

Access to Land for Community Supported Agriculture "CSA"



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Access to Land is a critical issue for agriculture. Especially, undertakings like “Community Supported Agriculture” experience several difficulties under the present conditions. Deriving from a study of Urgenci, from the year 2016, “CSA” is a form of direct partnership between a group of consumers and producers. Risks, responsibilities, and rewards of the farming activities are shared through long-term agreements. In general CSA’s operate on a local scale and short chains, which limits transport ways, as also the need of several middle men. CSA’s aim to provide high quality food products, produced in an ecological way. Thomas Rüter, defined three different types of CSA, from which the second is the true CSA, where risks and responsibilities are shared as explained. The CSA development in Germany, has experienced a positive period of growth. After long stagnation, there are currently around 143 CSA’s and more than 100 Initiatives aiming to start their CSA.

This study shall elaborate on the various difficulties lying in the field of land acquisition, and present possibilities how to take land out of the ordinary tenure markets and the relating issues in form of land speculation, price increase, and high competitive rivalry. A base for this study is the shared believe that, since land is a non-producible good, it should also not be treated as an ordinary producible good.

In the historical context the land liberation starting in the 19th century was an important aspect, in which farmers had to pay for their liberation which created debts for 2 to 3 generations. The possibility for many to now gain ownership could be seen as the beginning of switching from seeing the value of land in its production capacity to the value of land itself. Besides, an important issue for the industrialization was the structural change. Farmers developed from stands to jobs, and farmers could get any job. This was the opening of the stand and the beginning of the structural change with was the base for industrialization. Despite the opening of the stand, entrance into farming was still barely possible due to the high financial investment necessary. Today a strong decline in undertakings is visible. The average farm size has risen over the last years. Farms below 100ha decrease and farms above 100 ha increase. Although, according to the German Farmers Association the structural change is slowing down, it still has strong impact on the agricultural sector.

This research aimed to analyse critical issues on “Access to Land” for CSA, examine possibilities for common property, and its governance. The study was limited to the area of Germany and a period of 10 months. The mentioned topics should be researched carefully and backed up with in depth interviews with different actors within the sector of community connected farming.

In general one can describe the agricultural sector as very competitive. The introduction of Biofuels and the increase of external investors entering the market since the financial crisis from 2007 have led to a strong price increase over the last years. The situation for newly entering farmers is therefore very tense. Common methods of acquisition bare several difficulties and are rarely possible for especially niche market, small-scale, and organic

farming. All interviewees gave several insights in the wide range of sub topics underlying the field of community supported agriculture and community connected farming.

During the research the issues of high prices, still ongoing increase, increased Biogas production, wrong subsidisation, poor governmental decisions, and external investors entering the markets have shown critical effects. In general, available land is lacking, and accessibility is difficult. The farm succession is also a major problem for the next years. More than 1/3 of all farmers will retire in the next years. This will tighten the mentioned aspects further and will lead to farm workers instead farmers. Farm workers decrease due to mechanisation, and together rural livelihoods disappear.

Nowadays, there are several promising liberalisation models, aiming to put an end to the mentioned issues. Land should be in citizen hand as proclaimed by many of the new Initiatives. The field is wide, from foundations, like the CSA Pente, joint stock companies like "Regionalwert AG", cooperatives like the "Bioboden Cooperative" and "Kulturland Cooperative", and even research associations like the Agronauten. These Initiatives promote ecological agriculture, the enriching of rural livelihoods, and nature protection. Furthermore, they guarantee the non-saleability of the agricultural land and its utilisation according to the set principles. Finally, the Initiatives offer fair and safe investment for citizens, and at the same time allow them to be actively involved in agriculture. The new initiatives give several benefits and opportunities tackling nicely constraints and critical issues. The last aspect of this research is a short reflection on governance aspects, how to govern common property and keeping focus on the before set guidelines.

In conclusion, one can say that the common methods bare too many difficulties, and are only available for a limited number of people with the corresponding financial background. This, makes access critical. Anyway, new ways have emerged and have taken over an important role in order to increase attractiveness and lower access problems. New farmers are important to tackle the ongoing decrease of farmers and the related dying out of rural areas. The Initiatives take out several difficulties and simplify access, due to their financial back up with the help of citizen capital. Thus, the initiatives play an important role in tackling or at least limiting the mentioned obstacles.

Based on the research, recommendations have been elaborated. Together with the technical question of "Access to Land" a social question arose, dealing with the fact of low attractiveness of certain areas. A further aspect, is the cooperation of the different actors within the field. This can lead to a stronger lobby. Altogether, the researcher hopes to have critically conducted all the important information related to the issue of land access, available for the network of CSA and all other interested parties.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
e.V.	eingetragener Verein / Listed Club
GG	GrundGesetz / Fundamental Law
NSDAP	National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei / National Socialist German Working Party
LPG	Landes Produktions Genossenschaften / Agricultural Production Cooperatives
GDR	German Democratic Republic
BVVG	Bodenverwertungs- und -verwaltungs GmbH / Land utilization and administration GmbH
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung / Business with limited Liabilities
DBV	Deutscher Bauern Verband / German Farmers Association
ha	hectare
EUR	Euro
eG	eingetragene Genossenschaft / Listed Cooperative
BGB	Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch / Citizen Law code
ErbStG	Erbschaftssteuergesetz / Inheritance tax law
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau / Credit Institute for Reconstruction
KTG	Company phantasy name
SE	Societas Europea (European legal form of joint stock companies)
AbL	Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft / Peasant agriculture syndicate
TI	Thünen Institute

AG	German legal form of joint stock companies
GLS	Gemeinschaftsbank für Leihen und Schenken / Community Bank for Borrowing and Gifting
OLC	BioBoden Genossenschaft / Organic Land Cooperative
CCFC	Kulturland Genossenschaft / Community Connected Farms Cooperative
Et.al.	et alii / and others
TDL	Terre de Liens
Ltd.	Limited
LVL	Regionalwert AG / Local Value Ltd.
FDR	Fundamental Democratic Rights
BÖLW	Bund Ökologische Lebensmittelwirtschaft / Association Ecological Food Economics

1. INTRODUCTION

The presented report is the Bachelor Thesis of “Sebastian Ast”, from “Van Hal Larenstein” university of applied science.

The report is an analysis of renting and buying models, available in Germany, for “Community Supported Agriculture” (CSA).

The development of CSA in the context of the German situation will briefly be presented, and the history of Agricultural Land ownership will be explained.

The topic of the thesis is the exploration of different renting and buying models of land for CSA’s which will be examined and evaluated according to the social, environmental and economic aspects. Furthermore, recommendations for suitable lease and buying models will be given.

In addition, possibilities of transforming private to common ground will be reflected and steps to be taken explored. Furthermore, it will be researched on how to keep the land commonly used.

1.1 Commissioner

The presented Bachelor Thesis is being commissioned by the network of “Solidarische Landwirtschaft e.V.”, which is the German head network for CSA.

The network was founded in 2011 with the aims of:

- Promote Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) together with an appropriate paradigm change
- Encourage and facilitate the founding of new CSA farms
- Provide counsel and support for existing CSA’s

The network claims to be a merger of people with agricultural background and interest, who are committed to the implementation of CSA. They want to help existing CSA’s but also newly found CSA’s to self-organise all their procedures. Furthermore, the network understands itself as a platform for information and competencies for and about CSA, available for all interested parties, farms and private persons. [1]

Veikko Heintz as a member of the „Solidarische Landwirtschaft e. V.“ is the direct commissioner who supported the Author during the conduction of the report.

1.2 Background

Agriculture, as part of the national economy, is still an important economic sector in Germany. Still 1.5% of jobs are generated within the agricultural sector. Moreover, several other business types such like trade, handicraft, and processing industries are strongly linked to the agricultural sector. In addition, several services are being requested by farmers. In 2014 every 9th job was in any kind of relation to the agricultural sector [2]. Thus, its impact goes beyond just the involved actors.

Agricultural land prices have increased strongly over the last years. Especially from 2007 onwards, prices have exploded [3]. Also, the situation for small holders got harder, because of the ongoing

increase of scale of agricultural business [2]. Nowadays, the European agricultural sector is dominated by capital-intensive and specialized agriculture with intensive resource use, high fertilizer and pesticide exposure, long transport ways and monocultures [4]. Fewer farmers produce more and more for the people, and this trend continues further. [2] This has an influence on the availability of products and even more on their low prices [5]. Nonetheless, this system has also negative impacts on social and ecological aspects, and even regional economic aspects, such like loss of biodiversity, soil contamination, ecological impact of intensive livestock farming, or water rights issues [5].

As explained, the agricultural sector strongly consists of large-scale farming with lower individual product costs. Small farmers can barely compete with the low prices. Therefore smallholders can only survive through specialization and differentiation in niche markets [6].

Another development is an increased awareness of consumer about food products in general, as also their means of transportation and more important cultivation methods. Transparency on how food is grown and where it comes from plays an important role [7]. This is also reflected in the growth of the organic food market in the last years: turnover from 2000 to 2016 has increased nearly by 500% to around 9.5 million euro yearly turnover in 2016 [8]. Moreover, people start actively taking part in influencing food chains. During this development, some got and will get in touch with Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). There is an increasing number of CSA's also in Germany, and together with this also its popularity is increasing [1].

One aspect of the research is to find out about the situation on the agricultural land markets and elaborate different possibilities of facilitating access to land. Different options can have various positive and negative aspects which are interesting to figure out. Prices and availability are also playing a major role in land acquisition and will not be neglected. In addition underlying reasons will be explained. Furthermore, the researcher is interested in ways how to break the circle of ongoing price increase of land and too little available land for interested groups and farmers. The final aspect is to reflect on the idea of common property or common pool resources. These will be evaluated together with aspects necessary for group organisation.

1.2.1 CSA

This chapter will give an explanation on what CSA actually is. Different models will be explained. Afterwards the historical development of CSA, mainly in Germany will be presented. This is necessary to understand driving forces and also delivers the background to understand the today's situation.

Explanation

Usually farming in Germany is supported by subsidies and therefore also bound to certain criteria. Others have cooperation's with big supermarket chains, milk producers or else, this is limiting their freedom in decision making and makes them vulnerable to price dictates by corporations. An alternative to these agricultural activities is "**Community Supported Agriculture**" CSA, the cooperation between a farmer and a consumers group. Within CSA, a group of people is sharing the costs of an agricultural enterprise, including land rent, seeds, tools and the farmers' salaries, and in return receives all of the farms outputs [9]. Sometimes farmers actively look for consumers who are interested in creating a partnership with a farm, and other times a group of interested consumers is looking for either land, with the need of hiring a farmer afterwards, or a farmer with land who is willing to cooperate with a group of consumers [10].

Although there are some distinct identification characteristics, CSA initiatives vary strongly from each other and can differ in nearly every aspect. Some CSA's require the members to work on the fields and some completely organize the work to be done by professional farmers. Likewise, the product range differs a lot, where some grow simply vegetables, others offer dairy products, meat, and bread. Some even produce seeds and fertilizers, mostly in sort of animal dung, themselves [11]. In the same way, farm sizes and the number of members can differ strongly, from farms of just a few hectares to several hundred hectares in size, and from small member groups to vast amount of members being supplied by a CSA. Correspondingly, the possibilities of legal forms for CSA's are plentiful [12].

A study of the European CSA Research Group from the year 2016 states a definition of CSA, which was developed during a meeting of representatives from twenty-two European countries. The following working definition was defined:

"CSA is a direct partnership between a group of consumers and producer(s) whereby the risks, responsibilities, and rewards of farming activities are shared through long-term agreements. Generally operating on a small and local scale, CSA aims at providing quality food produced in an agroecological way." [9]

Within CSA products no longer enter the ordinary markets, but enter an own transparent business circle, which is funded by a CSA's members [12]. If one becomes a member of a CSA people no longer buy single food products. Members financially support the whole farm for which they gain all the farm's products. Thus, members are carrying the risk of low yields but also benefit from high yields.

Members are usually obliged to become members for one year. The organisation is done via member meetings and so on. Farmers and members decide together what to grow and how to grow. In fact most CSA's agree to grow organic. As mentioned, there are several different ways of how to organize and plan a CSA.

In general CSA-farmers have better planning possibilities. They preferably receive the needed amount of money for the business activities of one year at the beginning of the year or monthly. Both ways allow exact planning. The turnover is already known and "earned" at the beginning of the year. Besides better planning, it minimizes risks for the farmers or at least limits them to finding enough members at the beginning of the year. There is no need for pre-finance or loans from banks [13]. The risks of price fluctuations are gone, and the risk of low yields is spread over the whole group of members. All together farmers have to deal with less financial issues as ordinary farmers and can focus solely on their farming activities. Together, farmers do not need to exploit the soil with the use of extensive amounts of chemicals, exploit animals, or exploit themselves. This even can happen with organic farming [13].

Besides the mentioned aspects, Transport ways are limited strongly. In some cases, chosen members pick up products from the farm and deliver them to the members or arranged storage spots. Sometimes transportation is even done by bicycles. Furthermore, there is usually no packaging, and definitely no exploitation of workers in foreign countries or elsewhere [14]. Due to the personal relation with each other, producer and consumers experience the diverse benefits of a non-industrial and market independent agriculture.

CSA Types

Thomas Rüter defines three different types of CSA's. The first group describes also non CSA types like box subscription and other niche markets. The second type are the so called "real CSA's" which falls

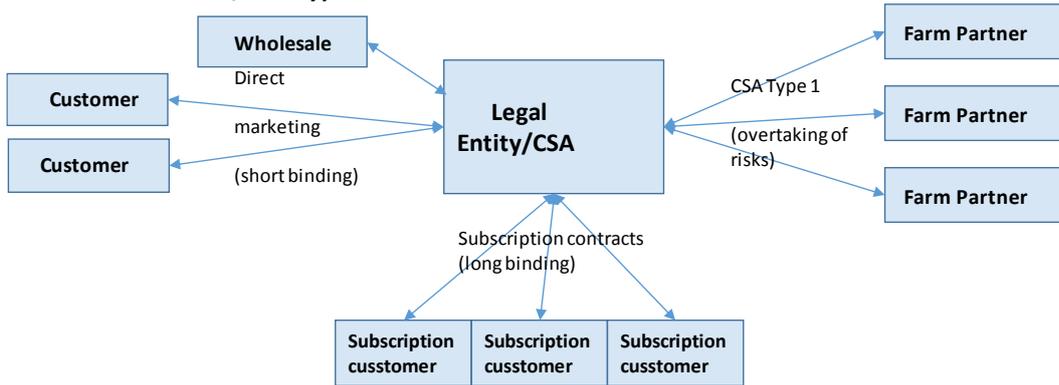
under the previous stated definition. The last types are the entrepreneurial types. All the different types show the wide range of possibilities harboring in CSA. :

Table 1.1: Types of CSA [15]

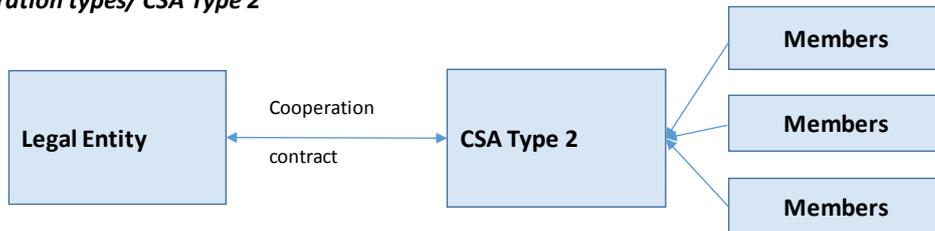
Type	Legal relationship	Customer/Social Binding
<i>I. Bilateral Contracts</i>		
Direct Marketing	buying contract	loyal Customers; joint ideological drive
Box subscription	Subscription; fee for products	prolonging yearly contracts; joint ideological drive
CSA Type 1	buying contract over share of harvest, sales price relates to production costs	prolonging yearly contracts; joint ideological drive, cost transparency, shared risk
<i>II. Cooperation types</i>		
CSA Type 2/ Actual CSA	Association, cooperative, Cooperation contract of legal entity and farm	Relationship to the company and with each other, assistance, joint ideal goal, identification with the project, risk takeover
<i>III. Entrepreneurship</i>		
CSA as Company, CSA Type 3	Association, cooperative, CSA keeps entrepreneurial risks	CSA is responsible for production and distribution till consumer, joint ideal goal, identification to the project, different to the agriculture community consumers are only members not entrepreneurs
Agriculture community	private corporation (GbR), participation of consumers in the company	Joint entrepreneurship of production, consume and productions becomes less important, joint entrepreneurial/ideal goal and joint risk taking.

The following graph is the attempt to visualize the previous explained differentiation of the three mentioned CSA types by the network Agriculture as Commons.

I. Bilateral Contracts/ CSA Type 1



II. Cooperation types/ CSA Type 2



III. Entrepreneurship/ CSA Type 3



Figure 1.1: Types of CSA [15]

CSA Development

Extreme changes in the past have influenced Farmers and Consumers since the 70's to develop alternative agricultural concepts. Out of these impulses the development of CSA started. There are different stories about the actual existence of CSA and its progress. In the United States CSA initiatives started from 1985 onwards [16]. Regarding Europe, the development of CSA, as stated in the 2016 research paper of Urgenci, started in Europe from 1978 in Geneva Switzerland. In the following years CSA experienced only little popularity and therefore only a few new initiatives started. Around the millennium the development of CSA experienced a boost [17]. In Europe, especially in Great Britain and France CSA experienced increasing popularity. Besides, the idea spread out to a large number of countries until now. France, Italy and Belgium are estimated to host the largest numbers of CSA's. The figures presented in the following graph are the estimated quantities of CSA's according to a study by Urgenci [17].

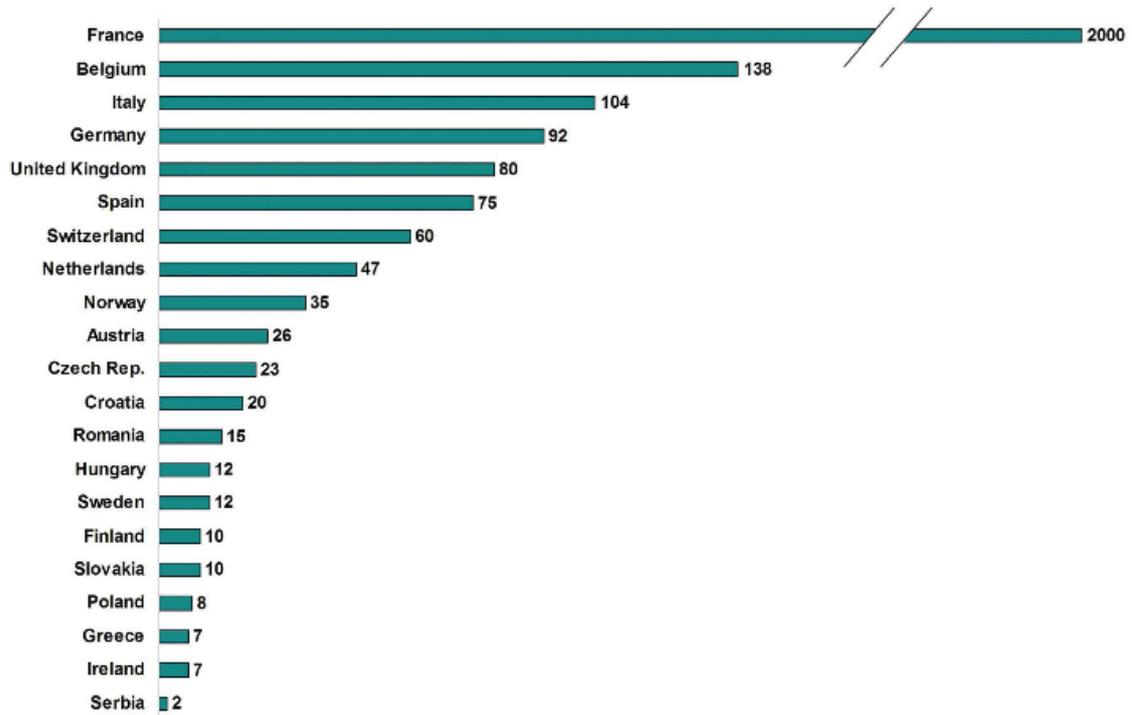


Figure 1.2 Number of CSA's in Europe [13]

In Germany the development started early but slow. Only by the year 1998 a slow increase started. Today there are more than a hundred CSA's and around the same number of Initiatives starting or wanting to start a CSA listed in the network of CSA in Germany. The second graph shows the development of CSA in Germany from 1988 to 2014. [18]

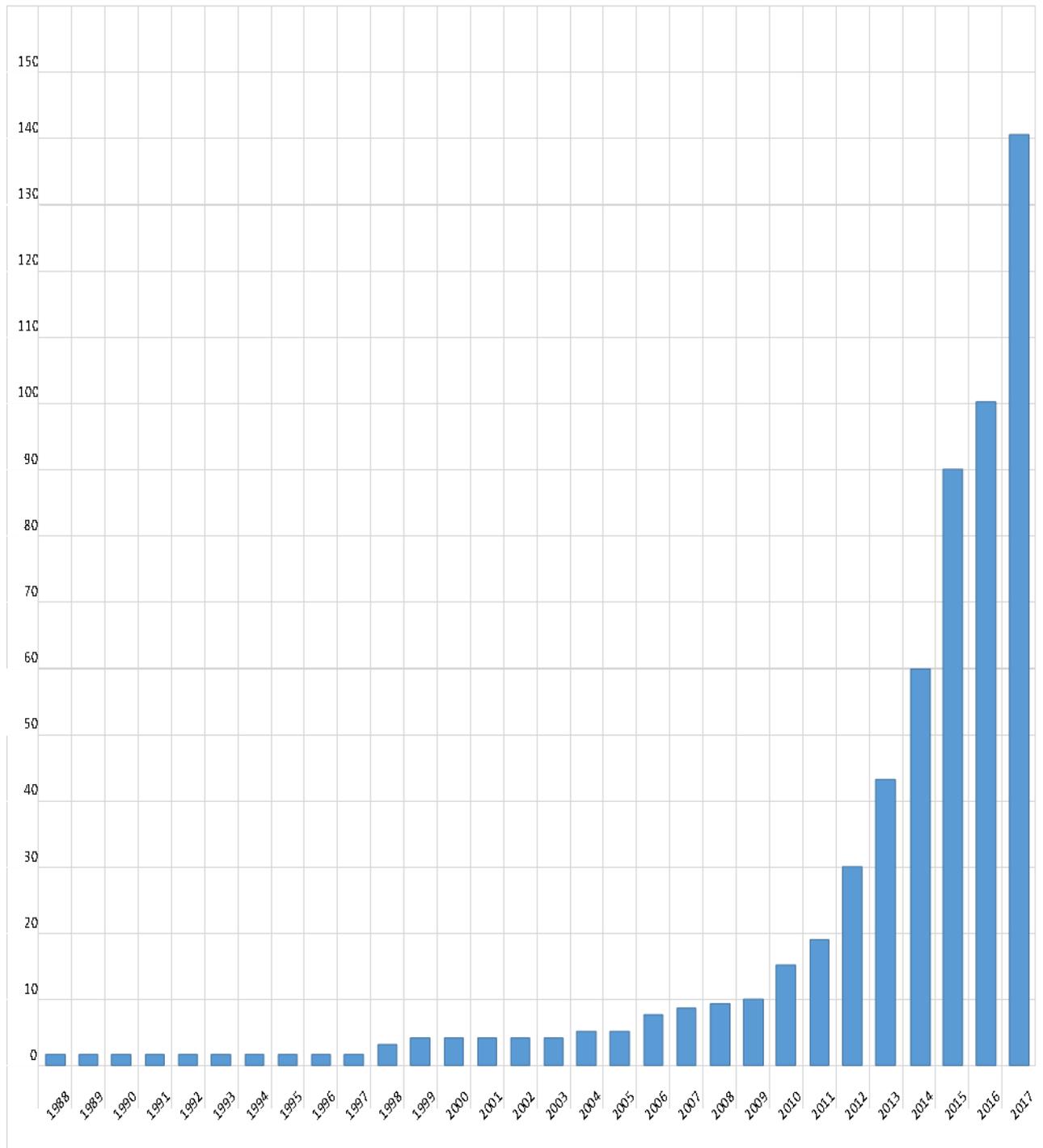


Figure 1.3 CSA development in Germany [18] [19] [20]

1.2.2 Land Ownership

Land is a non-producible good. Therefore, the market is a limited stock market. During this report access to land possibilities will be reflected. The base for many of these initiatives, is the believe that land should not be treated as an ordinary producible good and should not be an object of trade and speculation. This chapter explains the history and the today's situation of the German Ownership Law especially with regard to the land tenure markets. The land ownership situation of CSA will be presented as well.

