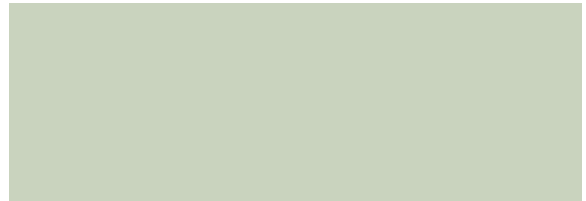


# PRACTICE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

ON

# URBAN GARDENERS' & FORAGERS' MOTIVATIONS



- A qualitative multiple-case study on the contemporary everyday life performativity

of urban gardening & foraging practices.



Mia Brandhøj  
Master Thesis Integrated Food Studies  
Aalborg University, Copenhagen

Supervisor: Associate Professor  
Mette Weinreich Hansen



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**Mia Brandhøj**



*The moon had been observing the earth close-up longer than anyone. It must have witnessed all of the phenomena occurring - and all of the acts carried out - on this earth. But the moon remained silent; it told no stories. (Haruki Murakami, 1Q84)*

Instead, I will. Even though I have not been witnessing as much as the moon, my experiences on the occurring phenomena of urban gardening and foraging from the conducted research will be voiced in the present thesis.



## Abstract

In a Danish contemporary context, the necessity of foraging or cultivating food oneself can be interpreted as an outdated practice, where the common everyday life act of eating are supplied from the larger entity of the food system, ensuring that foods are available and accessible no matter the season, night or day. However contemporarily, food practices as urban gardening and foraging are flourishing in the Danish urban settings. Thus, the practitioners must benefit from or be motivated to perform these practices of other reasons than bare necessity.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices can be understood in a Danish contemporary setting, and to contribute with knowledge on the characteristics of the currents among these practitioners, in terms of how their food practices can be suggestive to future qualities of the food system.

To investigate this, a qualitative multi-sided research method was applied entailing a literature study and a multiple-case study with ethnographically inspired observations of four practice sites in the urban setting of Køge, and ten semi-structured interviews with practitioners. The practitioners and their practices are focal points in the analysis on what have motivated them by using the theoretical and analytical grip of theory of practice and everyday life perspectives. This theoretical approach insists on having an eye for the complexity of practices and everyday life, thus the motivations are diverse and relates to several aspects of the practitioners' lives.

Based on the analysis of the produced data, the thesis concludes that the investigated urban gardeners and foragers are motivated to practise, because they comply with their attitudes that are characterised by a distrustful relationship to the food system's supply of food, in terms of food quality, production-, and processing methods. The urban gardeners' and foragers' practising settle their desire to know how the food is produced and processed from their mental and bodily interaction with the food during the production or identification of sprouting place to plate. Furthermore, the practitioners are motivated by a range of quality parameters, where they consider the food they cultivate or forage to be more fresh, healthy, local, natural, and as giving them flavourful everyday life food experiences.

The results are suggestive to future qualities in the food system in terms of reconnecting the individual with their food, by strengthening the material bodily experiences before consumption, focusing on giving the consumers the opportunity to sense the process from production to plate.

Keywords: *Urban Gardening, Foraging, Theory of Practice, Everyday Life, Food Practices*

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

A group of people walk into the shadows of the forest with their heads and attention pointed at the ground, they are not looking at the path, they are not looking for animals. Independently of each other, they stop, stoop, look closer, pick, rub, smell, taste, smell again, and pick more – nettles, thistles, ground elder, garlic mustard, and chickweed. They are not picking it all, as if they were weeding, they only take some of the plants. Gently the harvested plants are placed in their small baskets and bags, whilst a quiet discussion on taste, smell, plant name, and usability of the plants takes place.

They pick weeds for food preparation, yes - for eating them. It seems unnecessary for the participants to go pick weeds and eat them, when they can just as well go buy vegetables in the supermarket. Why do they engage and participate in such a perhaps outdated foraging practice? What do they benefit from their participation besides the edible plants? What does this type of food gathering offer them that they cannot fulfil elsewhere? The participants have paid to attend the course, so it is obviously not the plants being freely available, but of course many of the type of plants are not offered in the supermarket, and yes, they are probably more fresh – but still... Why touch and eat stingy weeds, when you can have green salad? There must something more motivating such kind of practice and eating habits!

