic framework of the specific dark sides of shared commitment.

6.2.1. Dark Sides for Customers of An Organization

The marketing literature has long touted the advantages of buyer-seller relationships (e.g. Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh 1987) and commitment (e.g. Morgan and Hunt 1994). However, as the bright side has been advocated, the literature has also frequently warned of the dark sides of close relationships. Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh (1987) describe a framework for buyer-seller relationships, distinguishing it from discrete exchanges. While pointing to many benefits to commitment such as certainty, efficiency, and effectiveness, they also recognize that "There are bilateral sets of costs and benefits to relational exchange; a durable association is not necessarily desirable" (p. 25).

Moorman, Zaltman and Deshpande (1992, p. 323) are more specific that "commitment and involvement bring about a familiarity that may breed boredom and a desire for new ideas." According to their findings, as a relationship becomes more long-term, the positive impact of relational factors may be diminished. Grayson and Ambler (1999) build on the earlier work and validate that long-term relationships have a dark side that dampens the influence of trust. They summarize that business relationships can go stale, lose effort and creativity, and decrease the ability to be objective.

Commitment of all types is not always better for the service provider and customer. Fullerton (2003, 2005) argue that while affective commitment (liking and identification) leads to lower switching and higher advocacy intentions, continuance commitment (based on dependence and switching costs) can lessen these connections. People can feel trapped or stuck in a relationship, which makes them less likely to advocate.

Dark sides of social capital have been understood as attempts to manipulate or misuse trust in order to achieve objectives that are at odds with the interest of others within a group, in a different group, or in society as a whole (Numerato and Baglioni 2011). Power can also be intertwined with social capital in a way that brings about dark sides, such as preference for group members that are seen as more loyal.

Villena, Revilla, and Choi (2011) point out that the value of social capital may begin to decay as the risks of social capital increase. Whereas social relationships can initially improve synergies, foster teamwork, and reduce undesirable behaviors, over time the supplier may become complacent, not acknowledge performance deterioration, and take advantage of reciprocity norms. The relational bonds may limit the transmittance of accurate feedback out of a wish to avoid unpleasant situations that could harm the maintenance of a friendship.

Gargiulo and Benassi (1999) clearly explain the risk of relational inertia that comes along with social capital. The social capital and sponsorship that can help a manager get established can end up being an obstacle when the manager is unable to adjust social capital for the needs of the job. Unlike adding another skill, social capital oftentimes requires trade-offs in creating new ties and lessening the salience of old bonds.

Social capital can be of both the bridging (between socially heterogeneous groups) and bonding (between socially homogeneous groups) variety (Putnam 2000).Van Deth and Zmerli (2010) call attention to the need for bridging social capital for social cohesion and collective action to take place. In the absence of bridging social capital, inward looking and isolated organizations can be prone to intolerance. Van Deth and Zmerli (2010) point to the importance of considering context in the dark sides of social

capital. Social capital can be used by all types of organizations for their benefit, even if they are harmful to society as a whole.

For example, Amoore et al. (1997) consider how the local can help bond people together with a common culture, community, and suffering. However, an overemphasis on the local (without bridging social capital) can also "lead groups to become colloquial and blinkered to other acts of resistance around the world or even in their own region, leaving them exposed to defeat or even destruction by not building sufficient social alliances" (Amoore et al. 1997, p. 190).

There is also literature that shows some of the dark sides in relationships between a business and end-user. Fournier, Dobscha, and Mick (1998) point out that customers can feel put at a disadvantage by their loyalty. New customers may get special introductory rates, while rates rise on long-time customers. Loyal customers may also be barraged with mailings that make them feel like marketing targets, rather than respected long-standing customers. In other situations companies continually ask for sensitive information but don't use it to better serve their customers. Relationship marketing can be a detrimental strategy if customers are turned off by superficial attempts at friendship.

Hickman and Ward (2007) call attention to the conflict that can be caused with people in the out-group. Looking at brand communities, they find that as brand loyalty grows, hostility toward others may breed stereotyping and trash talking. It is therefore important to consider not only the dark sides for those within the network, but the tension it may cause family members, friends, or others in the community or society who are not part of the same brand community.

Guenzi andPelloni (2004) showed that customer-to-employee relationship closeness is risky for the service provider, because the existence of strong social bonds may expose the firm to the risk of losing customers in case its front-line employees switch to a competitor. Customer-to-customer relationship closeness can mean that relationships are growing beyond the context of the service provider and if one customer changes service-providers, others may be influenced to follow.

With regards to potential dark sides of organizational identification, Press and Arnould (2011) found some evidence of dissonance among customers who were not sure about an organization's value proposition and one informant who expressed "underidentification" (Dukerich et al. 1998).

6.2.2 Dark Sides for Employees of An Organization

Considering dark sides throughout the network between an owner, customers, and employees, I am also interested in literature on the dark sides for employees. A concept in the organizational behavior literature related to shared commitment is organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs). OCBs are behaviors that go beyond an employee's job description and include acts like helping others, taking on additional responsibilities, putting in extra hours, defending the organization, and speaking out about important organizational issues (Organ et al. 2006). Shared commitment is also demonstrated in part by going the extra mile in collective action and caring about the well-being of others, tasks beyond what are typically required by an organization. OCBs are associated with a

positive working environment and attracting and retaining employees, and making employees' jobs more enjoyable and rewarding (Organ et al. 2006).

As for dark sides, employees who engage in OCBs may experience greater role ambiguity, role overload, job stress, and work–family conflict, particularly if they feel pressured to engage in such behaviors (Bolino, Turnley, and Niehoff 2004; Bolino et al. 2013). Employees may experience "escalating citizenship" when engaging in OCBs becomes so normative that they must continually do more OCBs in order to be seen as going the extra mile (Bolino and Turnley 2003). Escalating citizenship may make it harder for employees to get away from work and could contribute to competition and friction among workers who want to be seen as the most committed employees. This relates to the idea of job creep, which occurs when "employees feel ongoing pressure to do more than the requirements of their jobs" (Van Dyne and Ellis 2004, p. 181). Acts that were once considered beyond the scope of formal job requirements gradually become part of employees' regular or expected duties. Bergeron (2007) points out that engaging in OCBs may diminish employees' in-role task performance, which may consequently damage their career.

The strain and time associated with additional effort on the job can be detrimental to work-family balance (Carlson, Kacmar, and Williams 2000). Halbesleben, Harvey, and Bolino (2009) found that engaged employees were more likely to perform OCBs, but that OCBs, in turn, contributed to higher levels of work-family conflict. Research has shown that well-being is reduced as people spend more time at work than with their family (Greenhaus, Collins, and Shaw 2002). The literature on work-family conflict suggests a

dark side that greater investment in shared commitments for employees at work may have detrimental impacts on their family lives and therefore overall well-being.

Free-riding is another dark side that can occur for members of an organization. Unlike OCBs, which can have a direct dark side for employees, there can be an indirect dark side for the hard-working employees who feel that their peers are free-riding. Free-riding is when a member of a group obtains benefits from group membership but does not bear a proportional share of the costs of providing the benefits (Albanese and van Fleet 1985). The decision to free-ride is based on a rational calculation of the net expected benefits of contributing to the group's common interest and the net expected benefits of free riding (Stroebe and Frey 1982). Interestingly, the literature has shown that a free-rider is not necessarily less enthusiastic about the common purpose, just has a different view of the consensus of sharing the costs in achieving the purpose (Albanese and van Fleet 1985).

A classic example of the free-rider problem is the "Tragedy of the Commons" where Hardin (1968) explains how all the herdsmen ended up losing the benefit of the public grazing ground because they acted in self-interest. They all lost the grazing ground because each herdsman calculated they would benefit fully from the sale of each additional animal, but would share the cost of the field. All individuals acting in their own self-interest ended up being worse off than if they had considered the interest of the community as a whole (Stroebe and Frey1982).

A strong free-rider hypothesis is that none of the group want to take collective actions for the common good, whereas the weak free-rider hypothesis is that some of the group members contribute while others free-ride (Stroebe and Frey 1982). Shared

commitments are fundamentally the antithesis of free-riding, where actors do take collective action and care about the common good. It is in the weak free-riding scenario that some group members can take advantage of the benefits provided by those with shared commitments. Therefore, shared commitments can leave some actors vulnerable to free-riding by others, whereas if everyone calculated based on their own self-interest, the results may be suboptimal for all, but equally so. The free-rider (who is not taking collective action), may experience the ill-being outcomes of the loss of esteem by other group members, guilt, and a lower sense of self-worth (Stroebe and Frey 1982).

.

6.2.3 Dark Sides for the Owner of An Organization

Many of the same dark sides from the literature on OCBs may apply to owners. The pressure may be self-imposed or by the demands of the competitive environment, but role ambiguity, role overload, job stress, and work–family conflict (Bolino, Turnley, and Niehoff 2004) may be even greater for owners than for line employees.

The owner who has shared commitments with his or her employees and customers may be prone to dark sides such as burnout and disappointment. Burnout is generally defined as the degree to which a person experiences emotional exhaustion, depersonalization with co-workers, family, and clients, and a reduced sense of personal accomplishment, which can occur among individuals who work with people in some capacity (Maslach and Jackson 1981, 1982). Emotional exhaustion refers to being overwhelmed by the incredible variety of tasks required by contact with other people. Depersonalization refers to a shift in attitude from a positive and caring attitude to a

negative, uncaring, or callous attitude toward others. Reduced personal accomplishment refers to a perceived decline in feelings of competence and successful career achievement. Emotional exhaustion is generally considered as the first step in the burnout syndrome, followed by depersonalization, which leads to a feeling of decreased personal accomplishment (Leiter 1988).

Also applicable to business owners, research suggests that burnout is especially prevalent in those positions which require high degrees of personal contact and long and unusual work hours, and therefore common in hospitality and service industries (Vallen and Rande 2002). Burnout has been considered specifically among entrepreneurs (Shepherd et al. 2010), where there are high levels of stress along with factors such as loneliness and social isolation, immersion in business, people problems, and the constant need to achieve coupled with the drive and willingness to accept risks.

Disappointment could apply to any of the actors in a network, but I will mention it here for the disappointment the owner may experience. According to disappointment theory (Bell 1985; Loomes and Sugden 1986), individuals experience disappointment if the actual outcome is worse than the expected outcome. Disappointment is most likely when individuals seek a pleasurable outcome, when they feel it is just that they obtain their outcome, when the failure to obtain the outcome is a surprise, and when the failure is outside their personal control (van Dijk and Zeelenberg 2002). Van Dijk, van der Pligt, and Zeelenberg (1999) also concluded that the more the individual desires the outcome, and the more the individual invests in obtaining the outcome, the greater the disappointment when the outcome does not occur. Ekici (2013) considers the dark sides of high trust relationships in a business context. Betrayal is a common dark-side

consequence of trust between two parties. Setting high expectations, expecting a trusted partner to go the extra mile, being asked to do favors, and taking others for granted are among the dynamics that can lead to disappointment (Ekici 2013).

6.3 Dark Sides of Shared Commitments

Many of the dark sides discussed above in the related literature are applicable to shared commitments. In additional to the risks of close relationships and social capital in the literature on buyer-seller dynamics, employees, and owners, I theorize possible dark sides based on each of the dimensions of shared commitments: *collective action*, *congruent values and goals*, and *concern for the long-term well-being of others*. In Table 18, I present five different dark sides of shared commitments. In the right-most column, I identify the related literature to which this dark side of shared commitment maps.

I recognize that the five dark sides listed in Table 18 are driven by different dimensions of shared commitments. Accordingly, in the left-most column I show the dimension(s) of shared commitment with which the dark side is most related. For example, *collective action* is a driver of four of the dark sides listed in the table. Along with *congruent values and goals*, *collective action* can lead to *disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments*. This is not to say that *concern for future welfare of other actors* is irrelevant, but this dark side does not mainly derive from caring about the welfare of other actors. I will now explain the dark sides that come about from each of the three dimensions of shared commitments.

Table 18 Dark Sides from Analysis of Dimensions of Shared Commitments

Related Dimension(s) of Shared Commitments	Dark Sides of Shared Commitments	Related Literature
Collective Action (CA), Congruent Values and Goals (CV)	Disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments.	Loss of effort and creativity (Grayson and Ambler 1999);Taking advantage of reciprocity norms (Villena, Revilla, and Choi 2011); Free-riding (Stroebe and Frey 1982, Albanese and van Fleet 1985); Customers turned off by superficial attempts at friendship (Fournier, Dobscha, and Mick 1998); Betrayal, taken advantage of/taken for granted, expected trusted partner to go the extra mile, being unreasonable (Ekici 2013)
Concern for Future Welfare of other actors (FW)	Disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes.	Disappointment theory (Bell 1985; Loomes and Sugden 1986); Trust as the possibility of being disappointed by the action of others (Luhmann 2000); Setting high expectations (Ekici 2013)
Collective Action (CA)	Burnout from trying to invest in shared commitments.	"Escalating citizenship" when engaging in organizational citizenship behaviors becomes normative (Bolino and Turnley 2003); Job creep (Van Dyne and Ellis 2004); Asked to do favors (Ekici 2013)
Collective Action (CA), Congruent Values and Goals (CV), Concern for Future Welfare of other actors (FW)	Guilt from adjusting shared commitments.	People can feel trapped or stuck in a relationship, which makes them less likely to advocate (Fullerton 2003, 2005); risk of relational inertia, trade-offs in creating new ties and lessening the salience of old bonds (Gargiulo and Benassi 1999)
Collective Action (CA), Congruent Values and Goals (CV), Concern for Future Welfare of other actors (FW)	Division from those outside the shared commitments if bonding is overemphasized at the expense of bridging social capital.	Intolerance that is harmful to society as a whole (Van Deth and Zmerli 2010); hostility toward others may breed stereotyping and trash talking, cause tension with others not part of the same brand community (Hickman and Ward 2007)

With regards to ***collective action***, I expect that all the actors in a network could be worn out from trying to take action together. For the consumer, it is easier to simply buy products and not attempt any joint actions (Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh 1987). For employees, it would be less investment if they did the minimum work expected and did not try to go above and beyond in their work with the owner or in communicating with

employees, for example. The owner is at risk of burning out by trying to enlist volunteers and facilitate different actors working together. Collective action is an additional activity that makes actors' livesbusier, even if more meaningful.

Another dark side could be disappointment if the other actors are discovered not to in fact share the same level of commitment. In shared commitment, there is an expectation that others are invested and if this is let down, it may leave the actor more jaded than if he or she had never aspired to shared commitments in the first place. This is related to the idea of trust, where one chooses an action over others in spite of the possibility of being disappointed by the action of others (Luhmann 2000). Actors invested in shared commitments could get discouraged if they feel that they are committed to something, but do not feel that the other actors are reciprocating. Someone may have felt the other actor cared about his or her well-being, but then found out the other person was cheating, free-riding, or taking advantage of the relationship. Such a disappointment may cause an actor to wish she never got her hopes about shared commitment.

There may be dark sides associated with the second dimension of shared commitment: ***congruent values and goals***. One of the dark sides could be investing efforts thinking others share the same values, only to realize that people did not have the same goals or values. In typical discrete transactions, say the exchange of a product for money or labor for pay, no future conflict of interests or goals is anticipated because the payment and performance are instantaneous (Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh 1987). In shared commitments, the expectation of common values and goals may lead to disappointment if

one party perceives the other deviates from these values. Shared commitments, like trust, leave people open to disappointment.

Concern for the long-term welfare of other actors, a third dimension of shared commitments, may have the dark side of disappointment if the well-being of others does not improve. There could be a sense of despair if someone cares deeply for the other's well-being, but realizes that the person's well-being is not easily improved, due to systemic barriers or self-defeating behaviors. The actors could again be disappointed if they thought that the other actor cared about his/her well-being, but then found out they were cheating all along. According to disappointment theory in the literature (Bell 1985; Loomes and Sugden 1986), where individuals experience disappointment if the actual outcome is worse than the expected outcome. Disappointment can be especially great if there was a high level of individual investment in a desire outcome (Van Dijk, van der Pligt, and Zeelenberg 1999), which is very applicable to shared commitments.

Additionally, a dark side could be a person feeling guilt if he or she adjusts the level of shared commitment. In a typical economy, customers are free to change brands and employees can change jobs with minimal guilt. However, the stronger the shared commitment, the stronger the risk of guilt in leaving. Guilt and shame are two closely related emotions. Guilt is the more appropriate term because unlike in shame, "In guilt, the self is not the central object of negative evaluation, but rather the thing done or undone is the focus" (Lewis 1971, p.30). Tangney (1996) explains that in guilt the focus is not on the objective nature of a transgression, but instead how an individual interprets the event. No matter how justified someone may feel in adjusting their shared commitments, guilt could still be felt over leaving or adjusting shared commitments.

Guilt could stem from all three dimensions of shared commitment. A person may feel guilt if he or she is no longer able or willing to take the same level of action in support of the goal, because more will fall to other actors. Guilt could also come if one's values change and there is a fear of disappointing others. Even if one's values do not change, taking collective action to support the welfare of people in another network could leave someone with a feeling of guilt about not continuing to help the original people with whom commitment was shared. The guilt could originate from a genuine feeling of breaking shared commitment or just the guilt of letting other people down, even though the person feels entirely justified in the decision.

If there is strong shared commitment (the presence of all three dimensions), this could also lead to the dark side of division from others who are not part of the shared commitment. This could happen when there is greater bonding rather than bridging social capital (Putnam 2000). This relates to the consequences of stereotyping, trash talking, and hostility with the out-group of a strong brand community (Hickman and Ward 2007). Intolerance that is harmful to society can result (Van Deth and Zmerli 2010).

6.4 Evidence of Dark Sides of Shared Commitments

In this section, I will present findings on the dark sides of shared commitments for the customers, employees, and owner. The qualitative findings in chapter 4 show the well-being improvements based on shared commitments. However, there were exceptions to the norm, which are also important for considering the overall outcomes of MSF. Even in the immense amount of data I collected and focused efforts to search for negative

cases, there is scant evidence of ill-being outcomes. For example, I returned to a couple well-connected customers who had been most helpful in connecting me with other customers in my early exploratory research. I asked them to connect me with others in their networks who are disillusioned customers. One of the customers, for instance, posted a detailed request on my behalf explaining my desire to hear about negative experiences. While the same effort had previously yielded more than a dozen people gladly meeting with me to talk about the general experience with MSF, no one responded this time. Other efforts were similarly fruitless. Therefore, the data I present here is less robust. Sometimes there are only one or two employees or customers who expressed a given sentiment. Nevertheless, it is important to present the dark sides of shared commitment to help balance the story from being a solely positive one and identifyrisks that could be mitigated.

As in chapter 4, I will present the outcomes from shared commitments that I found for the customers, employees, and owner, but this time ill-being rather than well-being outcomes. Figure 13 depicts how there may be ill-being outcomes as a result of the dark sides of shared commitments for each of the actors in a network, and not just well-being outcomes. The ill-being outcomes are purposely depicted more faintly, because they are less clear than the well-being outcomes.

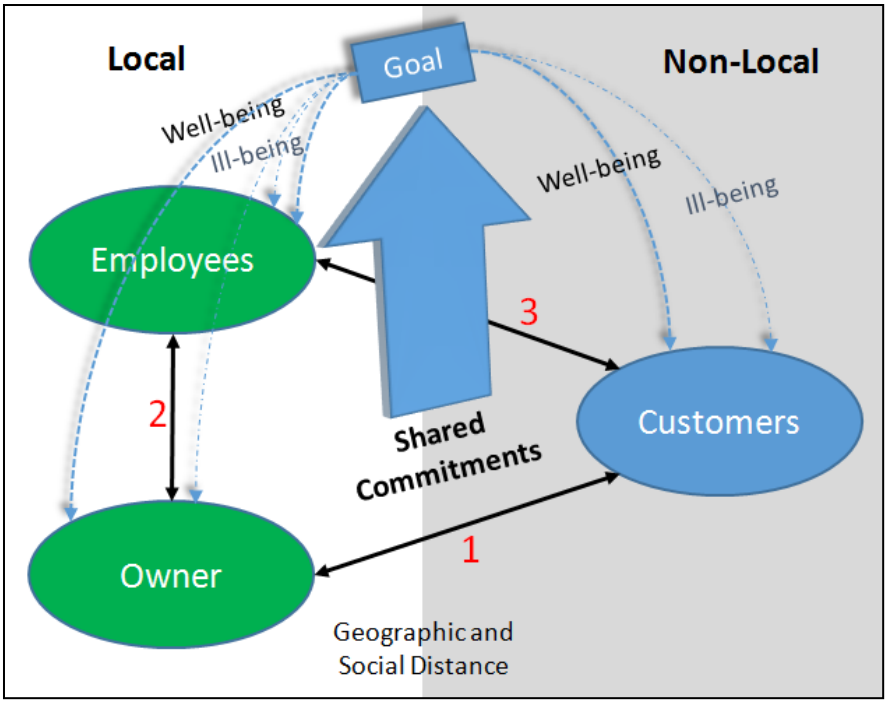

Figure 13 Modified Model of Shared Commitments Leading to Ill-Being

In Table 18, I presented five theoretical dark sides of shared commitment based on the three dimensions of shared commitment. Each of these dark sides of shared commitment also has a foundation from literature on dark sides of related phenomenon, which was presented in the beginning of this chapter, and summarized again in Table 19. In the following sections I give specific empirical evidence of when customers, employees, and the owner experienced this dark side. In order to do this, I first present evidence of how it was the shared commitment of this actor and the other actors that led to the vulnerability to the dark side.

6.4.1 Dark Sides Experienced by Customers of Miss Silk's Farm

The first dark side of shared commitments for customers that I saw in MSF was *disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments*. This is very related to the idea of betrayal (Ekici 2013). However, betrayal has a more personal and relational focus to it, that is part of but not the main focus of shared commitments. Shared commitments are oriented toward a common goal rather than relationship commitment (Morgan and Hunt 1994). *Congruent values and goals* is one of the three components of shared commitments. If something happens to challenge the similarity in values and goals, it can lead to the ill-being outcome of disappointment (or betrayal).