The German fundamental law article 14 GG states the right and the guarantee of ownership and heir. Article 14b GG states that ownership also obliges and the utilization shall likewise serve the common good [21].

History

Land liberation and structural change

Within the 19th century the liberation of the peasants took progress. This meant the detachment of commitments towards feudal landowners and land lords [22]. Until the beginning of the 19th century the great majority of peasants lived in dependencies. Farmers were not owners but users of the land. They had to pay tribute to or pursue services for the land lords. Generalizing one can talk about feudal dependencies of the farmers. Yet there were strong regional differences. The situation in the east of Germany was worse. Nonetheless, like also in the west there were some farmers with better ownership rights, less duties and lower tributes [23].

1807 the Prussian government ended formally the feudal regime. In the opposite of France, feudal land owners should not be dispossessed without compensation. In the north-east cession of property was used, and in West Germany financial compensation was used. After different medium or little positive results, a break-through could be reached due to the Revolution in 1830. It led to better agricultural reforms in Saxony, Hannover, Hessen, and the southern German areas. [23]

The farmers had to pay high for their liberation [24]. The key word was redemption. The capital investment was so high that the interest rate nearly reached the previous paid feudal tributes. Governmental credit institutes were necessary to support the farmers with long lasting credits, in order to finance their liberation. But this led to long lasting debts of the farmer families [23]. According to the Land Liberation study from 2012, the payments weighed on the farmers families for two to three generations [22]. In the south west some dispossession laws could be prevented. In spring 1848 this all concluded in further unrests. This led to the push of agricultural reforms in the whole German area. Compensation for feudal land owners were reduced strongly. But even the revolution would not be the end of the reforms. The judicial aspects were mainly decided on until 1850, but in some cases the reforms carried on until within the 20th century. [23]

Next to the liberation of peasants, other reforms focused on the closure of cooperatively used commons or the joining of those to larger areas. These reforms also started in the 18th century and lasted over centuries. Especially in the beginning years the rural lower classes were affected negatively. Until 1850 the main focus was on the northern areas, thus unlike in the rest of Germany, the conflicts in 1848 in the north were mainly between farmers and rural low classes [23]. In relation the mentioned reforms, there was a north-south incline. In some West German areas the feudal structures survived until after the Second World War [23].

After the reforms, farmers could cultivate their land without influences by authority or community. Agricultural land could be used as collateral on the markets, properties could be vended, or they could be inherited to the next generations [22]. The modernisation of the agricultural sector later set the base for the intensification of agriculture and the higher demand for food products in the urban and industrial areas [24].

In the past "peasant" has not been an occupation but a class. Especially in the middle ages and feudalism farming was done by classes of farmers. Farmers have always been farmers together with their children and grand-children [22]. The structural development went along with the industrialisation [25]. Since a huge share of citizens were farmers, the change was necessary to gain

enough workers for other industries. Until today the change continues. Amount of farmers is decreasing and farm size is increasing. Statistically every 20 years the amount of farmers is halved [26].

An important requirement for the structural change during the industrialisation, was that stands developed into occupations and anyone, also farmers, could exercise any job they wanted. Nonetheless, the other way around was and still is barely possible due to ownership of agricultural land and the linked difficulties [22].

Development after the War and Reunification

Before the Second World War, the east of Germany was dominated by large scale farmers from mostly noble stand, called "Junker". From 1945 till 1946 land owners who were associated with the NSDAP got expropriated. But also other large scale land owners above 100ha got expropriated. The land got taken over by Funds and was re-divided. In total around 560.000 people received Land via the Land reform and more than 210.000 new farms were created with an average size of about 8.1ha [27]. Next to other problems caused by this land reform, the sizes of the farms were too small to be economically viable. Also many farmers abandoned their newly received land due to no means of production and in some cases not even a farm house, others escaped to the west. As a counter measure in 1952 the first Agricultural Production cooperatives (LPG) were created which combined land from farmers [27]. The enforcement of collectivization of agricultural land in associations was the set objective by the government of the "German Democratic Republic" GDR. The LPG's were not successful and could not deal properly with the lack of production. Next to other and prior obstacles, most of the LPG's were led by party members and not professional agriculturists which caused other issues. Family farmers blamed the system of associations due to bad experiences made with the LPG's. Until 1960 the LPG's combined close to 85% of agricultural land. The ongoing collectivization caused more agriculturists to leave the country and others to leave the production associations. Furthermore, a "work slowly" attitude developed among the dissatisfied farmers. It is believed that the agricultural production issues took a major role in the problematic situation of the GDR.

In the western occupied territories also agricultural reforms were planned but after the new founding of the German republic most plans got put to shelve due to the negative experience with the eastern agricultural reforms [27].

After the collapse of the GDR and the reunification in 1990 a lot of new laws were created to revoke the dispossession of the farmers after 1949. Often, the LPG's were converted to Firms, under the German law called GmbH, or cooperatives. Furthermore, the owners of the collectivized land got control over their land again. The land dispossessed from 1945 till 1949 was kept in the ownership of the government [22]. In 1992 the "Land utilization and administration GmbH" (BVVG) was founded with the objective to privatize the former dispossessed agricultural land. Since 1996 the BVVG is commissioned by the German government to follow the objective according to the trust law from 1990 [28]. The law deals with the compensation of those dispossessed from 1945 till 1949 by the GDR [29].

In the west of Germany the major focus was to overcome the food shortage of the years of the War and also the food shortage after the winter of 1946/1947 and the following summer [30] [31]. The situation was dramatized due to refugees and expelled entering the country. Mechanization and the intensification of agriculture helped to reach the objective and initiated the development we see today [31]. In general farming activities were done with no to little respect to ecological aspects. [32]

Today

Nowadays, a significant decline in agricultural undertakings and motivated farm successors is recognisable. In order to tackle this issue it has to be thought about measures of side entrance into agriculture.

In 2012, 16.7 million hectares in Germany were used for agriculture [2]. Of this, 71% is arable land, 27.8% meadow and pastures, and 1.2% permanent crops. The average farm size is 58.6ha [2]. Compared to 2007 where the average farm size was still 52ha [26]. 23,000 farms (8.2% of the total number of farms) and an area of approximately 1 million hectares (6.4% of the total agricultural area) was under organic agriculture in 2014 [2].

According to the "Situation report 2015/2016" of the "German Farmers Association" (Deutscher Bauernverband DBV) the amount of farms is continuously decreasing. From 2007 to 2014 the annual decline was 1.6%. It has to be considered that farms of a certain size will be counted for the statistics, and the necessary farm size for being counted has changed from 2ha to 5ha in 2007. According to the assumption that the amount of farms below 5ha has decreased by half, the annual decline would be 2.5%. Nonetheless, in the decades before the annual decline was around 3%, which indicates a slowdown of the structural change. [2]

Another dramatic issue is the strong increase of farm sizes. The average farm size nowadays is 59ha. Farms below 100ha are decreasing but farms with 100ha and more are increasing. In 2014 these farms cultivated 57% of the agricultural land in Germany. [2]

The ongoing reduction of farmers together with the difficulty of new entrance for outsiders without great wealth affects the agricultural production. There are several dramatic issues related to bio diversity, nature protection, soil contamination, animal wealth, resource waste, and also social aspects, just to mention a few, partly caused or favoured by conventional farming and the agricultural situation today.

Coming back to the east of Germany, the BVVG still plays a major role. In the facts and figures report of the BVVG from April 2016 the following figures are stated: 841.000ha have been sold, 437.000ha of it with discount conditions to entitled citizens according to the trust law. Until December 2015, still 154.000ha owned by the BVVG were being rented, mostly for long term. The government plans to finish the privatization until 2030 [33].

In 2014 the average sales price of BVVG owned property was 17.270 EUR/ha. In comparison one can see the average sales price in whole Germany is 18.099 EUR/ha. That would indicate the BVVG sells the land cheaper than the average sales prices. Nonetheless, the average sales price in Germany is a combination of the average sales price in West Germany: 28.427 EUR/ha, and East Germany: 12.264 EUR/ha [33]. This shows the attempt of the BVVG to bring the land prices in East Germany to a West German level.

The objective of some of the today's growers is to liberate agricultural land once again. This time not from feudal landowners or else, but from private landownership in general. Agricultural land shall no longer be inheritable or disposable, rather than be utilized under a set easement for the farmers. Agricultural land should no longer be bound to capital interests or family bound heritage. Successors also outside farmers or wealthy families can be found and properties can be used permanently for ecological cultivation. [22] [34]

Land Ownership Situation CSA

Most commonly, CSA land is part-rented and part-owned by the farmer or completely owned or completely rented by the farmer. However, there is also some CSA land, which is owned by the CSA itself or other non-profit organisation. Moreover, there are efforts to free further land of private ownership [18]. Several Initiatives have developed which are also sometimes working together with CSA's. The initiative will buy the land and rents it to the farmer. Also financial support of farmers is possible. The detailed explanation of these models can be found in the results.

1.3 Problem Definition

CSA's need land for their activities which is getting more difficult as explained. Land becomes more attractive to investors and therefore prices increase. Next to this the introduction of bio fuels caused further pressure on the land tenure markets [35]. All these developments increase the obstacles for especially newcomers in the field. Land is a limited resource which cannot be produced. Due to that there will be always competition about land between urban areas, industries, conventional and organic agriculture, but also even food vs. fuel, between CSA's and further between food production and nature protection. Thus, the competitive rivalry for land is very high and a serious issue for not only CSA's. [36]

There are several different methods on how to buy or rent land. The different models have different opportunities and constraints, furthermore other purposes can suit other ways to acquire property. The use of credits, sponsoring, crowd funding, gift, non-profit organisations or requests to governments are only some of the possible options to seek land which will be explored in depth within the study. For CSA's it is important to know which different possibilities are available and which are suitable for CSA's. In addition, what types of ownership exist and are suitable for CSA's is an important question which will be reflected on.

A further question is how can land be bought or leased collectively. Since CSA is about community the land could maybe also be obtained and owned by the community. Private property could become common property, which also raises the question of governance. A last aspect would be how to keep the land as common property that people who need land for cultivation can have access to it, and this for more than one generation.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study will consist of three phases. During these phases different methods of research and data collection will be used.

The research will start with desk research. Information about land ownership schemes and transition possibilities from one model to another will be collected. The found literature will be reviewed intensively and information will be chosen carefully and critically. The data will be collected from different internet sources and furthermore from a literature list which will be presented in the sources chapter.

The second step will be field research which is necessary to obtain first-hand information. Interviews with different groups will be done. Farmers and Members active in CSA will be interviewed and asked for their personal experience with land rights issues. The situation of the CSA's is important also to understand from their own perspectives. Furthermore, questions about land transition forms and whether they see a need for that will be asked. The researchers will try to travel to the CSA's and experts which are in the closer surrounding which means within the Area of NorthRheinWestfalia. But also some travels to important and well known CSA's are possible. In addition, it will be tried to reach many people which sometimes can be simplified by using phone, e-mails and possibly skype contacts. The researcher did in-depth Interviews with three experts and two farmers. The farmers are Olli from the CSA Basta in the Oderbruch close to Berlin, and Kai Brickwedde, a committed member of the CSA farm Pente.

In addition, the author visited the network meeting of the German CSA head Initiative "Solidarische Landwirtschaft e.V." in Kassel/Hessen. During this meeting first-hand information could be gathered, and many conversations with different actors within the field of CSA, could enlighten the situation further. Also the governance structures of the network could be observed.

Afterwards, Interviews with land acquisition experts who can give insights about how to lease or buy agricultural land will be done. In addition valuable information about land transition methods should be gathered. Interviews with experts from non-profit cooperatives who already dealt with the topic will be done. The experts are Peter Volz from the Agronauts, Titus Bahner from the Kulturland eG, and Uwe Greff from the BioBodenGenossenschaft.

The author developed a questionnaire which was adapted to the purposes of the report according to the interviewee. The complete questionnaires can be found after the annex in Chapter 8.

Information about price development in Germany will be gathered and put together in a visual graph. The outputs of the interviews will also be put together in a graph to visualize the collected data.

The last step is to analyse the gathered information critically and compose the found information into a systematic coherent research report.

2.1 Limitations

The research is limited to the area of Germany. Furthermore, only CSA's and experts in the field of community driven projects will be addressed. The project is limited to sixth months.

2.2 Research Objective

The objective of the study is to research the mentioned aspects thoroughly and translate the outcomes in useful information for the network "Solidarische Landwirtschaft e.V." and other interested parties.

The subordinate objective is to support the cause of CSA and to research and present opportunities and constraints about different renting and buying models for land. Also the possibility of transforming private into common property will be researched and presented which should help interested groups.

The aim is to help future CSA's deciding on to buy or rent land and how to achieve this. Likewise existing CSA's can use the information to maybe transform their private land to common land if it suits their purpose. How this process can be structured will be a further objective of this report.

2.3 Research Questions

1. Elaborate positive and negative aspects of renting and buying models which are available for agricultural land in Germany and which are suitable for what type of CSA?
 - a. Analyse possibilities to transform Private to common property and what steps need to be taken?
 - b. What needs to be done to ensure common property is kept and being used by the community, including governance structures and property schemes?

2.4 Research design

The study eliminates a qualitative research in a descriptive study design about the CSA sector in Germany with the focus on land acquisition and land rights. Information will be collected, categorized and analysed critically. Open Interviews will be used since the character of these type of question suits the report more.

The author decided to use in depth interviews and solely do a qualitative evaluation. The amount of interviews did not allow for a further quantitative analysis. In the authors point of view the qualitative analysis is the best way to answer the leading research questions defined already in the research proposal. All of the interviewees, next to their profession on their particular field, are also experts in the matters the researcher is interested in. Thus, the given information have been collected carefully and fitted in at the matching point within the report. During the interviews the author realized the different positions of all the interviewees and with it the importance to reflect qualitative on the given statements. Furthermore, the author tried to combine the literature review analysis with the field research to back up the findings in a proper way.

2.5 Data Collection

Information about following topics will be gathered through desk research and field research via in depth interviews with experts in the field of CSA and land issues (Chapter 8: Interviews):

- General information about CSA
- Ownership issues
- Prices and Availability of Agricultural Land
- Buying and renting of Agricultural Land
- CSA Community issues
- CSA Governance issues

Additional topics which are necessary to back up the presented topics will be researched via desk research. Afterwards collected data will be analysed and useful information be chosen and used for the report.

During the report the supervisor and coordinator will back up the research. They will support with extra information, feedback, check of data, further contact to interviewees and support through the network.

The questionnaire will be developed that its' results will suit answering the defined research questions. Also feedback is necessary for finalization.

The final step is doing the interviews with the different partners, and analysing and transforming the information into a coherent research report.

3. RESULTS

This chapter will form up of the Interview answers, which will be analysed and useful information will be used for the Report, and the chosen information from the literature review. The whole Interviews can be found in Annex.

The results chapter is divided in five sub chapters which derive from the order of the Interview Questions. Ownership in general will be presented. Followed by the price development and availability of land. Afterwards it will be dealt with land acquisition with different possibilities. Next, new ways of acquisition will be presented. Last governance structures will be analysed.

3.1 Ownership

Any modern constitution defines rules about ownership. The ownership law clarifies, through whom and through which channels the present goods are being utilized and shared. The base for the ownership laws sets Article 14 of the Constitution, and §903 of the “Citizen Law Book” BGB [37]. The state decides on what ownership can be gained. Ownership on land can be gained, but not on human, which has been different in other times and under other states [22]. Next to what can be owned, the state also defines the legal boundaries of ownership, such like nature protection, soil or water protection and other restrictions. The freedoms of an owner are being regulated for instance in the §§ 904 and 906 BGB [37]. These change over time, and are strongly affected by political decisions, which can be based on democratic majority decisions. This indicates that also the ownership of land is a politically wanted and through laws established Institution [22]. Political ideas can change over time and therefore also the laws and ideas on ownership. It has to be understood that the configuration of the ground laws is based on small law changes over the past two centuries and therefore shows the past and present power structures [22]. Human intervention can also lead to law changes over time. In conclusion, ownership is an idea backed up with laws. Those ideas have experienced several changes in the past which reflected the ownership situation as well.

3.1.1 Details

The process and mechanics of ownership are fairly complex. Acquisition can be done via appropriation, usucapion, acquiring property through uninterrupted possession, conjunction, and further heir, state acts, or just procurement [38]. Rights of third parties may not be harmed [38]. Furthermore, belonging to the ownership laws is a guarantee of ownership and a social obligation of ownership. Also the state is bound to these concepts. Nonetheless, at the same time the state is obliged to define the boundaries of ownership as well. In some cases ownership can be limited or changed due to other circumstances such like agricultural law, business law, nature law, or city build law. Withdrawal of ownership shall only be done if superior reasons which serve the common good. [38] [39]

In addition, ownership of property may be private, collective, or common, and the property may be of objects, land or real estate. Intellectual property cannot be owned. One is the barer of a patent not the owner [37]. The following table shows the different types of ownership.

3.1.2 Ownership models

The German citizen law code distinguishes between:

- **Personal ownership** - Assets and property belonging to an individual, also known as individual ownership. [40] [38]
- **Collective ownership** - Assets and property that belong to a collective body of people who control their use and collect the proceeds of their operation. [38]
 - Private ownership - A subset of collective property whereby a collective group of owners (such as shareholders) own productive property that is used by employees, usually for the purpose of generating a profit. [40] [38]
 - Joint ownership – Collective property whereby a group of owners own a joint property together. The property cannot be divided via shares. Everyone owns everything jointly. [40] [38]
 - Cooperative ownership - Property that is owned by those who operate and use it. Also referred to as social ownership.
- State ownership - Assets that a state or certain state agency has jurisdiction over in terms of use. [41]
 - *Government ownership* - Assets belonging to a body of government. [41]
 - **Public property** - Assets owned by a government or state that are available for public use to all their constituents. [42]
- **Common ownership** - Assets and property that are held in common. [43]
 - Communal ownership - Property held in common by a commune.

In this list one can see clearly there are several options for collective ownership. Property can be held by a commune, by a cooperative, via shareholdings, or also the public property. The research will reflect especially on these types of ownership.

3.2 Land Acquisition

For Land acquisition in Germany there are three common methods. Agricultural Land can be bought, rented or inherited. This chapter will explain the three methods to give an overview of the situation. Nonetheless, the chapter will start with a brief explanation of the development of the three methods.

3.2.1 Development

During the 20th Century Lease models in agricultural land ownership and also family bound heredity plays an important role. From 1900 onwards, the structure of agriculture changed. Agricultural land was inherited to the children who then divided the land and therefore created smaller farming enterprises. During the industrialisation farmers' kids used to turn to other fields of work and rented the land. Usually, the next step in the chain is that the land gets again inherited to the next generation who has no binding to the land or the job. Finally, the land will be sold [22].

In the past renting of agricultural land was common, but prices have increased strongly since 2007 and therefore the ratio could change in future [3]. From 1991 onwards renting prices for agricultural land have nearly stagnated [2], which was one of the reasons rented agricultural land made up 60% in Germany [22].

3.2.2 Renting

This chapter elaborates about renting. In the German law leasing and renting is differentiated. In Germany one mainly talks about renting referring to a flat, office, house or else. Bars, restaurants, cars, and farm land can be leased. The differentiation is seen necessary to express the extra rules being set for such types of “renting” [44]. Nonetheless, the English terms renting and leasing are often being used for the same and have no clear differentiation. Since the reports is dealing with the agricultural land situation, these aspects will be evaluated.

Renting land has been a common method for long time also due to rather stable prices. Renting still makes up to 60% of the agricultural land [42]. But due to recent developments prices increased rapidly which hardened new entrance. Finding new land to rent is also getting increasingly difficult at least through common methods. [22] page23

There are laws for renting agricultural land. Agriculturists can be favoured in renting land over non agriculturists. Furthermore, renting prices should be appropriate to the possible revenue. In fact there is no punishment on wrong doing and therefore the law is not being enforced much [45]. There are considerations on binding the validity of renting contracts to possible claims of wrong doing [22]. A further law maybe will be implemented in future, but this will be discussed at a later stage of this report.

The following table, from the situation report of the “German Farmers Association” from the year 2015/2016, indicates the risen renting fees in comparison to the rented area from 1991 to 2015 in Germany. The increased fee on the opposite of the nearly stable rented area, indicates the tremendous price increase. Thus, renting land gets more expensive which hardens the situation for farmers further [2].

	1991	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Rented land in 1.000ha	9.087	10.446	10.811	10.636	10.042	10.018
Renting fee in Million Euro	1.281	1.536	1.741	1.872	2.049	2.434

Figure 3.1 Renting of agricultural land [2]

Positive about renting is the low investment taken by the farmer, but negative can be the continuity. Depending on the situation renting contracts can expire. Which leads to difficult situations for farmers. Furthermore, in the current situation were more and more of the older land owners tend to sell their land rather than continue renting it. Thus, the amount of land to be rented is decreasing. Which already can be seen due to the rented area having decreased slow but steady from the year 2000 onwards. More often farmers get put in the situation to either buy the land they use or stop their undertakings because the land is going to be sold to financially stronger parties. Kai Brickwedde, from the CSA Pente mentioned that renting of agricultural land is definitely a lower financial investment. But it bares certain risks [46]. The farmer is dependent on the situation of the owner. If the owner plans to sell the land, the farmer is put in a difficult position. Either, a land procurement follows, which often is not affordable, or the area gets sold to another investor. In addition price

increase can affect the renting price as well. In some cases rent may extend the possible payable amount for some farmers.

Mr. Brickwedde described the situation as follows: *“The relations to the owners are often already yearlong, and thus very good. Many of the owners are inactive farmers. What the heirs are going to do with the land afterwards, and how they perceive the project, is unclear. Due to the good relations and the support of the CSA, the prices are very low. This could change in future.”* [46]

Crucial questions of survival arise when rented land will be sold after time. When the former owner inherits the land to the heirs and they want to sell it, farmers fear to lose their land and together their existence. It is not stable enough. The farmer is dependent on the situation of the owner. Next to the mentioned aspects renting bares potential due to alternative solutions. These will be reflected on in a following chapter.

3.2.3 Heir

In Germany, heir is regulated in the Civil Law Code (BGB) and the Heir Tax Law (ErbStG). Heritage is usually given to children or other members of the family, but also non-family members can become inheritor via a notarial acknowledged testament. From a certain amount of exemption onwards taxes have to be paid for the heir. The following table shows the different amounts for each category and the belonging taxes. For donations the same laws and taxes apply. [47]

Tax Category (§ 15 ErbStG)	I	I	I	I	II	III
Category	Marriage / Partners	Children	Grandchildren	Parents	Siblings	Everyone else
Amount of exemption (§ 16 ErbStG)	500.000 €	400.000 €	200.000 €	100.000 €	20.000 €	20.000 €
Tax at a Value						
up to 75.000 €	7%	7%	7%	7%	15%	30%
up to 300.000 €	11%	11%	11%	11%	20%	30%
up to 600.000 €	15%	15%	15%	15%	25%	30%
up to 6.000.000 €	19%	19%	19%	19%	30%	30%
up to 13.000.000 €	23%	23%	23%	23%	35%	50%
up to 26.000.000 €	27%	27%	27%	27%	40%	50%
above 26.000.000 €	30%	30%	30%	30%	43%	50%

Figure 3.2 Tax table for Inheriting [47]

The table shows the significant difference in the categories. Family members have higher exemptions and also falling under tax category I, their heritage does not get affected strongly. Already siblings, but especially non-family members have to give a large share as tax to the state combined with a low amount of exemption.