Elsewhere in an urban garden on a bench in front of a red painted tool shed - a conversation takes place, accompanied with the scent of warm coffee and newly mown grass,: *“No, you can buy a big bunch of parsley from the Turk greengrocers for 20 kroner. So why would you want to wait for it grow. It is not only the cost, it is a whole lot more we gain from growing the parsley ourselves”* (Khaled 2014, p. 9).

What is *the whole lot more* to gain from these practices? Is it a matter of reconnecting with the nature and its resources? Is it a way to make environmental concerns, and attitudes on sustainability tangible in their everyday life practices? Is it the sovereignty to both grow and to be able to know how ones food is made?

The everyday-life has changed tremendously since people living in Denmark by necessity were gathering their food in the wild nature. This history goes back in the Danish context to around 7000 BC, since the warm summers from that point of time made gathering possible, the warm summers gave good conditions for broad-leaved trees resulting in both nuts and establishment of a forest floor (Institut for Kultur og Samfund, Aarhus Universitet 2014b). Then cultivation of

the land, specifically in Denmark since around 4000 BC (Institut for Kultur og Samfund, Aarhus Universitet 2014a), was the first active step of humankind away from the practice of gathering, and one of the most influencing changes on humans' relationship with food.

Later in history came, the industrialisation together with its companion of urbanisation as another important touch point in history on how we supply ourselves with food, and what kind of food is available for the urban citizens (Lang, Heasman 2005). The urbanisation increasingly led to a deconnection in the relationship between the urban population and location of where and how their foods were produced. Whilst the industrialisation of food production made it possible to supply the urban population with cheap food (Steel 2008). The consequences of such deconnection is described to have removed the urban consumers' concerns regarding soil fertility, weather conditions, and strength of the harvest away and instead replaced it with only one concern; their expenses when shopping food. Steel describes this as a *"Cut off from the land as never before, the city-dwellers began to disassociate food from the very idea of nature."* (Steel 2008, p. 38). Meaning that the urban citizens' lack of connection with nature is put as a central cause in a symptomatic relationship with food.

However, in Denmark around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the consequences of the fast urbanisation, which led to poor living conditions and actual overpopulation in terms of the cities capacity, was acknowledged by the authorities. This became the starting point for establishment of allotment gardens in the outskirts of the larger Danish cities, later to be organized as an association of Danish allotment renters in 1908 (Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter 2012). Illustrating an early awareness among the authorities, to reconnect the urban citizens with nature though it was primarily the recreational services of nature that were in focus. The produce was thought as a spill over benefit for the allotment renters as possibly preventing alcoholism and malnutrition, which were common problems at that point of time (Sørensen, Ravn 2008). In this way, the establishment of allotments in Denmark can be said to reconnect urban citizens with nature, and the way their food were produced, with the objectives of mental and physical health improvements, and as an additional advancement, it created community building.

During disruptions of the food supply e.g. in times of war or economic crisis, there is also an international history of reconnecting urban citizens with food production. Where parts of the food production was relocated within the cities in order to manage the scarcer amounts of food and as a tool to tackle the realities of rationing (Nordahl 2009). Such disruptions in the food supply was seen during the first World War, the recession of the 1930's, and the Second World War, and

made countries like UK and America encourage their citizens to cultivate fruits and vegetables on private lands and by making public land available as allotments in the cities (Steel 2008). However, often to be neglected after the disruptions and food shortages had ended, or when the land was taken back because of rising land values, where owners or authorities would make investments or establish build-up housing or industrial areas (Nordahl 2009, Drake, Lawson 2014, McClintock 2014a). In these contexts, the urban gardening practice and the reconnection with nature was merely a means of objectives driven by material need of food.