Table 19 summarizes the different actors in MSF for which there is evidence of the respective dark side. It is possible that all of the actors may experience these dark sides, but my findings suggest the identified dark sides for which I present evidence may be the most likely for a given actor. For each of the primary examples in this chapter, I briefly present evidence of the shared commitments of this actor. I then state the relevant dark side (from analytical framework in Table 18) as a result of the aforementioned shared commitment. There is more detail in the text, but in the table I provide a summary explanation of how the actor came to experience the dark side of shared commitments. I then summarize the actors' response to the dark side experiences. In some situations, the actor decided to leave the network, whereas in other situations opted to stay and make other adjustments. Finally, I present the potential ill-being implications from the dark side experienced. In some situations, I had actual evidence of the ill-being implications. In many cases I do not have the longitudinal data to make a claim at a lasting ill-being

effect, nor do I have the professional training to claim that I have diagnosed ill-being effects. But nevertheless, based on the relevant literature and my interviews, I make suggestions based on the literature of possible ill-being effects experienced by the actors.

Table 19 Dark Sides of Shared Commitments Experienced by Actors in MSF

Respondent (Actor)	Evidence of Shared Commitment	Dark Side experienced as a result of Shared Commitment	Explanation	Response	Potential Ill-being Implications
Rengin (Customer)	Reading emails first, every week; promoter in her network, concern for dreams of other actors coming true. Describes Pinar "like a friend that I have known for a very long time. I feel like that when I read her emails" (Rengin).	*Disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments*	When asked about the overall goal of MSF, responded, "I had an idea in my mind, but with this decision I just felt confused about the goals." Pinar's actions in 2014 were counter to Rengin's "ethical understanding of things."	Left the network and has not joined another one; Buying locally and from small stores as much as she can; Still believes in values and goals of network	Reduction in organizational membership and availability of allies (Headey, Holmstrom and Wearing 1985).
Rengin (Customer)	"Many friends joined the team after I was talking to them. Because I was just informing my friend, oh, you were looking for something like this, Pinar Hanim has this, here is the link, and you can order it from here like this, and most of them are still continuing." (Rengin)	*Guilt from adjusting shared commitments*	Because of the shared commitments Rengin had in the network, she received pressure from the owner and other customers to stay involved.	Left the network and has not joined another one; Buying locally and from small stores as much as she can; Still believes in values and goals of network	"No [I didn't feel any guilt or shame] because I openly and plainly told her what I have told you here" (Rengin).

Aleyna (Customer)	Motivated to be part of MSF because of shared values of providing women with employment and good working conditions.	*Disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes*	Became angry when she heard rumors that Pinar was not fulfilling shared values to improve welfare of the employees. More vulnerable to anger and disappointment because of shared commitments.	Joined a different network with similar goals	According to disappointment theory (Bell 1985; Loomes and Sugden 1986), individuals experience disappointment if actual outcome is worse than expected; Negative affect includes moods and emotions that are unpleasant, and represent negative responses people experience in reaction to events and circumstances (Diener 2006).
Aleyna (Customer)	Motivated to be part of MSF because of shared values of providing women with employment and good working conditions.	*Guilt from adjusting shared commitments*	Wrestled with guilt over whether she should have left the network when she heard rumors MSF was not treating its employees well.	Joined a different network with similar goals.	Feels involvement with MSF served its purpose to get her involved with another network.
Emine (customer)	Shared values of "consciousness raising," creating jobs for village	*Disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments*	Turned off by what she sees as owner's "self-glorification" in the emails, that she wants to be the only one.	Continues as customer despite owner: trusts quality of food, likes convenience, and still wants to support the women in the village.	Enduring cognitive dissonance, because of a lack of consistency in her belief in the values of the network and advantages of being a customer with not believing the owner shares congruent values.
Ebru (customer)	"I would rather buy from the farm who has a positive impact on their society. That is something additional [and a] nice thing to have. But it is not the main decision-making [factor]." (Ebru)	*Disappointment if someone else does not meet their part of the commitments*	Shared a concern about a drop in quality because of the growing number of MSF customers.	Switched to another farm with a similar model to MSF. She is committed to the same goal, but fears that commitment to one farm could be taken advantage of.	Discouraged from loyalty in particular organizational membership and loyalty with availability of allies (Headey, Holmstrom and Wearing 1985).

Ebru (customer)	"MSF seems to be a good model. If it is more accessible, that would be best…If we can connect them, if we can connect the people, that would be the best for the country and for the society." (Ebru)	*Division from those outside the shared commitments if bonding is overemphasized at the expense of bridging social capital.*	While many customers appreciate Pinar's direct communication style and willingness to criticize existing agricultural practices, some customers like Ebru feel it goes too far in "only her way is the good way."	Variety seeking in order to counteract perceived arrogance of owner that she is the only one pursuing goal of this type of agriculture.	Could feel isolation within the network through "underidentification" (Dukerich et al. 1998), or cyniscim with regard to people outside the network.
Metin (Employee)	Going above and beyond in work hours; Values employment in his own village	*Burnout from trying to invest in shared commitments*	"On average, it's like this 15 days out of 30. I am here in the evenings. Because of this we're always here. It never changes. We spend more of our time here than at home" (Metin).	Although many people have quit because of the hours, Metin says "we accept and have to keep coming."	Higher levels of work–family conflict (Halbesleben, Harvey, and Bolino 2009).
Kevser (employee)	"Now health is more important than anything. Everyone else's health is as important as our own health. We don't want any complaints to come from customers." (Kevser)	*Disappointment from their coworkers not meeting their part of the commitments*	Kevser emphasizes the extraordinary effort she and her coworkers put in to make a variety of products from scratch to meet the customers' requests. Disappointed by others who complain about the difficulty of their jobs.	Continues working at the farm. Works closely with others who have her level of shared commitment, tries to convince those who do not to work harder.	May experience dissonance over not being compensated differently than free-riders.
Kevser (Employee)	"I am very happy here. Thanks be to God. In a small village to have this kind of a workplace is so great… But this place is close to our	*Disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes.*	"We are trying to take [Pinar] as an example. But, we can't be like her. She is a role model for us. For example if it was possible, we also could	Continues working at the farm, trying to draw inspiration from shared commitments with the owner and	Negative affect can result from "upward" comparisons to others (Buunk et al.1990).

	home. It's five minutes from the house. I am always so happy about that." (Kevser)		be like her and successful like her. But unfortunately we are small people." (Kevser)	employees.	
Pinar (Owner)	"I was born for a purpose, for this job. I was to live and give life to the soil, seed, trees, people, sayings, respect, feeling of trust, real Anatolia. With these I did not just want to be nourished, I also wanted to nourish them. Health to Istanbul, seeds to the soil that it deserves, earnings to Anatolia…." (Pinar, 24 May 2015 email)	*Disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes*	Pinar expresses disappointment that the farm they have created based on the hard work of the traditional village women is dying. She is disappointed that the collective action she has taken with this generation of villagers is nearing its end.	Accepting that more of the work over the coming years will have to be done by machine. Contacting employment agencies to try to find more willing employees. Using Syrian refugees to fill additional needs.	According to disappointment theory (Bell, 1985; Loomes & Sugden, 1986), individuals experience disappointment if the actual outcome is worse than the expected outcome; Possible reduced sense of personal accomplishment, decline in feelings of competence and successful career achievement (Maslach and Jackson 1981).
Pinar (Owner)	"There was my land, and their knowledge… we met up and began to work" (Pinar, 15 April 2013 email)	*Disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments*	Expressive of her intolerance for free-riding employees who do not work for the collective benefit but then expect to get paid the same as the other employees each month.	Chooses to fire the people who are free-riding. Has to accept that she cannot raise the supply to meet the demand of customers.	The setting of high expectations and expecting a trusted partner to go the extra mile can lead to disappointment (Ekici 2013).
Pinar (Owner)	"I am a revolutionary. I am a rebel. I am one who 'knows no rules,' one who is 'opposite the system'…and I am a producer" (Pinar, 14 January 2013 email).	*Division from those outside the shared commitments if bonding is overemphasized at the expense of bridging social capital*	Because the shared commitments are a threat to another group of people or an entire industry, the degree of collective action and visibility can have a dark side.	Seeking legal protection with a lawyer, carrying a weapon for self-defense, trying to exercise cautioun in what she says and writes.	"It is tiring me out wondering if I should finally concede" (Pinar); Higher levels of work-family conflict. (Halbesleben, Harvey, and Bolino 2009)

One of the most significant challenges to the shared commitments between the owner and customers of MSF came in 2014. Pinar ran for office on the local municipality board as a candidate for a political party that many of her customers opposed. She also planned to resign from the party as soon as she won the seat, which was additionally controversial in the eyes of some of the customers. Rengin, who was quoted in chapter 4 for her shared commitments with the owner, in a later interview after the election explained how she cut off her interaction with Pinar.

> In 2014, you remember the local elections. And you know that every week Pinar Hanim sends us a lot of information, she writes everything in detail, her plan, her ideas, etc. And her messages were the first that I read because of my respect and my pleasure of having the products at home from her. And one day I saw in a newspaper I guess her explanations about being a candidate from the party, and my first reaction that I felt was that I would like to hear this directly from her. I respect everybody's thoughts, decisions, actions, but if we did not have such a communication weekly, maybe I wouldn't care. I would like to know this, it shouldn't be a surprise for me. Whatever she wants she does, so I felt a bit like, you know I felt bad, as if somebody shares everything with you, but only hides this one thing from you. So I sent her an email saying that I respect your thoughts, beliefs, actions, but please take me out of your list. And then she called many times. And she said there has been lots of reactions to this decision, but I decided to be a part of the local municipality board member, so that I would have more power to do the things that I want to do. She said, as soon as I receive my [certificate of election], I will resign from the party. I said, this is even worse. It's my way of thinking. (Rengin)

Rengin alludes to the shared commitment she felt with the owner: her respect for the owner, reading her emails first, reading her emails every week. She said, "but if we did not have such a communication weekly, maybe I wouldn't care," Rengin was the same customer in chapter 4 who had told me in an earlier interview that Pinar was "like a friend that I have known for a very long time. I feel like that when I read her emails" (Rengin). In other words, because of the closeness of their contact, Rengin was hurt when

she was caught off guard by hearing this news from another source. As she explained further, Rengin said, "I mean I couldn't accept that becoming a member for a certain purpose and then resigning from it when you are at that point. [It was against] my ethical understanding of things" (Rengin). When I asked Rengin about the overall goal of MSF, she responded, "I had an idea in my mind, but with this decision I just felt confused about the goals." Pinar's actions in 2014 were counter to Rengin's "ethical understanding of things" and she "felt confused about the goals." The shared commitment that Rengin felt, including their congruent values and collective action as demonstrated by frequency of contact around the goals of the farm, made her vulnerable to disappointment when she discovered apparent incongruence in their values.

Another customer shared disappointment over feeling the owner did not uphold the ethos of shared commitments. Whereas shared commitments are founded on collective action, Emine found that Pinar was calling too much attention to her individual action. Instead of the shared commitment being toward a common goal and the future welfare of all, Emine felt that Pinar was pursuing her own agenda of fame.

> Emine: "Oh, I am so sick of [the emails from MSF], enough already… Enough. Sick of it. A lot of it has the taste of self-glorification. "I went there, I said this." … I think that [Pinar] wants to be the only one. "I know this job and I am doing it" kind of an attitude. But my ideas are negative the last years, those emails. It's not about consciousness raising any more, it has become tiring.
>
> Interviewer: But you are still buying from her?
>
> Emine: Yes, I am buying. This is practical. It is coming to the house. I am trusting. They are doing a good job. Because it is clear from the things I am eating, not from trusting this woman. In the village she really did create great employment and gave jobs and as they continue on she expands it. That is important too.

In this interview excerpt, Emine, shares that Pinar's initial efforts of "consciousness raising" have been overtaken by "self-glorification." The dimensions of shared commitment are all alluded to here and elsewhere in the interview; when Emine began as a customer, she was motivated by the values of traditionally grown food, her concern for the future welfare of villagers in providing them employment, and taking collective action through "consciousness raising" throughout Turkey. However, as the years passed, Emine feels that Pinar began to care more about her own reputation than the values of the farm. She feels Pinar's communication emphasizes "I went there, I said this" and "wants to be the only one" who gains notoriety for championing the goal.

Emine experiences a dark side of being involved in a network with an owner that she feels cares more about her own success and glory than she does about the future welfare of others and the overall goal of the network. Emine is still buying because of the difference in the quality of the food, the convenience of it coming to her home, and because of the employment created in the village. However, she is disappointed by the owner's behavior and she is involved in the network *despite* what she perceives as the owner's ambition and self-glorification. Because shared commitments were an important part of Emine's involvement with MSF, she is more disappointed to see the owner deviating from the collective actions and values which should promote the welfare of all, not just of one actor.

The shared commitments between owner and customer can be a dark side in the sense that a customer who never felt shared commitments with the owner would not have been so disappointed by uninformed actions. As Rengin herself said, "but if we did not have such a communication weekly, maybe I wouldn't care." It is because of the respect

and the expectation of shared values that Pinar's actions came as such a disappointment. Therefore, although shared commitments can lead to many of the well-being outcomes for customers as shared in chapter 4, there is also a dark side of disappointment.

Another example of *disappointment if someone else does not meet their part of the commitment* can be due to a loss of effort and creativity (Grayson and Ambler 1999) or taking advantage of reciprocity norms (Villena, Revilla, and Choi 2011). For example, one customer shared a concern about a drop in quality because of the growing number of MSF customers.

> But what I am thinking is that as they have more customers, are they going to keep on delivering the same quality? I am not sure. That is the reason why I tried this new farm after [MSF]. Because from [MSF] you don't know what will come. Yes they are good, but it is not always the best ones. Because you know, I understand, they have a lot of customers, so they have to do something. (Ebru)

Strikingly, Ebru even mentions that her reservation about dropping quality made her want to try another farm with a similar model to MSF. Ebru's commitment to the overall goal has not changed, she just wants to diversify by trying out another network. Ebru is touching on a dark side of shared commitment, that shared commitment can be taken advantage of if the quality drops and reciprocity norms are not fulfilled. Another customer expressed outrage at how prices increased. "As it continues, some of the things became expensive, ridiculously expensive because no one can object" (Emine). Whereas Ebru preferred to find another network with the same goals that does not compromise on the quality, Emine prefers to continue, despite feeling taken advantage of by the rising prices. Shared commitments can be taken advantage of, especially if the commitment is to only one network, rather than to a higher goal that other networks can help fulfill.

Customers may also experience *disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes*. For example, customers feel that they are taking collective action towards a particular goal, but they are disappointed when they feel the goal is not being fulfilled. Aleyna was a customer I quoted in chapter 4 as saying, based on her feminist beliefs, that she feels shared commitment through MSF in encouraging local women. She believes that Pinar "is really helping local women working over there, that is what I believe" (Aleyna). However, in a follow-up interview three years later, Aleyna shared how she became angry when she heard rumors that the employees of MSF were not benefiting from their involvement with the farm.

> I heard that, maybe I don't know, maybe it was my fault because I did not have a chance to go there and see what is going on, because of the rumors I heard, I just stopped from buying there. Just the working conditions aren't good, especially for women, this and that. So I got affected from these things that I heard, then I stopped buying from that place…
> First I was angry. I mean I am just buying because of this purpose, supporting… of course I started thinking that rumors I heard were just not true. But the people I heard from are good friends of mine. (Aleyna)

Aleyna felt that the very reasons for which she was buying, the congruent values and goals and her shared concern for the future welfare of the employees, were being violated. (As someone who has been to the farm and conducted extensive observations and interviews among the employees, I am confident these rumors are unsubstantiated. However, it is a fascinating example of the vulnerability of a network like MSF to rumors, which will be discussed in the final chapter). The shared commitments Aleyna felt with the farm made her even more vulnerable to anger and feelings of disappointment when she heard rumors that the employees were not being treated well. According to disappointment theory (Bell 1985; Loomes and Sugden 1986), individuals experience disappointment if the actual outcome is worse than the expected outcome.

Disappointment is likely for a customer like Aleyna who sought a pleasurable outcome, felt it unjust and out of her personal control that the outcome was not obtained, and was surprised by the failure (van Dijk and Zeelenberg 2002). The focus of *disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes* is more about the disappointment of an unfulfilled goal, which is the direction of shared commitments, than the letdown of shared commitments by another actor. In some situations even if everyone has honored their shared commitments, the goal may be unrealized, leading to disappointment.

Another dark side of shared commitments can be *guilt from adjusting shared commitments*. Alayna, a customer I shared about above who decided to stop buying because of rumors about Pinar not treating the customers well, wrestled with feelings of guilt after she stopped. She describes at first feeling anger, then some guilt, and then assuaging her guilt by continuing her shared commitments in another network.

> At the beginning, as I said, because I was angry, no [I didn't feel any guilt or shame]. But later on I thought that maybe it wasn't true, and then at that time maybe I felt a little bit guilty. At the beginning of course it was [hard to leave MSF]. On the one side, they are losing a customer, because[the employees] are earning money as I said. But since the things that I heard, when I first heard about it I was just so angry, but as time goes by I was just thinking, maybe it's not right, it's just a rumor, fighting with this in my mind. But other than that it was okay. There are other groups as well, so you can just easily buy in the same philosophy, there are some other people working as well. So I say to myself, I supported this group for two years, and now it is time to support those local people, living in Ankara, close to city. (Aleyna)

In this quotation, Aleyna reveals her struggle between anger and pangs of guilt over leaving. She initially felt anger over the disappointment of violated shared values (as discussed above), but later on she wrestled with whether leaving was the right thing to

do. It was hard for her to leave because the farm was losing a customer that was helping the village women earn money. Her quote reveals that in order to decrease the guilt, it was vital to her that she invest in shared commitments to improve the welfare of local farmers in another context.

One aspect of the guilt can be if someone wants to leave, but feels pressured to stay. In a typical market transaction, there is little expectation to continue, and one can simply move on. The guilt can be greatest for those who are the most committed and invited other people to join, as was the case for Rengin:

> Many friends joined the team after I was talking to them. Because I was just informing my friend, oh, you were looking for something like this, Pinar Hanim has this, here is the link, and you can order it from here like this, and most of them are still continuing. (Rengin)

As an important actor in the network, she received pressure from the owner and other customers to remain. Rengin shared that Pinar called her many times after she decided not to be a customer, as explained earlier. "She tried to defend. She tried to talk a lot, but I can't remember the content, because I wasn't interested after that point" (Rengin). Rengin also describes how some of the other customers tried to convince her to stay:

> Rengin: Yes, two of them tried to convince me but it had been a long time since my decision. They had felt the same way but they decided to continue, they kept this aside from being a customer, which I couldn't. They tried to convince me.
>
> Interviewer: But it was after you had decided. So you said they agree with you but set it aside.
>
> Rengin: Yes, and they had their own reasons. For example one of them has an illness that can be stopped by diet and eating products like from MSF, so it is her health. She had tried it and it worked and she would continue.

Because of the shared commitments Rengin had in the network, she received pressure from the owner and other customers to stay involved. Rengin did not share

about this pressure in an extremely negative way, but it still points to a potential dark side of guilt due to a greater expectation from others to remain committed. Rengin describes herself as very decisive to do something when she makes up her mind, but other people may not have the same confidence and may feel more shamed to continue as customers even though they feel a reason to move on.

It is also interesting to note in Rengin's quotation that the other customers, who felt the same she did about incongruence in values with Pinar after the 2014 election issue, decided to continue on as customers. It sounds like one person continued on because of instrumental reasons, to continue in the diet improvement that MSF had enabled. Based on Rengin's account, it seems that customers sometimes will continue for instrumental reasons, even if the shared commitments have been violated. Emine, another customer described earlier who felt the violation of shared commitments in Pinar's "self-glorification," continued as a customer for both instrumental reasons (e.g. it is conveniently delivered to her house) as well as reasons based more on the values of shared commitment, like providing employment for the villagers. Based on limited data, I hypothesize that in the instance of a felt violation of shared commitment, a customer is more likely to continue depending on a) the felt severity of violation in shared commitment, b) the strength of instrumental reasons for purchase and b) strength of shared commitment with other actors in the network. The decision to leave or stay based on the violation of shared commitment is beyond the scope of my thesis, but with additional data collection could be an interesting topic for future research.

Another dark side that was evident in some of the customer interviews was *division from those outside the shared commitments if bonding is overemphasized at the*

expense of bridging social capital. One of the customers shared her feeling that the owner of MSF can be overly aggressive:

> Ebru: When it comes to competing I find [Pinar] a bit aggressive. That's her style, as I said.
>
> Interviewer: In what way do you find her aggressive?
>
> Ebru: She would say, this is wrong, this is not right. Or you get the sense that only her way is the good way, any others are not good.

While many customers appreciate Pinar's direct communication style and willingness to criticize existing agricultural practices, some customers like Ebru felt it went too far in "only her way is the good way." Another customer, Emine, feels that Pinar started with good intentions but that ambition has made her care more about only her own success. "There is an air of 'I am doing this job by myself.' This isn't right if you ask me. If you are doing this job, if you are an example, then you need to be a support to others. That is also a piece of this" (Emine). Pinar's dogmatic style helps the people within MSF bond together, but can obstruct bridging to other networks. While bonding at the expense of bridging social capital is a potential dark side of shared commitments, many people involved with MSF do not feel that Pinar is only promoting her own farm to the exclusion of others. For example, I asked Rengin, one of the former customers I quoted earlier,

> Interviewer: Do you think that Pinar Hanim wants other farms like hers to succeed?
>
> Rengin: I am sure she wants. The vision and everything. There are hints in her messages that she shared in her messages weekly with us that she would *love* to have many farms like that all over the country. I am sure, this is again a thought, I am not sure if I have evidence, but if I go to her and ask her I have these ideas and I have this land, I am sure she would help. She's not only a role model, but also… I think she would start some training and sessions for the people who are [trying to start a similar network].

Here, even a former customer speaks confidently of how she believes the owner wants the vision to spread and not just of the success of her own farm. Whatever the case with MSF, it is vital that networks seeking to develop shared commitments stay aware of the need for balancing bonding and bridging. An overemphasis on bonding can "lead groups to become colloquial and blinkered to other acts of resistance around the world or even in their own region, leaving them exposed to defeat or even destruction by not building sufficient social alliances" (Amoore et al. 1997, p. 190). If networks can build bridges with others pursuing similar goals, they are more likely to achieve them.