In order to avoid divestiture of a company, and also agricultural businesses, there are several laws to protect the heritage of being taxed. Moreover, there are some federal state laws favouring not splitting of the farm. [22]

Nonetheless, until 2008 there was no attractive possibility in inheriting a farm to non-family members. This complicated the search for motivated successors. Inheriting to non-profit associations is possible without paying taxes. But non-profit associations fall under other strict rules explained in another chapter of this study. [22]

In 2008 a reform in the Heir law created paragraph 13a and 13b ErbStG. These laws regulate exemptions on taxes. The idea was to keep business assets also when inherited to non-family members, mainly to avoid an increase in unemployment. With this laws, heir can be tax free if salaries for employees stay similar for at least 7 years. [22]page 20/21

Obviously, in order to be able to come into one's inheritance there needs to be someone inheriting it to you. The laws for this are clear. It has been pointed out that inheriting big amounts of value such like a farm one need to be in the nearby family in order to avoid paying high taxes, which often is not possible to pay for a farmer. For gifting the same rules apply and therefore the same obstacles. Inheriting land is usually been done inside the family. As explained before, during the structural development children of farmers used to find occupation in different fields of work which led to first out renting of land and then disposal. Inheriting and gifting of land is getting a rare situation. There are many obvious positive aspects, but the crucial negative aspect is that one cannot rely on such a situation and can rarely influence it. Foundations and non-profit sponsors often work with gifting or donation of land. For this as explained the same tax rules apply, and therefore the same difficulties.

3.2.4 Buying

The third and final method is buying of land. As explained there is now mainly the third generation after the farmers who have no binding to the land anymore and therefore are selling the land. Many renters of land were given the first right to buy the land if they can afford it. At the moment 38.4 % of the agricultural area in Germany is owned properties [48]. The researcher interviewed Olli from the CSA Basta. The CSA has bought land together with a cooperative. They are collated in the east of Germany close to Berlin. In the east of Germany as pointed out by Olli during the Interview the land acquisition situation is very difficult. Large spots are owned by the government which is selling it to the highest bidder, as explained previously this is being done by the BVVG. Also finding Land together with a farm house is as he called it: "...a lucky situation" [49]. If one has the money to buy land this can be positive. One has the full rights to use the land as he pleases but is also carrying the full responsibility and risk. Especially nowadays buying a whole farm is a vast investment which can rarely be done by individuals. This also led to the situation that investment firms are buying land as collateral and reselling it if necessary. No optimal situation for a farmer.

Not to be forgotten is that if one buys land, the investment needs to pay off. Olli stated: "*Land ownership brings the need of creating high profits in order to get back the investment. This will lead to neglecting of human, nature, animals, land and else, as it can be seen in conventional farming and even big organic farmers. Furthermore, land is likely to get sold later on and will so just re-enter the ordinary process. Thus, I find ownership not important. But for some it may be the right choice in their situation.*" [49].

Usually, land will be bought with support of a bank credit which needs to be returned by time. This can set high pressure on farmers and will lead to decisions solely focusing on return of investment. A

farmer will often tend to ask for subsidies, or grow what is most profitable, and as explained before that is mostly not ecological agriculture. This can also lead to decisions solely focusing on the profit to equal the investment. Buying land is a strong investment with high risks. The prices are very high, and the return of investment leads to farmers developing to managers.

During the Interview with Basta, Olli stated that they did not want to be the owner of the property and then earn money with it and maybe later on sell the land with profit to new investors. Basta believes in the Idea land should not be sellable like ordinary goods. *“Land is a limited not producible good that needs to be available for living and agriculture before generating profit”* [49].

The following table shows the amount of agricultural area sold in 2015. The table already indicates the importance of some states over others in terms of sales. And moreover, already shows a difference in value in the regions. The following chapter will deal in detail with the land prices.

Federal State	Sales cases	Sold Area	Sum of Sales
	Amount	Hectare	In 1000 €
Baden-Württemberg	5.251	4.011	98.210
Bayern	5.007	6.899	331.404
Brandenburg	3.593	32.847	404.768
Hessen	4.331	3.742	53.298
Mecklemburg-Vorpommern	1.799	15.718	313.415
Niedersachsen	5.599	12.828	391.517
Nordrhein-Westfalen	2.579	3.641	139.574
Rheinland-Pfalz	4.397	3.755	47.040
Saarland	893	449	4.359
Sachsen	1.924	6.433	69.381
Sachsen-Anhalt	3.537	13.249	200.357
Schleswig-Holstein	929	4.055	105.935
Thüringen	4.271	7.854	79.797
Germany	44.110	115.481	2.239.055
East	28.986	39.380	1.171.338
West	15.124	76.100	1.067.717

Figure 3.3 Amount of Land sales in Germany 2015 [50]

3.3 Land Prices

An important aspect to understand the current situation and be able to see the obstacles farmers are having on their own at the moment. It is important to have a closer look on the Land price development. The prices for agricultural Land have increased strongly over the last years. There are several underlying reasons for that.

A reason certainly is the biofuel boom, which caused renting prices in some regions to have doubled or even tripled. This strongly endangers existence of many farming enterprises. In addition the biofuel boom is strongly affecting the buying prices of agricultural land in Germany and many other countries. The expanded competition for land has led to an increase of sales and renting prices [3]. Biogas production is very profitability due to fixed income, this allows the payment of higher prices. In a study from 2012 it is mentioned that in 2km surrounding of Biogas plants renting prices have increased strongly [22].

Another aspect is the entrance of external investors on the market. This also plays a role on further price increases and a lack of land availability. In a study from the “Research Center for Financial Services” about the change of investment behavior from July 2012, indicated the increased interest in secure investment possibilities after the financial crisis in 2007. Furthermore, transparency and replicability of an investment became more important [51]. This can be a threat and opportunity for the sector.

In addition the request of non-agricultural interest groups for land is a further competition. The price level of agricultural land close to urban areas is also affected by their demand for land. The agricultural land area is continuously decreasing while settlement and traffic space, but also forest area is increasing. In the years from 2001 to 2011, 24% of agricultural land in urban sprawls, and close to 0% of agricultural land in far from urban sprawls areas [3].

The financial crisis in the year 2007 led to more investors asking for higher security of their money. Land as collateral but also as speculation object has become more interesting since then. Regular investment types experience higher risks together with a risen awareness of investors after the crisis. Thus, higher security investments are being demanded [3].

The price development for buying agricultural land from 2007 to 2014 is shown in the following graph. The graph shows the different states of Germany with the related price development per hectare.

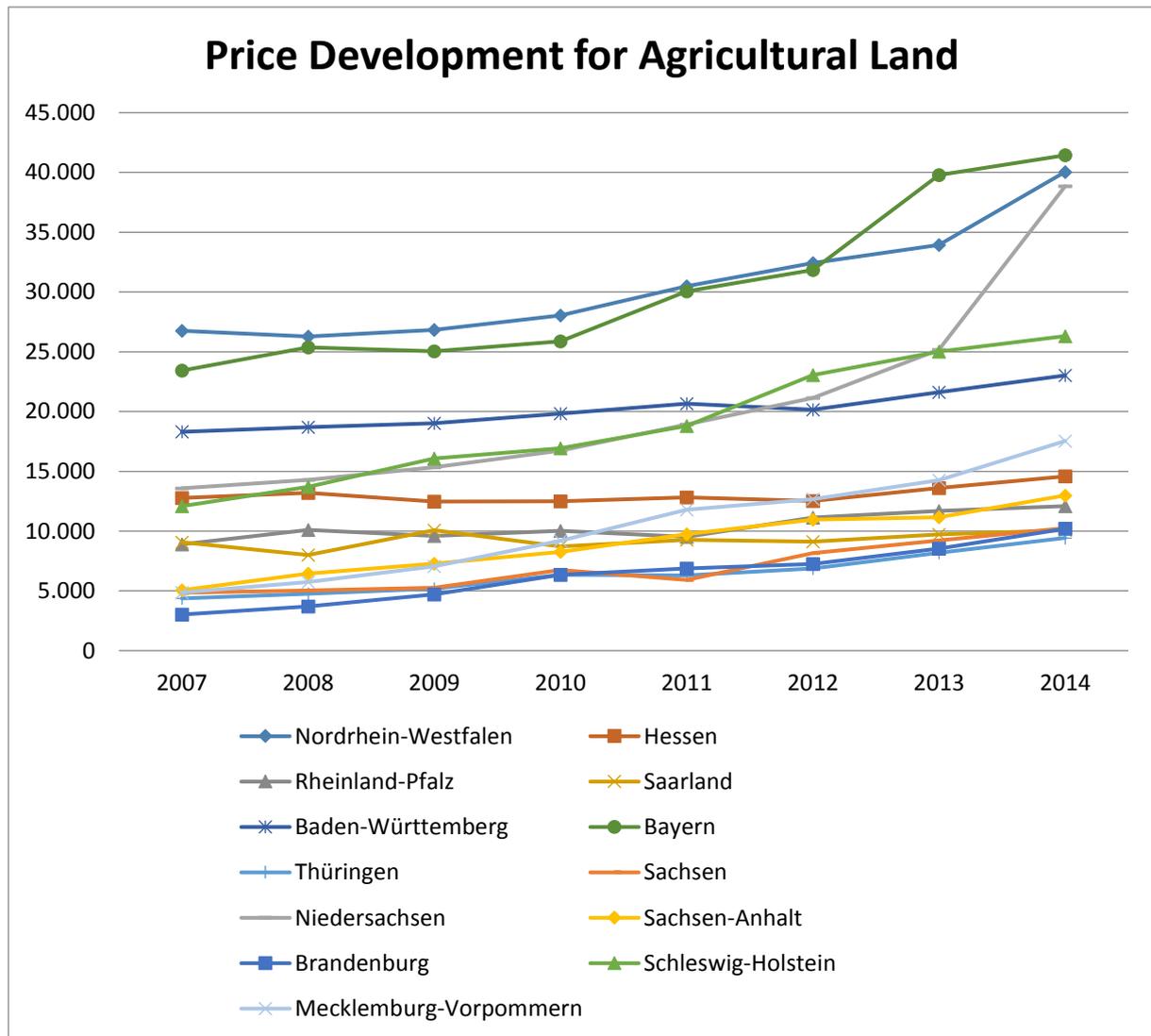


Figure 3.4 Price Development for Agricultural land in Germany

As it can be seen the prices have increased rapidly in all of the federal states. Saarland, Hessen and Rhineland-Pfalz show a little exemption. Some regions like Northrhine-Westphalia, Bavaria and Lower-Saxony have hectare prices sometimes far higher than 30.000€. They are the most expensive federal states in Germany. It can also be seen that the former GDR states have all at least doubled in their price level. The front runner is Mecklemburg-Vorpommern where prices have even tripled.

As pointed out by Peter Volz, from the Agronauts: “Prices vary strongly by region and location. Even within a region there can be high differences.” [52].

The researcher wants to reflect shortly on the reasons for the price development in the last years. There are several underlying reasons such like subsidisation, land as collateral, increase of biogas production, external investors entering the market, an ongoing structural change, and more. Within the interview with Peter Volz, he also stated the loss of land, land as speculation object, and a concentration to bigger farms, as reasons for the price development [52].

Mr. Brickwedde also mentioned that the sales prices have increased strongly: “Sometimes prices up to 10€ per m² are being payed” [46]. Similar to the previous stated reasons, Mr. Brickwedde talked about actors like Biogas producers and conventional production of corn and other crops, but also other renewable energies like on-shore wind power which also have an impact on the price

development in their region. They all compete for the available land [46]. This trend is also being reflected on in the final report of the “Government-State Working group” about the Land tenure markets from January 2016. Land owners profit from renting fees or compensations related to the build of wind turbines [3]. In addition, Mr. Brickwedde mentioned that a newspaper has mentioned the discussion over an industrial park in the area of the CSA Pente, which could be a giant threat [46].

The researcher believes to have pointed out the structural change already, thus this chapter will mainly inform the reader about Biogas production and external investors in the agricultural market.

3.3.1 Biogas

A new dimension on the demand for agricultural land has been started with the energy generation through Biogas. From 2006 to 2010 there was a doubling of installed benefits, such like subsidies [22]. The funding of energy production with Biogas, as a part of the implemented renewable energy law, was one reason for the tremendous increase in Biogas production [3]. In addition the build-up of Biogas plants is supported through cheaper credits from the KfW Credit Institute for reconstruction [53]. All regions of Germany are affected, there is a concentration in the agricultural intensive areas though [54]. The final report of the “Government-State Working group” about the Land tenure markets from January 2016, states that in 2013 17.8% of agricultural land have been used for Biogas production. Farmers gain a secure source of income due to the governmental support for a duration of 20 years [3]. This is a critical issue for competing farmers facing other conditions, but also has a strong impact on the farming activities. Farmers may choose to grow for Biogas production due to the financial security.

According to the presented graph, the number of Biogas plants has risen over 9000 in the year 2016, this equals around 3% of the agricultural area in Germany. From 1992 till 2016 Biogas experienced a tremendous boom, especially beginning in the year 2008. Because of its competitiveness, Biogas has a strong influence on sales and renting prices. Furthermore, the increase of Biogas plants together with high subsidies and low profit through food production, many farmers switched to just Biogas and growing maize. This had a strong influence on the ongoing increase of monocultures within the landscapes [55].

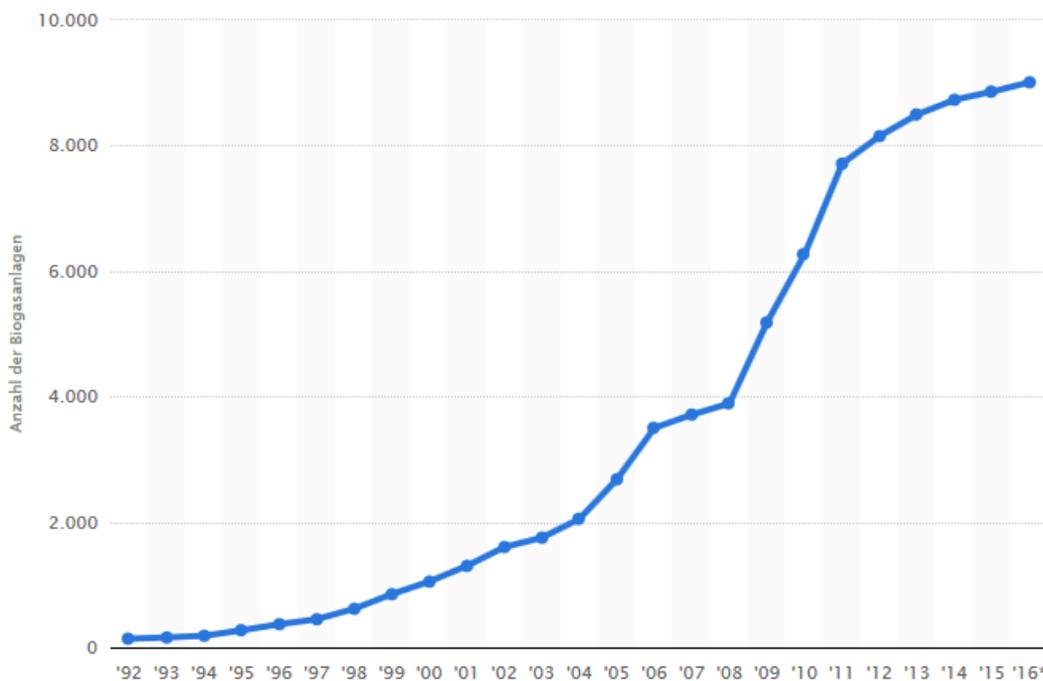


Figure 3.5 Number of Biogas plants in Germany in the years from 1992 to 2016 [35]

A comparable study of the University of Göttingen in five counties of lower Saxony showed for instance that independently from the existing producer structure, renting prices in the near surrounding of Biogas plants have tightened massively [22]. Nonetheless, according to the “Agency for renewable energy” the buildup of Biogas plants is close to stagnation [56]. Despite the validity of the assumption, this will not lower the harm of price increases also due to other sources than Biogas. In the Biogas sector there are also giant players to find like KTG Agrar SE. The company originating from Hamburg was founded in the year 2000 and was already in 2013 one of the major actors on the conventional and ecological agriculture market with around 46.000ha of land in Germany and Lithuania [57]. In addition, KTG owns 21 Biogas plants, which makes them a giant player in this sector [58]. Since July 2016 the company is facing bankruptcy. Major shares have been sold to a construction company, the “Zech Group”. [59]

The company belonged to the biggest beneficiaries of European subsidies, which led to the “peasant agriculture syndicate”/ “Arbeitsgemeinschaft bäuerliche Landwirtschaft (AbL)” criticizing that companies like the KTG solely live on their vast amount of subsidies and would fast enter negative profit if those would be lowered. Even the term Land grabbing has been used in the context. In 2006 the company received 4 million euro and made a profit of 2.5 million euro [60].

Thus, the theory of false subsidization appears once again. The bankruptcy of the KTG will also lead to further sales of the land owned by the company. What impact the bankruptcy of the biggest land owner in East-Germany will have on the land tenure market can only be assumed so far.

3.3.2 External Investors

The (Bundeslandwirtschaftsministerium) Federal Ministry of Agriculture commissioned the, half government owned, Thünen-Institute (TI) to analyse the role of external investors in agriculture in Germany. In October 2011 the first study was published and a second study about non-agricultural and over regional investors was published in Juli 2013.

No data collection on the ratio of ownership is being done by the government, thus the research is based on statistical data, conversations with Institutions, and data collected by state agencies and the BVVG. In addition case studies were conducted. The second study is also based on expert interviews and case studies.

According to the study the reasons for investing in the agricultural ground sector are rather diverse. The BVVG made prices more transparent, this led to an adjustment of the lower prices in the east to the west prices [61]. Still, the study shows that 20% (up to 50% regionally) of the bought land came from external investors, mostly from west states. Often, they started their activities already in the years after the reunification. To mention are "Steinhoff Holding, Thomas Phillips, KTG Agrar AG, and other big investors mainly from the cattle sector. A further party is the GLS-Bodenfonds or BioBodenGenossenschaft OrganicGroundCooperative [22], and other actors in the field. According to that it is important to mention that often external Investors are seen as a negative aspect. But next to just profit based investors, there are also others. The BioBodenGenossenschaft, OGC, as also all the other initiatives in that field are based on external money. Uwe Greff from the OGC pointed out that:

"...without external investment and also the possibility to support farmers from outside, none of the new models would be possible." [62].

External money is important to help the sector. Also external Investors can have positive motivation such like organic production or a social component rather than only profit based. The OGC is a cooperative which is buying agricultural land together with farmers, with the help of citizen capital. The land is being secured for farmers to continue or start with agriculture. Farmers are required to be a member in a farmers' association which also all ask for organic production [62].

Furthermore, also Peter Volz from the Agronauten pointed out that:

"...not any investor can be seen as evil." [52].

There is a wide range of motivations in that field. Furthermore, the investments bare high potential. The Agronauts are a research organization focusing on small-scale and organic agriculture. An aspect the Agronauts want to research on is the problem to detect motivations of external investors and ease the situation for those with positive motivation [52].

In the east of Germany, most of the land is owned by families out of the former GDR. But they rent their land to big Agriculture cooperatives. Nowadays several want to get their shares back to use it themselves or sell it. Other areas are owned by the government and the BVVG is selling the land to the highest bidder [49]. The BVVG is selling most of the available land. Titus Bahner from the Kulturland Genossenschaft, CCFC, explained that they base the sales price on disposed surveys over the land [63].

A situation the CSA Basta experienced was the following:

Ordinary land prices lie around 8.000€ per ha. But the BVVG tries to achieve highest prices possible. Basta had been paying 18.000€/ha instead of 8.000€. BVVG sellers prolong the process to achieve higher prices. The process took several years [49].

On the other hand Titus Bahner from the "Kulturlandgenossenschaft" stated that the CCFC bought together with the farm Basta 9ha from the BVVG. They payed 1,7euro/m². At that time it was rather high but now the other prices have increased as well strongly. Due to an intermediate seller and

other problems, the price increased and the finalisation of the deal took nearly two years. Yet, the land is very fertile [63].

Believed is that the continuously critical situation on the financial markets plays a higher role. Non-agriculturists are procuring active property as secure collateral. This additional demand for agricultural land is causing price increases. Especially, because it is bound to a small market, less than 1% of the agricultural land in Germany is being sold each year. Because of the privatization politic of the BVVG in the east of Germany the average is higher [61]. In two areas where case studies have been conducted land has been bought and rented back to the farmer. In both, east and west, private but also other external investors bought land as secure collateral and rented the areas back to the farmers. This tendency is experiencing a rise. Nonetheless, the activities of external investors have not been seen only negative. Machine investments, preservation of old buildings, and even sometimes investors actively living in the area and being present as a contact person also in the village life. The study of Titus Bahner, Xaver Diermayr, et.al. about Landliberation from October 2012 states that the influence on the increase in land prices is much more dominated by the sales policy of the BVVG. The BVVG with its policy of the maximum bidder increases the prices especially on the tight market. Nonetheless its policy it has been recognized that the BVVG is reaching tremendously higher, sometimes even double amounts from private investors. A negative aspect is the disregarding of crop rotation, for instance with Biogas cultivation [22]page40.

The study does not report on Institutional buyers as also not on hedge- or pension-funds. Investors are wealthy business man from the east of Germany or stock companies, also out of the agricultural sector. External private investors using land as collateral and renting the land back are being an additional competition on the market, but are not necessarily disliked [22]page40.

Also the TI states that a further reason for the increase of external investors is the structural change in the past. Many entrances of external investors are happening via the change of generations. Also to mention is that many giant agricultural companies take part in the run for land which of course also plays a role for the situation. The increase in sales prices has of course also a strong interlinked effect on the renting or leasing prices [61].

Although, a significant increase of the progress has not been detected by the study, the findings point out that there is a slow long running progress tighten the ownership situation in Germany [61]. As it could be seen from the example of Lower Saxony, already in 2011 35% of the sales of agricultural land were being done by external investors. This is especially surprising, taken into account that agricultural investors are privileged to buy land, together with a high demand for agricultural land by agriculturists. It could be that the high prices for land are pushing agriculturists out. Also because even though they are privileged to buy the land they have to enter the sales contract to the agreed conditions [22]page.

The government claims to have recognized the issue and aims on following its progress. Despite they point out the responsibility lies in each of the states. In some states a tightening of the property law is being examined [61].

3.3.3 Governmental Intervention

An attempt to tackle the current situation and ease the progress in the future, some federal states are talking about new laws. Lower Saxony plans to implement a break for renting and sales prices of Agricultural land. The new law shall offer a pre-emption to Farmers with agricultural land sales. The

rural agriculture will be strengthened by the law according to agriculture minister of the federal government of Lower Saxony Christian Meyer. Transparency within land sales will be increased, and family farming will be promoted in paying the overly high renting prices. Especially, ecological and small farms have strong problems on the current market. In future, the price level in the area will be determined. If sales or renting prices are 30% higher than in the area the break starts. High fines for wrong doing are planned. Also the tendency of monopolism or market ruling positioning shall be tackled by the law. This will get active when a party already bought or rented more than 25% of agricultural land available in the area. If that is the case other investors will be favoured in buying the land. The structural development will be slowed down and the influence of non-agricultural investors will be decreased. Moreover, newly entering and young farmers will get better chances via a point based system. According to Meyer, the agricultural associations and he himself agree that the current property law is a so called toothless tiger. [45]

In general laws as such are been seen critical and are rarely being implemented. The agricultural reforms in the east of Germany during the Soviet occupation are also often used as examples against governmental interaction in the property law. Some criticize the law to intervene with the freedom of ownership. The director of the Leibniz-Institute for agricultural development in Halle, Alfons Balmann, is afraid the law will affect the open competition negatively. [64]

The “Association of Co-operatives” published a statement about the law plans on the 26. January, 2017. They support the idea of a law protecting farmers from the mentioned obstacles. Thus, they do not see the law tackling the issue at the right point. Much more, the association would welcome supporting initiatives for young farmers with bonds and attractive successor incentives. The association also refers to higher bureaucratic expenditures. But the main claim is based on the idea of a free market where government interaction can only be the ultima ratio [65].