Recent years disruptions in the food system have among other things, been caused by a number food safety scandals and food scares during the 1980's and 1990's in relation to a range of food borne diseases such as Creutz Feld Jacob disease, Salmonella, E-coli, and Listeriosis (Lang, Heasman 2005, Nordahl 2009). These incidents increased the concerns and risk perceptions in peoples relationship with food. For some citizens this has led to a distrust to the way our food is produced, processed, and handled in the distribution to the retail sector. Since then there has been a continuity of food scandals, in the Danish and European contexts e.g. the horsemeat scandal and further incidents of food borne diseases from E.coli and Listeria, which might have caused a continuous and increasing negotiation of risks in peoples' relationships with food.

In addition to this, the global environmental crisis has led to disruptions and made people question the intensive way food production currently takes place, with a high intensity of how animals are raised and vegetables are produced, making consumers turn to organic produce, slow food movements, and ethical producers (Lang, Heasman 2005). This entailed by matters related to food miles and localism that focus on decreasing distances between production sites, processing sites and consumption sites (Cockrall-King 2012).

These concerns and the opaque character of our food system, might add up to the increasing concerns of citizens, whom as consumers have started to question the way our food is produced, processed, and retailed. That together with a range of other invisible risks such as overweight, obesity, diabetes, heart disease, cancer and other food related diseases have influenced our relationship with food and our practices related to food. Identified by Lang and Heasman (2005) as calling for a shift in paradigm of the food system, by describing what they have termed *food wars* as an analogy on how to out-battle the consequences of the historical food systems values and methods, they also point at the present times disruptions in our relationship to food.

These conditions characterize that the contemporary relationship to food, is not merely a disassociation with nature as Steel (2008) suggests, but also the result of what is considered a

distrustful and risky relationship, when it comes to the way our food is produced, processed, supplied, consumed, and eaten. A relation explicitly clarified for the reader, that the author shares as well, thus these perspectives are influential to the conducted research and the present thesis. In my private household and family's food practices this distrustful relation and environmental concerns are expressed in practices like vegetable gardening and our greenhouse that supply us with fresh produce half of the year. In an attempt to avoid highly processed foods since we cannot comprehend the lists of ingredients and additives. And that we buy meat from a local organic farmer because we are still only on the waiting list to the local cow-raising cooperative.

Today more than half of the world's population live in urban areas, which illustrates the scope of the disconnection and thereby the disruptions' influences on an international level. In the Danish context, the mobility numbers on urban populations from WHO shows that in 2010 86,8% of the Danish population lived in urban areas which underlines the relevance of the Danish context (World Health Organization 2014). Suggesting a solid basis that together with the above-described cocktail of disruptions and concerns characterise a contemporary development where the Danish urban citizens and many other citizens of the Global North, more eagerly than ever, actively try to comprehend and reconnect with their food.

However, in other societal contexts the practice of cultivating land or foraging food, might be considered low status activities, since the practices in those areas often is by necessity due to low income. Hence, in other cultures and parts of the world, the urbanisation might actually be part of wanting to escape from the hard physical labour and dirty jobs of growing and harvesting food (Baker 2004).

Nevertheless, among many Danes and other citizens of the Global North an eagerness is identified in contemporary practices such as urban gardening projects and communities, and in foraging practices as described in the beginning of this introduction. Practices that this thesis will dig in to, and investigate the very roots of, with the purpose of understanding the motivations of the urban gardeners and foragers. Taking on a curiosity if, the described contemporary disruptions and concerns are recognized by the urban gardeners and foragers as motivating their practices. The thesis will on the basis of such understanding of the grounds of these practices, qualify a discussion on if and how these food practices, can be suggestive to the future food system. Based on these introductory perspectives the present thesis will take on the research question presented in the next chapter.

## 2.0 RESEARCH QUESTION

How can the motivations of urban gardeners' and foragers' practices in a contemporary Danish urban setting be understood? How can their food practices be suggestive to future qualities of the food system?

### 2.1 WORKING QUESTIONS

Why do the urban gardeners and foragers practise respectively urban gardening and foraging?

Where did they get the inspiration to practise?

How do urban gardeners and foragers express their motivations for their practices?

What constitute and conditions their urban gardening and foraging practices?

What do the urban gardeners and foragers value and benefit from their practices?

Are the gardening and foraging practices a matter of getting food?

Are the motivations of urban gardeners comparable with the foragers' and how do they differ?