While I clearly see dark sides experienced by customers due to shared commitments, based on the findings with customers, I did not see strong evidence of lasting ill-being effects. I reason that this is due to the relatively low exit costs. If someone chooses not to be a customer, he or she can find another network. Collective action, congruent values, and concern for future welfare of other actors can all be transferred to another network, because the commitment was not specifically to one organization or relationship. Through shared commitments, I see evidence of significant well-being improvements. Over the years that someone is a customer, involvement in the network can contribute to a customer's well-being. However, even if dark sides are experienced, it does not seem to be prolonged enough to lead to significant ill-being outcomes. I reason that dark sides would have to be encountered repeatedly in order to adversely affect long-term ill-being. In other words, it is worth the risk to invest in shared commitments, because the well-being potential is greater than the ill-being hazard.

6.4.2 Dark Sides Experienced by Employees of Miss Silk's Farm

One dark side of shared commitment that I saw in a few employees was *burnout from trying to invest in shared commitments*. In the literature, when engaging in "organizational citizenship behaviors" becomes normative this has been referred to as "escalating citizenship" (Bolino and Turnley 2003). "Job creep" is another related term (Van Dyne and Ellis 2004). While most of the employees of MSF enjoyed their jobs and affirmed how they did what they loved, there were a few employees who were wearied by the pace set by the more eager employees around them.

One evening I was at the farm the employees had to unload a truck that came in later than expected. One of the employees I interviewed the next day said he finally finished getting everything stored at midnight. He said, "On average, it's like this 15 days out of 30. I am here in the evenings. Because of this we're always here. It never changes. We spend more of our time here than at home" (Metin). Metin continues,

> Our job really is great. The only problem is the hours problem. The start time is certain, but the ending time is not. There is no other problem. If the work hours were regular, super. I mean comfortable. But because it's not, what are you going to do? We accept it and necessarily keep coming… Because of the hours problem many people have left here. Those who can't accept it quit and leave.

Metin emphasized he loves his job other than the hours that have come to be expected. He says he stays in the job because he likes working in his village and not commuting back and forth to the city. Another employee preparing food explained that she began working nights in order to meet the demand.

> Interviewer: So did you want to work nights, or…
>
> Seniha: We did it because we wanted it ourselves… We are available, because we don't have any little or crying kids we got used to it.

Seniha shared that they volunteered to work nights, but it was also clear from talking to her and her coworker that the situation necessitated it.

I also found evidence of employees experiencing *disappointment from their coworkers not meeting their part of the commitments*. Kevser shared her indignation with another employee who was complaining about the difficulty of her job.

> Of course, not everyone is like us. Some people don't have the same mindset as us. Actually they can't have. Maybe with time could they be like us, I don't know…
> For example one week or 10 days ago one person we met came. "The job is really hard, if I had known it was this hard, I wouldn't have come. This and that." I asked, "Where did you work?" "I worked in a dorm, I was like the boss there." "If there is a job like that, call me too," I said. She was working in the kitchen. I said, "The kitchen is tough? Every day we are churning out 25 various products from scratch. Three types of manti: minced meat, potatoes, green lentil; borek; baklava; bazlama; five types of gozleme; 150-200 pieces of yufka every day are going out and we are producing all of it. We are creating it from nothing." If we are still this happy doing all this, then in the kitchen you make your food, serve the customers, prepare things. Making prepared foods is hard to you. If you were doing what we were doing… (Kevser)

Kevser emphasizes the extraordinary effort they put in to make a variety of products from scratch to meet the customers' requests. She is disappointed by people in other departments who complain about the difficulty of the job, when she feels she is doing far more. She is frustrated by the free-riding of some employees, where there is a lack of consensus on everyone contributing equally to the benefits of being a part of MSF that they share (Albanese and Van Fleet 1985). A dark side of shared commitments can be the high standard it creates for other people to do the same level of work, as well as the

frustration it causes the committed employees who do not see others taking the same collective action. The other employees considered by people like Kevser to be free-riders may experience the ill-being outcomes of the loss of esteem by other group members and a lower sense of self-worth (Stroebe and Frey 1982).

Employees may also experience *disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes*. If someone is committed to collective action towards a goal, but is unable to realize the goal, this could lead to greater disappointment than if the person had not had shared commitment. For example, Kevser shares a desire to be like Pinar, but feels this is unattainable.

> We are trying to take [Pinar] as an example. But, we can't be like her. She is a role model for us. For example if it was possible, we also could be like her and successful like her. But unfortunately we are small people. She is a role model. We want to be like her. (Kevser)

Kevser did not share about her inability to be like Pinar in a discouraged way, but this quote reveals a potential dark side of disappointment for the employees if they are exposed to great dreams through their shared commitment, but these are not achieved. The shared commitments with a very successful entrepreneur and other prosperous customers could contribute to the employees feeling like "small people" in a way they would not have before working at MSF. Upward comparisons can lead to either positive or negative affective consequences for the comparer (Buunk et al. 1990), and is more likely to be negative in cases of low self-esteem. From my observation Kevser seemed to have a high self-esteem and to be deriving well-being from her "upward" comparisons with the owner and employees, but this may not be the case for employees with lower self-esteem. There are tremendous well-being achievements that specifically Kevser is

quoted sharing in chapter 4, but there could be an ill-being component to disappointment over not obtaining expected outcomes. A dark side of shared commitments can be if an actor becomes emotionally invested in the achievement of a certain goal, but is disappointed if it is not attained.

Whereas with the customers I found scant evidence of ill-being effects, for the employees I found more evidence of ill-being outcomes due to the dark sides. I reason that this is because for an employee, their employment is a bigger part of their lives. If an employee experiences an ongoing dark side, it could wear on her every day. If the employee chooses to exit and leave the job, the employee likely has less options than the customers. For many of the women, this is the only job available to them. If they want to continue working in the village, there is no other option. If she does choose to leave, the departure will have a bigger impact on her life because she is a part of a dense network in a small community. The employee will be much more impacted financially, socially, and psychologically by a decision to exit than if she decides to stay, leading to ill-being. I surmise that shared commitments are therefore more risky for employees in tightly knit communities, although the well-being improvements are so great that it still likely makes it worth the risk.

6.4.3 Dark Sides Experienced by Owner of Miss Silk's Farm

While Pinar has experienced many well-being outcomes as detailed in chapter 4, she is also not immune to dark sides that come from shared commitments. Pinar shared

disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes. She is proud of what she has accomplished working together with the villagers, but is disappointed that she does not see the next generation of employees who will be able to continue on the traditional work of their mothers.

> We are with the last working group. For example, right now we have people who make bazlama, etc. We have people who can make yukfa, hand baklava. This is the last generation. Right now these are 45-50 year old women. Their daughters are never going to do this kind of thing. There aren't going to be people who learn how to prepare yufka and baklava. They are disappearing. Because there is no one to be an apprentice, not a soul who wants to earn money doing this… I mean in the villages there aren't any young girls or whatever, who can make yufka and bazlama. I mean this work is done. We are working with the last generation. In 4-5 years the borek made at MSF will definitely have to go to automation. Outside of these strong older women we can't find any personnel to deal with this work by hand. For example, cutting pasta. At this point we have had to move on to cutting the dough by machine, with a machine from Italy. Currently we make the dough by hand, eggs, flour, etc. but from now on it will be with a machine. Because there is no one who wants to cut it by hand. I mean the hand workmanship, the handmade tastes are completely ending. We are working with the last generation. After, nothing. (Pinar)

Pinar expresses disappointment that the farm they have created based on the hard work of the traditional village women is dying. She is disappointed that the collective action she has taken with this generation of villagers is nearing its end. She values the hand workmanship done by these women and has found a market for them of customers who share the same values, but there is not anyone new taking up the work. Pinar is unable to find anyone to do the work, and it is changing how she thinks about the future of the farm and the goals she has been advocating. Pinar is currently so invested in the shared commitments toward the success of a network that produces traditional food and improves the lives of the women that to see the end of this achievement could bring great disappointment. A possible ill-being outcome could therefore be a reduced sense of personal accomplishment, decline in feelings of competence and successful career

achievement (Maslach and Jackson 1981, 1982). Whereas *disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments* is a dark side based on the shared commitment between two actors, *disappointment of the shared commitments not leading to the expected outcomes* focuses on unrealized outcomes. A major aspect of shared commitments, as explained in chapter 4 and depicted in Figure 7, is the orientation toward a particular goal. If this goal is not realized, despite the actors honoring their shared commitments, it could lead to disappointment.

Pinar has also experienced *disappointment of others not meeting their part of the commitments*. For example, in an interview with Pinar, she was very expressive of her intolerance for lazy people.

> With those who are willing to work hard, we are continuing on together for years. Sometimes someone will leave and then they come back. I always get along well with someone who works…But there are some people who without working try to benefit from their other friends' work. Greater than the injustice they did to me, I think the greater injustice is to their coworkers. Because one person is working like a mule, the other is chattering away. At month's end they both go to the ATM and they get the same money. This is to me a great injustice and shameful. I never forgive this. (Pinar)

Pinar has been working with many of the same people for several years. Pinar mentions how she is glad to rehire (hard-working) employees who had to leave for some reason and come back. This was validated by many interviews with employees who shared how Pinar rehired them. Most of the employees raved about her commitment to them and all that she does to help them.

But Pinar's evident frustration on the topic of laziness shows a dark side when other people do not follow through on their end of the shared commitment. Pinar is upset

about free-riding employees who obtain the benefits of working at the farm, getting the same amount of money at the end of the month, but do not bear a proportional share of the costs of providing the benefits (Albanese and van Fleet 1985). Pinar was even more forceful elsewhere in the interview. "All of us are working extremely hard…I have no tolerance for those who don't work. I never forgive this. I never like it. In my life I wasn't lazy, I don't like those who are. I never tolerate it" (Pinar). Because of the high expectations of the shared commitments she and the employees have for one another, she is disappointed when someone does not follow through on their side of the commitment. The setting of high expectations and expecting a trusted partner to go the extra mile can lead to disappointment (Ekici 2013).

Another dark side is *division from those outside the shared commitments if bonding is overemphasized at the expense of bridging social capital*. A special case of division from those outside the shared commitments is when the values and goals put the actors at odds with formidable opponents. The literature has pointed out that hostility toward others may breed stereotyping and trash talking and cause tension with others not part of the same brand community (Hickman and Ward 2007). However, if the shared commitments are a threat to another group of people or an entire industry, the degree of collective action and visibility can have a dark side, as Pinar describes from her experience:

> While I have been speaking and telling veterinary department deans, doctor's associations, chamber of food engineers, agricultural associations; I felt very alone as everyone preferred that I would stay silent on what needs to be said about food. The outcomes of the impractical efforts of these group to silence me has from time to time made me, but most of the time my family nervous. You are in the village, you are a woman… you have two children and a grandchild walking about in the open…

> Leaving aside the lawsuits that have been filed by the food cartels and the organizations that exploit the organic product sector… I am constantly battling with them. But the threatening calls coming to my phone, the "transmitted" news coming from strange sources, the emails that warn what is coming my way have become more frequent. They are working on "How can we discredit Pinar," even going back almost all the way to my debauchery in my university days.
>
> All of these things I have laughed about and moved past, but now the increasing threats are really making the people around me uneasy. It is tiring me out wondering if I should finally concede. Drawing up criminal complaints with my lawyer has become a routine part of my life… as a result whether I like it or not I have even become a licensed weapon owner. I am uncomfortable. (Pinar, email, 13 February 2017)

Pinar shares with her supporters the building threats she feels directed at her. She shares that many different associations that are a part of the established food sector and medical professions are trying to silence her. There have been direct threats at her and her family. She feels defamed by her adversaries. In the past she was able to try to laugh off the threats, but she feels the pressure is mounting. The ill-being in her life is increasing because of the strong opposition to the alternative way of agriculture she is advocating. Pinar's quote also reveals a related dark side of *burnout from trying to invest in shared commitments*. Pinar wrote at the end of this email, "My strength is your strength. Even if I wanted to say silent, I can't stop, you all know" (Pinar, email, 13 February 2017). In other words, her shared commitment to the goal is so great she cannot stop from speaking out, even at great cost to herself. Pinar enjoys the bonding with a strong network of employees and customers who have shared commitments, but experiences the dark side of divisions from those outside of shared commitments. There is evidence that the dark sides of shared commitments can bring about significant ill-being effects for the owner of an organization.

6.5 Integration and Discussion of Dark Sides Findings

As with relational exchange, I found that there are costs and benefits to shared commitments (Dwyer, Schurr, and Oh 1987). Shared commitments leave people vulnerable to disappointments, burn-out, guilt, and division. Therefore, while shared commitments may lead to well-being, there is also the risk of ill-being outcomes. Ill-being and well-being are not polar opposites along the same dimensions, but rather there are different indicators for each (Headey, Holmstrom and Wearing 1985). I did not explicitly measure the dark sides of shared commitments. The significant positive relationship between shared commitments and life satisfaction does not mean that there is an absence of ill-being outcomes.

One of dark sides of shared commitments I identified is the *division from those outside the shared commitment if bonding is overemphasized at the expense of bridging social capital*. This is grounded in the work of Putnam (2000) on how social capital can be of both the bridging (between socially heterogeneous groups) and bonding (between socially homogeneous groups) varieties. In the absence of bridging social capital, inward looking and isolated organizations can be prone to intolerance (Van Deth and Zmerli 2010). For example, Amoore et al. (1997) consider how the local can help bond people together with a common culture, community, and suffering. However, an overemphasis on the local (without bridging social capital) can also "lead groups to become colloquial and blinkered to other acts of resistance around the world or even in their own region, leaving them exposed to defeat or even destruction by not building

sufficient social alliances" (Amoore et al. 1997, p. 190). Bridging social capital is important for social cohesion and collective action to take place.

Trying to build bonding social capital over a spatially-extended network is more challenging than if people have regular face-to-face contact and live in the same community. In chapter 4, I presented findings of how shared commitments can develop over a geographic distance. Diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing that includes customers is one of the ways that shared commitments are developed. Pinar uses her weekly emails to do diagnostic framing, such as in the following quotation:

> Turkey has a need for real food…I am very idealistic; if I wrote item by item all the fraudulent claims you would not put a bite of food in your mouth for weeks. I am expending effort to correct this cruel system. And I will correct it, you will see ☺. (Pinar, 1 July 2013 email).

Pinar is framing the issue as providing real food in the face of a cruel system based on fraudulent claims that would make customers not want to eat anything. I heard the same thing in person from Pinar and the employees, who, for example, made a point of telling me they would not eat food from the hotel buffet when they travel to cities. In terms of social capital, Pinar's communications help bond people together in a common understanding of the plight of the current food system. Shared values and understanding can lead then to motivational framing, when Pinar explains, "Grapes, dried figs, dried apricots, dried berries, etc…these shouldn't be shiny yellow and all. Don't buy them this way. But be certain to tell the seller why you didn't buy them." Everyone in the MSF network is motivated toward collective action against "fraudulent" practices and the "cruel system."

However, a dark side arises when the bonding social capital is not balanced by bridging social capital. Even some customers of MSF feel that Pinar's framing overstates how exceptional MSF is. One customer finds Pinar aggressive, "She would say, this is wrong, this is not right. Or you get the sense that only her way is the good way, any others are not good" (Ebru). If "others are not good," it can undermine bridging social capital, even with other networks who are also advocating for "real food." Although I did not observe it in the MSF network, this overemphasis on bonding at the expense of bridging could have consequences of stereotyping, trash talking, and hostility with the out-group, such as in the case of a strong brand community (Hickman and Ward 2007).

However, one of the reasons that shared commitments has the potential of mitigating the dark side of division from others is due to the shared commitments being toward a goal, rather than to a brand community. If the shared commitment is only toward a brand community, it can preclude bridging to anyone perceived as a rival of a particular brand. However, since shared commitments are toward a common goal, there is the potential for substantial bridging with all types of other networks who are motivated by a similar goal. Pinar herself advocates working together, "Coalitions, establishing common points, helping one another are necessary now. To break down prejudices…" (Pinar, 2 September 2013 email). Even if not everyone feels she follows through on her call for coalitions and establishing common points, this is a vital way to mitigate the risk of division that can come about from shared commitments.

An overemphasis on bonding social capital can also play into feelings of guilt if someone does leave, another one of the dark sides of shared commitment. If shared commitments are seen as to a particular organization or relationship rather than a goal, an

actor may feel guilt if she decides to move on. Aleyna, a customer I shared about earlier who decided to stop buying because of rumors about Pinar not treating the customers well, wrestled with feeling of guilt after she stopped. In hindsight, she sees that her involvement with MSF was a stepping stone to pursuing the same goal in another network.

> Aleyna : It was good. Yea, good. And it wasn't that common as I said. And maybe that is why I started buying from [MSF]. Instead of looking at the farms in Ankara. [Pinar] was good at disseminating the information I think. And now I can see from this group right now, I can see that they were sort of starting things, but [Pinar] was ahead of other people… Reach more people, maybe, that was the case.
> Interviewer: So for you maybe it was an important step to be a part of MSF first and then-
> Aleyna: Yes. Yes, yes, yes, yes. Important start, I think that, being aware of these sorts of issues and it could be done by this way.

Aleyna's guilt gave way to seeing her two-year involvement with MSF in a positive light, realizing that it got her started in "being aware of these sorts of issues." If the pursuit of a goal is the direction of shared commitments, the feeling of guilt can be mitigated, as everyone in the network supports people pursuing different expressions of the common values and goals. As Aleyna said,

> There are other groups as well, so you can just easily buy in the same philosophy, there are some other people working as well. So I say to myself, I supported this group for two years, and now it is time to support those local people, living in Ankara, close to city. (Aleyna)

Aleyna is excited about supporting people more local to her in Ankara. Rather than a break in shared commitment, she has expanded her shared commitments to a new network of people.

Disappointment when people leave to join another network is still natural, because there is a personal component of caring about the future welfare of other people. Finding people who have congruent values and taking collective action does bond people together, and therefore if shared commitments do really exist, it is natural for there to be disappointment. In other words, even if the shared commitment is to a goal, there is still a relational component. However, the dark side of *disappointment of others not meeting their part of commitments* may be mitigated if there is a distinction between expressing the shared commitments in a new network rather than not fulfilling the shared commitment.

From a managerial perspective, it will not always be so easy to see customers and employees jumping ship to another organization. No matter how great the commitment to common goals, there is typically a production and financial bottom line that needs to be met. If enough employees cannot be retained or not enough customers remain committed, the network could cease to exist. MSF has reached the size that many customers leaving is not a major problem. In fact, the demand for the products is higher than the farm is able to supply. Pinar also expresses she is encouraging of her employees opening up new business. She was even supportive of one of her best employees leaving to go open her own shop.

> Just the other day one of our baklava makers—she opened her own baklava and gozleme store. She got credit [from a local agency]. The people they love the most are ours. We actually want it to go like this. We want them to come and earn and learn something. We will raise up new people. This is no problem at all. I'm not sad at all, I completely love it. (Pinar)

Pinar has a vision for investing in her employees and seeing them take on new challenges.

Pinar's bigger disappointment is over employees not developing shared commitments, rather than customers leaving. What is harder for her is not seeing enough people who want to carry on the shared commitments of their mothers' generation. Pinar says it is "Difficult to an extreme degree" to find new employees who will have shared commitments to the same values and goals. Pinar expresses disappointment that the collective action she has taken with this generation of villagers is nearing its end because there is not anyone new taking up the work. In other words, the greater managerial problem Pinar faces is not when people leave, but rather when not enough people share her values or want to work toward the same goals.

From a managerial perspective, dark sides of shared commitments can be mitigated when managers think in terms of a positive sum game. As shared commitments grow and more people are brought into shared commitments, there are more people available for the fulfillment of whatever the goal. Dark sides such as disappointment, guilt, and division are exacerbated when there is a zero-sum game mindset that one party loses when another benefits.

6.6 Conclusion

In chapters 4 and 5 I presented qualitative and quantitative evidence of the existence of shared commitments and how they contribute to well-being outcomes. In this chapter, I

considered the dark sides of shared commitments. Drawing on related literature that has shown close relationships can have drawbacks, I conceptualized five dark sides related to the dimensions of shared commitments. I presented qualitative data of when customers, employees, or the owner of MSF experienced the dark sides of shared commitments. While much less prominent than the well-being outcomes of shared commitments, the dark sides provide a cautionary word of how shared commitments can lead to disappointment, burnout, guilt, or division. I concluded with a discussion of how some of the dark sides can be mitigated, which I will revisit in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to consider how alternative markets can balance financial and social benefits, and improve well-being through the connectedness of people. My research was focused on the case study of Miss Silk's Farm (MSF), a predominant alternative food network in Turkey. MSF has generated enormous demand for its traditionally grown products and inspired similar efforts elsewhere in Turkey. Exploratory research suggested that involvement in MSF was an alternative market balancing financial and social benefits for consumers and producers. The hope was that studying a particular case in-depth could yield insights about alternative markets of wider significance.

My case study approach was somewhat unusual in that I made an effort to learn as much as I could about all of the actors relating in the network of the farm. Instead of trying to understand just the ownership of the farm, the employees, the customers, or the community in which the farm is located, I tried to understand the perspective of all of

these people/groups and how they relate to one another. In my mixed methods approach, I did just this, collecting quantitative and qualitative data from among the rural farm community and the urban customers.

In the previous three chapters I have presented the qualitative and quantitative findings from my research. In chapter 4, I shared the qualitative findings on the existence of shared commitments, how they form, and the well-being outcomes, as well as an inductive model of shared commitments. In chapter 5, I provided the results of the tested model based on customer and employee survey data, assessing the measurement of shared commitments and its relationship with well-being. In chapter 6, I considered the dark sides that may accompany shared commitments.

In this final chapter I discuss the implications of the many findings. I begin with a theoretical discussion, speaking back to the literature based on the findings of this research. I return to the central aim of the thesis, discussing what I have learned about re-socialized alternative markets and more generally about the interconnectedness of humans for their well-being. Next, I consider the methodological implications of this work. Then I reflect on the practical implications of this research for marketers and public policy makers. Before concluding, I discuss the limitations of the work and how to extend the research in the future.

7.2 Theoretical Discussion

I will discuss the theoretical implications of this work in the areas of alternative economies, alternative food networks (AFNs), well-being, and community. I begin with

a synthesis of the findings to address the overall aim of this research: is there a different way to construct a market that balances financial interests with other well-being and societal concerns?