Saxony-Anhalt now also talks about implementing a law in that direction. It is believed that the effects will be even stronger since there are more large scale enterprises. The prices in general are yet under the German average but are increasing strongly as well. An early approach could prevent the situation from getting worse and could curb the development of ongoing price increase. Already in the year 2015 the state of Saxony-Anhalt started talking about a new law implementation, but it was dropped due to the state elections and harsh criticism of local agriculture initiatives. Now, the new minister for agriculture, Claudia Dalbert, introduced the discussion again with the plan to draw an outline for the situation [66]. The federal government of Baden-Wuerttemberg also tried to block external investors and implemented for instance privileges for non-profit initiatives over other outside investors (5).

In addition to the previous stated criticism, the question arises if not the swift of subsidies could gain bigger impact than the planned law. The practice of supporting large-scale and extensive farming and moreover biogas production, through subsidies is believed to have strong negative aspects on the situation. A stronger support of organic, small-scale and new entering farmers could be realized via subsidies. Or subsidies for others could be decreased to make the market situation fair for everyone again. It is obvious that market conditions are harder if there is no financial support compared to others.

Titus Bahner of the KulturlandGenossenschaft sees the situation as follows: *“The agricultural structure law where some federal states are talking about, can be seen as an honourable try, but it is thought in a too traditional manor and does not go far enough to tackle the real issue. At the moment land in*

Lower Saxony costs around 30.700 euro per hectare. This is already four times higher than the ordinary organic farmer can equal with the production. The new law is too lax and will not affect current prices but a too high increase in future. In relation to the price development the train has left the station. Prices are already too high and this cannot be tackled by a law.” [63].

He believes: *“A more important aspect of the government would be to think about the ongoing monopolisation of the market. A change in practices with the sales rights would have been better. Furthermore, new ways of accessibility need to be created.” [63].*

Uwe Greff: *“I think the whole debate about the limitation of property rights does not go in the right direction. In my opinion this is a distraction of the actual problems [62].*

One just has to look into the statistics on how many properties get sold per year in Germany. It is a very small amount. The question is: Is this the right tool if you want to shape agriculture. I think there are better tools. One can imagine that the law is not doable in reality. There are several examples for that. A better tool is subsidization. It gives far better control and influencing possibilities as with a new law. But it is clear to see that there is no consensus to change anything in that policy. Because, it is not wanted. Sometimes there are some cosmetic changes, but that has no affect. In my opinion, that will be the same with the new planned law. There will be so much resistance that no one wants to have the law [62].

3.4 Availability and Accessibility

Next to the price developments which have an impact on the situation, also the availability and accessibility of land plays a major role. Due to too high prices the accessibility is lacking especially for newcomers in the field of agriculture. Land becomes bigger in size, and this tightens the situation. Uwe Greff mentioned that in the next 10 to 12 years up to 35% of the farmers will retire. Just due to the demographic development [62]. According to the “German Farmers Association” 68% of farmers are 45 years and older, and only for one third the succession is resolved [67]. This makes the farm succession an important aspect in future.

There are local markets which are completely empty. In others there is still a lot of movement. Especially, difficult to maintain land, or dour land is often bought by young creative farmers [63].

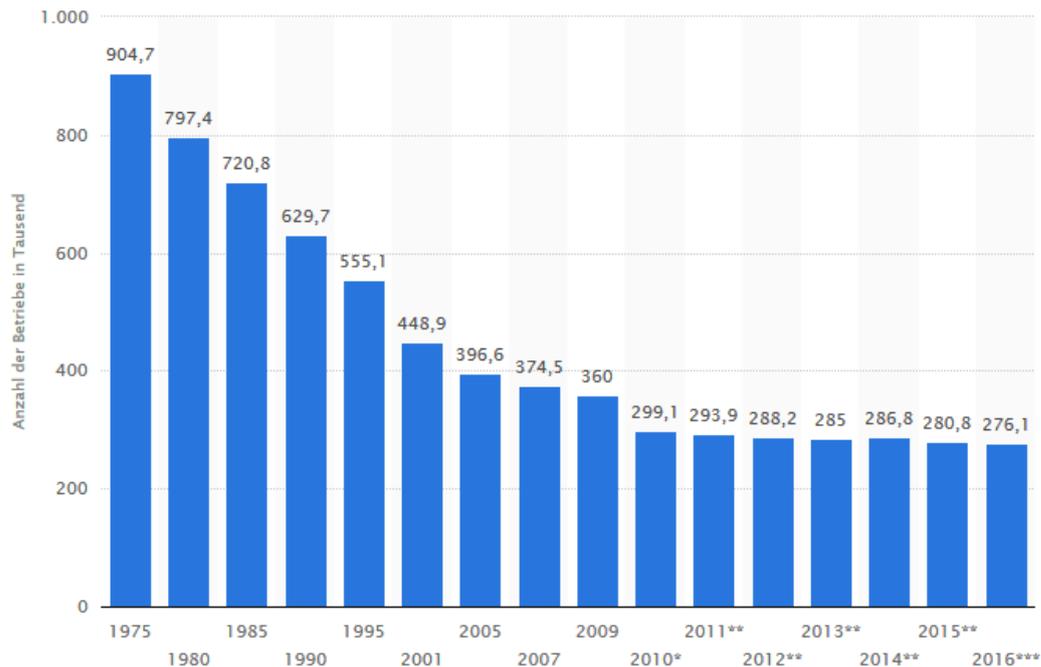


Figure 3.6 Amount of farms in thousands [68]

It can be clearly seen that the amount of farms is decreasing. Together, the size of the farms is increasing. This will continue in future. Especially in the conventional sector many farmers will retire in the next years. The structural change will be tightened. Ownership will be concentrated. This means there will be less farms with bigger size. So, there are less farmers needed, rather than farm workers and more technique. Thus, the amount of people active in agriculture will further decrease [63].

In the situation of East Germany, Olli described that there is rarely land available for renting (Interview Olli). As explained before, many former small land owners now want to get rid of their land, and the BVVG is selling the former government owned property. The available space for renting is occupied by large cooperatives or other bigger farms, which themselves look actively for land. It is possible to acquire land to buy from one of the small-scale owners but that is a rare coincident [49].

Also, it is rather difficult finding farm and farm house together. Often you find either one of it. Because of the big agriculture cooperatives it is very difficult to get land. Also selling of land is first offered to long term renters. Thus it is difficult to enter. He called it a lucky coincident to find farm and house together. Accordingly, important is to create possibilities for interested to find land for agriculture and to use it. For this, other options are present and easier to obtain [49].

The political field just starts realizing these trends, as seen in the previous chapter with the new planned law. Yet, there are also positive examples. The French government owns test fields in empty areas, where young farmers can pursue agriculture [63].

3.4.1 Farm Succession

Agriculture needs new people. Especially newcomers. In general those do not own land, because they did not have inherited it [63].

Uwe Greff argued that the farm succession situation in future is easy to analyse, if one looks into who will retire in the coming years. There is the age group of 55 years and older. Those will be in the age

to retire in the coming 10 to 12 years. 35% of the German farmers are at that point. That means a large part of farmers will disappear. If one looks at the same time at how many people are in the Universities or in professional training, how little people fill the classes, one can see that there is a huge gap in between [53]. The Situation report of the Farmers Association states that around 270.000 new young farmers start each year [2]. This will lead to a significant lower amount of agricultural businesses. Uwe Greff said:

“I believe that this issue is not to be changed anymore, because it is too late already. There is just a whole generation of farmers missing. So fast we can never inspire enough young people to become farmers, especially not with the baby-bust generation at the moment” [62].

The second aspect, there we come back to the original question, many of the farms which exit business now, are already in such a bad condition that no one wants to have them. That can be due to the farm's condition, over the size, until the operational orientation. Therefore, those farms will be taken over by other farms which look for more land [62]. This point is also being reflected on in the Situation report of the Farmers Association, which states the continuous increase in farm size [2].

This will lead to the situation that the area to farm will increase. But today it is like that, you need a certain size to be profitable. Thus, many of the small-scale farms today are not profitable. Especially not with the expectations of the today's agriculturists [62].

3.4.2 Increased Demands

Increased demands by farmers could play a role for the availability of land. The experts have been asked how they see this question.

Peter Volz pointed out that indeed it is difficult to find suitable land, nonetheless it got to be said that the demands have increased. In the past young farmers were very flexible and moved to the place where they could find work. Today the choice of land is also being done according to other aspects, such like a school for the children, a bigger city nearby, and more. Newcomers in the sector are well educated today. [52]

Still, he explained the positive side. Increased demands could be linked to a higher amount of new comers entering the agricultural field and therefore making themselves heard more. He said: *“Nonetheless, this trend shows an opening of the sector. In France up to 30% of new farmers are newcomers. In Germany there is no valid data, but assumptions stretch from 15 to 20%.”* [52].

In comparison, Titus Bahner said: *“I do not think the demands have increased in farmers in particular.”* Further he pointed out, that there are close to market and far from market farms in which the market position can differ strongly. Availability of the different models differ strongly, also in relation to the region. Sometimes farmers need to be creative. Sometimes the available area is small and maybe even too small. Somewhere there is always something available. But this does not meet the current Zeitgeist. Farmers also have specialised in a certain field or product which is not possible at an available location. Also the social role is becoming more important. Some areas are so deserted that no one wants to move there. [63]

Uwe Greff again pointed out that: *“There are too little newcomers in the agricultural sector. There are some but not enough. From this only a small amount does not find land. Then you have to look at the reasons. Are they too bound to their region? Are they too specialized? At the moment, the one*

who is open to look all around Germany and still does not find land, than that has other reasons. But not the accessibility or availability of land.” [62].

Further, he mentioned: *“We recognize, that most of the farm over takings do not fail due to financial issues, but due to social issues. That is a much bigger problem. Many say as if the financial issue would be the obstacle, but I don’t see that at all. All examples I know off, always a solution on the financial side was found. Often it failed due to social issues.” [62].*

As it has been explained the political field is lacking behind which brings the need of the people to get active themselves. Mostly newcomers have little available capital, and especially small-scale and organic farming is not easy to get bank support. This limits there possibilities strongly. According to Peter Volz, for these cases initiatives like Terre de Liens are very interesting and helpful. [52]

Access to land needs to be possible also without a strong financial background. This can only be possible with renting of agricultural land with fair conditions. The CCFC is a possible building stone for young people who want to enter agriculture [63]. The next chapter will deal with those community models.

3.5 Land “Liberalisation” Models

How can land be turned from excluding private to commonly owned property or commons? Research question 1A deals with the possibilities to transform excluding Private property to common or commonly used property and what steps need to be taken. The following part of this chapter will introduce some Initiatives working on that field. After a small Introduction the chapter will start with an example of France: the “Terre de Liens”, an initiative which grew tremendously over the last years. This example is discussed as a god indication of future developments for land liberalisation models. Afterwards, the German sector and how it started will be presented. Since the focus of the report lies on the German situation, the German examples will be reflected on in detail. There are some initiatives in Germany trying to liberate the land from the common property market or bringing renting prices back to the real possible level of outputs. The different Initiatives differ from each other in motivation and praxis. From some of the presented Initiatives in depth interviews have been collected. After the presentation of the current examples, a pro and contra list of these concepts will be shown.

The International Biodynamic Association published an important study in the year 2012 about new forms of land acquisition and non-profit sponsorships in agriculture. This study is a base for this report. Since the study is from the year 2012, a lot has happened. Within this chapter mainly the latest developments within the field are being presented. The former presented initiatives will partly and briefly be shown.

The chapter is also backed up with the Interviews of Uwe Greff from the cooperative OGC, Titus Bahner from the cooperative CCFC, Peter Volz from the research association Agronauts, Olli from the CSA Basta, and Kai Brickwedde from the CSA Pente. All of them will be presented within this chapter.

3.5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present case studies which show how agricultural land can be secured with different methods. This study focuses on ways how excluding private property can be turned into common property or non-excluding private property. Titus Bahner described in another study the term

“Community Connected Farming” to be used for such farms [69]. Community Connected Farming can create a counter solution to market dominated production plants. From the European Working Group on Access to Land for Community Connected Farming derived a space for new ways of agricultural land ownership. [70]

From the interviewees, many shared the view that several forms of community concepts and also a variety of such concepts is important. Olli stated: *“There are several forms of attractive community concepts which strengthen the region, they can create better income for farmers and they can create identification with farms and its products.”* [49].

Titus Bahner said: *“All so far present ones (Initiatives), pursue their activities in their own manor and each of them is dealing with a very unique issue and cannot be changed with another initiative. Thus, they are all important for their field.”* [63]. Peter Volz, from the Agronauts, also replied: *“...a diverse market offers solutions for many different purposes.”* [52].

Firstly, an important French example will be presented, followed by mainly German cases. In the end a pro-contra analysis will give a better overview of the situation.

3.5.2 Terre de liens

There are several examples of how to organize land collectively and exclude it from the ordinary land tenure markets. One to mention is the “Terre de Liens”.

Start

“Terre de Liens” can be translated with Land of conjunction or linkage. The French organization came to existence in the year 2003, with the objective of removing land from the commodity market and enabling organic and peasant farmers to settle in good condition. In an article by the “Heinrich Böll Stiftung” from 14th October 2015, Véronique Rioufol and Sjoerd Wartena, the founders of the organization, described the objective of “Terre de Liens”: *“as turning agricultural land into commons”*. Villages are being supported to make land accessible for organic production. They are aiming for a transition to a community oriented agriculture. [71]

Motivation

Terre de Liens has the objective to address the complications experienced by organic farmers in securing agricultural land.

The website Access to Land states the aims of TDL according to their founding charter:

- Preserve land and ensure it remains in effective agricultural use;
- Support access to land for farmers, in very practical ways;
- Enhance the development of grassroots farming, i.e. farms involved in local networks, marketing their produce directly to consumers and open to the local community;
- Promote community connections and solidarity in rural and urban areas, so as to foster collaboration around land use, as well as pool together tools, funds, and experiences;
- Foster public debate on land ownership, management and use. [72]

Structure

Terre de Liens has a special legal composition which will shortly be explained. TDL is divided into three parts:

- “Not-for-profit associations” - 1 national and 19 regional
- Private Company, La Foncière, Ltd.

The company can be seen as the investment unit of TDL. They collect the shares by the public and therefrom they buy and rent out the land according to the charter set by Terre de liens.

- A Land Trust, La Fondation

The trust collects donations and then rents acquired farms to willing farmers, also according to the principles set by TDL. [73]

Since their beginning Terre de liens was able to grow to a big community. There are over 12.000 local citizens involved in various parts of the country. In 19 of the 24 French regions, Terre de Liens is doing local work. 110 farms have been established with 150 working farmers. Moreover, the organization advises and supports around a thousand of farmers and farmers to be in their development. In total 2.500 hectares of farmland have been preserved and made available for agriculture. More than €43 million have been raised. One can buy a share of Terre de Liens to support the idea. In the year 2015 a share of Terre de Liens costs 103€. Besides, the organization was able to gain political leverage. Local authorities have addressed Terre de Liens, wishing to maintain agricultural activities, improve local supply, and more. Moreover, it is recognized by several stakeholders on issues like development of local and organic agriculture, setting up young farmers, etc. Since also the authorities have recognized the value of the organisation, Terre de Liens is now being supported by local governments in their undertakings. [74]

Future

So far, this type of land liberalization is being done with capitalistic methods such like private ownership, funds or else. Nonetheless, the organization as also their supporters are convinced that their idea, turning agricultural land into commons and legally support and protect this, can also be propelled via such forms of solidary economy. [71]

The example of Terre de liens in France shows the opportunities lying in this field. Also in Germany there are initiatives trying to liberate land and to trying to promote different ways of doing agriculture without focusing solely on profit. [75]

3.5.3 The beginning in Germany

Also in Germany there have been initiatives trying to liberate land. In the 1960's the first farms in the north of Germany were transmitted to land ownership associations. Involved in the development was the GLS-Bank, which is also a founding partner of the “BioBoden Genossenschaft” which will be presented shortly. The mentioned non-profit agricultural research associations guarantee the non-saleability of the land as also the bio-dynamic production. [76]

Prior to the transmission, there was a long legal case in which non-profit associations were allowed to buy land according to the “Grundstücksverkehrsgesetz” or “Property transaction Law”. In the 70's and 80's, next to several producer-consumer-associations and food cooperatives, also agriculture-

companionships developed and non-profit associations as sponsorships were founded. Most of these initiatives promote organic or bio-dynamic agriculture. [76]

In 2013 the GLS published a study by Thomaas Rüter, Matthias Zaiser, and Annika Nägel. The topic “Agriculture as Commons – A political-legal Evaluation after 40years of experience. Within this study the authors discuss about commons and farms with non-profit sponsorship. During the study an important topic was farm existence due to land procurement or renting space securement [77]. Furthermore, they collected data about the farms operated in sponsorships. Until 2013 there were around 185 farms operated by non-profit sponsors (except church land) and mostly rented to agriculturists or agriculture-companionships [77]. These farms together have an area of 14.400ha, from which around 6000ha are owned by the sponsors. The farms themselves vary from 0.5ha to 300ha in size. The farms offer several different ways of participation. [78]

In the study about “Landliberalisation” published by the International Biodynamic Association in 2012, presented already several new land acquisition models. As mentioned before there are already several existing farms in non-profit sponsorship. Also some CSA’s work with this models. The first farm in non-profit sponsorship was initiated by a co-founder of the GLS-Bank, which is related to the “BioBodenGenossenschaft” which will be presented at a later stage. Many of these sponsorships work with land donation, or land liberalisation through putting the land into the non-profit sponsor. Another point are foundations. A central issue of the foundations is in general to protect land from speculation and preserve it for ecological production. Also, within these models the foundation is usually the owner of the land. Sometimes land is being cultivated by an initiative itself but mostly the areas are rented to farmers. Besides, there are also shareholdings like the “Regionalwert AG”, LVL [22]. Following, mainly the new developments will be presented.

3.5.4 Donations

Existing in the Netherlands is a non-profit endowment called *Grondbeheer Biologisch Dynamische Landbouw*. It was founded in 1978. They own 82 hectares and they are renting 106 hectares for long term which they out-rent to 13 farms. The bridging rent makes sense to enable young people renting land.

Until 2011 the endowment financed itself via several donations. From then onwards they entered a new way of business and bought the Kraaybeekerhof, which is a prestigious training facility for bio-dynamic agriculture. In the coming years, the bank credit as also the renovation shall be equaled via donations.

In a similar way, the organization plans to acquire more farms first via bank credits and then later on finance the credit through donations. This way the farmers, in form of rent, only pay the interest rate of the bridging financing.

The endowment only holds ownership over the land. Buildings are being sold to the renter via a contract, in which the renter obliges to sell the buildings without market related price increase to his successor. This way, the sole responsibility of the buildings is in the hand of the renter. The interest rate is the rent for buying the buildings. [76]

3.5.5 Public Land Ownership

The “Cooperativa Agricoltura Nuova” close to the city of Rome has been developed out of a land occupation in the 1970’s, when young people protested against the encompassing urbanization of

the rural surrounding of the Italian capital. To utilize the occupied land, formerly owned by the city of Rome, productively, a cooperative was founded. They started with a conventional farm but moved quickly to ecological agriculture, and from begin onwards they included social fringe groups. In 1996 the city granted a long-term renting contract, and moreover declared the surrounding area a national park. In addition to the originally 180ha of occupied land, the group got access to rent another 70ha from a monastery in 2006. The aim was to support the groups' social activities. Today, 50 employees work with the association. Next to arable and livestock farming, the cooperative is involved in processing of for instance milk products, bread and noodles. The products are being sold in the nearby surrounding. Besides, the cooperative is a well-liked address for schools, and more. [76]

This example shows that also land ownership of the public can play an important role in the development of new agricultural companies [76]. Yet, the example also shows that people had to make the first major steps to make their government follow and finally support the action. Thus, people cannot wait for their governments to react to certain conditions. Sometimes pro activeness is required to make a step forward.

3.5.6 Bio Boden Genossenschaft

The "Bio Boden Genossenschaft" or "Organic Land Cooperative" was the first initiative starting activities in land securing. Originally, it was initiated by the German GLS bank. An Interview with Uwe Greff, member of the board of the OGC and managing director of two of the OGC's owned farms, also is a source for this abstract.

Start

The loss of agricultural land for organic cultivation was a major issue already for long time. In 2007 two farmers addressed the GLS and asked for help saving farmland of 13 farmers in the east of Germany who are endangered to lose their farmland to financial investors. In 2009 the BioBodenGesellschaft (OLC) was founded by the GLS-Bank and GLS-trust. They collected money from 600 investors and bought the land from the BVVG. So far the OLC bought 3.700 hectares of land for organic agriculture. In 2015 the OGC was formed out of the OLC. Other than the OLC, which were created for specific purposes, the OLC aims to become a movement for many. [79]

Motivation

The crucial sentence of OLC's motivation is: "Ackerland in Bürgerhand", or Farmland in citizen's hand". They believe agricultural land should be owned by the people with focus on nourishment rather than profit. The OLC believes that agricultural future can only be ecological sustainable. The aim is to switch from soil exploiting farming in order to save the base of live for human kind.

The leading principles of the OLC are:

- promote agricultural diversity
- Unity of nature and civilisation
- Land is unique and limited, Land is neither a product nor a speculation object
- Fair conditions for human, animals, and nature
- shape the land together and with responsibility [80]

The OLC believes that organic agriculture promotes diversity in nature and falls under the fundamental democratic rights of the FRG. With this in mind, the OLC speaks out for freedom of

speech, friendship between cultures, exchange between movements, together with the respect for human dignity. All of OLC's customers, members, employees, and fellow humans should experience the same appreciation – no matter of sex, nationality, ethnicity, religion, ideology, disability, age, sexual orientation, and identity. The OLC supports the resolution of the BÖLW Bundesverband Ökologische Lebensmittelwirtschaft/ "Federal association of ecological food economy", from 16th June, 2012, which clarifies the position of the organic sector against right wing extremists and that the whole sector and its members will do everything possible blocking right wing extremist ideologies exploiting the organic sector.

Structure

The OLC has around 3000 members [62]. Since the founding in 2015, around 11.5 million Euro could be collected, and with that already more than 500 hectare of agricultural land could be bought. Investments of the members are tied for five years. Investors also carry the entrepreneurial risk [81]. So far the OLC works together with more than 30 farms. The farmers contacts the OLC. "Thus, we do not actively look for land" [62]. The membership within a farming association like Demeter or else is required. Just EU organic certification is not enough.

During the Interview with Uwe Greff he explained the structure as follows: *"In general we are active in three fields. The first is, a farmer wants to secure his land but is himself not able to do so. In that case we are dealing with separate land spaces, which we buy and rent to the farmer. The second is, we buy a whole farm, meaning farmhouse and farmland, which we then also usually rent out. Or, we buy agricultural entities in a whole, so to say with neck and crop. There we have different structures available. Either we rent it or else. This are the three pillars on which we stand."* [62]

Furthermore, Uwe Greff stated: *"Our approach is not to get involved in the businesses, where we would have completely different influencing possibilities, which one also wants to use if doing so. We just want to tackle a certain problem, but not want to govern into agriculture, nor set any boundaries. We want to create freedom for the farmer."* [62]

During conversations with CSA initiatives it was mentioned that the OLC tends to support larger farms and therefore is neglecting small and niche farmers. According to the size of the farm Uwe Greff believes the discussion to go the wrong way. Quality aspects are much more important. The soil fertility and water availability matters as well. People like to idealize a certain picture of agriculture. Uwe Greff pointed out that a certain size of a farm is today not financially viable anymore. [62]

Future

The OLC plans to grow further in the future. Also the effects of too little farmers will become more present, the structural change will be tightened. As described by Uwe Greff, the OLC aims to do their undertakings as long as the problem they tackle still exists [62], and this will probably be the case in the nearby future if one reflects on the present situation.