What qualities do the urban gardeners and foragers value in their food?

What qualities are identified as facilitated by the practices?

### 3.0 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

This chapter clarifies and elaborates key concepts used in this thesis. The concepts derive from the research question's addressing of *practices*, *urban gardeners*, and *foragers*. The clarification of these concepts is described in order to establish common grounds of understanding between the author and reader, before applying them throughout the following chapters.

The use of the concept *practice* is inspired by the theory of practice's understanding of the relation between people's sayings and doings, and what influences these in the everyday life. Thus, the concept practice immanently refers to the ones practicing, in this case urban gardeners and foragers as practitioners, and inherently addresses their diverse motivations in the construction of their everyday life when performing the investigated practices. This understanding of the concept practices involves both structure and actor perspectives and how these are conditioning to and constitutive for the practices and practitioners (Halkier, Jensen 2008, Nicolini 2009, Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005, Warde 2005).

The thesis will work with these understandings of conditioning and constituting structures of practices inspired by the use of these terms by Halkier, Katz-Gerro and Martens (2011) and Warde (2005) as distinguished yet related characteristics of practices. Where the conditioning relates to external and cultural conditions surrounding and intersecting the investigated practices, expressed as for instance reproducing certain cultures in the practice thus possibly limiting and drawing frames concerning what one say or do. Whilst constituting structures are characterised as internal dynamics of the practice or practitioners, that can be regarded as more innovative or at least practices of resistance and alteration in creating alternatives to cultural structures (Halkier, Katz-Gerro et al. 2011). Hence, these constituting structures can be based on resistance to the conditioning structures, e.g. cultural structures of the food system can be perceived as both conditioning to the everyday life food practices and as constitutive for people to establish or engage in alternative practices, like the ones investigated.

The practice-contexts of urban gardening and foraging, are similar in their common output in terms of giving the practitioners access to food products, mainly vegetables, fruits, and plants. However, the practices' approaches differ in the practical execution of getting the food product. Urban gardening relies on agricultural principles of cultivating land. Whilst foraging focuses on



which foods nature makes available in already established forests or other 'natural'<sup>1</sup> environments not necessarily aimed at food production.

The concepts *urban gardening* and *urban gardeners* are used in this thesis to describe the practice and the practitioners. The concepts are commonly used in the research field and in general, however it is underlined that in other research and cultural contexts, similar practices can be found e.g. under the concepts of urban agriculture, community gardening, guerrilla gardening, rooftop gardening with their distinctive terms of practitioners as well.

Similarly, this thesis declares to use the concept of *foraging* and refer to the practices of *foragers*, though these concepts have commonly used and corresponding terms such as e.g. gleaning, forestry, and gathering.

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<sup>1</sup> The matter of putting natural in ''', is a recognition of that many of the forests of our contemporary society are a product of human altered cultural appearances as well, planted by and/or maintained by humans.

## 4.0 THE CONTENT & ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This chapter presents an overview of the thesis' organisation and content. The previous chapters are considered introductory chapters, clarifying the wonderments behind the conducted research. That together with the following chapters *5.0 State of the Art of Urban Gardening & Foraging Research* and *6.0 Delimitation* settle the context of related international research. To clarify the contributions of the present thesis to the research field, and elaborate the situational context of the conducted research.

The thesis' philosophical considerations, methodological approaches, research design, and methods are elaborated in the chapters 7.0 to 10.0. Altogether, these chapters describe the background of the produced findings declaring to constructivism and explaining the conducted research's why, how, what, and when. Finishing by elaborating some methodological considerations of the research's reliability and validity from a qualitative research perspective.

Then the theoretical foundation is clarified in chapter *11.0 Theoretical Framework on Theory of Practice & Everyday Life Perspectives*, as an assembled analytical framework to investigate the research question's addressing of the urban gardeners' and foragers' motivations and how these relate the larger societal structures of the food system. These theoretical perspectives inspired the structuration of the processing of findings in the research, thus chapter *12.0 Processing of Produced Findings* is situated after the theoretical framework in order for the reader to comprehend the processing's application and categorisation of the findings under the theory of practice's four components; Understandings, Procedures, Materials, and Engagement.