7.2.1 Potential of An Alternative Market Based on Shared Commitments

The contemporary view of the market is a place or mechanism that facilitates an exchange between buyers and sellers. As discussed in the opening chapters, the premise of commercial markets founded on neoclassical theory from modernist roots (Cooper 2004) is that as each individual actor pursues his or her own gain, the economy will grow, per-capita income will increase, and utility will be improved (Arndt 1981; Kilbourne 2004). According to this theory, influenced, by capitalist thinking (Cooper 2004), people need not concern themselves with the well-being of others, because the market will take care of it.

The market has tended to reflect the predominance of financial interests. Money exchange reoriented consumers to consider goods based on their exchange value, rather than on particular characteristics and their emotional value, leading to the consumer having less consideration for the producer (Holt and Searls 1994). In response, alternative food networks have increased in recent years (e.g. Murdoch, Marsden, and Banks 2000). Tonnies (1887/1957, p. 94) laments how merchants and middlemen, who came to rule society, try to buy things for as little as possible, "with no regard for benevolence of the work." The introduction of money and middlemen caused the producer and consumer to become less connected to each other. Urbanization, as discussed earlier, facilitates a

system where buyers and sellers have very little interaction and are anonymous to one another. However, a market that improves financial well-being without addressing the need for social connections, as discussed above, will fail to deliver maximum overall well-being improvement. The trends considered of modernism, capitalism, and urbanization have led to financial growth and independence, but have also deteriorated people's belonging to community, both in social connections and geographic rootedness to a place.

Part of MSF's success, as indicated by the findings of interviews and survey completed with customers and employees, is that it has been able to restore some of the "regard for benevolence of the work" (Tonnies 1887/1957, p. 94). For example, one of the customers quoted earlier mentioned, "I know that a woman is working for me there and she is earning money; maybe she is bringing money to her family to her son or daughter and this makes me happy… I have a more direct contact" (Ceren). For the customer living in an urban center accustomed to having no knowledge of the producer, this direct contact is a welcome change. MSF is an example of how a market can be a place of both financial exchange and social connection.

In the face of growing industrialization of agriculture and commodification of food in Turkey, MSF has become a formidable alternative. This market plays a valuable role in allowing communities in rural and urban areas to connect and to have mutually beneficial exchange. Among the things being transferred from the producer community to the consumer is food embedded with a shared commitment to a certain set of values (Raynolds 2002). The consumer community is transferring surplus financial resources, but also affirmation of village life and traditional farming and food preparation. Beyond

dyadic seller-buyer transactions, there are positive marketing system consequences (Mittelstaedt, Kilbourne, and Mittelstaedt 2006), such as opportunities for employment of women in their own village, an alternative discourse about food standards, and a rethinking of the preeminence of profit.

This case study of MSF offers evidence for alternative economies providing opportunities for minimizing economic domination and exploitation and alleviating the subordinated position of local subjects (Campana, Chatzidakis, and Laamanen 2017). MSF is an example of how shared commitments, or *a choice of a course of action in common with others*, can lead to substantive well-being improvements for all actors involved in an alternative economy.

Figure 7 depicts the geographic and social distance between the local and non-local communities in this spatially-extended alternative economy. The in-depth study of MSF corroborates the well-being improvements around dense ties and interdependence within a local community (Putnam 2001). At the same time, the case study has shown that shared commitments can lead to well-being across a dispersed network (Wellman 1999), both for customers outside the local community and for the owner and employees within the community. MSF would not exist in the form it does without the involvement of distant customers.

I affirm the more common examples of alternative economies in which actors are in the same local community (e.g. Schor and Thompson 2014), but am also invigorated to think about the diversity that is possible in alternative economies. When it comes to AFNs, the existence of spatially-extended models which can still garner shared commitments provide hope for an increasingly urbanizing world. While CSAs and urban

farming are important, the reality is that most agricultural land will be long distances from cities (Stagl 2002). Alternative economies are more likely to proliferate in agriculture if geographically distant producers and consumers share commitments. MSF is an example of how shared commitments can still develop across a substantial distance.

7.2.2 Alternative Food Networks

While the scope of this thesis expands beyond AFNs, this is still the context of the MSF case study. MSF is squarely in the AFN context because of its commitment to social, economic, and environmental dimensions of food production, distribution, and consumption (Jarosz 2008), more equitable labor relations (Albrecht et al. 2013), struggle to redefine consumer-producer relationships that could create a broader farmer-consumer alliance (Goodman and DuPuis 2002), and enabling more connectivity between consumers and producers (Alexander and Nicholls 2005; Montiel et al. 2010). Several things have been learned from this research that pertain to the literature on AFNs.

My work strongly affirms the "search for new mechanisms of belonging and rootedness, for which food is one of the most fundamental and existential" (Montiel et al. 2010). I saw in urban consumers a desire to access belonging and rootedness through their involvement with MSF. For example, one of the customers shares how she enjoys being able to watch the employees working through the cameras on the farm:

> At MSF you can even watch them, which is cool, really cool. Also you tend to have a connection with them, because you know who bakes your bread, you know the name. Sometimes you may even know the person's child's name. It is very nice. It is like you are…part of this small village, and living with them. It is very cool. (Ebru)

Through this new mechanism, Ebru feels like she is part of a small village, even "living with them." This is one of many ways consumers and producers can link together and re-embed agriculture with social and ecological information (Raynolds 2000), improving the well-being of each.

Small farm size and scale and organic/holistic farming methods are among the components of a common definition of AFNs (Jarosz 2008). MSF is an example of a farm that started small, but has grown quite large. In about a decade MSF has transformed from sending food to a few interested friends in Istanbul to shipping some 2,500 large boxes weekly to cities all over Turkey. Remarkably, MSF has retained its small and alternative feel to many of the customers, such as Yasin, who shared, "This kind of local and small agriculture against large-scale production should be supported." MSF is still seen as "small" and "against large-scale production." Popularity brings challenges of how to retain the founding distinctiveness. My research uncovered some of the challenges in the transition from a small network in which the owner could communicate regularly with individual customers, to that being increasingly challenging as the number of regular customers hovers around 10,000. As MSF grows, some customers feel that the product quality begins to suffer, as does the confidence of some that the employees are being treated well.

MSF is also an interesting case in that the owner outspokenly opposes organic certification, asserting that a certification can be bought and loopholes exploited. My study corroborates research that shows consumers are wary of the commodification of social and ethical issues (Crane 1997), a common sentiment of many Turkish consumers. Turkey is an interesting case of a country with particularly low institutional trust (Ekici

and Peterson 2009). One customer, for example, said "I don't have trust in this government the way it is doing things. So people can get their certifications and sell them as organic" (Rengin). People report a very high trust in Pinar, despite there being no certification.

> And her words maybe, that very warm, very welcoming… maybe the things that she wrote is also affecting. And also she is openly saying that I don't have an organic certificate because she does not believe in it. She is not looking for a paper, she is looking for something more than a paper, I think that is why I built trust. (Aleyna)

These customers are saying they feel an organic certification may be nothing more than a paper that can be bought, but people trust Pinar is genuinely passionate about producing food without pesticides. This suggests that in some cultural contexts like Turkey trust is better fostered through communication than official certification. The customers are inspired to trust Pinar based on her passion, investment of time, and tireless communication about these issues. For example, Rengin said:

> She answers emails, she answers questions, and she is spending a lot of time, and everything that she is fighting against is something that I, for my kids had fought in the past…. When you don't have the chance of proving something, you either believe or you don't. A certification is not a proof for me. (Rengin)

For consumers like Rengin, an organic certification does not provide any confidence that the food is founded on a different value system. The consumers of MSF see organic food as another "rootless commodity" (Pollan 2006). Even if there is a substantive difference in organic food, it doesn't alter the relationship between producers and consumers, but re-enforces the traditional subordination of producers (Raynolds 2000). Hyde and Wiegand (2005) conclude their critique of the increasing corporatization of organic food by imploring consumers to, "Develop relationships with the folks creating your food." MSF

has been successful because the customers trust the food is healthy and that there is an altered relationship with the producers.

The case study of MSF also has some important connections to fair trade, in that they both focus on improved living and working conditions for producers in underdeveloped areas. Whereas organic certifications aim to verify the conditions of production, fair trade initiatives seek to transform trade relations between producers and consumers (Raynolds 2002) through "connectivity" (Alexander and Nichols 2006). MSF, like fair trade, is based on solidarity that goes against the individualism and price-based simplicity of the commodity-based market (Hudson and Hudson 2003). The findings of this work suggest that shared commitments do raise the well-being of the producers, something debated in the literature on fair trade (Arnould, Plastina, and Ball 2009; Nelson and Pound 2009). MSF has also been successful in providing customers differentiated products, something that has hampered the demand of fair trade products (De Pelsmacker and Janssens 2007). Customers loved to talk about the difference in taste of the food from MSF: "Well, it's more tasty, it's the taste. When you have a tomato, it is always more tasty when it comes from the farm. So mainly the taste" (Ceren). In addition to the taste, the customers are reminded of the produce they ate as children. "The tastes of the tomato is different, the onion is different. I mean the products look like the products when I was child, really, I means that is the major thing [by which] I was affected" (Aleyna). MSF has distinguished itself based on the product quality *and* benefit to the producing community.

MSF is also similar to fair trade in challenging a typical component of AFNs with regard to the shorter distances between producers and consumers (Jarosz 2008).

Although not traversing the globe as in fair trade, the food from MSF is usually traveling hundreds of kilometers to customers in large cities, still causing concerns of a large carbon footprint. MSF is closer to a type of domestic fair trade, with the same value of a partnership between consumers and producers, but focused on producers closer to home (Jaffee, Kloppenburg, and Monroy 2004). Some of the MSF customers did express concern about the environmental implications of additional fuel and packaging to send products long distances. But for most this seemed less important than the opportunity to access food they feel is healthy and be connected with a network that is improving the labor conditions for villagers. While there is plenty of reason to advocate shorter distances the food travels, this should be balanced with consumers being able to access and be involved with a network that supports the other goals they have.

MSF also builds on the community supported agriculture (CSA) model that in many countries has served to facilitate the relationship between consumers and producers. The MSF customers get many of the same benefits, including fresh produce, and the feeling of supporting a "local" farmer, and can visit the farm even if less frequently. MSF differs in that customers do not purchase a share at the beginning of the season, and therefore are not sharing the risk with the producers. MSF customers only order when they want, and in fact do not have to pay until after products are delivered and can subtract the price of products that have gone bad. In this way, CSA requires more collective action from the customers.

MSF is inspired by similar motivation of the consumers to buy food that contributes rootedness to his or her identity (Belk 1988), but expands the potential of CSA beyond being co-located in the same community. CSA has limited reach because

CSAs tend to prosper in greenbelts of large cities (Stagl 2002). CSA requires favorable agricultural conditions as well as proximity to a population with the economic means to pay more for their food than from traditional channels. Because of the seasonal dependency due to restrictions of the local growing season, CSAs can only be considered complementary to other food channels (Stagl 2002). MSF is a way that some of the rootedness can be retained even in an urbanizing world where urban customers live far from farmland. However, my research also demonstrated that consumers do still desire face-to-face contact, affirming the importance of the MSF model spreading to communities closer to the cities, as in CSA.

> If this would be a big sector, it would be a very good thing for my country, for the society, for all those farms, for the end users. [Miss Silk's Farm] seems to be a good model. If it is more accessible, that would be best. If there are more of these (Ebru).

The MSF model incorporates some of the strengths of organic, fair trade, and CSA. MSF inspires greater confidence in its customers than does an organic certification. Like fair trade, this model promises well-being improvements for the producers, while offering better tasting and differentiated products. The MSF model covers shorter distances than fair trade, while still opening access of the benefits of CSA to many more urban consumers.

7.2.3 Well-Being

This study corroborates the wide body of work that supports the intuitive link between social connectedness and well-being (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Putnam 2001; Geiger-

Oneto and Arnould 2011). Links with "nonsupportive, indifferent others can go only so far in promoting one's general well-being" (Baumeister and Leary 1995, p. 500). This research has shown that shared commitments to a common goal can develop between actors in an alternative market. Although the contact may not be frequent, customers and employees alike can be characterized by reciprocal concern for one another. Eighty-five percent of customers and 83 percent of employees agreed or strongly agreed that the long term well-being of the other is important to them.

Oldenquist (1991, p. 107), writing from the communitarian sociological tradition mentioned in the Introduction chapter, stresses the human need for social contact:

> The human animal has a fundamental need for something more than individual advantage. Theologians and philosophers have been saying this for a few thousand years, but perhaps it will be thought a surprising claim to be reinforced by the twentieth-century's revolution in biology: if you do not love something besides yourself, you will find it nearly impossible to love yourself. Why? Because it is our nature, not a product of convention or contract, to be social animals; we are genetically primed to be socialized and brought up belonging to and caring about the good of our families, clans, tribes, towns, or countries. This social love or group egoism, including the need of children for the socializing process itself, is as essential to the flourishing of human beings as is self love or egoism, and its absence is a cause of the phenomenon we call alienation.

At the root of the claim that shared commitments will lead to well-being is the premise that love of others is "essential to the flourishing of human beings." Overall well-being is enhanced through the inherent pleasure of seeing others' fortunes improved, which was pointed out in 1759 by Adam Smith in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (in Lessem, Muchineripi, and Kada 2012):

> How selfish so ever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it, except the pleasure of seeing it.

Instead of a traditional market based on an "invisible hand" that guides self-interested actors, an alternative market can be based on mutual well-being flowing from interest in others' welfare.

All of the actors in the MSF network have experienced greater connection with others than they would have in a traditional commercial market. While Press and Arnould (2011) have a consumer behavior perspective in how employees and consumers come to identify with organizations, I take a macro perspective to evaluate the implications of commitments for the well-being of the constituents and overall community. Rather than an emphasis on individual quest for identity, the findings about MSF underscore well-being improvement based on interdependence.

A review of the Consumer Well-Being (CWB) models (Sirgy, Lee, and Rahtz 2007) shows that the link to producer well-being is not typically considered as influential in CWB. This research therefore makes a contribution to the work on CWB by showing that the producer's welfare, one of the components of shared commitments, positively influences the consumer's well-being. Concern for the Future Welfare of Employees has a significant loading (0.72, $p<.001$) on Shared Commitment with Employees, which in turn has a positive relationship with Life Satisfaction as mediated by Overall Connection. Indeed, in the qualitative interviews, customers were verbose about the happiness they feel in knowing that the employees are better off as a result of being in the network. For example,

> I know that a woman is working for me there and she is earning money; maybe she is bringing money to her family to her son or daughter and this makes me happy. Presumably you have this same thing with supermarkets because someone is producing this product, but I have a more direct contact or I can imagine more easily. I haven't been to the farm, but this is the impression that I have. If I want I can call her and I can just say that I want to meet the woman who is working for me. (Ceren)

Ceren says that her happiness is influenced by the woman working at the farm earning money and being able to support her family. Therefore, CWB can be improved not just generally by connection to a brand that makes a positive impact, but specifically through connection to producers whose well-being has improved.

The findings from a spatially-extended AFN build on Kirwan's (2006) conclusion that the human-level relationship of consumers with producers added value for both. My work also supports the importance of the connection between consumers and producers, but even when there is not face-to-face contact as in Kirwan's context. My research shows that producers feel personalized recognition when customers visit them and thank them, but also through other means such as phone calls or hearing stories of how their products have turned around the health of customers. In the spatially-extended AFN model, it is not sociability or friendship that drive consumers' well-being improvement, but rather the satisfaction of taking collective action toward a larger common goal and knowing the well-being of the employees is improving. Therefore the human-level connection, all too often absent in traditional markets, is indeed vital. A spatially-extended market can satisfy some of the desire for connection.

As for producer well-being, my research underscores the importance of meaningful work. Marxist theory has long critiqued the fate of the laborer in the capitalistic and industrialized system, arguing that it creates a feeling of alienation.

> What constitutes alienation of labor? First that work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature, and that consequently he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies, but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. (Marx 1844/1932)

The employees of MSF described feeling the antithesis of alienation in their work. For example, Suzan says, "To produce things, to provide use to something… for example, to know your place inside this farm is a really beautiful thing. I am saying that here I am providing benefit." Suzan feels she is producing things that provide benefit. When I asked Meliha if she makes the same things at home, she said, "No, we make them at Miss Silk's Farm….We spend all our time here, we make them here. We get our desire here. We show what we can do here. Here we are happy" (Meliha). Meliha seems to be saying that she feels at home when she is at work, the opposite of the alienation Marx describes. Another employee describes how the work she does brings her pride:

> Guests are coming. They want to meet whoever is packaging their box. I have met a lot of them …. It's a beautiful thing. It's always great when they say 'Thanks for your good work'; we also feel proud. We do our work with even greater joy. (Feyza)

This quotation points to the importance of the connection with customers for the employees' feelings of pride and joy. The relationship with the owner also counteracts any feelings of alienation.

> I do this job with a lot of joy. I can't even say "my boss"; Sister Pinar is a very good person. In tangible and intangible ways she is always by our side. She is never like a boss. We are really happy. Everyone is the same. When we have a meeting the conversation between us isn't like a worker and boss. Like normal friends, like a sister, like a big sister.(Feyza)

My findings point to the idea that social connections with the customers and owner decrease alienation and increase well-being.

7.2.4 Community

In the introductory chapters, I positioned my work in the communitarian tradition, following from the German sociological theory, which argues humans can only flourish if they are enmeshed in organic communities. Adherents to the communitarian tradition tie alienation to individualism. Societies create alienated citizens if there is too much individualism where members lack a sense of community and social identity (Oldenquist and Rosner 1991, p. 8). The communitarian conceives of humans as innately social animals who are emotionally dependent on group membership and become disconnected and function poorly in environments that are too individualistic (Oldenquist 1991, p. 92). "Alienation implies a weakening of social identity and a failure of commitment, an individualist pulling back from collective involvement—an emotional withdraw from the group and its values, a retreat from 'us' to 'me'" (Oldenquist 1991, p. 94). My work on the case study of MSF confirms that people are drawn to the idea of collective involvement. Sixty-four percent of customers and 96 percent of employees agree or strongly agree that if they could do something extra to help an employee/customer of MSF, they probably would.

In modern society, cities form with people who have left rural communities in hope of a more prosperous life. They often sacrifice close connections with large families or neighbors in order to have greater personal freedom.

> Whereas, therefore, the individual gains, on the one hand, a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups, he loses, on the other hand, the spontaneous self-expression, the morale, and the sense of participation that comes with living in an integrated society. (Wirth 1938, p. 12)

The communitarian likewise argues for the human need for belonging in an organic and integrated society in order to maximize well-being. This school of thought is skeptical of community being found in what they see as individualistic urban centers.

The communal approach to marketing considers how consumers seek community. Bernard Cova (1997) explains that in a late modern or postmodern world consumers are looking for products that not just have use-value to help them express individuality, but also linking-value to facilitate social interaction of the communal type. Rather than the focus of consumption being "to increase private pleasures and comforts" (Slater 1997, p. 28), consumption can be a means for linking with others. Consumption is being used less to find direct meanings for life and more for a means to form links with others in the context of communities, in the service of the "social link" (Cova 1997). One of the limitations of the literature on the communal approach to marketing is the emphasis on the relationship between consumers around a brand. The communal approach to marketing does very little to address the relationships between consumers and producers.

One tension in the literature is the extent to which community can be said to exist amongst "ephemeral" (Maffesoli 1996) networks of people. I did consider "Sense of community" as an alternative theory at the foundation of MSF. McMillan and Chavis (1986) define four elements of sense of community: membership (the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness), influence (a sense of mattering to a group), reinforcement (the feeling that members' needs will be met by the resources

received through their membership in the group), and shared emotional connection (the belief that members have shared and will share history). Although certain aspects relate to shared commitment, like influence having similarity to collective action, my findings show a strong personal relatedness or emotional connection are limited in a spatially-extended network. People can maintain shared commitments to goals over a geographic distance, but from my research of MSF, it would be rare the customer who feels a deep emotional connection. Full community still forms best in face-to-face connection.

Another interesting aspect of MSF is that it is not a particularly strong example of a brand community. The network does grow through personal references and there is certain affinity that customers have for one another. However, in my data collection I did not sense the bonding with other customers is especially strong. Most customers retain a direct relationship with the owner and the farm, rather than among themselves. The shared commitments have more to do with unity toward a common goal than community around the MSF brand.

Many of the customers I interviewed expressed nostalgia for a different time when they felt people were more connected to and supportive of each other. Aleyna reflected on her urban life compared to the village, where she and her parents grew up:

> [Life in the city] is worse. Because I don't know who is living in my next door. Because I don't have a chance to meet with them. Because they are also both working, husband and wife, and I am working as well. And I am taking my son to a tennis club and I am getting home at 8 or 9 so I don't have a chance to meet with them. In the old days people were not going to work so they were sitting and drinking tea or coffee, just talking. On the other hand, I know from my mom, people were helping each other, still my mother's friends. They are better than this. And let's say they want to do *eriste*, it is hard to prepare it, or *manti*, it is hard to prepare it, so they are coming all together and doing it together. So this is communication. They are helping each other at the same time and the next day going to another friend. Like the same thing for *sarma*, it is hard preparing it. So they are going and visiting different places and preparing it. For friendship this is

> great. And nowadays we don't have it of course, since we are buying it ready, I don't need anybody's help, so I can live by myself. I don't need anybody (laugh). So everybody is thinking of themselves then, of course. Selfish, becoming selfish. And then I am just thinking about your neighbors, and then your community, and then your country, and then your world at the end of course, it is affecting (laugh). (Aleyna)

Aleyna regrets that "the old days" of people sitting and talking to one another and helping each other have given way to selfishness. She reflects that because she is working and busy driving to different activities, she does not even know her neighbors. Aleyna laments, "since we are buying it ready, I don't need anybody's help, so I can live by myself. I don't need anybody." It was clear in the interview that Aleyna feels something is lost as people live isolated lives without others. In essence, I believe Aleyna is saying, "we *do* need somebody." Not all the customers I interviewed were as articulate in their sentiments, but Aleyna described what many of the MSF customers felt. My findings suggest that buying from MSF is a step the urban consumers feel they can take to preserve the way of life of those who have not yet left the village and to have some sense of the shared commitment of the "old days."