Furthermore, he stated: *"But what can be seen is, that there are people who are interested in a social question. People show an interest in societal topics, and this topic even moves to the front, and the former important aspects of a financial investment like security, duration, and yield play no role anymore. We have nearly 3000 members. This shows that there are a lot of people who are interested in getting active. We also expect that this will continue in future, and we will be able to attract a lot of people to take part."* [62].

Since the situation will get worse in future and the political field still lacks behind, Initiatives like the OLC will experience a continuous and hopefully steady growing phase.

3.5.7 Regionalwert AG

Start

The „Regionalwert AG – Bürgeraktiengesellschaft“ or „Local value, Ltd – Citizen stock company“ is located in the region of Freiburg in Baden-Württemberg, south west of Germany. The activities of the LVL start in the founding year of 2006. Christian Hiss, also a member of the Agronauts, is the founder. Operating area was only the region of Freiburg and black forest. Nonetheless, the model is adaptable to other regions and also meant to be so. In the end of 2011 a holding company was founded. It is supporting regional initiatives to build up new LVL's, on the base of a “social franchise”. The founder of the LVL received a price for entrepreneur of 2011.

Motivation

The LVL is an instrument for financing and connecting ecological, social, and economical focused companies in the agriculture and food supply sector, in the region of Freiburg. This aim shall be reached through shares of companies in the whole food item value chain, as also through the procurement and out renting of agricultural land. The property of LVL is being out rented to independent operation managers.

The Initiative aims to keep and create jobs in the region, create more land for organic agriculture with short transport ways. Another aspect is to support small businesses and figure out how they can survive.

The major driving force for one to invest in the LVL's is not a fast value increase, thus people from the region with an ideal binding to the project and its benefits are addressed as investors. Members buy shares and gain voting rights in relation to its value. Dividends are not planned in the nearby future. Only selling shares to a third party is possible, the LVL will not buy shares back.

Structure

The stock company focuses on collecting regional investment capital for the whole value chain of organic production. Next to 9ha land, the company holds shares of traders, processors, and caterers which enables entrepreneurs setting up a business within the sector. The projects linked with LVL have access to cheap and long term equity. [76]

There is no financial dividend, but an ideological one. In a catalogue with 64 indicators for sustainability the outcomes in terms of ecology, economy, and sociality are being evaluated. This motivates partners not to violate the set rules. [76]

Companies which want to become members of an LVL have to work under ecological principles or have to convert within four years. Buying of land is only done in collaboration with the partners of the LVL. Procurement of larger amounts of land will be done via a new company founded by LVL and the partner company. The farmers rent the land for 1-1.5% of the sales price. The board of executives is responsible for the administrative and operative realization of the participation and support processes of the LVL. Moreover they coordinate the network and the relations between its partners. A supervisory board controls the board of executives. The six headed supervisory board has to decide upon Investment decisions being planned by the three headed board of executives. The executives work in part-time. [76]

The investment possibilities are 1) silent share, 2) Shares with voting right, and 3) procurement of land and buildings and the belonging out renting and leasing. Moreover, the LVL conveys direct investments in companies of the agriculture and foodstuffs sector. All partly or fully financed companies are partners who build a network under the umbrella of the LVL. Besides its network, the LVL offers knowledge, experience, and means of commercialization. So far the LVL is participating in around 20 agricultural companies or companies within the organic food sector. They gathered around 650 shareholders, 10ha of own land, 250ha of preserved land, and equity of 3 million euro [82].

The rights for the protected brand “Local value stock company” is owned by a Local value Trust company. All existing and future LVL’s are shareholders of the holding and are able to use its expertise and brand name. [83]

Future

The idea already has spread to other regions. In autumn 2011 the second LVL in Munich was founded. In May 2014 the LVL Hamburg was founded. Another LVL in the Rhineland, Northrhine-Westfalia, was founded in the year 2016 [84]. In February 2017 was the founding meeting of the LVL Berlin [85]. Even LVL’s in Austria and Switzerland are planned [86]. Thus, the franchise system works quiet well and it is already being adapted by many others. Even mentioning in mass media has been reached by not only the LVL. Probably the idea will spread further over time. [87]

3.5.8 Kulturlandgenossenschaft/ Community Connected Farming Cooperative

A well-known organisation is the “Kulturlandgenossenschaft”. In an article of Titus Bahner, one of the founders, “KulturlandHöfe” are being translated with “Community Connected Farming” [69]. Therefore the author translates the KEG with “Community connected farming cooperative” CCFC. This paragraph will explain the development, motivation and praxis of the CCFC. In addition to desk research, an in depth interview with Dr. Titus Bahner, a member of the board and one of the founders of the CCFC, was conducted.

Start

Initial project was the Heggelbachhof close to the “Bodensee”. In 2012, the owner wanted to sell 15ha land quickly, which was rented by the farm. The farmers could not finance this their own. Through the citizens out of the direct environment of the farm, the land could be bought as a cooperative and could be kept for organic agriculture [88]. This was the incident leading to think about new models of ownership and financing for such situations. For short, the land was secured via bank financing. Afterwards a study with the “International Bio-Dynamic Association” about that topic was developed. From that the “Kulturland eG” was founded in November 2013, and in August 2014 it was registered as a cooperative. [63]

Motivation

The CCFC is initially got motivated due to the explained land sale situation. The problems in the agricultural sector are obvious. Anyway, the CCFC tries to tackle three objectives simultaneously with their actions:

Support of Community connected farms. Ecological enterprises shall be supported which are not only have a pioneer function in production but also in social and legal aspects for a sustainable

agriculture. Next to ecological agriculture these enterprises create social services for their local environment.

The CCFC defines the following criteria for this:

- Including of processing and direct marketing
- Takeover of nature protection responsibilities and nursing of the landscape
- Opening the farm for education, therapy and/or multigenerational living
- High working intensity in relation to the area
- Well treatment of employees and development of creative social structures
- Opening of the farm to the public, e.g. guided tours, cultural events or involvement offers

Such community connected farms focus the development of their enterprise according to their region. The focus on those kind of farms offers ethical motivated investors a high added benefit.

Regional Binding. Due to the background of international capital flow, the CCFC shall create possibilities for regional binding to invested capital. In that way anyone can create binding to a region via capital investments. Through transparency, communication and cooperation with the regional partners this binding becomes fruitful.

Stable Capital Investment. The investment does not offer any financial yield, except the secondary market, but value stability and a possible value increase. On the one hand, the continuous increase of land prices in the last years guarantees a further growth. And on the other hand, agricultural land is kept as a resource for food production. On top of that, community connected farms harbor value adding in form of processing, marketing, and social services. With that the farms stabilize the ideal and monetary value even further.

In conclusion, shareholders have:

- High ethical quality and transparency of the Investment
- Stable investment
- Possible financial yield due to increased land value [22]

Structure

The CCFC has around 180 members. They work together with 8 farms from which 3 work as CSA. Two completely and one partly. In total they bought more than 500ha of land together with the farmers [63]. Since 2014 CCFC buys land and is offering it to farmers with low renting prices. In an Interview with a German newspaper another member of the board, Stephan Illi said that the CCFC is an *“entrance solution, and an uncomplicated way to find solutions for many farmers and a decent investment for citizens”* [88]. The CCFC buys land together with the farmer and, as explained by Olli from the CSA Basta, rents it to the farmer through a together created company [49]. Titus Bahner explained that farmers address the CCFC, so they do not actively look for land. They only buy together with the farmer [63]. The farms working together with CCFC underlie certain criteria. In a concept article of the CCFC by Titus Bahner the following definition of a community connected farm is being stated:

A community connected Farm is a farm which on the base of agriculture is doing comprehensive ecological, social and cultural services in its region, which benefit the community [69].

Because of the already too high prices for land procurement, the CCFC focuses on the renting market. Renting prices need to be cheap, and for long term. 300 to 400 euro per hectare are possible to equal with ecological farming. The prices need to be payable with the products the farm is producing. This is often not the case [63]. The possibility of renting is linked to guaranteeing the development of community connected farms [22]. Nature protection is also a main criteria. Farms have to work with ecological practices. An EU organic certification is obligatory. But not the membership of an association or else. A social binding with the environment is also expected [63]. The CCFC focuses not on highest profit, but on support and relationship. Because prices for farmers need to be kept payable, the members of the cooperative get product gift cards or a share of the harvest or else, instead of interest on their investment. With this regional networks between farmers and consumers are strengthened. The CCFC calls it a double benefit: on the one hand land is a secure collateral, and on the other hand the investors know where there money is [88]. Dividends are communicated as zero, but could theoretically become possible in the future. Anyway, the value of the shares acts according to the price developments on the land tenure markets. Via a sell of the shares on a secondary market the value increase can be realized [22].

The core of their ownership structure is the division of land value and land utilization via an intermediate owner, a ground investment fund. The fund is called "Kulturlandgenossenschaft" or "Community connected farming cooperative". Because of the splitting of the utilization and the value of the land, the land is no longer a tradeable good. Just the value of the land can from now on be traded further in form of shares of the ground investment fund. The farm activities are no longer in relation to the value of the land and can progress detached from any trading of its value in form of shares [88]. The following figure shows in detail the organizational structure of the CCFC. It shows the CCFC as the owner of the land, the farmers as shareholders and renters, and the citizens as investors and members.

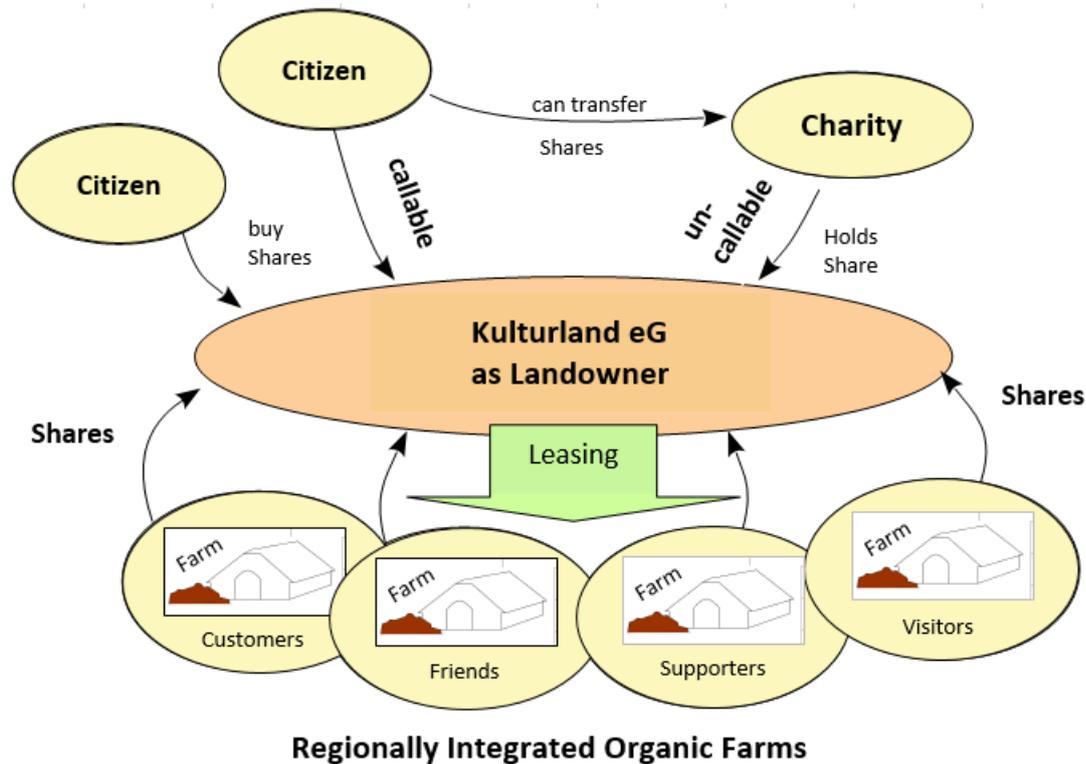


Figure 3.7 Organisational Structure of the CCFC [22]

Examples

As explained, the CCFC asks for an over average nature protection. 10% of the area need to be available for nature protection. This does not need to be connected area, and can be integrated within the farm. Such like a flowering buffer strip not only to maintain soil, water and air quality but also insect and animal diversity. The farm Basta is 9ha in size, where 10% of is already a lot. Thus, the farmers had to come up with a solution. Others had not such difficulties due to a smaller farm size. [63]

Basta was planning to grow a hedge of 0.4ha in size, in order to protect its land from the conventionally growing neighbour. But because the CCFC asks for value preservation and the planned space was quiet big this was an issue to deal with. After communication between the farmers and the cooperative the situation could be solved to everyone's appreciation [63]. This indicates the importance of clear expectations on both sides, as also a well-managed and open communication.

Future

There are several driving forces for buying land: promotion of biogas, speculations, industrial production, and more. This process is not going to stop in the future. In the end, the ones who use the land the most and not the best will own the land. To counter that development the CCFC aims to buy many thousands of hectares with citizen money and transfer it into a collective trust. The CCFC calls it Commons 2.0 [88].

Titus Bahner explains: "The CCFC is buying land with the help of citizen capital and then renting it to the farmer to fair conditions. This is working quiet well so far. There is a continuous grow but not too big to get operating problems. The CCFC does not need to grow, but wants to grow in order to promote idea and praxis further." [63]

3.5.9 The Econauts

Start

The Econauts are a citizens cooperative, from citizens, for citizens, with citizens. They are located in Biesenthal and their operating area is Berlin and Brandenburg [89]. Since they believe that trust and a personal relation with humans is important they limit their operating area. This way they can tackle their set goals properly. The first project was initiated in July 2015. Having started with only three, the current team consists of nine people. The initial driving force was the tremendous price increase in the last 10 years, and on the other hand the problem of young farmers lacking capital to buy land. It is believed that also the request for healthy vegetables from the region also has risen [90]. The first project to start with, was the ecological walnut cultivation in Velten (Brandenburg). A young farmer was able to start her business with the help of the Econauts, and citizen capital. [89]

Motivation

They want to establish a new cooperative based ecological agriculture. The aim is to design agriculture which promotes diversity in land ownership and bares real chances for young farmers.

Further aims are:

- Secure agricultural land for ecological production on long term, with the help of citizen capital
- Setting up businesses in the rural areas and help securing existing businesses
- Cultivation of high quality organic food products
- Buildup of a regional direct marketing
- Cooperation with regional producers, processors, initiatives, and research institutes
- Coaching for entrepreneurs while set up [90]

Positive aspects for members are:

- Base for ecological regional agriculture
- Help young farmers
- Active participation
- Can get to know the farmer
- Transparent and fair prices/ local products
- Voting rights, active involvement in the cooperative [90]

Structure

The legal structure is cooperative, which can be seen as a mix of an association and a Ltd. Company. All leading positions are being elected democratically. Transparency is important. Businesses data is completely open for any member. Via pooling of member shares, a jointly strong entity can be set up, which can reach further than alone. Cooperatives are obliged to regular audits. The general assembly is the highest organ of the cooperative [90].

The Econauts stand for the preservation and support of small-scale agriculture, for the support of young farmers, and for the prevention of agricultural land speculations. In the mean time they support the cultivation of high quality food products from the region, for their members. The Econauts provide land to farmers for ecological agriculture. In addition, they promote several events and participation activities to strengthen the rural-urban relationship. Members buy a share of the company. Two shares for each 250€ are required. More is also possible. The contracts are fixed for

two years. Everyone has equal voting rights, the height of the share does not matter. There is no financial dividend for investors. The shares of the members are solely used for buying agricultural land [90].

The Econauts buys land together with its members and supplies the land to young farmers and ecological farms to fair conditions. A part of the farmer's products will be provided for the members of the cooperative. A producer-consumer network is being built [90].

Member who harm the cooperative, don't pay or have not been able to contact for two years, are being exited from the cooperative [90].

Future

The Econauts believe that the core elements for creating sustainable agriculture in future are regional value chains which strengthen the relation of producers and consumers [90].

The short- and medium-term future of the Econauts is already fixed. The demand is high. Several young agriculturists contact the Econauts and can imagine taking part in the project or seeking help for land acquisition and business set up. Also land owners get to know the cooperative and offer their land to them. Based on that, further projects are planned, to support business set up and strengthen local food supply chains. The current situation creates several chances for alternative financing concepts. [91]

3.5.10 Research Associations – Die Agronauten/ The Agronauts

Start

Even research associations are dealing with ecological agriculture and new ways of land acquisition. The Agronauts are a non-profit research association for sustainable food systems and regional economics. Their base is the region of Freiburg in southwestern Germany. They started their activities in the year 2011 [52]. The Agronauts come from a range of different backgrounds, like agronomists, sociologists, farmers, communication scientists and project developer. Peter Volz, one of the interviewees, is a member of the Agronauts.

Motivation

The Agronauts describe their motivation as follows:

- Strengthen the integration of social and ecological aspects into agriculture
- The advancement of alternatives to outdated economical practices
- Valuation of farmers as food providers and protectors of landscapes
- The potential of regional added value chains
- And a new public debate about nutrition and agriculture

The Agronauts describe an "obvious lack of research which is carried out in close relationships with agricultural practitioners", and a lack of "studies which communicate innovative land use practices in an integrated and accessible way" [92]. "Making an active contribution to the realization of the sustainability paradigm" as they put it on their website, is a further aim of the group. Yet, they fear many concepts and self-given definitions of sustainability are very wide and vague and often lack in substance. A reason for this might be a splitting of the term into the three different aspects which

are: economy, ecology, and social aspects. The Agronauts believe that this is a false understanding of sustainability, a closer look reveals that the three aspects are synchronous and merge. [93]

Structure

In their point of view, “the significance of agriculture goes beyond the production of food which means that not only economic aspects but also ecological and economic implications must be considered into the research perspective” [92].

During the Interview Peter Volz mentioned two aspects, the Agronauts are researching about, are:

- How can a farm be small and profitable? Maybe through direct marketing or else.
- How can it be possible to offer a small financial yield for investors within community supported projects in agriculture. This would win a larger group of investors for the right cause. [52]

Future

Research groups like the Agronauts are crucial for evaluating and analyzing sustainability aspects from a professional perspective and offering their findings to interested ones.

Explanation of the significance of research associations to the field.

- Spreading the knowledge
- Offering valid data for investors
- More material to convince people of the importance of sustainable agriculture and an interest in food stuffs
- CSA is working usually sustainably and puts nicely the ideas of economy, ecology and social aspects together. People get more interested in food and its origin. They experience a closer relation to the products and to the farms producing it. Ecological aspects are very important for nearly all CSA`s and especially for the legal entities like “BioBoden Association” or the “Kulturlandgenossenschaft”

3.5.11 Network „Agriculture as Commons“

The network Agriculture as commons can also be seen as a research group. Belonging to their range of published papers is

- Agriculture as commons, a political – legal evaluation after 40 years practice
- Working Paper VI Community Supported Agriculture [94]

Thomas Rüter, Lawyer, and Matthias Zaiser, Economist, initiated the network “Agriculture as Commons”. The network offers activities for connection within the sector. Furthermore, there is a regularly appearing newsletter as also seminars and consultancy about economic, social and trust aspects. [78]

3.5.12 CSA Basta

The researcher interviewed Olli from the CSA Basta, on the meeting of the German CSA network from 4th to 6th November 2016. He lives and works on the farm. The CSA Basta is located 80km east

of Berlin, In the Oderbruch (Brandenburg). They utilize nine hectares of land on which they produce 2ha Vegetables, 1/2ha Potatoes, 0,2ha Herbs, 2ha green manure, 3ha Weeds and Buckwheat. They started in November, 2012. Basta provides 145 shares to the cooperating city group in Berlin. Each share provides food for three people. On the farm live and work 7 people. They represent the farm group. The city group has a core group of around 30 people [49]. Basta is using two pick up spots in Berlin. [95]

The Initiative Basta has bought land together with the “Kulturlandgenossenschaft” CCFC, CCFC and Basta created a new company under the law of a legal partnership, divided in administrative (CCFC) and operative (Basta) undertakings. The company is renting out the land to Basta who then is able to use the land for agriculture. Beginning 2017 they want to reform the company into an association. [49]

3.5.13 CSA Pente

The researcher interviewed Kai Brickwedde, a committed member of the CSA since its beginning. He receives his food products from the farm, he helps as a tax consultant, which is his profession, and other ways. Furthermore, he is also active in the newly founded foundation for land acquisition.

The CSA Pente is located in Bramsche (Lower-Saxony), 10km north of Osnabrück. The farm is 48ha in size in total. The area is divided as follows: 3ha horticulture, 3ha green house, 30ha grain cultivation, 5ha pasture land, orchards and 10ha Forestry. In addition the farm keeps bees, cows, sheep, pigs and chickens. The farm is a very old family business. The first dates go back to 1565. Since 1988 the farm is an organic farm, and “Bioland” farm. From 2008 onwards the farm is also a Demeter member. Since May 2011 the farm works as a CSA. There are around 300 people, or 80 to 150 families living on the food products of the farm [96]. 25 people live on the farm and around 20 employees. Some of the educators also work partly as farmers. Furthermore, there are interns and a fluctuating amount of voluntary workers [46].

Half of the land is owned by the family Hartkemeyer. The other half is rented from inactive farmers in the close surrounding. At the moment the rent is relatively low and for long term. Since the prices for agricultural land have increased rapidly, a renewal of the contract could lead to new price negotiations. Many of the owners are very old and probably die in the next years. In general the farmers renting land to the CSA are convinced about the idea the farm carries and therefore rent the area for a friend rate. What the heirs will do is not clear, and not wise to rely on. The rent price will probably increase strongly. The objective is to buy the now rented areas in order to guard against problems in forehand and stay viable. A loss of the rented area would be hardly to carry by the farm and probably lead to an end. With the foundation it is also planned to buy areas which are not yet rented by the CSA. [46]

The foundation was initiated by members of the CSA. The family Hartkemeyer, members and other investors, like another farmer who has put land into the foundation, are building the base. Additional capital will be gathered via donations and maybe also funding. The foundation is still very young and will take some time to develop. [46]

The foundation and the CSA are separated from each other. There are still questions for the future. One possibility would be to rent the land owned by the foundation to the CSA. Another possibility would be to let the CSA pass over to the foundation. Well planning and proper considerations are crucial aspects of the transition to common property. Also a CSA itself can be organized as an

association, but Pente is a family business. One makes a member contract. The binding is not as strong as within an association. [46]

Nonetheless, the strategic direction and the cultivation plan is being discussed by the community. In future the CSA plans to implement more basic democratic decision making. To start that way from begin on bared several risks, and the farmer saw this critical. Also due to the lack of experience with community driven projects [46]. One could say the farmer and the consumers had to go through a learning phase and develop together. Also the farmer sees the farm a learning environment: for kids in the kindergartens, for consumers, and also for the farmers.

3.5.14 Positive and Negative Aspects

This chapter showed the development of new ways of ownership in agriculture. The several examples show the possibilities within this sector. As shown, the different initiatives favor different models and focus on certain issues.

Positive Aspects

There are several positive aspects of the community driven projects. Kai Brickwedde called theses kind of projects important. It is still an underrepresented field. The popularity is low, and also still the supply rate is rather limited. Both will increase in future. Consumers pay more attention to their food products and its origins. Besides, the problems of conventional farming become more present [46]. Titus Bahner said: *"In general community driven projects are forward looking"* [63]. CSA's, Initiatives, or other cooperation's with for instance schools or else are very important. Also Peter Volz, from the Agronauts, believes that community driven projects are very important. He mentioned that still there is only a limited number of them available. These concepts can reach a qualitative higher level through the use of citizen capital within agriculture. Citizens can set a certain focus via their investment. They can be actively involved. Everyone gets the possibility to know the farmer and support him [52].