This structuration continues in the thesis' chapter *13.0 Analysis & Results on Urban Gardening & Foraging Practices*, divided in sections addressing these four components. The thesis recognises that such division not fully reflects the complexity and interconnectedness of the everyday life practices, hence the analysis is summarised, underlining interconnections between the components in section *13.6 The Practices of Urban Gardening & Foraging*.

The thesis wraps up the main findings on the urban gardeners' and foragers' motivations and how these can be suggestive to future qualities of the food system in chapter *14.0 Conclusion*. With a subsequent discussion of these findings in relation to the international perspectives and future aspects of possible changes in the food system in the final *chapter 15.0 Future Aspects on Qualities in the Food System*.

## 5.0 STATE OF THE ART OF URBAN GARDENING & FORAGING RESEARCH

This chapter elaborates the grounds on which this thesis identifies a relation between the two practices of urban gardening and foraging. Subsequently, the introduction's proposal of disruptions and concerns in the food supply and food system, as changing peoples' relationship with food, is described by a brief historical background taking point of departure in existing scientific knowledge and research in relation to urban gardening and foraging. Finally, the existing knowledge on the diverse motivations behind the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices are described, whereupon the present thesis' research field and scientific contribution is established.

The co-existence of urban gardens and sites for foraging are considered related in the scientific literature. By acknowledging that the initiators of urban gardens have contributed to an emerging view of the city as an agro-ecological landscape with productive resources (McLain, Poe et al. 2012). Despite this relation, the two practices of urban gardening and foraging further demonstrate differing approaches on how they address similar contemporary challenges, and how they are practised. The greatest contrast is in the use of land, where the urban gardening practice originates from the agricultural approach of cultivating the land and getting certain yield in terms of produce and food. Whereas foraging derives from an intention to gather in the nature from what it can provide, but never more than nature can do without, which underlines a focus on balance between human's and nature's needs. Some of the basic ideas of the foraging practice is to go beyond the agri-industrial scope of food production, and to increase the diversity of the plants people consume (Poe, McLain et al. 2013).

In the international scientific literature, urban gardening is presented to have a historical context of being especially practised in times of crisis and scarcity (Hanna, Oh 2000a, Tornaghi 2014, Twiss, Dickinson et al. 2003, McClintock 2014b). This relates well to the *Introduction's* presentation of disruptions and concerns in the food system as triggering the contemporary urban gardening practices. However, throughout history the discursive constructs around the practices and rationalities of urban gardening have shifted focus; from a recreational and leisure activity with possibilities of food production - to contemporary contexts of offering solutions to urban sustainability issues and establishing local resilience (McClintock 2010, Baker 2004, Drake, Lawson 2014, Ferris, Norman et al. 2001, Galt, Gray et al. 2014, Holland 2004).

Another development seen in recent years also carries such a sustainability focus, since existing research identify a shift in how green spaces in the cities like urban gardens and forage sites are

being regarded. Traditionally, urban forests and green spaces were regarded as service providing spaces for the cities to tackle the environmental challenges, focusing on how trees and greeneries have abilities to fight air pollution, to store carbon, to improve water quality, and to handle excess water from storms (McLain, Poe et al. 2012). While contemporarily, urban planning are taking into consideration and have started to interest in how green spaces in the cities can be productive areas for the citizens. By planting fruit producing trees and greeneries where fruits, nuts and other edible plants can be foraged, this is claimed as inspired by the urban gardening practices that have changed the view on the city (McLain, Hurley et al. 2014, McLain, Poe et al. 2012, Galt, Gray et al. 2014, Poe, McLain et al. 2013).

If this tendency continues, the urbanised citizens are increasingly getting closer to food productive sites and given access to harvest food in the city. Such initiatives are furthermore connected to the awareness of reducing carbon emissions by decreasing food miles, enhance localism, organic production methods, and improving of biodiversity (Carolan 2012, Kneafsey, Cox et al. 2008, Lyson 2014, Baker 2004, Tornaghi 2014, Poe, McLain et al. 2013, McLain, Poe et al. 2012, Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012). The scholars' literature give examples on how urban gardening and foraging offer solutions to some of the contemporary concerns related to the environment and partly to the food supply of the increasing number of urban citizens.