Scholars such as Giddens (1990) warn against just this kind of romanticized view of community in comparing traditional cultures with the modern. Many scholars argue that community has been "saved" in urban life, and that human beings will find ways to form community under any circumstances (Wellman 1979, p. 1205). Nevertheless, "lost" community is consistently voiced by people like Aleyna and a consistent theme since the founding fathers of sociology. While there is a distinction in the viewpoint of the communitarians and those who celebrate new forms of social connectedness, I do not see them as incompatible. In my interviews, as in the literature, there is a strong case to

be made that people are isolated and community is fraying *and* that people are seeking out and finding new ways to connect. I am of the mind that the ongoing theme of the deterioration of social connections points to the need to continue to explore ways that community can survive even in modern society. The case study of MSF supports the idea that social connections can be formed in alternative ways in urban centers.

7.3 Methodological Discussion

This thesis was also a rich experience in mixed-method research design. I had several different data collection efforts: qualitative and quantitative data collection on site at the farm and among urban consumers. Two of the biggest challenges and points of discussion are the challenges of modeling with data from multiple actors and the disparity between the respondents in the two surveys conducted.

7.3.1 Challenge of Multi-Actor Measurement and Analysis

One of the challenges of this study was the multiple-actor aspect of shared commitments. Researchers from across different fields have called for more research in "understanding and coordinating value creation in multi-actor, network, and collaborative contexts" (Orstom et al. 2015). Shared commitments are not shared if they are held by only one actor, so I therefore needed a way of measuring the shared commitment between two or more actors. I did not have a focal actor as the unit of analysis, but rather a multi-actor

(Kleinaltenkamp 2017) analysis where I aimed to understand and measure the shared commitments between the owner, employees, and customers.

One of the challenges in a case study of this network, as well as many other small or mid-sized organizations, is that there is a wide disparity between the population sizes of each set of actors. The owner is one person (along with one or two other high-level managers), the employees are about 100, and the number of customers is in the thousands. The mixed methods approach (Creswell 2015) seemed like the best approach, integrating the use of qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data collection was invaluable for discovering the shared commitments between the actors. However, measuring shared commitments and testing their relationship to well-being improvement necessitated quantitative data, an impossibility with the owner (thereby eliminating one half of two of the three shared commitment links), and major challenge with the employees. Collecting quantitative data for a case study presents challenges.

Sample size is one important consideration in structural equation modeling. There are widely varying recommendations on sample size requirements and there is not a one-size fits all approach. In this situation, I knew that the sample size was going to be a limitation, and I therefore tried to conduct the survey with as many employees as possible. Based on a rule-of-thumb to aim for five or ideally 10 cases per variable, I would ideally have 130 to 260 cases. Unfortunately, this was an impossibility based on the number of employees on the farm. The low factor loadings in my employee data set also increases the ideal sample size (Wolf et al. 2013). In future research I could increase the sample size by studying more than one network.

Another related difficulty of the multi-actor network is the challenge of modeling. It is very difficult to appropriately integrate two distinct data sets. The employee and consumer data sets, even though they are trying to measure the perceived shared commitments between them, cannot simply be combined. Therefore, I was left with two different models, and trying to separately analyze the shared commitments present between them. This dissertation has shown some of the challenges of empirical work on the theoretically important area of multi-actor networks (Orstom et al. 2015; Kleinaltenkamp 2017).

7.3.2 Challenge of Communal Orientation of Respondents

Another one of the methodological discoveries was about the extreme differences between collecting survey data among highly-educated urban consumers and less-educated rural employees (Narayan and Krosnick 1996). The consumer respondents were a very well-educated sample compared to the Turkish population. More than half had a university degree, and another third had a graduate degree. In sharp contrast, about two-thirds of the employees did not have more than primary education. Only two of the employees (2.5 percent of my sample) had university education, making them a low-educated group compared to the Turkish population (11% of adults have a university degree[9]). Nearly three-quarters of the employees grew up in a village, compared to just 2.4 percent of the customers.

[9] OECD, "Education at a glance 2016," http://www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/education/education-at-a-glance-2016/turkey_eag-2016-84-en#.WNi5X2997IU#page6

My research challenges the idea of a single national culture. Hofstede (2001) rates Turkey as a collectivistic society, which means that the "we" is important, and people belong to in-groups (families, clans or organizations). Rather than a national value set like Hofstede espouses, differing cultural values may be a consequence of the community in which people live. Turan (1975) argues that as the size of a community increases, the amount of interaction with strangers increases and the community orientation declines. Turan notes that the identification with the community increases when the community is isolated from the mainstream of communications. My data collection experience corroborates that urban dwellers are more confident about telling strangers their own viewpoint since relating with a stranger is a more common occurrence in their daily lives.

In addition to sample size, therefore, another problem was the reliability of the data. As Wolf et al. (2013) point out, in many models, statistical power was not the limiting factor driving sample size requirements, but rather, bias or errors. As described in chapter 3, there were substantial challenges collecting the survey data with the employees. The low education level caused challenges in many of the employees understanding the survey items and how to answer according to a 1 to 7 Likert Scale (Krosnick 1991). Furthermore, issues related to social desirability bias and the "community orientation" (Turan 1975) of the employees made it very difficult to conduct a standardized survey.

My experience of trying to conduct a questionnaire in rural Turkey led me to reflect on how quantitative methodology can be applied amongst informants with a community orientation (Turan 1975). I was confronted by the reality that an individual

perspective and unit of analysis cannot be taken for granted (Turan 1975; Rudolph and Rudolph 1985). Respondents preferred to answer in groups and discuss their answers. Survey methodology typically assumes that the unit of opinion is an individual, which does not necessarily hold true "where life is lived more communally" and opinions "have a communal base" (Rudolph and Rudolph 1985, p. 237). Discussing research in developing contexts, Mitchell (1993, p. 237) points out that, "Many respondents did not know what their opinion was until they had spoken to the individuals who ordinarily participated in or led the process of finding or making opinion." It is therefore not a given that each person has a clearly formulated individual opinion and wants to express it.

Many scholars have questioned the single self and called for the need to consider a person's belonging to cultures and groups. Building from the holism and level-of-analysis problem (Holt 1994), a researcher should question the assumption of an atomistic and single self, not just in terms of the many selves, but also how social environments influence people. Venkatesh (1995, p. 16) made a related argument in encouraging an ethnoconsumerism where the researcher looks "at the individual not just as an individual but as a cultural being, as a part of the culture, subculture, and other group affiliations." The community orientation of respondents is one way that multi-dimensional human encounters are difficult to compress into a unidimensional market encounter (Firat 2016). Many researchers in essence compress the multiple dimensions of unique humans in diverse contexts into a quantifiable response to a statement. However, I argue that in doing so many factors and nuances, such as a villager's community orientation, are obscured. I wrestled with how to reduce the complex social

dynamics and conversations into an answer to a questionnaire item with the individual as the single unit of analysis.

My research shows that the researcher seeking to understand attitudes must be cautious that methodology does not ignore the peculiarities of each culture. The context cannot always be squeezed to fit into a particular methodology. Based on a case study of one community-oriented culture in Turkey, I found that a traditional questionnaire that holds the individual opinion as the unity of analysis was inadequate. As the employees at the farm insisted on answering the questionnaire in groups, discussed aloud their communal answers, and struggled to pinpoint an answer of degree, I realized that I needed to adjust my methodology to fit the context. What emerged was the Communal Questionairre (Watson 2017), a hybrid of a questionnaire, qualitative interview, and focus group. As Rudolph and Rudolph (1958, p. 235) pointed out more than 50 years ago, "That these [expectations upon which an opinion survey is based] are not met fully does not mean that survey work cannot be carried out in such areas, but it does mean that the researcher must demonstrate imagination and flexibility in his work." I learned that data collection across different contexts, even within a single country, requires imagination and flexibility.

7.4 Practical Discussion

In additional to the theoretical and methodological implications, this research also has practical implications. While there is overlap between them, I will discuss the potential

meanings for those building alternative markets, marketers more generally, and public policy makers.

7.4.1 Implications for Building Alternative Markets

One of the most direct applications of this work is for those interested in building alternative markets. This may include social entrepreneurs (Dees 1998), those already part of an alternative economy, or citizens seeking an alternative to the predominant market system. As shown throughout this thesis and discussed earlier, shared commitments are at the foundation of an alternative market. Shared commitment is not something that exists as if by chance, but rather it can be pursued with specific actions. In Table 2 of chapter 4, I summarized the findings of how shared commitments, *a choice of a course of action in common with others*, can develop between the actors in a network. These emerged from the data analysis as key ways actors were drawn together in collective action, shared values and goals, and in concern for the well-being of others. I hope these may be adapted to a variety of alternative markets, and that other actions will emerge. For example, a person or people looking to spark an alternative economy should be inclusive in how they frame the vision and get as many people's participation from the outset, especially empowering local people to be involved in the founding. Farmers are often times discouraged due to the lack of social capital they have with others in the non-farm community (Clark, Inwood, Jackson-Smith 2014), something that can be helped by practices exhibited in MSF.

In addition to the ways I saw shared commitments develop in MSF's model, I also point out some of the challenges and offer recommendations. Based on analysis of the data from former customers, I can see that the lack of face-to-face connection leaves the shared commitments more vulnerable to a precipitous erosion of trust. Informants described an amazing trust in the owner of the network, but then a single decision by the owner or rumors from other customers can sever the trust. One of the informants (Aleyna) viewed herself as a loyal customer for one year, extremely motivated by the farm's vision to improve the well-being of local employees. However, when she heard rumors from a couple other customers that the employees of the farm were not being treated well, Aleyna decided to discontinue her involvement with MSF. She wishes that she could have gone to the farm to see for herself, but said that she was never able to do so.

> Interviewer: Did you feel like you got to know Pinar Hanim at all, the owner of the farm?
>
> Aleyna: I wish that I would have had the chance to go and meet with her and talk with her. And ask her if the things that I heard was right or wrong and see with my eyes, not to hear from somebody. This is always a problem, I think, there is someone over there that you don't know, you have to trust people, so nowadays it is just very hard to trust people, that's our problem right now.
> Somehow right now in this other group that I am attached to, people are blaming each other, trying to blame each other, so I can see that people do not easily trust another person. I think it is a big issue nowadays, trusting people. With [MSF], I was trusting her, in my mind I built something, but then in the things I heard from a couple of people, not just one person of course, I don't trust just one person, I heard from a couple people. Of course I wish that I had a chance to see her and visit her.

In this quotation, Aleyna emphasizes no less than four times that she wishes she could have *seen* Pinar. She says: "I wish that I would have had the chance to go and meet with her," "see with my eyes," "I wish that I had a chance to see her and visit her," "Of

course I wish that I had a chance to see her and visit her." It is both amazing how much trust she describes feeling without the face-to-face contact, but then how much she craved it when rumors came up that there was a violation of trust. This model is promising in that many of the customers have built shared commitments with other actors in the network, even from a distance. Many of these people express concern for the employees of the farm. For example, more than 85 percent of customers agree or strongly agree that the long-term well-being of the employees is important to them. However, most of them actually have very little contact. Sixty-two percent of customers report they have almost no contact with the employees. This is critical because while the well-being of the employees is a genuine motivator for customers' involvement, they do not actually know first-hand that this is the case. If the event of a rumor that employees are not treated well, they do not have adequate relationship with the employees to invalidate the rumor.

The structural model of the customer data showed that the shared commitment with the owner has a much greater influence (Beta of 0.69 compared to 0.19) on overall connection to the network than does shared commitment with the employees (Table 12). For the longevity of the shared commitment of the customers, it would be ideal for the shared commitments to be more balanced between the owner and employees. There are several practical steps that networks should take to avoid the disparity in shared commitments.

One recommendation is that such networks make more of an effort to facilitate communication between customers and producers. One easy step would be for the owner to highlight the stories of different employees and how their lives have improved since working at the farm. An interview, some pictures, or even a short video testimonial

would be relatively easy to provide to the customers. Other steps to actually facilitate contact and relationship between the customers and workers would take quite a bit more effort, either through personal visits or phone calls about advice or recipes. An intermediate step could be employees conducting a "webinar" on their work at the farm, providing a look at how they make the food for example, and could share about their life some in the process. With the appropriate support, this would increase the employees' pride and confidence, and increase the shared commitment of the customers.

Another limitation of MSF is that the scale has grown too large for Pinar to be able to keep up with her *personalized communication*, another one of the ways that shared commitments develop in the network. Several customers commented how a personal response from Pinar made a difference in them feeling welcome in the network. However, even though Pinar seems to have a super-human capacity (and several office staff to help her reply to more routine emails), she is not able to consistently and meaningfully communicate with thousands of customers. One customer who completed the online survey, wrote:

> I tried a few times to establish communication with Pinar Hanim, but wasn't able to. When I've written with regard to a problem I generally get a curt answer. The answer to my writing "The cargo is very late, the products are going to go bad" has been "Well then come and pick it up yourself." I guess that she is not someone that I will get along with personally but the job she does is really valuable, and I'm indebted to her. (Anonymous comment from online survey)

This customer feels that Pinar's work is important but is disappointed by the lack of communication and even rudeness. It sounds as if this customer believes in the goals of the farm, but is held back from feeling a shared commitment with the owner due to the lack of personalized communication. Such comments suggest there is a limit to the ideal scale of a given network. Without the personalized contact, MSF is more similar to the

de-socialized markets discussed in chapter 1. As Kahneman and Kreuger (2006, p. 22) write, "those interested in maximizing society's welfare should shift their attention from an emphasis on increasing consumption opportunities to an emphasis on increasing social contacts." Pinar's personalized communication has been a distinctive for many customers, but as the number of customers increases there is a risk of becoming only another consumption outlet devoid of social contacts. About one-third of customers say they have contact with Pinar at least once a month or more. However, more than one-third of customers report they almost never have contact with her.

One way of increasing the personalized communication, and therefore shared commitments and re-socializing the market, is by increasing the number of points of social contact. MSF has done this to some extent in other office staff answering emails and in *facilitated interactions* between customers and employees. However, based on the survey data, there is a big opportunity to increase the interaction. Only about 13 percent of customers say they have at least monthly contact with an employee besides Pinar. This is a lost opportunity to develop shared commitments between customers and employees, especially when three-quarters of customers answer favorably to "I gladly communicate with the employees of MSF." On the other side, more than 87 percent of employees answer favorably about gladly communicating with the customers. More than 60 percent of the employees say they are in at least monthly contact with customers, but more than 27 percent say they almost never are. All of this adds up to a tremendous opportunity to facilitate increased personal communication between customers and employees.

Try as she might, and no matter how talented she is, Pinar cannot maintain personal social contacts with 10,000 people. Therefore, MSF and other alternative markets aspiring to increase social contacts can't have a single figure at the hub of all communication. The customers and employees alike both desire and would benefit from more social relationship with one another. Allocating time for employees to make customer contact a bigger part of their responsibilities as well as training in communicating may be necessary, but this is well-worth the investment if it builds shared commitment with customers gladly willing to pay a premium for the connection. Marketers and leaders in alternative markets should allow shared commitments to develop by enabling more direct contact between other actors. This means relinquishing control, but it should yield positive results if actors have congruent values and a genuine concern for each other's welfare.

7.4.2 Implications for Marketers

The findings have many practical implications for marketers in any market. Marketers should make efforts to help customers connect with the owner and employees of a company. As discussed earlier, it is more typical for marketers to think about brand communities and word-of-mouth marketing, which is focused on consumer-to-consumer communications (Kozinets et al. 2010). There is an opportunity for marketers to help typically anonymous consumers and producers connect. Customers effused happiness when telling a story that Pinar shared in an email, for example about how an employee's dreams were coming true by being able to buy a motorcycle. Even within MSF, I saw

that much more could be done to make the employees' lives come alive to customers (for example, some customers could not recall details about the employees' stories), but the little bit that is known has gone a long way in developing shared commitments between customers and employees.

In additional to the relationship piece, there is also tremendous potential for marketers to help employees and customers connect around similar values and goals. For example, recent research has explored the diverse motivations for consumers getting involved in brand communities (Baldus, Voorhees, and Calantone 2015). While identifying "helping" as one of the motivations, this is only to help other customers, whereas the motivation to help producers is overlooked. What are the goals that are bigger than the organization that inspire employees and customers? My findings point out there is some risk of people switching organizations if their commitment is more to a particular goal than an organization or relationship. Organization could view such departures as a threat, or rather celebrate the growth of more networks working toward similar goals. MSF is an example of how even though many customers do leave to join other networks, in being known as a leading alternative market, they still have more demand for ordering their products than they can supply. Customers want both products they trust and to support a company that is working towards the goals they believe in. MSF exemplifies how when trust in both products and goals are in place, profitability, in addition to social impact, are likely to follow.

As discussed in chapter 6, one of the reasons that shared commitments has the potential of mitigating the dark side of division from others is due to the shared commitments being toward a goal, rather than to a brand or brand community. If the

shared commitment is only toward a brand community, it can preclude bridging to anyone perceived as a rival of a particular brand. However, since shared commitments are toward a common goal, there is the potential for substantial bridging with all types of other networks who are motivated by a similar goal. Rather than consumer loyalty including institutional and personal social bonding (e.g. Oliver 1999), a firm could shift its aim to encouraging greater shared commitment toward goals. From a managerial perspective, dark sides of shared commitments can be mitigated when managers think in terms of a positive sum game. Instead of just customer retention and relationship commitment (Gustafsson, Johnson, and Roos 2005), pursuit of goals could energize a wider customer base. As shared commitments grow and more people are brought into shared commitments, there are more people available for the fulfillment of whatever the goal.

This work also is a call to marketers to care about well-being of all of the actors involved in a network, including the owner, employees, and customers. Too often actors follow the norm of the traditional market to look out for their individual interests, vaguely hoping the invisible hand of the market will protect society's interests. However, this work has shown a different premise for an alternative market. As people work together toward the welfare of one another, everyone ends up benefiting in the process. The marketing manager should think beyond adding instrumental value to customers, and help them meet higher order needs such as contributing to goals they believe in and the well-being of others as a result of their investment in a network.

While the emphasis on well-being of different actors is a marketing opportunity, it is critical for the marketer, owner, and organization to be genuine. Because customers

crave social meaning and connection, there is a danger of marketers attempting to commoditize it. Based on my extensive research and findings I can say that I am thoroughly impressed that Pinar genuinely cares about the well-being of her employees. I heard from Pinar myself and the testimony of many others in and around the farm how sincere she is in supporting the villagers who work at MSF and in alternative production. I believe it is this genuineness, rather than greed, that gives Pinar the energy to endure opposition from the established agriculture sector. It also comes through in Pinar's communications that she cares about the employees and is passionate about improving the agricultural system. The well-being impact for employees is also evident to customers who visit the farm, as it was to me. A lack of genuineness can lead to many of the dark sides of shared commitment discussed in chapter 6, such as disappointment and burnout. Rumors can spread even if they are unfounded, so it is vital that the marketer do everything possible to sincerely advance and communicate about the well-being improvement of all network actors.

7.4.3 Policy Implications

The focus of this work has been non-governmental actors' ability to build shared commitment in an alternative market. The model presented provides hope that consumers can be motivated to promote the well-being of others through private-sector means. However, public policy can play a critical role in fostering an environment in which such alternative markets thrive. One step is in grants and loans to social entrepreneurs who want to start a new network. The owner of MSF was unusual in that

she had substantial personal capital to invest in starting a farm. In order for the model to proliferate, financial backing can be provided to people who are going to generate business for a local community. One customer laments "So the natural way of farming is dead I guess, except for small grass roots organizations like [MSF]" (Rengin). The government should look to support these small grass roots organizations and not just large producers. The findings in this work support how social meaning embedded in food (Raynolds 2000) can enhance consumers' feeling of rootedness and belonging. Instead of trying to only make products affordable for consumers, the government should support local initiatives that produce food with a social meaning. The quantitative data strongly affirms that many customers will gladly pay more for food they know is enhancing the community from which it comes. Almost two-thirds of customer agreed, "I gladly pay more for food from MSF to support its goals," including more than one-third indicating "I completely agree." These customers back up their stated intentions with their purchase behavior.

Local and national governments could also provide education and resourcing about the possibilities of creating an alternative market. For example, seminars could be offered for people who are interested in returning to a village and establishing a farm or social enterprise. A speaker like the owner of MSF could share from her experience and inspire others to follow their dreams to connect back to the land. In the literature on AFNs there is acknowledgement of more direct mechanisms of connecting producers and consumers (e.g. Jarosz 2008), but not much practical marketing advice for producers. Consulting could also be offered to existing local farm owners on how to improve their marketing and reach directly to customers. Many farmers do not feel they have options

other than selling to a wholesaler or at an open-air market. As shown by MSF, there is enormous demand from urban consumers to buy food with a more personalized connection. Public programs could help local producers learn how to tell their stories, focus on quality over price, and communicate personally with customers (Table 2), but a few of the findings on how MSF was able to develop shared commitments with customers. With empowerment, vision, and know-how, well-being could be improved for the local communities and urban customers alike.

Governments could also make an effort to bring consumers and producers together in forums where they can discuss policy (Clark, Inwood, and Jackson-Smith 2014). This research has shown the power of shared commitments, where consumers and producers take collective action based on shared values. Such environments could facilitate a more civically engaged agriculture (Lyson 2000). My findings provide a hopeful picture that actors are not only self-interested, but can care about the future welfare of the other actors. Shared commitments can be built between different stakeholders, instead of diverse actors merely lobbying for their own interests.

Investment in programs that foster people returning to villages and expanding their business so they can stay is a way of preserving villages. Farmers in developing countries (such as Turkey) frustrated by the lack of return on hard work are selling their land and moving to cities. Many people in the community around MSF shared how villagers are moving to cities to work in factories in order to get health insurance and retirement benefits. As shared in chapter 4, one employee who grew up in the village Ocakli described how MSF is helping to stem the tide of villagers going to cities and working in factories.