The initiatives guarantee certain ecological and nature protective principles. In order to tackle the ongoing destruction of environment, soil, water and bio-diversity, clear set rules can be effective. On the one hand, the clear rules show the consumers the importance and communicate what a consumer pays for. On the other hand, the land is kept for long term in organic production. Normally, after the retirement of the farmer, it is not clear what will happen with the land. Due to the use of a cooperatives the duration of the organic land use will be prolonged. Thus, in order to tackle the environmental problems sustainably, cooperatives are a good solution.

A further aspect is the rural livelihood. Especially within the rural areas, the demographic development is rather intense. People tend to move with their jobs, and when jobs in agriculture get less due to the problem of succession and a more technological agriculture, community driven projects can help to preserve rural life. The organisation Terre de Liens started their initiative in a very deserted area, and due to their commitment the area experiences a new revival. Yet, individual activities are not enough. In Germany the rural situation sometimes looks very bad. Also giving interested people new chances of entrants could at least slow down the progress. In addition, the revival of farm life can be made easier with new and more attractive concepts as explained. A farmer is not ready to work 365 days a year with little financial success compared to people in the general business sector for instance. Farm communities can also play a major role there, due to the

spreading of the work to several people. The CSA farm Basta is an example where seven people live on a farm and share workload, responsibilities and, maybe even more importantly, life.

Besides, a positive aspect is the social binding to the farm. A social binding to the farm can be reached, as explained via investments of people. On the one side, people can invest money via initiatives like the LVL, OGC and KEG. If one wants to get to know the farmer the possibilities are present. Another part is the direct investment within a CSA farm via the supply of food products in exchange of a farm membership. Two things for consumers are tackled in the authors opinion, one: the social aspect together with a good feeling of investors due to supporting something positive, and two: the increased believe in clean and fair produced food products and knowledge over its origins.

The farm succession and the entrants of new people in agriculture are two interlinked problems with great impact. Community driven projects simplify entrance for capitally weak parties. Olli stated that several problems for individuals arise with land acquisition. Without cooperatives like KEG new entrance in agriculture is hardly to manage [49].

Another positive aspect of community driven farms has been mentioned in an article by Matthias Zaiser in the newsletter: "Land in Form Special" from the year 2017. There he describes a study which pointed out that farms in non-profit sponsorship enrich the rural life and create jobs in the area. The research reflected on 68 farms in which on average 13 people work in full- or part-time [78]. This is a much larger amount of employees compared to conventional farming where the trend goes to less and less employees and more machinery.

The last aspect to describe is the safe investments with an ideological yield. In the case of the KEG, the duration of the investment is 6month, the investment in the OLC is fixed to five years. Especially, nowadays where investments are often very insecure and interest rates for investments are on a historical low, an ideological yield receives more interest.

Negative Aspects

For many, a negative aspect is a lack of financial yield. All present investment possibilities like OLC, LVL or KEG do not offer a financial yield yet, and in some cases it is not even planned. They focus on the ideological yield. Peter Volz believes that already a small financial yield would increase the amount of interested citizen's tremendously [52].

Opposing to that, Uwe Greff mentioned that always if one plays with the greed of the people more people want to take part: *"...but that has nothing to do with our objective and with agriculture. It is always like that if you play with the greed more people will come. But what can be seen is, that there are people who are interested in a social question."* [62] He mentioned that people show an interest in societal topics, which experience higher importance than the usual major aspects of a financial investment like security, duration, and yield. The continuous increase of members within the OLC and the KEG, and the widening of the franchise concept of the LVL to more cities, shows that there are a lot of people who are interested in getting active. Uwe Greff stated: *"We also expect that this will continue in future, and we will be able to attract a lot of people to take part."* [62] Thus, the negative point of no financial yield is sometimes seen as a learning process for investors who have to learn about the importance of a social dividend and the support of their ecological environment.

A crucial aspect may be less freedom of choice. Of course if one is the owner of a property the decision freedom is far greater, if one forgets about the risk being solely carried by the owner, and which is always effected by the owner's decisions. If one decides to get involved with a cooperative

as the landowner certain difficulties can appear. For instance, difficulties arose with rearranging of the landscape. Those decisions need to be talked through with the cooperatives.

In addition, a higher level of communication is required. No matter of getting involved with a CSA project, where yearly member meetings are usual, or get involved with a cooperative, communication is the key. The researcher has seen several examples of where a lack of communication can lead to a sudden end of the project, and also examples where well communication could solve issues which have been very difficult to solve.

Maybe it is not the right choice for everyone, but still everyone should have the possibility to get involved. The more variation is present, the more interested people can start their agricultural activities.

New ways effects on CSA

A positive aspect of CSA in general, is that financing of a farm through the social environment gives a greater security. Also there is a mental support. Farmers experience a good feeling when they see how their produced products are being valued. This is different from working for a not known market. [52] Interview Volz

Also farm communities are very important. Living on a farm is tough and exhausting. Especially doing it alone. Animals for instance need 365 days a year care, so there cannot be thought of holidays or else. In the past that has not been a problem, but times have changed. Today no one is willing to work hard with little or no holiday. For this, community driven farm projects are an attractive key. Farm life can be made and kept interesting for young people also in future [63]. Interview Bahner
Models like "Kulturlandgenossenschaft" are a good choice. They bring the expertise and take over some of the work and some of the risks. Especially for people who don't know how to obtain the money for land procurement or fear to be able to equal the requested rent with their production, financial support can be helpful.

Another possibility is the creation of a Foundation, like the farm "Pente". The CSA farm Pente itself is already an example for social binding of the environment. The farm integrates children projects such like a kindergarten, a social binding to the farm, and food production under one umbrella. Peter Volz stated: "*If one is bound to such a farm, it is logic to invest also in the farm to support a sustainable and strong binding to the farm.*" Citizens can take more responsibility that way [52]. The CSA farm Pente started to create a Foundation for land procurement.

Definitely it is a more difficult way. The workload will be bigger. It can still be good to create an association according to ones believes.

For CSA's it is mainly not necessary to have a certification or the membership within an agricultural association. Thus, getting involved with KeG or OGC would bring the need for an extra investment. Yet, a certification often helps to communicate ones working praxis.

In the example of the CSA Basta, decisions need to be discussed with the KEG. Agricultural choices are solely done by Basta, but landscape rearranging or maybe violations of the set rules have to be communicated. Olli from the CSA Basta explained an issue where a hedge wanted to be built to protect from the conventional neighbour. The hedge should be 0,4ha in size. The KG has certain rules set for themselves from which one is to not harm the investment. Cutting of nearly half a hectare would lower the investment being made due to less profit. But not protecting the land from the

conventional neighbour would be even more harmful in the farmers' opinions. After some discussions the farmers could convince KG and the hedge was build. This story indicates the limitations present when choosing such a model for acquisition [49]. Titus Bahner also reflected on the situation and mentioned whilst the importance of proper communication on both sides, to be able to solve any obstacle to everyone's appreciation [63].

In general CSA's and the currently present investment possibilities can function together properly. The base, which is the ideological drive, is very similar with both concepts. A combination of the two is therefore a good choice. The concepts are actively lived nature protection. They promote sustainable economy. Participation of citizens is possible and sometimes even asked for. This way consumers become contributors [46].

Although there are some negative aspects, and some which would be crucial for some, like the freedom of choice. The positive aspects overlay in the researchers opinion.

3.6 Governance

The last part of this chapter is the so called "governance". Question 1B of this study, is reflecting on the necessity of transforming private property to common property or common pool resources organized by the resource users. The chapter will start with an explanation on common pool resources, mainly based on the work of Elinor Ostrom, a well-known expert in this field. Afterwards, the presented models will be evaluated according to Ostrom's principles.

3.6.1 Common pool resources

Common pool resources are usually non-organized, free of charge and free of access resources which are important for the community. Examples for common pool resources are fishing grounds, forest wood, grazing areas, irrigation systems and so on [97].

In *Governing the Commons: the Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, by Elinor Ostrom, Cambridge Press, 1990 is stated that: "*Common Pool resources are characterized by subtractability (i.e., withdrawal by one user reduces the amount of the resource left for other users) and joint use by a group of appropriators.*" [98]

Common resources have limited availability of a certain good. Anyone in the community has access to the resource but necessarily needs to comply with Community rules of access and maintenance put in place not to overuse the resource. Problems arise when individuals decide not to comply with the set rules and still access the resource without contributing to the necessary maintenance. In general there are two common solutions to this problem: centralized governmental regulation or privatization [99].

For a long time and especially after the "tragedy of the commons" the only means of protecting finite resources from depletion was private property. The "tragedy of the commons" is an economic theory originating in an essay written in 1833 by William Forster Lloyd. The theory explains a situation within a shared resource system in which individuals act solely on their own self-interest and therefore cause depletion of the resource [99].

Another approach for managing commons or common pool resources without government regulations or privatization was developed by Elenor Ostrom. In Elenor Ostrom's book "*Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*" published 1990, she argues on the

one side with numerous samples of functioning commons without privatisation or governmental influence, and on the other side she presents a new approach in which cooperative institutions are created that are organized and governed by the resource users [98].

“Elinor Ostrom has challenged the conventional wisdom that common property is poorly managed and should be either regulated by central authorities or privatized. Based on numerous studies of user-managed fish stocks, pastures, woods, lakes, and groundwater basins, Ostrom concludes that the outcomes are, more often than not, better than predicted by standard theories. She observes that resource users frequently develop sophisticated mechanisms for decision-making and rule enforcement to handle conflicts of interest, and she characterizes the rules that promote successful outcomes.” [100]

3.6.2 The eight principles

Ostrom developed eight principles for the proper functioning of the approach:

1. *Define clear group boundaries.*
2. *Match rules governing use of common goods to local needs and conditions.*
3. *Ensure that those affected by the rules can participate in modifying the rules.*
4. *Make sure the rule-making rights of community members are respected by outside authorities.*
5. *Develop a system, carried out by community members, for monitoring members' behaviour.*
6. *Use graduated sanctions for rule violators.*
7. *Provide accessible, low-cost means for dispute resolution.*
8. *Build responsibility for governing the common resource in nested tiers from the lowest level up to the entire interconnected system.* [101]

The developed principles enable new ways of organising commons or common pool resources. Next to the “tragedy of the commons” there are also some tragedies of privatization and government regulation. Thus, new ways of organising these important aspects is crucial for communities. Especially aspects like environmental protection tend to grow short in private or public ownership. Ostrom proposed a polycentric approach where decisions should be made as close to the scene of the issue as possible.

People often have created elaborate mechanisms of decision making and regulation enforcement to avoid imminent conflicts of interest with the use of common properties, aside state and market [102]. Besides, Ostrom’s approach set a new base for common areas on which several newly found initiatives are based on. In chapter three of the report some initiatives working with alternative land acquisition methods are presented. Ostrom’s principles can often be found in adapted ways in the various cases.

For instance the French organisation Terre de Liens “(...) defines “land as commons” as a system whereby a community manages a resource in a way wherein:

- *No-one is excluded from having access to the resource and/or its “by-products”;*
- *The resource (and its intangible by-products) are preserved in the long run;*
- *The resource is managed for the benefit of all;*

- *The resource is managed through community engagement and co-operation.*" [103]

Governance structures are important to keep common property and to ensure it can be used by the community. In the following the eight principles set by Ostrom about governing commons will be evaluated according to the Initiatives and also CSA'

According to Elinor Ostrom's first principle how to govern common pool resources, all of the initiatives have defined clear boundaries as presented. Yet they grant certain freedoms to the farmers they work together with. The example of Olli from the CSA Basta, where the hedge wanted to be build opposing to previous set rules and a solution was found, shows that the initiatives also apply knowledge of the farmers and possibly adapt the rules in a certain case.

Also Peter Volz, from the Agronauts explained that critical issues and also legal issues have to be put in the constitution of the association or else [52].

He explained that: *"All parties need to know about rights and duties in order to limit complications. In addition, expectations of both sides need to be clear for the same reason. The rules of each initiative are different, so one can choose according to one's preference. In order to keep happiness on both sides, communication needs to be well."* [52]

Thus, the initiatives know about the importance of clear defined boundaries. The rules are communicated in forehand and in complicated situation alternative solutions can be found.

The second principle is to match rules and governance of common goods to local needs and conditions. The different initiatives have clear rules, but are they matched to the local areas? Uwe Greff from the OLC explained before that looking into the local structure of the land for instance is an important aspect. A point to mention is the clear understanding of the initiatives that renting prices are too high for many farmers. The initiatives adapt the prices to what is possible to pay for ecological working farmers in a certain area. Thus, it can be said that the initiatives focus on the local conditions the farmers are facing and match the rules accordingly. The example of the building of the hedge with the CSA Basta and the CCFC also represents this statement. If a certain rule has to be changed due to local conditions this can be done via communication.

The third principle is to ensure that those affected by the rules can participate in modifying them. In general the initiatives have fixed rules which cannot be altered. But, a farmer can choose the group fitting best to her or him. Also to mention is the possibility of creating an own foundation or else, in which rules can made according to ones believes, like the CSA Pente. Besides, CSA projects show that also members can participate in modifying the rules. Still a too big influence on the set rules could alter the actual objective. A good example is the CSA Basta, where all decisions are made democratic and Consensus. Decision areas are split to be more effective [49]. People can get active themselves also with their investment. Also investors of the CCFC can take over responsibilities and also get active on the supported land [104]. Within the LVL for instance, members gain voting rights according to the height of their investment. Thus, there is a possibility for the members to have their saying and to take part in the rule making progress [22]. Another aspect is the case of the CSA Pente, where they chose a foundation over an association in order to avoid to alter the actual focus of the project. Yet the members are able to influence the project within certain limits.

The fourth principle is that rule making rights of community members should be respected by outside authorities. This aspect is yet to be developed. The authorities do start recognizing the new

trends but are not yet actively supporting them, at least in the German context. In France for instance there are some examples in which the authorities are at least supporting certain initiatives.

Principle five is to develop a self-monitoring system from community members for community members. In the context of the cooperatives, the monitoring of the farm is done by the cooperatives. The cooperatives themselves use the usual self-monitoring systems like the supervisory committee controlling the board of directors. The CSA projects control themselves with their members and through the yearly member meetings. Also the products themselves and the possibility for volunteers to visit the farm and help working are self-monitoring systems.

The sixth principle is to use graduated sanctions for rule violators. Sanctions are present within the cooperatives. Usually after a violation of the rules...

Principle seven is providing means for dispute resolution. The CCFC is trying to discuss problems if they occur. Together with an agricultural consultant the CCFC organizes a mediator to solve the issue and find a solution. If that does not help the termination of the contract will follow [22].

The eighth and last principle is to build responsibilities for governing the common resource from the lowest level up to the entire system. According to that, Titus Bahner mentioned the importance of the mind-set of all involved. Set rules need to be carried substantially. If a rule like nature protection is set, but the farmers do not carry the idea themselves it can lead to complications. It has to be pointed out what the problem is and how that can be tackled. Communication is again very important [63]. All involved have to understand the importance of the idea behind. It got to be said that those turning to the initiatives usually themselves already carry the same beliefs and the responsibilities of using the common pool resources sustainably are shared.

4. CONCLUSION

The current situation shows the amount of farms and farmers is decreasing, and will decrease even further in future. Farm sizes are increasing and farmers are experiencing tough situations whilst staying in business. Small, old and non-profitable farms are being bought by multinational businesses taking over certain parts of the industry, and in addition investors start entering agricultural land tenure markets and using land as collateral. Not to forget is the introduction of bio fuels and bio gas which led to an increase in land prices and an increased competition for land.

Due to the difficult situations present, the new entrants for young interested farmers with no agricultural or financial background is very complicated. There is high competition on the still available land from many sides. Thus, prices are high. For young farmers it is extremely difficult to find land for their activities, especially in certain regions. Small-scale and organic agriculture are facing the most difficulties.

In the future the situation for the rural landscape and farmers will get even tougher. As pointed out already, around 35% of the farmers will retire in the next 10-12 years. This will lead to a further concentration of land due to other farms eating up the ones dropping out. Due to more technology and less but bigger farms more farm workers than farmers will be needed. In order to limit the effects, entrance for interested people into agriculture needs to be simplified and made more attractive. Still it cannot tackle the process within the next years. As pointed out by Uwe Greff, the statistics clearly show what can be expected in the next years.

According to a study by the federal environment bureau of Germany (Bundesumweltamt) from the year 2017 it is stated that there is not a deficit of knowledge about the many critical issues rather than an action deficit. It is being claimed that in order to take proper action all stakeholders; consumers, producers and political actors need to enter a constructive discussion process.

Furthermore, it got to be said that the political field is lacking action as explained. The current planned interventions will not affect the situation much and will definitely not reverse the effects. Thus, the work needs to be done by consumers and producers. Within community connected agriculture people can get active with their financial investment and support ecological agriculture with all its positive side effects.

4.1 Positive and negative aspects of renting and buying

The first research question of the report aimed to elaborate positive and negative aspects of renting and buying models which are available for agricultural land in Germany and which are suitable for CSA. In chapter 3.2 the different ordinary land acquisition methods have been presented and analysed. In this chapter the methods will be analysed according to freedom of choice, financial investment, availability and dependencies.

	Renting	Buying	Inheriting
Freedom of Choice	<p>There are some issues to talk through with the owner, but in general there is decision freedom.</p>	<p>The freedom of choice in general is high. But it depends on the local conditions. The high financial investment leads to other dependencies and therefore less freedom of choice. If the financial situation is difficult farmers may tend to switch back to conventional farming in order to equal the investment.</p>	<p>Freedom of choice may be linked to criteria set by the heir. For instance an heir could inherit the land with the obligatory aspect of organic agriculture. The control measures are rather low.</p>
Financial Investment	<p>In general the investment is far lower than buying. Still, prices have increased rapidly. Also renting fees are often too high to equal with ecological production.</p>	<p>The financial investment of buying a whole farm is a tremendous investment and rarely possible for individuals. Especially for organic or niche market production it is difficult to get bank support, that would make an attempt impossible.</p>	<p>The investment seems to be low. But due to the taxes it can be expensive as well. According to the family relation and the value, the taxes will be counted.</p>
Availability	<p>Amount of land to rent is reducing. Still 60% but it gets less in future due to the demographic development. Also competition is high.</p>	<p>Land is still available depending on the region. Some are empty. 38% are owned land. Prices also vary strongly but the general trend is a strong price increase. Same as for renting, the competition is high.</p>	<p>The availability of land to be inherited or donated is dependent on an owner who aims to do so. Family relations are the easiest. Foundations sometimes profit from inherited or donated land due to ideological drive of the owner.</p>
Dependences	<p>Renters are dependent on the owner. If the owner wants to sell, or inherits it, or else, farmers can be put in critical situations.</p>	<p>In general one is dependent on the bank, and also the prices on the world market. It may be seen as a more free choice but it can lead to strong dependencies also over the actual farming period. The interest rate of an investment can lead to very high debts.</p>	<p>Inheriting is dependent on the heir. Besides rather free in choices. Since there is no or low financial investment dependences are far lower within buying.</p>

The presentation of all of the methods, shows that there are several difficulties to tackle. From this study it shows that people without a strong financial background can only expect support from cooperatives, foundations or else. Farmers being put in difficult situation has also higher chances to turn to a cooperative than to a bank. Especially for organic farmers these cooperatives are a far better solution than the here presented options. CSA's usually work without making profit since the financial input comes solely from the members to finance the accounting year. In order to avoid ongoing price increase also for the members, the cooperatives are a good solution. The obstacles show that the usual ways are being excluded to few. In order to preserve land for many and ecological agriculture, other ways need to be followed.

In order to make it possible for other types of farming and for interested new entering people to flourish and develop it has to be thought of other methods to acquire land for agriculture. If one has the necessary monetary background one can obtain land by purchasing it on the ordinary tenure markets. Also renting of agricultural land is still possible but prices are also rapidly increasing and available space is decreasing. The most promising method of acquiring land with respect to environmental aspects is the use of the upcoming initiatives which are focusing excluding agricultural land from the ordinary tenure markets.

4.2 Possibilities for land transition

Research question 1 a) aimed to analyse possibilities to transform Private excluding property to common property. Within chapter 3.5 the different possibilities for land transformation have been presented. Before it already got stated that the ordinary ways of land acquisition bare crucial difficulties. The author is convinced that those methods are only optional for a limited number of people. The difficulties have been presented in the previous chapter. The author believes that in order to tackle the process of ongoing price increase, loss of agricultural land, promotion of sustainability and ecology, and extinction of rural life the land liberalisation models are a good solution. As presented there are already several possibilities in Germany, such like foundations, shareholdings, non-profit associations and also cooperatives such like the OLC, CCFC, and Econauts. With all these concepts already several hectares of land could be secured and taken out of the ordinary land tenure markets. New farmers could start their undertakings paying special attention to nature, animals and people over profit. For newly entering farmers these initiatives give great chances to become a farmer.

The new initiatives tackle several problems on many sides. Land price increase is being tackled, which is beneficial for today's and future farmers and also the consumers. The initiatives buy the land together with a farmer with the help of citizen capital. The land will be rented to fair conditions to the farmers. Together with more stable prices, and the help of the initiatives more land gets accessible due to stronger financial background, which is a crucial issue due to the lack of availability and high competition. The initiatives promote nature protection, bio diversity and ecological agriculture. All these aspects are very important as mentioned before. The loss of biodiversity and the effects of conventional farming on nature and environment are very clear well known by even the political field.

The initiatives offer the farmers professionalism in many aspects. First of all, farmers do not need to fear price increases and therefore managerial problems. The renting fee farmers pay are not based on the sales price of the land, as it is usually the case, but on the possible output producible with the land. Farmers do not need to switch their way of production in order to equal risen costs. This is

especially important for small-scale organic farming and other niche markets which are not as profitable due to stronger support. Farmers win a trust worthy and long lasting base for agriculture. The ground is unsaleable. Also promotion, financial planning, communicative activities, and even the threat of bankruptcy are being taken over by some of the initiatives. Getting involved with one of the cooperatives or other initiatives gives the farmer the possibility to solely focus on agricultural activities. Nowadays s farmer is more a manager. Of course the farmer still has to manage the farm, but farmers already benefit from the already established distribution ways. The LVL works together with distributors, processors, service companies and more. As becoming part of such a network farmers experience a supporting peer group. In order to stay profitable many farmers today mix their agricultural activities with other projects, attracting customers and so on. Small pensions, or hostels, renting shares to consumers, opening of a café or beer garden, farm visits and many other activities are mixed into the farm to be able to survive. The possibility of mixing the pure farm activity with such activities is very valuable and should also further be promoted, also in order to create another binding of the environment to a farm. But farmers should not be put in such a position due to financial issues, also leading to overwork of the farmers. The sponsorships have a special focus on the development of rural life. Thus, farmers will face support in such activities.

The initiatives not only offer decent and fair possibilities for farmers, but also for citizen investors looking for sustainable and fair investment possibilities. As mentioned before, more people want to get active. Next to people getting active with their food choice or membership within a CSA, also investors look for ethical investment possibilities. As mentioned by Kai Brickwedde from the CSA Pente, not all people can adapt to the lifestyle of a CSA. Some cannot match their daily life and seasonal food products, and so on. For people who cannot adapt to the food situation there is still the possibility to support ecological agriculture just via a financial investment. The investment is an important support for the preservation of ecological agriculture. This way people can still get partially active and support what they believe is right. Citizens have secure collateral and are even supporting ecological farming activities and the entrance of new and young farmers with limited financial background. This way the needs of the citizens can be combined with the needs of farmers and also nature. As having pointed out the threat of external investors within agriculture, this way is the attempt to push external investments in the right direction and rather than competing with farmers for land supporting agricultural activities. Yet, it got to be said that investors aiming for an ideological yield are rarely the same audience. Still, in times of high insecurity or nearly no interest rate to offer from ordinary investment possibilities, the author believes that the importance of ideological yield over financial yield will become more visible. Peter Volz from the Agronauts pointed out that the Agronauts want to research on how to offer a small financial yield. Uwe Greff opposed that they do not see their task in offering a financial yield. He pointed out that the OGC does not aim to play with the greed of people rather try to convince with “only” the ideological yield. And according to the continuous growth of the OLC, CCFC and LVL, which all do not offer a financial yield, this strategy seems to work.