Where the *Introduction* proposed backgrounds related to health and food safety issues as motives for urban gardening and foraging practices in a Danish context, the international context have another overarching motive namely food security. The food security issue dominates the scientific identified background of especially urban gardening practices among others to mention are Galt, Grey et al. (2014), McClintock (2014a), Baker (2004), and Lyson (2014), and in relation to the practice of foraging food security is on the agenda as well addressed by e.g. Nordahl (2009), and McLain, Hurley et al. (2014). Most of the scientific literature is based on American settings, where food security is among the primary objectives when establishing and maintaining urban gardens and foraging practices in contemporary times (Baker 2004, Lyson 2014, McLain, Poe et al. 2012).

The challenges related to the growing world population, the urbanisation, and the economic crisis are also addressed, to what end the urban gardens and forage sites are considered means of enabling self-sufficiency, increase affordability of food for poor, and establishing local community resilience (Clark, Nicholas 2013, Tornaghi 2014). The role of public authorities and city planners are regarded as responsible for facilitating more just food systems, to which urban forests and

cultivated areas as urban gardens are considered some of the solution (Poe, McLain et al. 2013, McLain, Hurley et al. 2014).

In spite of the focus on food security issues addressed in the existing scientific literature, it is important to notice that the American social context is characterised by a greater difference between poor and rich, than when comparing with a Danish context. Thus, it could be expected that there must be some other objectives and motives behind Danish practices of urban gardeners and foragers.

Besides food security issues of the American context another identified topic in the published work of international scholars is related to the challenges of being an immigrant. This carries a relevance to a Danish societal perspective as well. Baker (2004) directs an explicit attention to immigrants' limited resources and cultural unfamiliarity, and considers urban gardening to be contributing with possibilities of immigrants being capable of growing cultural appropriate foods not offered in supermarkets and in general contribute to their everyday life experience of meaningfulness.

Regarding the existing knowledge on the urban gardeners' and foragers' motivations the findings are ambiguous and multiple. However, there are a range of possible and suggestive motivations and benefits described in the scientific literature, these include:

- Increased freshness and food quality (Hanna, Oh 2000a, Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012),
- the practice being related to cultural or spiritual motives (Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012),
- increase affordability and to save money (Baker 2004, Tornaghi 2014),
- localism incentives (McLain, Hurley et al. 2014, Tornaghi 2014, Kneafsey, Cox et al. 2008),
- sustainability and environmental agendas (McClintock 2010, Baker 2004, Drake, Lawson 2014, Ferris, Norman et al. 2001, Galt, Gray et al. 2014, Holland 2004),
- increase life satisfaction (Freeman, Dickinson et al. 2012),
- to grow culturally appropriate foods (Baker 2004),
- to promote physical exercise (Freeman, Dickinson et al. 2012, Baker 2004, Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012),

- to improve nutritional value (Twiss, Dickinson et al. 2003, Poe, McLain et al. 2013),
- to be beneficial for mental health by reconnecting with nature (Freeman, Dickinson et al. 2012, Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012),
- and, to create alternatives to the capitalist/commercial food economy (McClintock 2014b, Tornaghi 2014, Kneafsey, Cox et al. 2008, Poe, McLain et al. 2013).

In continuation of these, the most common benefit identified in the scientific literature on urban gardening is related to social cohesion and/or community building with other citizens (Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012, Tornaghi 2014, Twiss, Dickinson et al. 2003, Baker 2004, Drake, Lawson 2014, Hanna, Oh 2000b, Galt, Gray et al. 2014, Freeman, Dickinson et al. 2012). This benefit seems to be occurring regardless of the formal objectives with the specific urban gardens. On the contrary, in the literature on foraging and motivations behind this practice the benefits seem to be relying more on the accessibility of food products and forage sites (Poe, McLain et al. 2013).