> It is certainly good for this village [Ocakli]. Actually almost everyone in the village works here. It is opening the door of employment to women who have never worked before. They came and worked. They earned money. Certainly something very good has happened. Before this was a stagnant town. Later the farm got bigger and the workers who came from outside made it a more active place. (Suzan)

Public policy makers also need to have caution in deregulation of urban planning, as in the building boom in the 2000s, which can lead to replacement of agricultural land, sprawling expansion of cities, and environmental degradation (Balaban 2012; Duran et al. 2012). The restructuring of Turkish agriculture over the last couple decades has led to "de-agrarianization and unprecedented levels of impoverishment in rural areas" (Aydin 2010, p. 150). Family farmers are not able to make a living, so millions sell their lands and urbanization continues. Family farmers may be encouraged to work together in co-ops and create AFNs that have more direct means of selling to customers. As local farming declines, so too does consumers' ability to get fresh, locally grown food. Less land to farm and fewer small farmers mean more processed and less healthy food, further decreasing well-being for consumers. Farm land should be preserved nearby cities, so that urban consumers have an opportunity to connect with local producers. The model of MSF shows producers and consumers can reconnect even if they are geographically distant, but the qualitative interviews show that local connections are still desirable.

7.5 Limitations and Research Extensions

There are several limitations to this research. While I collected a substantial amount of both qualitative and quantitative data from the employees, owner, and the customers, I recognize that there is more that can be done in the future.

One of the biggest limitations in the model testing was the sample size of the employees in MSF. Although over 80 employees is a huge number compared to many fledgling AFNs, it still did not provide the desired statistical power for structural equation modeling. In future research, I could pull employees from across more than one network. As discussed earlier, I also experienced limitations in the ability to standardize the questionnaires conducted with employees due to their community-orientation and low educational levels (Watson 2017).

My quantitative data collection was focused on items to measure shared commitment and life satisfaction. The customer and employee questionnaires were already over 60 items each, and so I was unable to measure everything that would have been of interest. In future research I could consider measuring how shared commitments develop (the qualitative results of which I presented in section 4.3) and the dark sides of shared commitment and ill-being outcomes—all areas of exploratory research for this thesis.

The scope of the thesis did not allow for a detailed comparison of well-being outcomes for the actors within MSF with those in a traditional commercial market. For example, it would be interesting to gather qualitative and quantitative data from employees who work in a factory in Nazilli, not far from MSF. This could allow more

direct (and I predict powerful) comparisons between how well-being has improved for the employees of MSF. On the other side, it would be interesting to collect data from the self-employed (working in their own fields and orchards) villagers living around MSF. My data is admittedly based on the employees of MSF telling me about how their well-being has improved since working there, but it would be more precise to validate this through comparisons with self-employed and traditionally employed villagers. I did conduct some qualitative interviews in the surrounding community, but not with the same depth as within MSF.

Another open question from this study is the broader implications of women working inside and outside the home. The employees were effusive about how much they enjoy working outside of the home, with a wider group of friends, and feeling their work is valued. While I do not question their sincerity, a more thorough exploration of the impact on their spouses and children may be enlightening. If employees put their best efforts in making delicious and healthy food for the MSF customers, how does it impact their personal lives? I only visited a couple homes of the employees; most of my data collection was on site of the farm. Future research could uncover more of the complexities of the transition of village women working outside of the home.

Finally, the scope of my thesis was of course a case study of one AFN. MSF, along with its owner and employees, is situated in a particular country with its own culture and context. The customers, for their part, have particular social and political influences that shape their consumer behaviors. In future research I hope to explore shared commitments and alternative markets in other contexts.

7.6 Conclusion

Major societal trends such as modernism, capitalism, and urbanization have contributed to a steadily increasing standard of living in Turkey, but also to a creeping sense of alienation. The market has facilitated improvement in financial well-being for many people, but has not been equally efficient in facilitating social improvements, which are also vital for well-being. The affluent urban customers whom I interviewed have most everything money can buy at their fingertips, but many of them described a gnawing sense of social disconnection. Food is a particularly prominent domain where consumers are grasping for knowledge about the source of what they are consuming. Despite scholars' warnings not to romanticize traditional communities, this is exactly what many consumers feel. Many urban Turkish consumers do dream of returning to a village, cultivating their own land, and living in closer community with others. While clearly romanticized, such dreams of community still reveal a lack of contentment with the current market. As one customer cynically put it, "since we can buy prepared foods, we don't need anybody's help, we can live by ourselves, and we don't need anybody."

This thesis has analyzed an alternative market that balances financial interests with other well-being and societal concerns. Miss Silk's Farm was founded by a romantic urbanite who had the courage, resources, and vision to create a different kind of model. She bought land and, along with others in the village, began to grow food that could be sent to the nostalgic consumers still living in cities. This thesis is the story of an alternative market that has taken off in Turkey because of a widespread desire for a market that enables connections between producers and consumers. It allows consumers

to feel a connection back to the land. It allows consumers and producers to take collective action based on congruent values toward a shared goal. Even across geographic distance, consumers and producers are connected enough to have a concern for one another's well-being. These elements are the dimensions of shared commitment, what I have shown to be the foundation of this alternative market.

Over the past few years, I have worked to measure shared commitment, demonstrate its existence, capture how it is formed, and analyze its impact on well-being. I did this through extensive qualitative and quantitative data collection among the owner, employees, and customers of MSF, and subsequent analysis of the data. MSF is not a perfect model, and nor is shared commitment without its dark sides. Therefore, I sought out negative cases, thought critically about the farm, and arrived at theoretical conclusions that exceed MSF's expression of an alternative market.

Markets have the potential to improve well-being when they facilitate not just financial transactions but the connection between people. When a consumer knows that the food she receives is prepared by someone with similar values and is thriving through her work, the consumer is motivated to invest more of herself, financially and emotionally. The consumer and producer alike benefit from the more personal connection between them. Importantly, this connection can develop even across a spatially-extended network. Shared commitments can develop as people know more about each other's values, goals, and improving welfare.

While the alternative market goes a long way towards balancing social and financial outcomes, it is not a panacea. The shared commitments can make those involved more vulnerable to dark sides such as disappointment, burnout, guilt, and

division. However, I showed how the well-being improvements outweigh the ill-being risks, suggesting that shared commitments are worth the risk and effort. No doubt, a traditional commercial market with anonymity and allowance for variety seeking has its advantages, but it tends to lead to a higher standard of living without necessarily higher well-being.

Although a move towards social connections and community, the alternative market described is not going to meet all communal needs or put an end to alienation. It is a step closer to the ancient agora, a type of market that was at the center of social life, but this is still not achievable if consumers and producers live entirely separate from one another. My findings showed that tremendous trust can be built among owner, employees, and customers, but the spatially-extended network is vulnerable to rumors and still lacks a consistent outlet for a desired face-to-face dimension.

In sum, despite its limitations, MSF and the broader theoretical alternative market founded on shared commitments is a step towards balancing financial and social benefits, and fulfilling the communitarian goal of improving well-being through the connectedness of people.

REFERENCES

Ahuvia, A. C., & Friedman, D. C. (1998). Income, consumption, and subjective well-being: Toward a composite macromarketing model. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 18(2), 153-168.

Albanese, R., & Van Fleet, D. D. (1985). Rational behavior in groups: The free-riding tendency. *Academy of Management Review*, 10(2), 244-255.

Albrecht, C., Johnson, R., Hamann, S., Ohberg, L., & CoDyre, M. (2016). Toward alternative food systems development: Exploring limitations and research opportunities. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, 3(4), 151-159.

Alexander, A., & Nicholls, A. (2006). Rediscovering consumer-producer involvement: A network perspective on fair trade marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*, 40(11/12), 1236-1253.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *7*(2), 295-310.

Amoore, L., Dodgson, R., Gills, B. K., Langley, P., Marshall, D., & Watson, I. (1997). Overturning 'Globalisation': Resisting the teleological, reclaiming the 'political'. *New Political Economy*, 2(1), 179-195.

Arndt, J. (1981). The political economy of marketing systems: Reviving the institutional approach. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 1(2), 36-47.

Arnould, E. J., Price, L., & Moisio, R. (2006). Making contexts matter: Selecting research contexts for theoretical insights. *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Marketing*, 106-125.

Arnould, E. J., Plastina, A., & Ball, D. (2009). Does fair trade deliver on its core value proposition? Effects on income, educational attainment, and health in three countries. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *28*(2), 186-201.

Arnould, E. J. (1998). Daring consumer-oriented ethnography. *Representing Consumers: Voices, views and visions*, 85-126.

Aydin, Z. (2010). Neo-Liberal Transformation of Turkish Agriculture. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *10*(2), 149-187.

Balaban, O. (2012). The negative effects of construction boom on urban planning and environment in Turkey: Unraveling the role of the public sector. *Habitat International*, *36*(1), 26-35.

Baldus, B. J., Voorhees, C., & Calantone, R. (2015). Online brand community engagement: Scale development and validation. *Journal of Business Research*, *68*(5), 978-985.

Barrett, Christopher B., and Jeffrey Cason (1997), Overseas Research: A Practical Guide. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(3), 497.

Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *15*(2), 139-168.

Bell, D. E. (1985).Disappointment in decision making under uncertainty.*Operations Research*, 33, 1-27.

Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*(1), 611-639.

Benzing, C., Chu, H. M., & Kara, O. (2009). Entrepreneurs in Turkey: A factor analysis of motivations, success factors, and problems. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *47*(1), 58-91.

Bergeron, Diane M (2007). The potential paradox of organizational citizenship behavior: Good citizens at what cost? *Academy of Management Review* 32(4), 1078-1095.

Bolino, M. C., & Turnley, W. H. (2003). Going the extra mile: Cultivating and managing employee citizenship behavior. *The Academy of Management Executive*, *17*(3), 60-71.

Bolino, M. C., Turnley, W. H., & Niehoff, B. P. (2004). The other side of the story: Reexamining prevailing assumptions about organizational citizenship behavior. *Human Resource Management Review*, *14*(2), 229-246.

Bolino, M. C., Klotz, A. C., Turnley, W. H., & Harvey, J. (2013).Exploring the dark side of organizational citizenship behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *34*(4), 542-559.

Brown, S., & Getz, C. (2008).Towards domestic fair trade?Farm labor, food localism, and the ‘family scale’farm. *GeoJournal*, *73*(1), 11-22.

Brown, C., & Miller, S. (2008). The impacts of local markets: a review of research on farmers markets and community supported agriculture (CSA). *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, *90*(5), 1298-1302.

Bulmer, Martin (1993), "General Introduction," Social Research in Developing Countries: Surveys and Censuses in the Third World.2d ed., Martin Bulmer and Donald P. Warwick, eds. London, England: UCL Press, 3-24.

Bulmer, Martin and Donald P. Warwick, eds. (1993), Social Research in Developing Countries: Surveys and Censuses in the Third World. 2d ed., London, England: UCL Press.

Buunk, B. P., Collins, R. L., Taylor, S. E., VanYperen, N. W., & Dakof, G. A. (1990). The affective consequences of social comparison: either direction has its ups and downs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*(6), 1238.

Camp, J. (1986). TheAthenian Agora. *Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens, London*, 57.

Campana, M., Chatzidakis, A., & Laamanen, M. (2015). Special Issue on Alternative Economies: Journal of Macromarketing, 2017. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *35*(1), 151-152.

Campbell, D. (1988). Degrees of freedom'and the case study (1975). In *Methodology and Epistemology for Social Science–Donald T. Campbell*, 377-388.

Carlson, D. S., Kacmar, K. M., & Williams, L. J. (2000).Construction and initial validation of a multidimensional measure of work–family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *56*(2), 249-276.

Caruana, R., & Chatzidakis, A. (2014). Consumer social responsibility (CnSR): Toward a multi-level, multi-agent conceptualization of the "other CSR". *Journal of Business Ethics*, *121*(4), 577-592.

Charmaz, Kathy (1983), "The Grounded Theory Method: An Explanation and Interpretation*,"* in *Contemporary Field Research*: *A Collection of Readings*, Robert M. Emerson, ed. Boston: Little Brown.

Chatzidakis, A., Maclaran, P., & Bradshaw, A. (2012).Heterotopian space and the utopics of ethical and green consumption. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *28*(3-4), 494-515.

Cinar, Mehmet (2014), "10 Yilda 2.5 Milyon Futbol Sahasi Buyuklugunde Tarim Arazisi Yok Oldu," *Hurriyet*, (November 21st), (accessed March 1, 2016).

Clark, J. K., Inwood, S. M., & Jackson-Smith, D. (2014). Exurban farmers' perceptions of land use policy effectiveness: Implications for the next generation of policy

development. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development*, *5*(1), 1-17.

Cohen, S., & Wills, T. A. (1985).Stress, social support, and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *98*(2), 310.

Cooper, J. X. (2004). *Modernism and the Culture of Market Society*.Cambridge University Press.

Cova, B. (1997). Community and consumption: Towards a definition of the "linking value" of product or services. *European Journal of Marketing*, *31*(3/4), 297-316.

Cova, B., & Cova, V. (2002). Tribal marketing: The tribalisation of society and its impact on the conduct of marketing. *European Journal of Marketing*, *36*(5/6), 595-620.

Cova, B., Kozinets, R. V., & Shankar, A. (2007). Tribes, Inc.: the new world of tribalism. *Consumer Tribes*, 3-26.

Crane, A. (1997). The dynamics of marketing ethical products: a cultural perspective. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *13*(6), 561-577.

Creswell, John W. (2015). *A Concise Introduction to Mixed Methods Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Danna, K., and Griffin, R. W. (1999). Health and well-being in the workplace: A review and synthesis of the literature. *Journal of Management*, *25*(3), 357-384.

Day, R. J. (2005). *Gramsci is dead: Anarchist currents in the newest social movements*. London: Pluto Press.

Dees, J. Gregory (1998), "The Meaning of Social Entrepreneurship," Stanford University: Draft Report for the Kauffman Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership.

De Pelsmacker, P., & Janssens, W. (2007). A model for fair trade buying behaviour: The role of perceived quantity and quality of information and of product-specific attitudes. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *75*(4), 361-380.

Dholakia, N., & Atik, D. (2016). A Journal for a Fast-Changing World. *Markets, Globalization & Development Review*, *1*(2), 1-6.

Diener, E.D., Emmons, R.A., Larsen, R.J. and Griffin, S. (1985), The Satisfaction with Life Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49(1), 71-75.

Diener, E. (2006). Guidelines for national indicators of subjective well-being and ill-being. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, *1*(2), 151-157.

Diener, E., & Biswas-Diener, R. (1999). Income and Subjective Well-Being: Will Money Make Us Happy?. *Unpublished, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois*.

Diener, E., & Seligman, M. E. (2004). Beyond money: Toward an economy of well-being. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*, *5*(1), 1-31.

Diener, E. (2006). Guidelines for national indicators of subjective well-being and ill-being. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, *1*(2), 151-157.

Dukerich, J. M., Kramer, R., & Parks, J. M. (1998).The dark side of organizational identification. *Identity in organizations: Building theory through conversations*, 245-256.

Duran, C., Gunek, H., & Sandal, E. K. (2012). Effects of urbanization on agricultural lands and river basins: case study of Mersin (South of Turkey). *Journal of Environmental Biology*, 33, 363-371.

Durkheim, E. (1951). Suicide: A study in sociology (JA Spaulding & G. Simpson, trans.). *Glencoe, IL: Free Press.(Original work published 1897)*.

Dwyer, F. Robert, Paul H. Schurr, and Sejo Oh."Developing buyer-seller relationships." *The Journal of Marketing* (1987): 11-27.

Easterlin, R. A. (1974). Does economic growth improve the human lot? Some empirical evidence. *Nations and Households in Economic Growth*, *89*, 89-125.

Ekici, A. (2013). Temporal dynamics of trust in ongoing inter-organizational relationships. *Industrial Marketing Management*, *42*(6), 932-949.

Ekici, Ahmet, Joseph Sirgy, and Dong-Jin Lee (2013), "Shopping Ill-Being, Its Measurement and Relation to Shopping Well-Being and Overall life Satisfaction," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 33(4), 397.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*.University of Chicago Press.

Featherstone, M. (1988). In pursuit of the postmodern: an introduction. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *5*(2), 195-215.

Featherstone, M. (1991). *Postmodernism and Consumer Culture*. London: Sage.

Fırat, F.A. (2016). The Dynamics of the Local and the Global: Implications for Marketing and Development. *Markets, Globalization & Development Review*: Vol. 1: No. 1, Article 4.

Flyvberg, Bent (2011), "Case Study," in Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage.

Fournier, S., Dobscha, S., & Mick, D. G. (1998).The premature death of relationship marketing. *Harvard Business Review*, *76*(1), 42-51.

Fowler Jr, Floyd J., and Thomas W. Mangione (1990), Standardized Survey Interviewing: Minimizing interviewer-related error. Vol. 18. London: Sage.

Fowler, F. J. (1995). *Improving survey questions: Design and evaluation* (Vol. 38). London: Sage.

Fullerton, G. (2003). When does commitment lead to loyalty? *Journal of Service Research*, *5*(4), 333-344.

Fullerton, G. (2005). How commitment both enables and undermines marketing relationships. *European Journal of Marketing*, *39*(11/12), 1372-1388.

Gargiulo, Martin, and Mario Benassi."The dark side of social capital." In *Corporate Social Capital and Liability*, pp. 298-322. Springer US, 1999.

Geiger-Oneto, S., & Arnould, E. J. (2011). Alternative trade organization and subjective quality of life: The case of Latin American coffee producers. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *31*(3), 276-290.

Ger, G., and Sandikci, Ö. (2006). Doing Research on Sensitive Topics: Studying Covered Turkish Women. In R.W. Belk (Ed.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Marketing*, (509-520). UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Gibson-Graham, J.K. (1996).*The End of Capitalism (as We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2005). Surplus possibilities: postdevelopment and community economies. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 26(1), 4-26.

Gibson-Graham, J.K. (2006).*APostcapitalist Politics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Gibson-Graham, J.K. (2008). Diverse economies: Performative practices for other worlds. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(5), 613-632.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences ofmodernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2009). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: Transaction publishers.

Goodman, D., & DuPuis, E. M. (2002). Knowing food and growing food: beyond the production–consumption debate in the sociology of agriculture. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42(1), 5-22.

Gouveia, L., & Juska, A. (2002). Taming nature, taming workers: Constructing the separation between meat consumption and meat production in the US. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42(4), 370-390.

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.

Grayson, K., & Ambler, T. (1999).The dark side of long-term relationships in marketing services. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 36 (February)132-141.

Green, S. B., & Hershberger, S. L. (2000). Correlated errors in true score models and their effect on coefficient alpha. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 7(2), 251-270.

Greenhaus, J. H., Collins, K. M., & Shaw, J. D. (2003). The relation between work-family balance and quality of life. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 63(3), 510-531.

Grzeskowiak, S., & Sirgy, M. J. (2007). Consumer well-being (CWB): The effects of self-image congruence, brand-community belongingness, brand loyalty, and consumption recency. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 2(4), 289-304.

Guenzi, P., & Pelloni, O. (2004).The impact of interpersonal relationships on customer satisfaction and loyalty to the service provider. *International Journal of Service Industry Management*, 15(4), 365-384.

Gundlach, G. T., Achrol, R. S., & Mentzer, J. T. (1995).The structure of commitment in exchange. *The Journal of Marketing*, 59 (January), 78-92.

Gustafsson, A., Johnson, M. D., & Roos, I. (2005).The effects of customer satisfaction, relationship commitment dimensions, and triggers on customer retention. *Journal of Marketing*, 69(4), 210-218.

Hair, J. F., Anderson, R. E., Babin, B. J., & Black, W. C. (2013). *Multivariate Data Analysis: A global perspective* (Vol. 7). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

Halbesleben, J. R., Harvey, J., & Bolino, M. C. (2009). Too engaged? A conservation of resources view of the relationship between work engagement and work interference with family. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(6), 1452.

Hardin, G., 1968. The tragedy of the commons. S*cience*, 162(3859), 1243-1248.

Harter, J. K., Schmidt, F. L., and Keyes, C. L. (2003). Well-being in the workplace and its relationship to business outcomes: A review of the Gallup studies. *Flourishing: Positive Psychology and the Life Well-Lived*, 2, 205-224.

Headey, B., Holmstrom, E., & Wearing, A. (1985). Models of well-being and ill-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 17(3), 211-234.

Helliwell, J. F., & Putnam, R. (2004). The social context of well-being. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society London*, 359, 1435–1446.

Helliwell, J. F., & Putnam, R. (2005). The social context of well-being. In F.A. Huppert, N. Baylis, & B. Keverne (Eds.), *The Science of Well-Being* (pp. 435-459). Oxford University Press.

Hickman, T. M., & Ward, J. (2007). The dark side of brand community: Inter-group stereotyping, trash talk, and Schadenfreude. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 34, 314– 319.

Hill, R. P., Felice, W. F., & Ainscough, T. (2007). International human rights and consumer quality of life: an ethical perspective. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27(4), 370-379.

Hinrichs, C. C. (2000). Embeddedness and local food systems: notes on two types of direct agricultural market. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16(3), 295-303.

Hofstede, G. H. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hooper, D., Coughlan, J., & Mullen, M.R. (2008). Structural equation modelling: Guidelines for determining model fit. *Journal of Business Research Methods*, 6, 53–60.

Holt, Douglas B. (1994), "Consumers' cultural differences as local systems of tastes: A critique of the personality/values approach and an alternative framework," in Jopseh A. Cote and Siew Meng Leong, eds.*Asia Pacific Advances in Consumer Research* Volume 1.

Holt, D.B. (1994). Consumers' cultural differences as local systems of tastes: A critique of the personality/values approach and an alternative framework. *Asia Pacific Advances in Consumer Research*, 1, 178–184.

Holt, D. B. & Searls, K. (1994). The impact of modernity on consumption: Simmel's philosophy of money. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 21, 65– 69.

Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling:*6(1), 1-55.

Hudson, I., & Hudson, M. (2003). Removing the veil? Commodity fetishism, fair trade, and the environment. *Organization & Environment*, 16(4), 413-430.

Hudson, L. A., & Ozanne, J. L. (1988).Alternative ways of seeking knowledge in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 14(4), 508-521.

Hyde, A.C. & Wiegand, E. (2005). Organics: Meaningful or Market Niche?*LiP*, 10 (Summer), 25–33

Jaffee, D., Kloppenburg, J. R., & Monroy, M. B. (2004).Bringing the "moral charge" home: Fair trade within the North and within the South. *Rural Sociology*, 69(2), 169-196.

Jarosz, L. (2008). The city in the country: Growing alternative food networks in Metropolitan areas. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 24(3), 231-244.