All in all, the author believes to have pointed out several ways to transform private property to common property, and to take agricultural land out of the land tenure markets and preserve it for ecological agriculture. Furthermore, the importance of such initiatives becomes obvious reflecting on the presented problems. Together with the initiatives, the financial issue becomes solvable.

4.3 Governance structures

The final research question 1 b) dealt with governance structures of common undertakings. In order to be sustainable the land should be taken out of the land tenure markets properly and steps to avoid a return should be taken. It can be said that the Initiatives all adapted the principles to their own beliefs. All the initiatives have clear rules on how to acquire the land. The land is permanently owned by the cooperative. And the cooperative is legally bound to offer the land to farmers for their agricultural activities. Ecological, nature protective and rural aspects are a rule for farmers to follow. The author believes that the governance structures bare only little difficulties. As pointed out by different interviewees, the initiatives clearly communicate their rules, so one just has to choose according to preference.

A critical point is the differentiation of “private” and “common” property. Common areas are free of access areas. Private areas in general exclude certain groups of people. Despite the fact, that commons in general mean free of access, E. Ostrom defines reasons why even for commons clear boundaries of who is using the resource are being defined. Even in actual commons there is a clear defined boundary visible. Without any boundary there is also no group to feel attached to. Thus, although the initiatives have certain limitations on who can access the common are, this does not necessarily counter the approach of establishing a new type of commons.

4.4 Accessibility

Many of the actors identify accessibility as a major problem. Even access to land initiatives are in place, and also a German network on land preservation has been created.

But for instance the OGC, represented by Uwe Greff did not feel the accessibility to be a major issue. He pointed out that the social question much more is the crucial aspect. The one who is looking actively for land all around Germany will be able to find land. But, as pointed out by Peter Volz, expectations of farmers have increased. Farmers are also looking what is in the surrounding of the farm, how is the infrastructure, and so on. But, Titus Bahner from the CCFC presented the main aspect that expectations in general have increased. To say it in rough words: It is not after the War anymore. The world has changed and of course together also expectations of people. A point to mention would be the internet infrastructure which is often in a dramatic condition. Of course, 40 years ago no one would have based his choice of living on an internet connection, but today this can have strong impact on social and work life. Internet is just one thing to mention of several. The infrastructure in general, roads, railways, doctors, supermarkets, shops and more are all critical issues. There are villages where no one is under 55. No one wants to live there. Also not young and interested farmers. Thus, these areas will get abandoned even further and probably, the land will be bought by other larger farmers, aiming to increase in scale. Following these thought, in future only the field workers will visit these deserted areas once in a while. How to tackle this issue will be briefly thought about in the discussion.

In the author's opinion, “*the social question*”, as Uwe Greff pointed it cannot get tackled by the farmers itself nor the initiatives. In order to make a deserted area attractive for people to live and work in again, the political actors need to change their focus on the connection of the rural areas to the cities. A better connection is important to bring back social life and therefore attractiveness of the area. Together with the help of the initiatives on the financial side and a governmental intervention on the other side the social question together with the accessibility can be tackled.

4.5 Finally

In conclusion it can be said, that the current situation is difficult and will intensify in future, due to the ongoing structural change and demographic development. The amount of new farmers entering the field is too low to equal the ones dropping out, thus the development cannot be tackled anymore. Yet, the new initiatives bear a lot of benefits for farmers, citizens and a strengthened relation between them. The initiatives are important to offer farm land interested people without the necessary financial background. Further, the initiatives can offer help and support which is often lacking. The progress is not to be tackled anymore, yet the situation will get even worse if not the initiatives would and will be present.

The statement of Uwe Greff that as long the problem exists the initiatives will be necessary seems fitting. Although, the idea that the problem will disappear in future also with the support of citizen capital seems unlikely. The situation is too tense already. Thus, there will be high demand and even increased demand according to the author's opinion. It is only to hope that governmental intervention will support the initiatives, small-scale organic farming, and rural landscape in future.

In the beginning of the report, the researcher stated to present ways how to break the circle of ongoing price increase of land and too little available land for interested groups and farmers. This approach is a rather high one and can barely be tackled. Prices cannot be brought back to a lower level. Even the attempt to keep the prices stable is not possible thinking about the mentioned problems, and the continuously growing competition for decreasing land. Nonetheless, the author believes that the new initiatives are a tool to: "step out of the before mentioned circle". They need to pay the land prices present at the time and place of procurement. But, afterwards the prices have no more influence on the situation of the farmer. Farmers pay renting fees according to the possible output achievable on the land with organic agriculture and with respect to nature protection. Thus, once the price has to be paid for the land, but afterwards there will be no further price increase due to the non-saleability of the land. One can say the circle of ongoing price increase can be stopped with the procured land, which is still representing a small percentage of the agricultural area. So, it is a little step in the right direction which can become bigger according to its supporters. The second aspect is the too little available land. This issue has some not to tackle underlying reasons. The loss of farmland due to renewable energy, urban expansion, nature protection, and reforestation can barely be tackled, if even wanted. The concentration of land on fewer farming entities is also a critical issue. The procurement of land with the help of citizen capital can secure certain areas for organic agriculture. The positive aspect is the increase in initiatives. From the beginning with foundations and non-profit clubs over stock-companies up to cooperatives, there is a wide range. This is even been backed up by research association, banks, and small networks. The author believes that according to the positive development in the field of CSA and community connected farming, much more agricultural land can be secured for interested young farmers to pursue organic agriculture.

5. DISCUSSION

All the previous presented developments have several severe issues on nature, landscape, biodiversity and pollution of air and water. Furthermore, the existence of farmers is threatened and already the amount of farmers is strongly decreasing. Together with the dying of farms, jobs disappear and with that people abandon the rural areas to find jobs in the cities. This situation can already be witnessed in many areas in Germany. In some villages there are only retired inhabitants left which will lead to a nearby end of existence of these kind of villages. As it had been pointed out the political field is talking about implementing a new law in order to avoid land prices to increase further. The claim “peasants land in peasant’s hand” will be seen positive by certain actors, nonetheless there are also several critical voices. What can be expected by the law, and how effective it will be can only be assumed so far. The author talked with some experts within the field, and they were not convinced of a positive effect. Maybe it can be seen as a first step into securing farmland for farmers, still people need to be active themselves. From the described developments, it can be seen that even on the political stage movement is visible. Although, the idea of laws containing ownership or the free market are not seen without criticism, political actors start recognizing the current trends and a few are willing to take action. Anyway, it is believed that these kind of interventions come too late and other more effective measures are not being discussed. The current situation in the national but also European politics is that everything is aimed at upscaling and global competition. Titus Bahner stated that actually, EU politics should promote the development of community connected farms and make it their general principle. Also the creation of civic decision making and participation forms should be promoted [76].

But also land securement in general is not seen without criticism. An aspect to discuss there is: “Who is the community, and for whom land should be secured and for what purpose?” Uwe Greff also pointed out that it is an issue for whom the land should be secured. In general, the initiatives aim to include as many people as possible.

But an aspect to consider is the relatively high investment to get a share of a cooperative. If one is talking about investors, of course the amount is not too high. And still there are many people looking for ways to invest their money with respect to ethics and nature. But, there are people existing who have no money to invest in anything. These people will still be excluded from these concepts. Other than in CSA’s the investment is fixed. In order to really establish Commons 2.0 for everyone, it has to be thought about ways to include also the lowest class. Nowadays the amount of poor people is increasing again. Unemployed, partly employed, low wage employed, temporary workers, who all earn very low have rare chances to become a part of these new commons, which leads to excluding of a large group within the community. Thus, this is an important aspect to think about in a further future.

A further aspect is the critical issue of external investment. As pointed out by Uwe Greff, external money within the sector is seen as a threat but is also a crucial aspect for the development of sponsorships and together the transformation to community connected agriculture. Peter Volz from the Agronauts, mentioned that they want to research on how to detect motivations of external investors. This way the right initiatives can be supported and promoted.

A last point for discussion is the necessarily conflict between nature protection and agriculture. Since there is a limited amount of available land both nature protection and agriculture compete for land. This is an aspect to consider. There are several issues like that to deal with, and nature protection

and animal protection is very important. Many CSA's understand how to combine both of these issues and not neglect their importance.

To deal with the social question will also be a topic in future. All interventions regarding infrastructure and so on take very long time to be realized. And even until the start it needs a political majority to invest in the rural areas and make life more attractive there. This is a further problem which will be difficult to tackle.

6. RECOMMENDATION

The author believes that cooperation within the field of community connected farming is the next step to take. As already mentioned, collaboration within the sector will lead to a stronger lobby for ecological ideas, the problems of access to land, and a development of Commons 2.0. A wider group can reach higher and faster popularity. More people will get to know about the projects and the underlying ideas. Convincing of more people will be possible. The current development of CSA in Germany and the development of the new initiatives already reflect a higher popularity and appreciation of such projects. The author believes that together with cooperation within the field this trend can be continued and even fastened. To mention here is also the fact that nearly all of the interviewed parties believed that cooperation is one of the crucial aspects in future. Peter Volz and Titus Bahner mentioned the importance of cooperation within the field. A new development is the pop up of a network about land securing. Christian Hiß, the founder of the LVL, and also the Econauts are being represented in that network. Uwe Greff mentioned that he does not know about the plans and ideas of the network. Further he pointed out that the question would be: "For whom land should be secured?" This question has not been properly dealt with yet. So far he does not see the need of cooperation. Thus, the biggest player in that sector is yet to convince about the positive effects of cooperation.

A further recommendation is additional research about the social problems arising together with the land question. If, as pointed out by Uwe Greff, the financial issue is a minor factor, then what are the true reasons for problems arising together with land access? The report already mentioned the risen expectations of farmers, which as explained is not only a trend in agriculture but a reflection of the current Zeitgeist. The style of life has changed and that will continue in future. Previously it got stated that the political field is lacking action, and that attractiveness of a deserted area can only be tackled via investments in infrastructure in those places. Farm communities can be a faster way to help deserted areas and to make farming in those areas more attractive. A strong community on the farm can solve several of the social issues lacking. A further point to research on would be how governmental intervention can be pushed forward, and how community farms can help reviving rural life.

A final aspect is Governance. Due to the limitations of the study the part on Governance was kept rather short. Furthermore it got clear that the governance aspect is not a critical issue for the sector. Areas taken out of the usual circle are being kept due to the set-up of the cooperatives. Furthermore, nature protection and the focus on organic production are fixed in the rules of the associations.

The author believes to have pointed out the critical issues presented in this report. Prior to the start of the report, the author was in contact to the German network of CSA: "Solidarische Landwirtschafts e.V.". During conversations the network communicated several issues they would like to research on. One of these was the Access to Land issue for CSA's which got the base for this study. Hopefully the critical issues and new developments in the sector have been presented and reflected on critically. The author had the objective to conduct the report in a useful way for the network and all other interested. Access to land, as presented is a critical issue with a lot of challenges. This report can be used as a source to understand the problems and to inform about the latest trends in this field.

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8. INTERVIEWS

8.1 Olli from the CSA farm BASTA

General

1. Where is your CSA located?

80km east of Berlin, In the Oderbruch (Brandenburg)

2. How many hectares is your CSA?

9ha

3. What kind of crops/products do you grow/produce?

2ha Vegetables, 1/2ha Potatoes, 0,2ha Herbs, 2ha green manure, 3ha Weeds and Buckwheat

4. How old is your CSA?

November 2012

5. How many members are in your CSA?

145 Shares

6. How big is the core group?

7 on the farm and around 30 in the city (Berlin)

7. How many employees you have?

7

8. How many families you supply with your CSA?

145 Shares. Each share is for around 3 people

9. Can you explain briefly how your CSA is organized?

The Initiative Basta has bought land together with the "Kulturlandgenossenschaft", which could be translated with community connected farming. KG and Basta created a new cooperative divided in administrative (KG) and operative (Basta) undertakings. The cooperative is renting out the land to Basta who then is able to use the land for agriculture.

Starting-up of an association in 2017

Ownership

11. Why do you own/ not own land with your CSA?

Basta did not want to be the owner of the property and then earn money with it and maybe later on sell the land with profit to new investors. Basta believes in the Idea land should not be sellable like ordinary goods. Land is a limited not producible good that needs to be available for living and agriculture before generating profit.

12. Is land ownership important for CSA?

Accordingly, important is not ownership but the possibility for interested to find land for agriculture and to use it. For this, other options are present and easier to obtain.

13. Why is land ownership important/not important for CSA/you?

Land ownership brings the need of creating high profits in order to get back the investment. This will lead to neglecting of human, nature, animals, land and else, as it can be seen in conventional farming and even big organic farmers. Furthermore, land is likely to get sold later on and will so just re-enter the ordinary process. Thus, I find ownership not important. But for some it may be the right choice in their situation.

14. How is the ownership organized?

- a) Cooperative b) In a group c) single d) family e) other

Basta and KG created a company under the law of a legal partnership who is owning the land and renting it to Basta.

Prices

15. Are you familiar with the Land tenure markets?

16. Is there land for renting or buying available in your area? What is the price range?

Most of the land is owned by families out of the former GDR. But they rent their land to big Agriculture cooperatives. Nowadays several want to get their shares back to use or sell them.

Other areas are owned by the government and the BVVG is selling the land to the most paying parties.

Ordinary land prices lie around 8.000€ per ha. But the BVVG tries to achieve highest prices possible.

17. How easy/difficult is it to get land for agriculture?

Difficult

18. Is it possible to rent land for long term?

Mostly renting is not possible. So mostly buying.

Lucky to get space for rent, possibly someone takes out land from big cooperative but usually to sell.

19. Land prices increased rapidly, is this an issue for you?

Basta had been paying 18.000€/ha instead of 8.000€. BVVG sellers prolong the process to achieve higher prices. The process took several years.

20. What do you think about the development of land prices in relation to starting/having a CSA?

Several problems for individuals. Without cooperatives like KG new entrance in agriculture is hardly to manage.

Availability

21. Did you had to find land for your CSA?

yes

22. What experiences you had with finding land for your purpose?

It is rather difficult finding farm and farm house together. Often you find either one of it. Because of the big agriculture cooperatives it is very difficult to get land. Also selling of land is first offered to long term renters. Thus it is difficult to enter.

He called it a lucky coincident to find farm and house together.

23. How difficult was it to find suitable land?

Very Difficult Difficult Moderate Easy Very Easy

Buying and Renting

24. What is the difference of buying land in comparison to renting land? What does it mean for agriculture?

Like: crop choice, landscape rearranging, new buildings, etc...

Rearranging of landscape and new buildings etc need to be talked through with KG. Agricultural choices are solely done by Basta.

There was an issue where a hedge wanted to be built to protect from the conventional neighbour. The hedge should be 0,4ha in size. The KG has certain rules set for themselves from which one is to not harm the investment. Cutting of nearly half a hectare would lower the investment being made due to less profit. But not protecting the land from the conventional neighbour would be even more harmful in the farmers' opinions. After some discussions the farmers could convince KG and the hedge was build. This story indicates the limitations present when choosing such a model for acquisition.

Community

25. How important are community driven projects to you?

Very much more or less Not really Not at all

There are several forms of attractive community concepts which strengthen the region, they can create better income for farmers and they can create identification with farms and its products.

26. Do you think Agricultural Land for CSA's should be owned by a community?

Not exclusively, there are also other meaningful concepts.

27. What are suitable options for buying or renting land with a community?

Government schemes (funding by government)

Community (funding by CSA members)

Bank credit (funding by Banks)

Non-profit association (funding through non-profit association)

Crowd funding (funding through external community)

Sponsoring (funding by Sponsors)

Other

28. How can privately owned land be used in a community with all respect to the involved parties?

Democratic and Consensus decision making is used within Basta.

29. How can privately owned land be used in a community with respect to issues like nature protection, etc.

Community connected farming (Kulturlandgenossenschaft)

Cooperation with City group, Consensus decision making, division of decision areas.

Governance

30. Sudden changes can cause direct impact on long term investments, how do you react to them?

An extensive flooding caused a loss of the whole harvest. The group of consumers has built up the farmers group and supported them. The shares have been paid anyway and other measures by the city group have been taken to overcome the difficult situation.

31. Is the fact that a community has to decide slowing down reactions on those changes?

In Emergency situations decisions are being made spontaneously and later on it will be discussed with the group.

8.2 Peter Volz, Agronauten

General

1. Since when do the Agronauts exist?

2011

Ownership

2. Is land ownership important for CSA?
3. Why is land ownership important/not important for CSA/you?

Common land ownership is important in order to secure agricultural land sustainably for ecological production. Accessibility of land is getting more and more important also due to the demographic development. Around 3,4mio farmers will retire within the next 10 years and their succession is not dealt with yet. New entering parties on the market, but also the expansion of existing farms is complicating the situation further. It has to be observed in which channels the, then to be sold, land will enter.

Also the industrial agriculture is looking intensively for new land. This means strong competition within the field.

4. What experiences you made regarding land ownership?

The importance of citizen capital in ecological agriculture is big. A sample for the effectiveness of such concepts is the involvement of citizen capital in renewable energies.

5. Which ownership structures are useful?
- a. Sponsorship
 - b. Group
 - c. Alone
 - d. Family
 - e. Other

Prices

6. Are you familiar with the Land tenure markets?

Yes. Prices vary strongly by region and location. Even within a region there can be high differences.

7. Land prices increased rapidly, is this an issue for you?

Reasons: loss of land, land as speculation object, land concentration (bigger farms)

8. How do the price developments affect you? (Research)

How can a farm be small and profitable, maybe direct marketing, small farms

Regulation of markets?

Availability

9. How difficult is it to find suitable land?

Very Difficult Difficult Moderate Easy Very Easy

10. Why is it like this?

Indeed it is difficult to find suitable land, nonetheless it got to be said that the demands have increased. In the past young farmers were very flexible and moved to the place where they could find work. Today the choice of land is also being done according to other aspects, such like a school for the children, a bigger city nearby, and more. Newcomers in the sector are well educated today.

Nonetheless, this trend shows an opening of the sector. In France up to 30% of new farmers are newcomers. In Germany there is no valid data, but assumptions stretch from 15 to 20%.

Mostly newcomers have little available capital, and especially small-scale and organic farming is not easy to get bank support. This limits their possibilities strongly. For these cases initiatives like terre de liens are very interesting and helpful.

Community

11. How important are community driven projects to you?

Very important. Still there is only a limited number of them available.

12. Why are those projects important/ not important for you?

These concepts can reach a qualitative higher level. Citizens can set a certain focus via their investment. They can be actively involved. Everyone gets the possibility to know the farmer and support him. (Civic agriculture: USA)

An example is the CSA farm Pente. The farm integrates children projects such like a kindergarten, a social binding to the farm, and food production under one umbrella.

If one is bound to such a farm, it is logic to invest also in the farm to support a sustainable and strong binding to the farm. Members/citizens can take more responsibility.

13. Do you think Agricultural Land should be owned by a communities?

14. Why do you think it is important/not important?

Unfortunately, there is a gap. The political stage is stepping behind and has not been able to address the crucial aspects. The negative impact of consumption is often rather extreme. In order to tackle the issues, people need to get active themselves.

Mutual help and support is important

Some ask why one should invest in such initiatives, but the question rather should be why not? The positive effects are obvious.

15. What are the positive aspects of community owned property in your opinion?

The preservation of agricultural land

Ecological agriculture

Social binding of the citizenship to the farms

Preservation of rural life

16. What are the negative aspects of community owned property in your opinion?

Small and fair operating farmers cannot earn as much as conventional and bigger farms. Many investors would at least like to have a small financial yield from their investment. But all present investment possibilities like BioBoden or KEG do not offer a financial yield and in some cases it is not even planned. They focus on the ideological yield.

The Agronauts research about how such concepts can be possible also with a small financial yield. This would win a larger group of investors for the right cause.

17. What are suitable options for buying or renting land with a community?

Government schemes (funding by government)

Community (funding by CSA members)

Bank credit (funding by Banks)

Non-profit association (funding through non-profit association)

Crowd funding (funding through external community)

Sponsoring (funding by Sponsors)

Other

Any is good, since a diverse market offers solutions for many different purposes.

18. How can collectively owned land be used with respect to all the involved people?

19. How can collectively owned land be used without losing public interest, such like nature protection?

Critical issues and also legal issues have to be put in the constitution of the association or else. All parties need to know about rights and duties in order to limit complications. In addition, expectations of both sides need to be clear for the same reason. The rules of each initiative are different, so one can choose according to one's preference. In order to keep happiness on both sides, communication needs to be well.

Governance

20. What needs to be done to ensure common property is kept and being used by the community, including governance structures and property schemes?

The succession of farmers is an important aspect to deal with.

Also external investors and farming newcomers can either have positive or negative motivation. It needs to be dealt with who has which motivation. Criteria for that need to be developed further.

Examples of governmental support is France. The French government supports small farms with tax deductions.

The sustainability of such farms and projects need to be evaluated properly and carefully. Self-exploitation of farmers and others involved need to be avoided. Self-exploitation leads often to a sooner or later end of the project due to exhaustion, frustration, or else. The expectations may be different, and also knowledge of the work of the other parties can lack. If expectations and workloads are communicated properly each side gets a better understanding of everyone's situation. This will help to clear misunderstandings in fore hand and will set the base for flourishing cooperation.

Both sides need to be realistic. What is needed? What are the limitations? What can be done?

21. How can commonly owned land be governed?

There are many different initiatives:

BioBodenGenossenschaft, the biggest organisation in the sector, very active in the east of Germany, and with bigger organic farms,

Ökonauten

Soliland

A diverse market is good. There are more possibilities. Also different perspectives and approaches.

22. How does the cooperation within the sector look like?

There is a little practical exchange within the initiatives. But this needs to be strengthened further. A better cooperation could lead to a stronger political lobby which could reach a stronger impact.

It is a positive sign that there is a lot of development. The situation has changed strongly in the last years. But, also the problems have become bigger and more present.

A next step would be further cooperation.

8.3 Uwe Greff, BioBodenGenossenschaft

General

1. With how many farms you work together?

More than 30

2. Can you explain briefly how you work together with the farms?

In general we are active in three ways. The first is, a farmer wants to secure his land but is himself not able to do so. In that case we are dealing with separate land spaces, which we buy and rent to the farmer. The second is, we buy a whole farm, meaning farmhouse and farmland, which we then also usually rent out. Or, we buy agricultural entities in a whole, so to say with neck and crop. There we have different structures available. Either we rent it or else. This are the three pillars on which we stand.

3. How does the search for land look like?

The farmer contacts the OGC. Thus, we do not actively look for land.

Prices

4. Land prices increased rapidly, is this an issue for you?

The crucial question is: does someone have a problem? If so, we have to look out for a solution. Moreover, the price development is regionally very different. There are areas where prices have increased strongly, in others less. In some areas the prices have already decreased again. For our business the price development does not play a major role.

What are the effects of KTG Agrars bankruptcy?

One can only hope, that some people have awakened who before have rented land to such a company. Hopefully in future, they will have a better look on with whom they cooperate. I don't think it will have more effects than that.

Buying and Renting

5. Which rules do farms working with you have?

Like: crop choice, landscape rearranging, new buildings, etc...

The membership within a farming association like Demeter or else is required. Just EU organic certification is not enough.

Our approach is not to get involved in the businesses, where we would have completely different influencing possibilities, which one also wants to use if doing so. We just want to tackle a certain problem, but not want to govern into agriculture, nor set any boundaries. We want to create freedom for the farmer.

Community

6. How important are community driven projects to you?

Community driven projects in agriculture, are a building stone how one can set up an agricultural business. But, it depends on the respective people who want to pursue agriculture to decide which form is fitting to them. There it is only expedient if one looks to the left and right and look which forms and action possibilities one has. If someone decides upon a form in which many people are involved, than it is right for them and they should do it and also be able to do so.