Equally these multiple motivations are similar to what Kneafsey, Cox et al. (2008) in their research have identified as multiple sets of motivations, which they have termed as “*interlocking cares*” that address different agendas and represent different scales. In their work, three different key sets of motives are identified: *Care for local economies, environments, and future generations*, *Care for health and wholeness*, and *Care about transparency and integrity in the food system/rejection of new technology* (Kneafsey, Cox et al. 2008), as motivating people to perform and involve in alternative food related practices.

In summary, it is clarified that the findings from the scientific literature include many types of motivations, rationalities, and benefits, of the urban gardeners’ and foragers’ practices and their relation to food. The existing international research points in a direction of a revival of urban gardening practices and establishment of foraging practices as an expression of emerging agendas and challenges in our contemporary society related to the environment, economy, urbanisation, health, and the food system. However, in a Danish context the role of food security is less relevant than in the American context, because of the different societal welfare system only a marginal part of people living in Denmark are food insecure in terms of availability and accessibility of food. Thus, the background of Danish urban gardening and foraging practices seems to have other objectives that yet again must influence the practitioners’ motivations to engage.

In the existing research, the scholars request knowledge based on other international contexts apart from United Kingdom and the United States of America (Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012). Research that includes benefits related to foraging practices is also requested (McLain, Poe et al. 2012), as an expression of focusing on the ones who could benefit from the practice and increase access to foraging sites. Another request addresses to take point of departure in the practitioners' expressions of motivations rather than in moral objectives and societal rationalities behind their practices (Lyson 2014).

This thesis will investigate the Danish context of urban gardeners and foragers with a focus on their practices and motivations, and if/ how they address different agendas related to the food system. With findings produced from four case studies conducted in the Danish city Køge, the thesis takes point of departure in the urban gardeners and foragers of the investigated urban settings. The findings are in collaboration with the existing international research in the field, be investigated from a practice theoretical perspective with the purpose of understanding the everyday life practices of urban gardeners and foragers. Hence, such understanding facilitates knowledge on what these practitioners value in their food related practices and serves as suggestive qualities for the future food system.

## 6.0 DELIMITATION

The investigated practices of urban gardeners and foragers are conducted in the city of Køge as a contemporary urban setting in Denmark. As the author lives in Køge, she noticed that these food related practices are flourishing currently, as in other urban contexts in Denmark and in general in the Global North. Furthermore, the selection of conducting the research within the geographical frame of Køge, was established on a collaboration with the Green House in Køge, whom had a relevant project portfolio for this research, consisting of the cases described in the chapter sections *8.1 Multiple-Case Study Design* and *8.2 Case Selection & Case Descriptions*.

The researched cases and participants are not meant to be an exhaustive research project of urban gardening and foraging as practices in Denmark in general, this is out of the scope of this project's focus on practitioners' motivations for the food related practices of urban gardening and foraging. Moreover, in terms of securing an international scientific value, this thesis will reflect the produced results up against already established knowledge from the international research conducted in this area. This in order to establish knowledge on these practices, how they can be understood, and thereby deployed when addressing the greater scope of our future food system and its qualities. Thus, the focus is aimed on the researched urban gardeners' and foragers' practices and their expressions of motivations in the produced data, to be theorised upon how an understanding of these practices can contribute to the future qualities of the food system.



## 7.0 PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE & METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This chapter provides the underlying philosophical basis that has influenced the conducted research, the analytical process, and the final expression of present thesis. Since the philosophy's epistemological and ontological grounds influence the methodological approach, and since the researcher's position in the field and life experiences influences the interpretations, this chapter will explicitly present how the background of the production of knowledge was approached as an effort to enhance the transparency of this thesis, in order to comply with scientific ideals (Bryman 2008).

The two-stringed research question that first addresses the motivations of the Danish urban gardeners' and foragers' practising, and secondly how insights in these practices can contribute with future qualities of the food system, has a character of abduction. Abduction as well has *"two stages: (a) describing these activities and meanings and (b) deriving categories and concepts that can form the basis of an understanding or an explanation of the problem at hand"* (Blaikie 2004, p. 1). Specifically, in this thesis by investigating the relationship between the practices, and the practitioners' motivations, and through such established inference apply and theorise on food related practices and discuss desires of changes of the food system of tomorrow. Thus, the research process and analysis can be described as a weaving pattern of iteratively going back and forth firstly between the practices and the practitioners' motivations, and secondly between the inferred understandings and the theoretical framework (Kohlbacher 2005).