Kahneman, D., & Krueger, A. B. (2006).Developments in the measurement of subjective well-being. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(1), 3-24.

Karp, D. A., Stone, G. P., Yoels, W. C., & Dempsey, N. P. (2015). *Being Urban: A Sociology of City Life*(3rd Ed.) New York: Praeger.

Kilbourne, W. E. (2004). Globalization and development: An expanded macromarketing view. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 24(2), 122-135.

Kirwan, J. (2006). The interpersonal world of direct marketing: examining conventions of quality at UK farmers' markets. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22(3), 301-312.

Kleinaltenkamp, M. (2017). Usage center - Value cocreation in multi-actor usage processes. *Journal of Service Theory and Practice*, 27 (4).

Kohn, M. L. &Schooler, C. (1983). *Work and Personality.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Kozinets, R. V. (1999). E-tribalized marketing?: The strategic implications of virtual communities of consumption. *European Management Journal*, 17(3), 252-264.

Kozinets, R., De Valck, K., Wojnicki, A., & Wilner, S. (2010). Networked Narratives: Understanding Word-of-Mouth Marketing in Online Communities. *Journal of Marketing*, 74(2), 71-89.

Krosnick, J. A. (1991). Response strategies for coping with the cognitive demands of attitude measures in surveys. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 5(3), 213-236.

Kuzel, A.J. (1992). Sampling in qualitative inquiry, In B. Crabtree, and W.L. Miller, (Eds), *Doing Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications.

Laamanen, M., Wahlen, S., & Campana, M. (2015).Mobilising collaborative consumption lifestyles: A comparative frame analysis of time banking. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, *39*(5), 459-467.

Lane, R. (1992). Work as 'Disutility' and Money as 'Happiness': Cultural Origins of a Basic Market Error.*The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 21(1), 43-64.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Layton, R. A. (2007). Marketing systems—A core macromarketing concept. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27(3), 227-242.

Layton, R. A. (2009). On economic growth, marketing systems, and the quality of life. *Journal of Macromarketing*. 29(4), 349-362.

Leary, M. R. (1983). *Understanding social anxiety: Social, personality and clinical perspectives*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lee, R. (2000). Shelter from the storm?Geographies of regard in the worlds of horticultural consumption and production. *Geoforum*, 31(2), 137-157.

Leiter, M.P. (1988). Burnout as a function of communication patterns. *Group & Organization Studies*, 13, 111-28.

Lenski, G. E., & Leggett, J. C. (1960).Caste, class, and deference in the research interview. *American Journal of Sociology*. 65(5), 463-467.

Lessem, R., Muchineripi, P. C., and Kada, S. (2012). *Integral community: Political economy to Social Commons*. Ashgate Publishers.

Lewis, H. B. (1971). *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis.* New York: International Universities Press.

Little, T. D., Cunningham, W. A., Shahar, G., & Widaman, K. F. (2002). To parcel or not to parcel: Exploring the question, weighing the merits. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 9(2), 151-173.

Lockie, S., Lyons, K., Lawrence, G., & Mummery, K. (2002).Eating 'green': motivations behind organic food consumption in Australia. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42(1), 23-40.

Lyson, T. A., & Guptill, A. (2004). Commodity agriculture, civic agriculture and the future of US farming. *Rural Sociology*. 69(3), 370-385.

Loomes, G., & Sugden, R. (1986).Disappointment and dynamic consistency in choice under uncertainty.*Review of Economic Studies*, 53, 271 -282.

Luhmann, N. (2000). Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives. In D. Gambetta (Ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, (94-107), University of Oxford.

Lusch, R. F., & Nambisan, S. (2015). Service Innovation: A Service-Dominant Logic Perspective. *MIS Quarterly*, 39(1), 155-175.

Maffesoli, M. (1996).*The Time of the Tribes.*London: Sage.

Makatouni, A. (2002). What motivates consumers to buy organic food in the UK? Results from a qualitative study. *British Food Journal*, 104(3/4/5), 345-352.

Mann, M. (2005). *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge University Press.

Maslach, C. and Jackson, S.E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Occupational Behavior*, 2, 99-113.

Maslach, C., Schaufeli, W. B., & Leiter, M. P. (2001).Job burnout. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52(1), 397-422.

Maslow, A. H. (1954). The instinctoid nature of basic needs. *Journal of Personality*, 22(3), 326-347.

Marsden, T., Banks, J., & Bristow, G. (2000). Food supply chain approaches: exploring their role in rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40(4), 424-438.

Mason, J. (2002), *Qualitative Researching*(2nd ed). London: Sage.

McCracken, G. (1988), *The Long Interview*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

McMillan, D. W., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14(1), 6-23.

Mead, N. L., Baumeister, R. F., Stillman, T. F., Rawn, C. D., & Vohs, K. D. (2011). Social exclusion causes people to spend and consume strategically in the service of affiliation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(5), 902-919.

Meyer, J. P., & Allen, N. J. (1991).A three-component conceptualization of organizational commitment. *Human Resource Management Review*, 1(1), 61-89.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Miles, M. B. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Miller, T. and Bell, L. (2002). Consenting to What? Issues of access, gate-keeping and 'informed' consent. In T. Miller, et al. (Eds.), *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, (53-69). London: Sage.

Mitchell, R.E. (1993). Survey Materials Collected in the Developing Countries: Sampling Measurement and Interviewing Obstacles to Intranational and International Comparisons. In M. Bulmer and D. Warwick (Eds.),*Social Research in Developing Countries: Surveys and Censuses in the Third World* (2nd ed.)(3-24). London: UCL Press.

Mittelstaedt, J. D., Kilbourne, W. E., & Mittelstaedt, R. A. (2006). Macromarketing as agorology: Macromarketing theory and the study of the agora. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 26(2), 131-142.

Moberg, M. (2005). Fair trade and eastern Caribbean banana farmers: Rhetoric and reality in the anti-globalization movement. *Human Organization*, 64(1), 4-15.

Montiel, M., Collado, A., Renting, H.,and Padilla, M. (2010). Between Food Ethics, Solidarity and the Social Construction of Alternative Markets: Exploring the Dimensions of Grassroots Food Movements in Spain. 9th European IFSA Symposium, 4-7 July 2010, Vienna, Austria.

Moorman, C., Zaltman, G., & Deshpande, R. (1992). Relationships between providers and users of market research: The dynamics of trust within and between organizations. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 29(3), 314.

Morgan, R. M., & Hunt, S. D. (1994).The commitment-trust theory of relationship marketing. *The Journal of Marketing*, 20-38.

Mowday, R. T., Steers, R. M., & Porter, L. W. (1979). The measurement of organizational commitment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 14(2), 224-247.

Muniz, A. M., & O'guinn, T. C. (2001).Brand community. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27(4), 412-432.

Murdoch, J., & Miele, M. (1999). 'Back to nature': changing 'worlds of production'in the food sector. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 39(4), 465-483.

Murdoch, J., Marsden, T., & Banks, J. (2000). Quality, nature, and embeddedness: Some theoretical considerations in the context of the food sector. *Economic Geography*, 76(2), 107-125.

Narayan, S., & Krosnick, J. A. (1996). Education moderates some response effects in attitude measurement. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60(1), 58-88.

Nelson, V., & Pound, B. (2009). The last ten years: A comprehensive review of the literature on the impact of Fairtrade. *Natural Resources Institute*, 1-48.

Numerato, D., & Baglioni, S. (2012). The dark side of social capital: An ethnography of sport governance. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 47(5), 594-611.

Oldenquist, A. (1991). *Alienation, Community, and Work*. Portsmouth, NH: Greenwood Pub Group.

Oliver, R. (1999). Whence Consumer Loyalty? *Journal of Marketing, 63*, 33-44. doi:10.2307/1252099

Organ, D. W., Podsakoff, P. M., & MacKenzie, S. B. (2005). *Organizational Citizenship Behavior: Its nature, antecedents, and consequences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Peterson, M., & Ekici, A. (2007).Consumer attitude toward marketing and subjective quality of life in the context of a developing country. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27(4), 350-359.

Peterson, M. (2016).Think Macro!*Journal of Macromarketing*, 36(2), 124-125.

Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J. Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: a critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(5), 879.

Pollan, M. (2006). *The omnivore's dilemma: A natural history of four meals*. London: Bloomsbury.

Popke, J. (2008). Geography and ethics: non-representational encounters, collective responsibility and economic difference. *Progress in Human Geography*, 33, 81-90.

Press, M., & Arnould, E. J. (2011). How does organizational identification form? A consumer behavior perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38(4), 650-666.

Putnam, R. D. (2001). *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In L. Crothers & C Lockhart (Eds.), *Culture and Politics* (pp. 223-234). Palgrave Macmillan.

Raynolds, L. T. (2000). Re-embedding global agriculture: The international organic and fair trade movements. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 17(3), 297-309.

Raynolds, L. T. (2002). Consumer/producer links in fair trade coffee networks. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42(4), 404-424.

Renting, H., Marsden, T. K., & Banks, J. (2003). Understanding alternative food networks: exploring the role of short food supply chains in rural development. *Environment and Planning*, 35(3), 393-411.

Rindfleisch, A., Malter, A. J., Ganesan, S., & Moorman, C. (2008). Cross-sectional versus longitudinal survey research: Concepts, findings, and guidelines. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 45(3), 261-279.

Rudolph, L., & Rudolph, S. H. (1958). Surveys in India: field experience in Madras State. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 235-244.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000).Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 68.

Sapsford, R. (2006). *Survey Research*.Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J., & LeCompte, M. D. (1999). *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, and Questionnaires* (Vol. 2). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Schor, J. B., & Thompson, C. J. (Eds.). (2014). *Sustainable Lifestyles and the Quest for Plenitude: Case Studies of the New Economy*. Yale University Press.

Schumpeter, J. A. (1954). *History of Economic Analysis*.Psychology Press.

Sharp, J., Imerman, E., & Peters, G. (2002). Community supported agriculture (CSA): Building community among farmers and non-farmers. *Journal of Extension*, 40(3), 1-6.

Shepherd, C. D., Marchisio, G., Morrish, S. C., Deacon, J. H., & Miles, M. P. (2010). Entrepreneurial burnout: Exploring antecedents, dimensions and outcomes. *Journal of Research in Marketing and Entrepreneurship*, 12(1), 71-79.

Simmel, G. ([1896]1991). Money in Modern Culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 8(3): 17-31

Simmel, G.([1903] 1971). The Metropolis and Mental Life. In D. Levine (Ed), On Individualityand SocialForms: Selected Writings, (pp. 324-339). Chicago:University of Chicago Press.

Sunderland, P. L., & Denny, R. M. (2016). *Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research*.Routledge.

Sirgy, M. J., Lee, D. J., and Rahtz, D. (2007). Research on consumer well-being (CWB): Overview of the field and introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 27(4), 341-349.

Sinek, S. (2014). *Leaders Eat Last: Why some teams pull together and others don't*. New York: Penguin.

Slater, D. (1997). *Consumer Culture and Modernity*. London: Polity.

Sousa-Poza, A., and Sousa-Poza, A. A. (2000). Well-being at work: a cross-national analysis of the levels and determinants of job satisfaction. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 29(6), 517-538.

Stagl, S. (2002). Local organic food markets: Potentials and limitations for contributing to sustainable development. *Empirica*, 29(2), 145-162.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Strauss, A. L., and Corbin, J. M. (1990).*Basics of Qualitative Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Stroebe, W., & Frey, B. S. (1982). Self-interest and collective action: The economics and psychology of public goods. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 21(2), 121-137.

Svenfelt, Å., and Carlsson-Kanyama, A. (2010). Farmers' markets–linking food consumption and the ecology of food production?*Local Environment*, 15(5), 453-465.

Tangney, J. P. (1996). Conceptual and methodological issues in the assessment of shame and guilt. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 34(9), 741-754.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed Methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Thompson, C. J., & Coskuner-Balli, G. (2007).Countervailing market responses to corporate co-optation and the ideological recruitment of consumption communities. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(2), 135-152.

Thompson, Michal (1982). The Problem of the Centre: An Autonomous Cosmology. In M. Douglas (Ed.), *Essays on the Sociology of Perception* (pp. 302-327), Routledge.

Tönnies, F. (1957). *Community and Society:(Gemeinschaft und Gessellschaft)*. C. P. Loomis (Ed.). Michigan State UP.

Turan, İ. (1975). Survey Research in a Developing Country: Field Work in Turkey. Comparative Legislative Research Center, University of Iowa.

Vallen, G., & Rande, W. (2002).The incidence of burnout among bed-and-breakfast owner/operators. *Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism*, 1(2), 41-56.

Van Deth, J. W., & Zmerli, S. (2010). Introduction: civicness, equality, and democracy—a "dark side" of social capital? *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(5), 632-639.

Van Dijk, W. W., van der Pligt, J., & Zeelenberg, M. (1999). Effort invested in vain: The impact of effort on the intensity of disappointment and regret. *Motivation and Emotion*, 23,203-220.

Van Dijk, W. W., & Zeelenberg, M. (2002).Investigating the appraisal patterns of regret and disappointment. *Motivation and Emotion*, 26, 321-331.

Van Dyne, L., & Ellis, J. B. (2004). Job creep: A reactance theory perspective on organizational citizenship behavior as over-fulfillment of obligations. In J. A. M. Coyle-Shapiro, L. M. Shore, M. S. Taylor, & L. E. Tetrick (Eds.), *The employment relationship: Examining psychological and contextual perspectives* (pp. 181–205). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Varey, R. J. (2013). Marketing in the flourishing society megatrend. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 33(4), 354-368.

Vaughan, D. (1999). The dark side of organizations: Mistake, misconduct, and disaster. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1), 271-305.

Veblen, T. (1909).The limitations of marginal utility. *Journal of Political Economy*, 17(9), 620-636.

Venkatesh, A. (1995). Ethnoconsumerism: a new paradigm. In J.A. Costa and G. J. Bamossy (Eds.), *Marketing in a Multicultural World. Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Cultural Identity (*pp. 26–67), London: Sage.

Villena, V. H., Revilla, E., & Choi, T. Y. (2011). The dark side of buyer–supplier relationships: A social capital perspective. *Journal of Operations Management*, 29(6), 561-576.

Wallendorf, M., & Belk, R. W. (1989).Assessing trustworthiness in naturalistic consumer research. In E.C. Hirschman (Ed.), *Interpretive Consumer Research*, (pp.69-84). Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.

Wallendorf, M., & Arnould, E. J. (1991). "We gather together": Consumption rituals of Thanksgiving Day. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(1), 13-31.

Warner, M. (2006). Wal-Mart eyes organic foods. *New York Times*, 12 May 2006.

Belk, R. W., Wallendorf, M., & Sherry, J. F. (1989). The sacred and the profane in consumer behavior: Theodicy on the odyssey. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(1), 1-38.

Warr, P., Cook, J., and Wall, T. (1979). Scales for the measurement of some work attitudes and aspects of psychological well-being. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 52(2), 129-148.

Watson, F., & Ekici, A. (2017). Well-being in Alternative Economies The Role of Shared Commitments in the Context of a Spatially-Extended Alternative Food Network. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37(2), 206-216.

Watson, F. (2017). Conducting A Communal Questionnaire In Community-Oriented Cultures. *Markets, Globalization & Development Review*: (Forthcoming).

Watts, D. C., Ilbery, B., & Maye, D. (2005). Making reconnections in agro-food geography: alternative systems of food provision. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(1), 22-40.

Weber, M.([1921] 1958). The City. Translated by D. Martindale and G. Neuwirth(pp. 65-8). New York: Free Press

Weber, K., K. L. Heinze, and M. DeSoucey. (2008). Forage for thought: Mobilizing codes in the movement for grass-fed meat and dairy products. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 53(3), 529-567.

Weiss, R. S. (1995). *Learning from Strangers: The art and method of qualitative interview studies*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Wellman, B., & Leighton, B. (1979). Networks, neighborhoods, and communities: Approaches to the study of the community question. *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 14(3), 363-390.

Wellman, B. (1999). The Network Community: An Introduction. In B. Wellman (Ed),*Networks in the Global Village* (1-47), Oxford: Westview.

Wiener, Y. (1982). Commitment in organizations: A normative view. *Academy of Management Review*, 7(3), 418-428.

Wiener, Y., and Gechman, A. S. (1977). Commitment: A behavioral approach to job involvement. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 10(1), 47-52.

Williams, C. C. (2005). *A Commodified World?: Mapping the limits of capitalism*. London: Zed Press.

Winkler, J. D., Kanouse, D. E., & Ware, J. E. (1982).Controlling for acquiescence response set in scale development. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67(5), 555.

Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), 1-24.

Witkowski, T. H. (2008). Global food marketing systems and local cultural change in the developing world. In W.E. Kilbourne and J.D. Mittelstaedt (Eds), *Macromarketing: Systems, Causes and Consequences* (pp.263-278). Clemson, SC: The Macromarketing Society.

Wolf, E. J., Harrington, K. M., Clark, S. L., & Miller, M. W. (2013).Sample size requirements for structural equation models an evaluation of power, bias, and solution propriety. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 73(6), 913-934.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Exploratory Interview Questions

ConsumerInterview Guide

Consumer Community

How did you decide to get involved with İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'ne dahil olmaya nasıl karar verdiniz?

Who else do you know who is a customer of İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nin başka hangi müşterilerini tanıyorsunuz?

Have you made *new* relationships through your involvement with İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'ne dahil olduğunuz süreçte yeni insanlarla tanıştınız mı?

Can you tell me more about your relationships with those people as it relates to your being customers of İHÇ? How often do you communicate with them? How do you communicate? Do you see each other?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği sayesinde tanıştığınız diğer müşterilerle olan ilişkiniz hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz? Hangi sıklıkla onlarla iletişime geçiyorsunuz? Bunun için hangi yolları kullanıyorsunuz? Birbirinizi görüyor musunuz?

How close would you say you feel to the other customers you mentioned?

Belirttiğiniz diğer müşterilere kendinizi ne derece yakın hissettiğinizi söyleyebilirsiniz?

Do you influence each other in the food that you buy?

Satın aldığınız ürün hakkındadiğer müşterileri etkilediğiniz oluyor mu?

What do you like about being involved with other people who are customers of İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nin diğer müşterileri grubuna dahil olmanın hangi yönlerini seviyorsunuz?

Producer

How do you feel about being involved with İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nin bir parçası olma konusunda ne hissediyorsunuz?

Can you tell me what you know about Pinar Hanim? What do you think about her?

Bize Pınar Hanım hakkında bildiklerinizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Onun hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

What do you know about the history of İHÇ? (Is this important to you?)

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nin tarihçesi hakkında neler biliyorsunuz? (Bu konu hakkında bilgi sahibi olmak sizin için önemli mi?)

Do you feel like a "member" of İHÇ? What makes you feel like a member? When would you say someone is not a member?

Kendinizi İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nin bir üyesi gibi hissediyor musunuz? Ne gibi faktörler size bu çiftliğin bir parçası gibi hissettirir? Hangi insanların bu işin bir üyesi olamayacağını düşünürsünüz?

Do you think it makes a difference that you buy from İHÇ rather than someone else?

Sizce diğer yerlerdense, İpek Hanım Çiftliği'ni tercih etmenin bir farkı var mı?

How close do you feel with Pinar Hanim? Does she personally know who you are?

Kendinizi Pınar Hanım'a ne kadar yakın hissediyorsunuz? Sizi kişisel olarak tanıdığını söyleyebilir misiniz?

What needs do you feel are met for you personally by buying from İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği sayesinde hangi kişisel istekleriniz karşılandı?

How do you feel about the idea of being a long-term customer of İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nin daimi müşterisi olma konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

If Pinar Hanim chose to shut down İHÇ, how would you feel? What would you do?

Pınar Hanım çiftliği kapatma kararı alsa ne hissedersiniz? Ne yaparsınız?

Producer Community

What do you see as the main benefits of being involved with İHÇ?

SizceİPek Hanım Çiftliği'ne dahil olmanın sağladığı en büyük faydalar nelerdir?

What do you know about the employees of İHÇ? What do you think their lives are like?

Çiftlik çalışanları hakkında ne biliyorsunuz? Sürdürdükleri hayatlar hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

Do you think that İHÇ is doing anything to improve its community? What are they doing?

Sizce İpek Hanım Çiftliği bu çevreyi geliştirmek adına bir katkıda bulunuyor mu? Bulunuyorsa nedir bu katkılar?

Do you feel like your being a customer makes a difference? How?

Size göre İpek Hanım Çiftliği müşterisi olmak bir fark yaratıyor mu? Nasıl?

Do you ever want to go and meet the people around İHÇ?

Hiç İpek Hanım Çiftliği'ndeki insanlarla tanışmak istediniz mi?

Producer Interview Guide

Producer Community

How did you first get started with your farm?

Bu çiftliği kurmak adına atılan ilk adımlar nelerdi?

What's your motivation for doing all this work?

Bütün bu işleri yürütmede size motive eden nedir?

Who else have you relied on in getting your farm started?

Bu çiftliği açma kararında kimlerin fikirlerine güvendiniz ve yardımlarından faydalandınız?

Are there other people in the community that you work closely with? Are there any other farms or farmers that you collaborate with?

Çevrenizde yakın olarak çalıştığınız başka insanlar var mı? İş birliği içinde olduğunuz başka çiftlikler veya çiftçiler var mı?

Can you tell me more about your relationships with those people as it relates to your being a producer? How often do you communicate with them? How do you communicate? Do you see each other?

Üretici olmanız dolayısıyla ilişki içinde olduğunuz insanlarla iletişiminiz hakkında başka neler söyleyebilirsiniz? Onlarla hangi sıklıkla iletişime geçiyorsunuz? Bunun için hangi yolları kullanıyorsunuz? Birbirinizi görüyor musunuz?

Are you a member of any other cooperatives, organizations, etc, that are important to your production/farm? How are these important to you?

Çiftliğiniz için önemli olduğuna inandığınız herhangi bir kuruluşa/organizasyona üye misiniz? Bunlar sizin için ne kadar önemli?

Is it lonely to run a farm? What or who helps keep you from being lonely?

Çiftliği yürütürken yalnızlık çekiyor musunuz? Kimler veya neler sizi yalnızlıktan kurtarıyor?

What impact do you feel that you make on the community? If you weren't here how do you think the community would be different?