But I would not propagate that this is the model of the future. It is one variety how one can deal with agriculture and land. Insofar, we do not propagate a certain political direction, but diversity. Equal to a farm where there should be diversity in and on top of the soil, there should be diversity in the different form of designs. And then people have to decide if CSA is fitting for someone or not.

Because of that, we chose the way not to make any guidelines for the farmer. Every farmer has to decide that by him or herself. We just require a minimum quality level, which is the membership in a farming association.

We have started with the BioBoden Initiative because there were agriculturists which experienced the challenge that they could not deal with some problems themselves. We would not have founded the cooperative if the problem would not be present. Or, if no one would have asked to offer such a

solution. Thus, all these varieties are useful as long as there are people who have the demand for it. If the problem would be solved tomorrow due to a law change or else, than it is also fine. Then the problem is solved and we become obsolete. I would not at all mind that.

Extra Questions

Network Land securement?

I cannot yet say what they want to do or achieve. There is so much talking about land securement, but I don't know for whom? There are some who call for it. But I do not know the masses of agriculturists in Germany who are dealing with this question: I am looking for a farm and do not find one. This has mostly other underlying reasons.

Demands?

Yes, this is an issue. Train connection, cinema in front of the door, party locations, or the next Waldorf School no more than 5km away. There is also a strong regional binding. Around the "Bodensee" more than hundred farmers would like to have a farm, but of course there is nothing. That is an illusion. The same if someone wants to have his farm between Berlin and Eberswalde. At a certain point it is just finished. People want to be at a certain place. So far the question: access to land, is understandable. One is in a certain area and does not find anything. But there is nothing one can do there. If there are already five farmers and a sixth one wants to start in the same area, that would mean the others would have to share with the new one. No one will do that. But if you look to Germany in total, the problem is not the access to land.

In my opinion is the problem that we have too little agriculturists, too little young people who want to enter agriculture, and who are also able to run a farm. That is a much bigger problem than access to land in my view.

Who enters agriculture? What kind of people can be interested in agriculture and with which reality perceptions they come? For instance, I want to start a small self-sufficient farm with a diverse orientation and preferably a lot of customers just in front of the door to do direct marketing. That is a rare situation. In Germany around 4% of the farms are doing direct marketing. That is a very small share. The vast majority of the farms is responsible to nurture the inhabitants in the small and big cities. There is no direct marketing possible.

The question is: does someone find a spot for him or herself where he wants to do agriculture? What we experience today is, that the expectations on what one wants to do are very limited. That has nothing to do with the region or the area. "I want to do cheese." But, maybe that is not possible in the area, because there is no green land, or it is not fitting, or else. But maybe there is a farm, and one can do something else. Then the question arises how I understand myself as an agriculturist. Am I a diverse farmer or do I want to satisfy a certain segment? Thus, I see the problem rather in people than in the access to land.

Agricultural structure law?

I think the whole debate about the limitation of property rights does not go in the right direction. In my opinion this is a distraction of the actual problems.

One just has to look into the statistics on how many properties get sold per year in Germany. It is a very small amount.

Also the point that whole agricultural businesses get sold, that always has been the case. Also the typical used term of the external investor, does lead in the wrong direction. It does not matter where the capital comes from, but what is being done with it. The former farmer who sold his farm and sits on a lot of money with which he buys himself through the whole republic, but still under the flag of agriculture. Are those better than the Investor who buys a farm which he then utilizes properly with a diverse agriculture? Ok, maybe he plants some hunter's fences that it looks nice. But how do you evaluate what is now better or worse? To make just one example: All the farms in common trusteeship would not exist if there would be no external capital.

The question is: Is this the right tool if you want to shape agriculture. I think there are better tools. One can imagine that the law is not doable in reality. There are several examples for that.

Subsidies?

Subsidization is a tool which with you can control much better as with a new law. But it is clear to see that there is no consensus to change anything in that policy. Because, it is not wanted. Sometimes there are some cosmetic changes, but that has no affect.

In my opinion, that will be the same with the new planned law. There will be so much resistance that no one wants to have the law.

Farm Succession?

The farm succession situation in future is easy to analyse. If one looks into who will retire in the coming years. There is the age group of 55 years and older. Those will be in the age to retire in the coming 10 to 12 years. 35% of the German farmers are at that point. That means a large part of farmers will disappear. If you look at the same time at how many people are in the Universities or in professional training, how little people fill the classes, one can see that there is a huge gap in between. This will lead to a significant lower amount of agricultural businesses. I believe that this issue is not to be changed anymore, because it is too late already. There is just a whole generation of farmers missing. So fast we can never inspire enough young people to become farmers, especially not with the baby-bust generation at the moment.

The second aspect, there we come back to the original question, many of the farms which exit business now, are already in such a bad condition that no one wants to have it. That can be due to the farm's condition, over the size, until the operational orientation. Therefore, those farms will be taken over by other farms which look for more land.

This will lead to the situation that the area to farm will increase. But today it is like that, you need a certain size to be profitable. Thus, many of the small-scale farms today are not profitable. Especially not with the expectations of the todays agriculturists.

According to the size of a farm, I think the discussion goes in the wrong direction. There are many very bad small farms and also many very bad large farms, there are very good small farms and also very good large farms. This is always related to the farmer how he pursues agriculture. It can be that a small farm does a good job but it can also be the other way around. It is also possible that for a certain specialization, for instance with the cultivation of herbs, also a smaller farm can be enough. Similar to a certain field vegetable farmer. But if you take into account the low yielding green land areas in the "Bergisches Land" or in the "Eifel" there you cannot survive with a 30 hectare farm. That is absolutely impossible. That shows, I have to have a look on the soil quality and the water supply as

well. What is possible with the present land? A certain area can lead to the need of much larger land sizes. An example is Schleswig Holstein, where in some areas the soil quality is very low and therefore you need a much larger to produce the same as for instance a farmer in Lörrach. And both get the same price, and the same subsidies. But the one needs one hectare to produce the same like the other on five hectare.

This shows again that if you look into the quality aspects the often taken criteria, because people like to idealize a certain picture of agriculture, does not lead in the right direction.

We have the critical problem that there are too less farmers. And that will become even more visible in the next years. We will see an obvious increase in the average size of farms due to the demographic development. This cannot be curbed anymore.

Newcomers?

There are too little newcomers in the agricultural sector. There are some but not enough. From this only a small amount does not find land. Then you have to look at the reasons. Are they too bound to their region? Are they too specialized? At the moment, the one who is open to look all around Germany and still does not find land, than that has other reasons. But not the accessibility or availability of land. We recognize, that most of the farm over takings do not fail due to financial issues, but due to social issues. That is a much bigger problem. Many say as if the financial issue would be the obstacle, but I don't see that at all. All examples I know off, always a solution on the financial side was found. Often it failed due to social issues.

Financial yield for Investors?

Always if you play with the greed of the people more people want to take part. But that has nothing to do with our objective and with agriculture. It is always like that if you play with the greed more people will come. But what can be seen is, that there are people who are interested in a social question. People show an interest in societal topics, and this topic even moves to the front, and the former important aspects of a financial investment like security, duration, and yield play no role anymore. We have nearly 3000 members. This shows that there are a lot of people who are interested in getting active. We also expect that this will continue in future, and we will be able to attract a lot of people to take part.

8.4 Titus Bahner, Kulturland e.G.

General

1. Since when does the KEG exist?

The KEG was founded due to a concrete land loss situation with the Heggelbach farm, close to the Bodensee. 15ha of long term rented land should be sold quickly in 2012. The farmer was not able to finance the procurement of the land to be sold. This was the incident leading to think about new models of ownership and financing for such situations. For short, the land was secured via bank financing. Afterwards a study with the "International Bio-Dynamic Association" about that topic was developed. From that the "Kulturland eG" was founded in November 2013, and in August 2014 it was registered as a cooperative.

2. How many members has the KEG?

3. With how many farms you work together?

8

4. How many hectares in total?

Around 500ha

5. How many work as CSA?

2 and a half. Hof Stedebach

6. Can you explain briefly how a Kulturland farm is organized?

The KeG is the owner of the land and rents it to the farmer.

Prices

7. How do the price developments for agricultural land affect the KeG?

Because of the already too high prices for land procurement, the KeG focuses on the renting market. Renting prices need to be cheap, and for long term. 300 to 400 euro per hectare are possible to equal with ecological farming. The prices need to be payable with the products the farm is producing. This is often not the case.

The KEG is buying land with the help of citizen capital and then renting it to the farmer to fair conditions. This is working quiet well so far. There is a continuous grow but not too big to get operating problems. The KeG does not need to grow, but wants to grow in order to promote idea and praxis further.

Availability

8. How does the search for agricultural land look like?

Farmers address the KeG. So the KeG does not actively look for land. They only buy together with the farmer.

He pointed out that BioBoden cooperative is also buying land on their own, which actually does not really go together with their proclaimed methods.

9. How difficult was it to find suitable land?

Very Difficult Difficult Moderate Easy Very Easy

10. Why was it like that?

There are local markets which are completely empty. In others there is still a lot of movement. Especially, difficult to maintain land, or dour land is often bought by young creative farmers.

Land procurement needs to be financially and organisational affordable.

In the east of Germany the BVVG is selling most of the available land. The BVVG disposes surveys over the sales price. The KeG bought together with the farm Basta 9ha from the BVVG. They payed 1,7euro/m². At that time it was rather high but now the other prices have increased as well strongly. Due to an intermediate seller and other problems, the price increased and the finalisation of the deal took nearly two years. Yet, the land is very fertile which is good.

11. Do you think the demands of newcomers and young farmers have increased?

Higher security, higher quality of life,

Mental support, good feeling through more direct contact with the consumer, tough life can be made easier, more sociable,

16. What are the negative aspects of community owned property in your opinion?

Less freedom of choice

A higher level of communication is needed

17. What are the most difficult aspects of transforming private to common property?

The change needs to be communicative and social. A professional support can be a good idea. The legal form has to be chosen wisely and has to fit.

18. How can privately owned land be used in a community with respect to the involved parties?

19. How can privately owned land be used in a community with respect to public interests?

Set rules need to be carried substantially. If a rule like nature protection is set, but the farmers do not carry the idea themselves it can lead to complications.

It has to be pointed out what the problem is and how that can be tackled. Communication is again very important.

Governance

20. What needs to be done to ensure common property is kept and being used by the community, including governance structures and property schemes?

Set rules and clear communication is important

21. Is the fact that a community has to decide slowing down reactions on those changes?

Is one of the negative aspects.

Extra questions:

22. Network Land preservation and other cooperations?

Much cooperation

Biobeteiligungsportal.de

An organic involvement platform

<https://biobeteiligungsportal.wordpress.com/>

Since the market is yet very small, all the different actors know each other, sometimes even personally. There is decent contact between the actors.

All of them carry the same ecological believe, but have different attempts in reaching it.

There is a new network for land preservation in which nearly all of the actors in the field are present. So there is cooperation.

Cooperation is an important step. It can enlargen capital and the popularity in the public. This can lead to a wider debate about ecological topics.

There is no competition between the initiatives. All so far present ones, pursue their activities in their own manor. Each of them is dealing with a very unique issue and cannot be changed with another initiative. Thus, they are all important for their field.

The aim of the BioBodenGenossenschaft is to reduce the imports of organic products.

They are more active in the east and with bigger farms.

KEG is more active in the west and with smaller farms. The biggest partner is 270ha in size.

The different projects are good supplements to each other.

In addition, the "Farm syndicate" is developing. Their objective is to make sure that agricultural land can never be sold again.

23. Agricultural structure law of Lower Saxony

The agricultural structure law where some federal states are talking about, can be seen as an honourable try, but it is thought in a too traditional manor and does to go far enough to tackle the real issue. At the moment land in Lower Saxony costs around 30.700 euro per hectare. This is already four times higher than the ordinary organic farmer can equal with the production. The new law is too lax and will not affect current prices but a too high increase in future. In relation to the price development the train has left the station. Prices are already too high and this cannot be tackled by a law.

A more important aspect of the government would be to think about the ongoing monopolisation of the market. A change in practices with the sales rights would have been better. Furthermore, new ways of accessibility need to be created.

Privileged solidary land buy

24. Return of investment?

KTG Agrar is bankrupt. Maybe this leads to an awakening of investors. Some may change to invest directly in property or else. There are still many options for investors who plan on a financial yield. Also other investment funds are still active especially in the east of Europe. There are many who want to bring their money to safety. Also industrials, like "Fielmann", or "Investment counselling Marburg", etc. Those buy large areas of land and therefore cause a price increase within their regions.

Investors of KTG are very different from investors of KEG or else. KTG investors expect a high yield on their financial investment. KEG investors rather have an ideological motivation. The investment gives security on the financial investment, a high social aspect, and flexibility. The investment can be cancelled after 6 months.

BioBoden allows a cancelling after five years.

25. Decrease of farmers?

Especially in the conventional sector many farmers will retire in the next years. The structural change will be tightened. Ownership will be concentrated. This means there will be less farms with bigger size. So, there are less farmers needed, rather than farm workers and more technique. Thus, the amount of people active in agriculture will further decrease.

The political field just starts realizing these trends.

Agriculture needs new people. Especially newcomers. In general those do not own land, because they did not have inherited it.

Access to land needs to be possible also without a strong financial background. This can only be possible with renting of agricultural land with fair conditions. The KEG is a possible building stone for young people who want to enter agriculture.

The French government owns test fields in empty areas, where young farmers can pursue agriculture.

8.5 Kai Brickwedde, CSA Farm Pente

General

1. Where is your CSA located?

In Bramsche (Lower-Saxony), 10km north of Osnabrück

2. How many hectares is your CSA?

48ha

3. What kind of crops/products do you grow/produce?

3ha horticulture, 3ha green house, 30ha grain cultivation, 5ha pasture land, orchards, 10ha Forestry, bee keeping, cows, sheeps, pigs, chickens

4. How old is your CSA?

The farm is a very old family business. The first dates go back to 1565. Since 1988 the farm is an organic farm, and "Bioland" farm. From 2008 onwards the farm is also a Demeter member.

Since May 2011 the farm is a CSA.

5. How many members are in your CSA?

There are around 300 people, or 80 to 150 families living on the food products of the farm.

6. How big is the core group?

25 people live on the farm.

7. How many employees you have?

Around 20 employees. Some of the educators also work partly as farmers. Furthermore, there are interns and a fluctuating amount of voluntary workers.

<https://www.demeter.de/verbraucher/einkaufsstuetten/hof-pente-ger>

Ownership

8. Do you in your CSA own or rent land?

Half of the land is owned by the family Hartkemeyer. The other half is rented from inactive farmers in the close surrounding.

27. Why do you own/ not own land with your CSA?

There has been land available for sale as well. But the financial investment would have been too high. Because of that, the farm decided to rent additional space. The rented area is rented from inactive farmers in the area. The long term plan is to buy the land via a foundation.

The foundation was initiated by members of the CSA. The family Hartkemeyer, members and other investors, like another farmer who has put land into the foundation, are building the base. Additional capital will be gathered via donations and maybe also funding. The foundation is still very young and will take some time to develop.

28. Why is land ownership important/not important for CSA/you?

Renting of agricultural land is definitely a lower financial investment. But it bears certain risks. The farmer is dependent on the situation of the owner. If the owner plans to sell the land, the farmer is put in a difficult position. Either, a land procurement follows, which often is not affordable, or the area gets sold to another investor. In addition price increase can affect the renting price as well. In some cases rent may extend the possible payable amount for some farmers.

29. What experiences you made regarding land ownership?

At the moment the rent is relatively low and for long term. Since the prices for agricultural land have increased rapidly, a renewal of the contract could lead to new price negotiations. Many of the owners are very old and probably die in the next years. In general the farmers renting land to the CSA are convinced about the idea the farm carries and therefore rent the area for a friend rate. What the heirs will do is not clear, and not wise to rely on. The rent price will probably increase strongly. The objective is to buy the now rented areas in order to guard against problems in forehand and stay viable. A loss of the rented area would be hardly to carry by the farm and probably lead to an end. With the foundation it is also planned to buy areas which are not yet rented by the CSA.

Prices

30. Are you familiar with the Land tenure markets?

31. Is there land for renting or buying available in your area?

The sales prices have increased strongly. Sometimes prices up to 10€ per m² are being paid.

Also actors like Biogas producers, conventional production of corn and other crops, and renewable energies like on-shore wind power, have an impact on the price development. They all compete for land. In addition, a newspaper has mentioned the discussion over an industrial park in that area, which could be a giant threat.

Yet, there is still potential in the area. There are still areas to rent and buy. But competition is high.

32. Is it possible to rent land for long term?

33. Land prices increased rapidly, is this an issue for CSA?

As described, the price increase and the maybe to high rent in future, has led to think about land securing of land for the CSA Pente, from which the foundation derived.

34. What do you think about the development of land prices in relation to starting/having a CSA?

Buying and Renting

35. What is the difference of buying land in comparison to renting land? What does it mean for agriculture?

said that the prices of the products in the supermarkets do not reflect the true costs of the products. The environmental costs and other follow costs are not included in the sales prices.

One has to adapt one life to the food. Only seasonal production decreases decision freedom in what one wants to eat. There is much less meat, which may be seen as a problem, but would probably have positive health effects. All products are unprocessed. So some certain products people require have to be done by oneself. Furthermore, the products are not always first class like in the supermarket. But it should not be forgotten that this means a waste reduction.

One has to renounce certain products. Summer vegetables are sometimes based on two or three months in summer. There are a lot of storage crops and winter crops available.

Due to the difficulties, there is a lot of fluctuation within the members. Many try it out for one or two years. Some like the idea but cannot live with it in their daily life. There has to be a behavioral change, which sometimes lacks.

For instance the CSA Pente has a relatively high amount of meat products. One can solely survive on the CSA's products.

44. What are suitable options for buying or renting land with a community?

Government schemes (funding by government)

Community (funding by CSA members)

Bank credit (funding by Banks)

Non-profit association (funding through non-profit association)

Crowd funding (funding through external community)

Sponsoring (funding by Sponsors)

Other

45. What do you think is the best option for this?

The CSA Pente has thought about creating an association or a foundation. An association is bound to the decisions made by the yearly meeting of members. Due to member fluctuation the objective of the association can change over time.

Due to that, the decision fell on a foundation. With a foundation the objective is fixed and therefore long-term in nature.

46. What are the most difficult aspects of transforming private to common property?

The foundation and the CSA are separated from each other. There are still question for the future. One possibility would be to rent the land owned by the foundation to the CSA. Another possibility would be to let the CSA pass over to the foundation.

Well planning and proper considerations are crucial aspects of the transition to common property. Also a CSA itself can be organized as an association, but Pente is a family business. One makes a member contract. The binding is not as strong as within an association.

47. How can privately owned land be used in a community with all respect to the involved parties?

“Demeter” guidelines have been chosen to follow.

There have been scientific studies about the effects on nature protection on the farm. A study by two ornithologists, Rolf Hammerschmidt and Heinz Düing about the bird life on the farm, has found convincing evidence. An astonishing result was the variety of species on the farm. The bird watchers observed 20 hectare around the farm and mapped the bird world. Nearly 500 birds from around 50 different species have been detected. This is an increase compared to 50 years ago.

<http://www.noz.de/lokales/bramsche/artikel/593813/csa-hof-pente-beflugelt-vogelvielfalt#gallery&0&0&593813>

Governance

48. Is the fact that a community has to decide slowing down reactions on those changes?

On the CSA Pente the farmer decides by himself. Especially for spontaneous and hurting decisions this can be of advantage. Not all aspects have to be talked through with the whole group. Nonetheless, the strategic direction and the cultivation plan is being discussed by the community. In future the CSA plans to implement more basic democratic decision making. To start that way from begin on bared several risks, and the farmer saw this critical. Also due to the lack of experience with community driven projects.

One could say the farmer and the consumers had to go through a learning phase and develop together. Also the farmer sees the farm a learning environment: for kids in the kindergartens, for consumers, and also for the farmers.

9. TABLES

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Nordrhein-Westfalen 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 26.750 Euro/ha	2011: 30.488 Euro/ha
2008: 26.279 Euro/ha	2012: 32.427 Euro/ha
2009: 26.841 Euro/ha	2013: 33.951 Euro/ha
2010: 28.051 Euro/ha	2014: 40.049 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS / IT.NRW

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Hessen 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 12.775 Euro/ha	2011: 12.822 Euro/ha
2008: 13.188 Euro/ha	2012: 12.530 Euro/ha
2009: 12.471 Euro/ha	2013: 13.608 Euro/ha
2010: 12.499 Euro/ha	2014: 14.578 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Rheinland-Pfalz 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 8.894 Euro/ha	2011: 9.532 Euro/ha
2008: 10.108 Euro/ha	2012: 11.141 Euro/ha
2009: 9.604 Euro/ha	2013: 11.684 Euro/ha
2010: 10.017 Euro/ha	2014: 12.092 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Saarland 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 9.066 Euro/ha	2011: 9.274 Euro/ha
2008: 8.000 Euro/ha	2012: 9.129 Euro/ha
2009: 10.078 Euro/ha	2013: 9.719 Euro/ha
2010: 8.706 Euro/ha	2014: 10.065 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Baden-Württemberg 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 18.305 Euro/ha	2011: 20.668 Euro/ha
2008: 18.682 Euro/ha	2012: 20.150 Euro/ha
2009: 19.012 Euro/ha	2013: 21.604 Euro/ha
2010: 19.824 Euro/ha	2014: 23.021 Euro/ha

Quelle: Statistik-BW

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Bayern 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 23.431 Euro/ha	2011: 30.064 Euro/ha
2008: 25.379 Euro/ha	2012: 31.841 Euro/ha
2009: 25.052 Euro/ha	2013: 39.797 Euro/ha
2010: 25.866 Euro/ha	2014: 41.440 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Thüringen 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 4.369 Euro/ha	2011: 6.288 Euro/ha
2008: 4.755 Euro/ha	2012: 6.870 Euro/ha
2009: 5.186 Euro/ha	2013: 8.191 Euro/ha
2010: 6.350 Euro/ha	2014: 9.430 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS / TLS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Sachsen 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 4.846 Euro/ha	2011: 5.909 Euro/ha
2008: 5.037 Euro/ha	2012: 8.163 Euro/ha
2009: 5.262 Euro/ha	2013: 9.211 Euro/ha
2010: 6.742 Euro/ha	2014: 10.250 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Niedersachsen 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 13.582 Euro/ha	2011: 18.910 Euro/ha
2008: 14.281 Euro/ha	2012: 21.146 Euro/ha
2009: 15.337 Euro/ha	2013: 25.181 Euro/ha
2010: 16.716 Euro/ha	2014: 38.856 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Sachsen-Anhalt 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 5.055 Euro/ha	2011: 9.736 Euro/ha
2008: 6.456 Euro/ha	2012: 10.965 Euro/ha
2009: 7.281 Euro/ha	2013: 11.162 Euro/ha
2010: 8.264 Euro/ha	2014: 12.982 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Brandenburg 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 3.024 Euro/ha	2011: 6.879 Euro/ha
2008: 3.707 Euro/ha	2012: 7.262 Euro/ha
2009: 4.715 Euro/ha	2013: 8.533 Euro/ha
2010: 6.334 Euro/ha	2014: 10.191 Euro/ha

Quelle: DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Schleswig-Holstein 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 12.088 Euro/ha	2011: 18.797 Euro/ha
2008: 13.700 Euro/ha	2012: 23.063 Euro/ha
2009: 16.085 Euro/ha	2013: 25.013 Euro/ha
2010: 16.923 Euro/ha	2014: 26.311 Euro/ha

Quelle: Statistikamt Nord, DESTATIS

Price Development for Agricultural Land in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 2007-2014 [105]:

2007: 4.862 Euro/ha	2011: 11.789 Euro/ha
2008: 5.741 Euro/ha	2012: 12.675 Euro/ha
2009: 7.049 Euro/ha	2013: 14.255 Euro/ha
2010: 9.187 Euro/ha	2014: 17.539 Euro/ha