Yaşadığınız çevre üzerindeki etkiniz sizce nedir? Eğer bu çiftlik olmasaydı neler farklı olurdu?

What are some of the needs that you meet for people in the community and that they can meet for you?

Bu çevrede siz onların, onlar da sizlerin hangi ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyor?

Could you imagine relocating to a different place? How would you feel about this?

Farklı bir yere taşımayı düşünebiliyor musunuz? Böyle bir durum olsaydı ne hissederdiniz?

Consumer

Tell me some about the customers that buy your products.

Bana ürünlerinizi satın alan müşterilerden bahsedin.

How do most people get started as your customers?

İnsanlar nasıl sizin müşteriniz olmaya başlıyor?

What do you hear from them? What kind of feedback do you get?

Onlardan ne duyuyorsunuz? Nasıl yorumlar alıyorsunuz?

How often do you talk with your customers?

Müşterinizle ne sıklıkla konuşuyorsunuz?

What are the ways that you usually communicate with them?

Onlarla iletişime geçme yollarınız nedir?

How many people do you think read your emails? How often do people reply beyond their food orders?

E-maillerinizi kaç kişinin okuduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? İnsanlar hangi sıklıkla ürün siparişi haricinde size mail atıyor?

Do you ever see customers face-to-face? Do they ever come and visit the farm? Does this matter to you?

Müşterilerinizle yüz yüze görüşüyor musunuz? Çiftliği ziyarete gelen müşteriniz var mı? Bu sizin için önemli mi?

Are there any customers that you feel like you have a close relationship with?

Yakın ilişkilerde bulunduğunuz müşterileriniz var mı?

What do you feel like you get from your customers? What do you want back from your customers?

Müşterilerinizden ne kazandığınızı düşünüyorsunuz? Onlardan geri ne bekliyorsunuz?

Do you have different *types* of customers? Can you describe these different types?

Farklı*tipte* müşterilere sahip olduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz? Bu farklı tipleri tarif edebilir misiniz?

Do you have some customers that you think of as "members" or do you have another word that you use? What makes someone a "member" or not?

Çiftliğin bir üyesi olarak kabul ettiğiniz müşterileriniz var mı? Ya da üye kelimesi yerine hangi sözcüğü kullanıyorsunuz? Bir kişiyi üye yapan veya yapmayan nedir?

Why do you think your customers buy from you?

Neden müşterilerinizin sizi tercih ettiğini düşünüyorsunuz?

Has anyone ever said anything about their lives being better since becoming your customer?

Sizin müşteriniz olduktan sonra daha iyi bir yaşam sürdürdüklerini söyleyen kişiler oldu mu?

Consumer Community

Do you ever hear about your customers getting to know each other?

Müşterilerinizin birbirleriyle iletişim halinde olduğunu duydunuz mu?

Would you say there is a "community" of people who are your customers?

Müşteriniz olan insanların bir topluluk olduğunu söyleyebilir misiniz?

Do you do anything to help customers meet each other or be in community together?

Müşterilerin birbirini tanımaları için veya bu toplulukta olmaları için bir şey yapıyor musunuz?

Do you think of your customers more as individuals or together as one big group/community?

Müşterilerinizi ayrı bireyler olarak mı yoksa tek bir grup olarak mı değerlendiriyorsunuz?

Do you feel that you are personally part of the lives of your customers?

Tüketicilerinizin hayatına kişisel anlamda dahil olduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz?

Do you think that people are partly buying because of you, or just because of the food that you produce?

İnsanların çiftliği tercih etme sebebi bir ölçüde siz misiniz, yoksa sattığınız ürünler mi?

If you were to retire or step back from your involvement, what do you think would happen to İHÇ customers?

Eğer emekli veya bu işten ayrılacak olsanız, sizce müşterilerinize ne olur?

Do you believe that you are able to make a difference in the overall collective lives of your customers?

Sizi tercih eden insanların hayatına genel anlamda bir farklılık kazandırdığınızı inanıyor musunuz?

Community Interview Guide

How long have you lived and worked in this area?

Ne kadar zamandır burada yaşıyor ve çalışıyorsunuz?

Tell me about your business and how it got started.

Bana işinizi ve bu işin nasıl başladığından bahsedin.

How have you seen this area change in the time you have been here?

Burada olduğunuz süre boyu çevrenizde ne gibi farklılıklar oldu?

Describe the community here to me. Who are some of the key people in the community?

Buradaki topluluğu tarif edin. Kimler kilit görevdeki insanlar?

Do you feel like you are all "in it" together? Do you ever help others out or have they helped you?

Bu işte hep beraber olduğunuzu hissediyor musunuz? Başkalarına yardım ediyor musunuz ya da onlardan yardım alıyor musunuz?

What is the community famous for? What do you produce here?

Bu çevre hangi özelliği ile meşhur? Ne üretiyorsunuz burada?

Producer

I am doing research about İHÇ. Could you tell me what you know about İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği hakkında bir araştırma yürütmekteyim. Bana çiftlik hakkında bildiklerinizi anlatabilir misiniz?

Who do you talk to or work with from İHÇ?

İpek Hanım Çiftliği'nde kimlerle konuşuyorsunuz ya da birlikte çalışıyorsunuz?

When did you first meet Pinar Hanim?

Pınar Hanım ile ilk ne zaman tanıştınız?

How do you remember feeling when she first came/ when you first met her?

Onunla ilgili ilk izlenimiz ne olmuştu?

Do you feel like you know her personally? How is she to talk to/work with?

Onu kişisel olarak tanıdığınızı söyleyebilir misiniz? Çalışırken veya konuşurken tavırları nasıl?

If she were to leave, how would it impact you?

Çiftlikten ayrılıyor olsa bu sizi nasıl etkiler?

Do you think that İHÇ is good for the community here?

Sizce İpek Hanım Çiftliği buradaki yaşanlar için yararlı mı?

Does Pinar Hanim ever ask for input or suggestions from the community? Does she consult the people who work here? Do you think she cares about how what she does affects others in the community?

Pınar Hanım'ın çalışanlarından herhangi bir konuda görüş veya tavsiye aldığı oluyor mu? Çalışanlarına danışır mı? Buradaki insanları nasıl etkilediğinin Pınar Hanım için önemi var mı sizce?

Consumer

Who are the main consumers for your products/ for what your community produces? How much of it is sold outside of your community? Where do most of these customers live?

Ürünlerinizin asıl tüketicileri kimler? Bu çevre dışında ne kadarı dışarıya satılıyor? Müşterilerinizin çoğunluğu nerede yaşıyor?

Do you ever see visitors come here to this community? What do they usually come for?

Hiç insanların burayı ziyaret ettiklerine tanıklık ettiniz mi? Ne gibi bir amaçla buraya geliyor?

Do you talk with them? How is your relationship with them? Do you continue to be in touch with any of the visitors who have come?

Onlarla konuşuyor musunuz? İlişkileriniz nasıl? Buradan ayrıldıktan sonra, görüşmeye devam ettiğiniz kişiler var mı?

How often does İHÇ have visitors?

Hangi sıklıkla çiftliğe ziyaretçi geliyor?

Do you feel like life here is a lot different here than elsewhere in Turkey?

Buradaki yaşamın Türkiye'nin herhangi bir yerinden daha farklı olduğunu hissediyor musunuz?

Do you feel like the people living outside of your community understand what your life is like here?

Burada oturmayan insanların burada nasıl bir hayat sürdürdüğünüzü anladıklarını düşünüyor musunuz?

How often do you travel out of your community?

Hangi sıklıkla bu çevrenin dışına çıkıyorsunuz?

If there is one thing that you wish other people in Turkey understood about your community, what would you say it is?

Eğer Türkiye'deki diğer insanların sizinle ilgili anlamalarını istediğiniz bir şey olsaydı, bu ne olurdu?

Consumer Community

How do you think life is changing in other parts of Turkey? What do you think life is like in the cities now?

Türkiye'nin diğer bölgelerinde hayatın nasıl değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce şu anda şehirlerde nasıl bir yaşam sürdürülüyor?

How do you think the quality of life of people is changing in Turkey?

Sizce Türkiye'de insanların yaşam kalitesi nasıl değişiyor?

Do you feel like your fate is tied to or dependent on the people outside of your community?

Geleceğinizin bu çevre dışındaki insanlara bağlı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

Do you feel like all of the people who buy the products that you send together understand all the work that you do/ what your lives are like?

Sizin ürünlerinizi satın alan insanların ortaya koyduğunuz emeği gördüklerini düşünüyor musunuz? Sizin nasıl bir hayata sahip olduğunuzu gördüklerini düşünüyor musunuz?

Is there anything that you wish you could share with others that you think could improve their well-being?

İnsanlara daha sağlıklı bir yaşam için verebileceğiniz tavsiyeler var mıdır?

Appendix B: Employee Survey

Giriş

İpek Hanım Çiftliği ile ilgili araştırmamıza yardım ettiğiniz teşekkür ederiz. İpek Hanım Çiftliğinden bağımsız olarak Bilkent Üniversitesi İşletme Bölümünde yürütülen doktora projesi kapsamında bir anket düzenliyorum. Bu çiftlikteki çalışmalarınızla ilgili olarak size birkaç soru sormak istiyorum. Sorularım, yalnızca 10 dakikanızı alacak.

1. Ne kadar süredir bu çiftlikte çalışıyorsunuz?

   Bir yıldan az, 1-2 yıl, 3-4 yıl, 5-6 yıl, 7 yıl ya da daha uzun zamandır

2. Pınar Hanımla ne sıklıkla görüşüyorsunuz/ iletişim halindesiniz?

   Her gün, Haftada birkaç kez, Haftada 1, Ayda 2-3 kez, Ayda 1, Üç ayda 1, Neredeyse hiç

3. Müşterilerle ne sıklıkla görüşüyorsunuz/ iletişim halindesiniz?

   Her gün, Haftada birkaç kez, Haftada 1, Ayda 2-3 kez, Ayda 1, Üç ayda 1, Neredeyse hiç

İsminiz hiçbir şekilde kullanılmayacak. Ankette de isminiz yer almıyor, dolayısıyla Pınar Hanım ya da başka birinin cevaplarınızı öğrenemeyeceğinden emin olabilirsiniz. Cevaplarınızda açık ve dürüst olursanız çok memnun olurum. Soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevabı yok, sadece sorularda farklı kişilerin fikirlerini almak istiyoruz. Bizim için önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüz.

Çalışmada size bazı ifadeler vereceğim ve bu ifadelere katılıp katılmadığınızı 1 ile 7 arasında değerlendirmenizi isteyeceğim. 1 "Kesinlikle katılmıyorum", 7 "Kesinlikle katılıyorum", tam ortada yer alan 4 ise "Ne katılıyor ne de katılmıyorum" anlamına geliyor. Sizinle çalışmaya başlamadan bir örnek yapalım. Mesela size "sarı renkten hoşlanıyorum" desem ve 1 - 7 arasında değerlendirmenizi istesem, hangi rakamı seçersiniz?

Tamam, şimdi size ifadeleri tek tek okuyacağım. Lütfen aynı şekilde 1 – 7 arasında değerlendirip, seçtiğiniz rakamı söyleyin.

Bölüm 1.1

Sıradaki bölümde Pınar Hanım ile olan etkileşimlerinizi değerlendireceksiniz.

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Ne Katılıyor Ne De Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılyorum
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Pınar Hanım benden ne yapmamı isterse memnuniyetle yaparım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Çiftliğin başarılı olması için normalde beklenenden daha fazla çaba göstermeye istekliyim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Ürünlerimizin daha iyi olması için yollar ararım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Çiftlikteki herkesin çiftlik için önemli bir görevi olduğuna inanıyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Arkadaşlarıma bu çiftliğin çalışmak için çok iyi bir yer olduğunu söylerim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Çiftliğin iyiye gitmesi için her gün elimden gelen her şeyi yaparım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Bölüm 1.2

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Ne Katılıyor Ne De Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılyorum
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Kendi hayat görüşümle Pınar Hanım'ınkini oldukça benzer buluyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Pınar Hanım için bu işin sadece para kazanmaktan ibaret olmadığını düşünüyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Pınar Hanımın başarmaya çalıştığı şeyleri öğrendikçe, onunla çalıştığım için daha memnun oluyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Başkalarına Pınar Hanım'ın ilkelerinden bahsetmekten gurur duyarım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Pınar Hanımla prensipleri/ilkeleri konusunda aynı fikirde **değilim.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Bölüm 1.3

1. Pınar Hanım'ın uzun dönemdeki refahı/iyiliği benim için önemlidir

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Pınar Hanım gibi birini desteklemek beni yaptığım işte motive ediyor.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Pınar Hanım çiftlikteki işlerden bunaldığında bu durum beni üzer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Pınar Hanım'ın benim uzun vadedeki refahımı/iyiliğimi düşündüğünü hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Mümkün olan herkesin çiftlikten yararlanması benim için önemlidir.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Bölüm 2.1

Sıradaki bölümde müşterisiyle olan etkileşimlerinizi değerlendireceksiniz.

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Ne Katılıyor Ne De Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılyorum
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Bu çiftliğin hedeflerine ulaşması için müşterilerle birlik içinde hareket ederim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Çiftliğin olumlu etkileri konusunda arkadaşlarımla konuşurum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Çiftliğin müşterileriyle severek ve isteyerek iletişim kurarım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Müşterilerimizin çiftlikten hedeflerini desteklemek için elimden geleni yaparım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Ürünlerimizi müşterilerimiz için daha iyi yapmanın yollarını ararım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Çalışanlar ve müşteriler olarak, çiftliğin başarılı olmasında hepimizin önemli bir rolü var.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Eğer müşterimizden birine yardım etmek için yapabileceğim ekstra bir şey varsa, muhtemelen yaparım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Müşterilerle muhattap **olmamayı** tercih ederim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Bölüm 2.2

1. Kendi değerlerimle müşterilerimizin değerlerini oldukça benzer buluyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Müşterilerin hayatlarının bu çiftlik sayesinde iyileştiğini duydukça,buranın daha da çok bir parçası olmak istiyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Müşterilerimizin neye değer verdiğini bildiğimi düşünüyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Müşterilerimizin de bizim gibi doğal hayat tarzına önem verdiğini düşünüyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Müşterimizle çiftliğinamaçları konusunda hemfikirim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Müşterimizin bizim yaptıklarımıza minnettar olduğunu **sanmıyorum**.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Bölüm 2.3

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Ne Katılıyor Ne De Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılyorum
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Müşterilerin uzun dönemdeki refahı/iyiliği benim için önemlidir.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Müşterilerimizin refahı/iyiliği ürettiğimiz her şeyde düşünülmelidir.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Büyük şehirlerde yaşayanlarınyediği içtiği şeylerin kalitesi konusunda endişeliyim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Müşterilerin de bizim köydeki refahımızı/iyiliğimizi düşündüğünü hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Eğer ürünlerimizin aslında müşteriler için iyi olmadığını öğrenirsem, bu çiftlikte çalışmayı bırakırım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Ürünlerimizi tüketen insanların bizi önemsediğini **düşünmüyorum.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Açıkçası ürünlerimizi tüketen insanları çok da **önemsemiyorum.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Bölüm 3

Son bölümde genel olarak çiftlikleve kendinizle ilgili soruları değerlendireceksiniz.

1. Bu çiftlikte çalışmak bulabileceğim tek işti.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Çiftlikte çalışmasaydım başka bir yerde çalışmazdım.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Eğer başka bir iş bulursam tereddüt etmeden iş değiştiririm.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Çiftlikte çalışmamın ana sebebi para kazanmak.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Pınar Hanım benim için sadece patron.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Bu çiftliğe uzun süre devam edecek bir bağlılık **hissetmiyorum.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Bu çiftlik benim için sadece çalıştığım yer değil.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Önümüzdeki birkaç yıl boyunca bu çiftlikte çalışmaya niyetliyim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Bu çiftlikte çalışmaktan ne kadar memnunsunuz?

Hiç Memnun Değilim						Çok Memnunum
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Yaşam Kalitesi

Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Ne Katılıyor Ne De Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılyorum
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. Hayatımın pek çok açıdan idealime yakın olduğuna inanıyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Hayat koşullarımın mükemmele yakın olduğuna inanıyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Hayatımdan memnunum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Şu ana kadar hayatımda istediğim önemli şeylere kavuştuğumu söyleyebilirim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Hayatımı baştan yaşama şansım olsa neredeyse hiçbir şeyi değiştirmezdim.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Hangi yılda doğdunuz? _____
2. Cinsiyetiniz nedir? (Erkek, Kadın)
3. Medeni durumunuz nedir? (Bekar, Evli, Boşanmış, Dul)
4. Çocuğunuz var mı? Varsa, kaç tane? (0,1,2,3,4+)
5. Evinize ayda ortalama giren para toplam ne kadardır?

   a.1500'den az b. 1501-3000 c. 3001-4500 d. 4501-6000 e. 6001'den fazla

6. Eğitim durumunuz nedir? (İlkokul, Ortaokul, Lise, Meslek okulu, Üniversite, Açık öğretim, Yükseklisans)
7. Nerede büyüdünüz? (Köy, Kasaba, Şehir, Büyük Şehir)
8. Şu an yaşadığınız yer? _____

Anketimize katıldığınız ve fikirlerinizi bizimle paylaştığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Benimle paylaşmak istediğiniz başka bir şey var mı?

Appendix C: Customer Survey

Screen Shot of Introduction to Online Customer Survey.

İpek Hanım Çiftliğinde Müşteri, Çalışan ve Yönetici İlişkileri

Öncelikle, İpek Hanım Çiftliği (İHÇ) ile ilgili araştırmamıza yardım ettiğiniz için teşekkür ederiz. İpek Hanım Çiftliğinden bağımsız olarak Bilkent Üniversitesi İşletme Bölümünde yürütülen doktora projesi kapsamından bir anket düzenliyoruz.

Bu ankette, sizin İpek Hanım Çiftliği hakkındaki fikirlerinizi öğrenmeyi amaçlıyoruz. Anketi tamamlamak yalnızca 10 dakikanızı alacaktır. Ayrıca anketi isimsiz dolduracağınız için, verdiğiniz cevapların gizli tutulacağından emin olabilirsiniz. Ankette sorulan soruların doğru ya da yanlış kesin bir cevabı yoktur; sadece farklı kişilerin fikirlerini almak istiyoruz. Bizim için önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüzü öğrenmek olduğu için cevaplarınızda açık ve dürüst olmanızı rica ediyoruz.

Giriş

İHÇ'den kaç kez alışveriş yaptınız?

	0	1-5	6-12	13-50	51+
	○	○	○	○	○

Screen Shot of Item Format in Online Customer Survey

Bölüm 1.1

Sıradaki bölümde İpek Hanım Çiftliği yöneticisiyle olan etkileşimlerinizi değerlendireceksiniz.

Ankette size bazı ifadeler verilecek ve bu ifadelere katılıp katılmadığınızı 1 ile 7 arasında değerlendirmeniz istenecek. 1 "Kesinlikle katılmıyorum", 7 "Kesinlikle katılıyorum", tam ortada yer alan 4 ise "Ne katılıyor ne de katılmıyorum" anlamına gelmektedir.

Pınar Hanım'ın haftalık gönderdiği e-mailleri okurum.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

Pınar Hanım'ın e-maillerinden öğrendiklerimi başkalarıyla paylaşırım.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

Pınar Hanım'ın çabalarına destek olmak için onunla iletişimde olurum.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

Appendix D: Interview Questions on Dark Sides

For Owner

What tires you out the most from the work?

What are the biggest challenges you face with the employees?

What are the biggest challenges you face with the customers?

What are the challenges in getting the customers more involved in the work?

How is your vision different than the employees/customers? What is the most difficult part of your vision to try to get others to adopt?

What do you expect from your employees/customers? When do they not meet these expectations?

How does your work here compare to past businesses you have run? Is this more or less tiring?

If you wanted to walk away from this farm, do you think you could?

What do you dream of your farm accomplishing? How do you feel when you don't see this happening?

For Employees

Sizce İHÇ'nin en büyük sorunu nedir?

Pınar hanımın 3 olumsuz özelliğini sayar mısınız?

Hiçbirişmükemmeldeğildir. Sizinişinizdesevmediğinizşeylernelerdir?

İHÇ'deçalışırkenkarşılaştığınız 3 problemisayarmısınız?

For Customers

Intro

Please tell me about what happened with MSF.

How long were you a customer of the farm?

What do you think the vision or goal was of MSF?

When you think of MSF now, what does it mean to you?

Do you feel like your involvement was totally about your relationship with Pinar Hanim?

Do you think the overall goal is more important than the owner?

Employees

How do you feel about the women who are working at the farm?

Did you consider continuing as a customer in order to support the employees?

Pinar Hanim

What were you expecting from Pinar Hanim? What did you feel her commitment was to you?

What did you feel your commitment was to her?

Did you feel loyal as a customer? Do you feel Pinar took advantage of this loyalty?

Do you feel that Pinar Hanim took advantage of you in any ways?

Do you feel that Pinar Hanim was not sincere in the end?

Do you think she is profit oriented?

Do you still read her emails? Do you believe what she writes?

Overall

Do you feel like the farm changed since you began as a customer?

What were the main things you were hoping to get out of your involvement with the farm? Did you feel like these things were being achieved?

Burnout

Did you feel burned out at all from your involvement with the farm?

Even before you stopped buying from them, were than any aspects of being a customer that were burdensome?

Stopping as customer

Was it difficult to stop being a customer? Did you feel stuck at all when all of this happened or was it is easy to move on?

Did you ever talk to Pinar Hanim? Did you feel any shame or guilt from her?

Did you feel any pressure from other customers to stay? From the employees?

Outside the farm

Do you feel Pinar Hanim wants other farms like hers to succeed?

How do you think the people within the farm network view people outside of the farm network?

Were you thinking differently when you were a customer of the farm about those outside of the farm? Is there anyone you felt cut off from as a customer, that changed once you left?

Life after

Overall, when you look back on your years of involvement with MSF, how do you feel?

Where are you buying from now instead of MSF?

Do you feel like you still have the same goals as when you were a customer of the farm? (the people part, dreams coming true for the women in the village)

If you were to consider getting involved with such a farm again, what would you do differently?

Snow-balling

Have your other friends continued as customers? Is the person you first heard about the farm from still a customer?

Could you recommend some other former customers that I could talk with?