The knowledge gaining takes point of departure in phenomenology, by focusing on the urban gardeners and foragers to understand their specific sense making of the world that surrounds them, and their engagements in the practices of urban gardening and foraging (Kvale 1997). Accordingly, it is important to underline the interpretive and hermeneutical character of this thesis, and that it takes point of departure in production of knowledge on the practitioners everyday life, practices and worldviews, since these are the frames *"which determine their behaviour by motivating it"* (Bryman 2008, p.16). Thus, the gardeners' and foragers' practices entail motivations, which can be found in their common-sense everyday life constructs and social contexts.

The focus on these investigated practitioners as actors dominates the ontological considerations as well, with taking a position in constructionism. This thesis' research area is characterised by relating to certain cultures, the cultures of cultivating or gathering food. Where constructionism considers cultures being emerging realities that are continuously constructed and reconstructed

(Czarniawska 2008). This point of view was also employed by some of the interviewed foragers and urban gardeners in the present research, when stating:

*“I do not think this picture [reality] is static, it is a certain movement [development] you are in all the time. That is what I think at least. So right now - I think like this” (Vivian 2014, p. 13)*

*“But again, well ask me again in three weeks, then maybe I would answer in a different way, because I might have gained other experiences meanwhile” (Dennis 2014, p. 9)*

In this way, the interviewed participants themselves touched upon, the realities of constructionism and thereby underlined that the investigated social phenomena are in constant state of revision. Apart from this, the school of constructionism also takes the researcher’s role into consideration, in regards to the production of indeterminate knowledge, and presentation of certain experienced realities, that consequently cannot be regarded definitive (Bryman 2008). Or, as Kvale (1997) elaborates, on the relationship between the phenomenological and hermeneutical approach, of the interview situation, where the researcher both co-produces and interprets the produced texts, e.g. the transcriptions (Kvale 1997).

Hence, the thesis’ research methods do not intend to make objective observations of practices (Halkier, Jensen 2008), but rather employ the produced data as snapshots of lived practices and realities. These ontological considerations assign the research and thesis to an intrinsic co-reflexion, where the author acknowledges that an objective distance to the research subjects cannot be achieved. Subsequently, the relations build during the meetings with the urban gardeners and foragers, and the understanding of their motivations, have influenced the author and her social construction of the investigated actors’ sense-making (Rasborg 2004).

The researcher’s role in the research is also constructive and determining for the outcome. Accordingly, the author’s food practices and everyday life motivations are relevant too, these are presented in chapter 1.0 *Introduction* in present thesis as a realisation of the co-producing researcher’s presence in the field and the immanent influences. Acknowledging that the researcher has influenced the produced and presented reality, from formulation of research question, selection of research methods, and interpretations of findings (Kvale 1997), leading to, that what was found and how it was understood, is influenced by the researcher’s beliefs, values,

and assumptions (Goldenberg 2006). For which reason this thesis is not considered to have conducted value-free research nor was that the aim of the study.

In addition to the constructionist perspectives, it is underlined that the researcher instead of trying to overcome presumptions or claiming to be objective, the researcher's own role has been cause for the same constant state of revision. This in terms of remaining critical and reflective towards the methodological approach, the research method, the data processing, the selection of theoretical framework, the interpretations, and conclusions.

In summary, the considerations on constructionism together with the abductive, interpretive, and phenomenological-hermeneutical characteristics of the described philosophy of science, the present research is positioned within a qualitative research strategy within the social sciences.

The social sciences as discipline, is concerned with society and human behaviour. This implies a focus on the interaction between individuals or groups of individuals, and society or societal issues e.g. between foragers/urban gardeners and the food system, which underlines a certain focus on a desire for change-making, underlined in the research question's interest in the possible contribution of the researched practices (Sørensen 2010). The social sciences and the conducted qualitative research strategy operate with scientific standards focusing on transparency, validity, and reliability obtained through the research topic's relevance, the sense-making of the applied research methods as sufficiently convincing to provide the required knowledge of the research question (Lichtman 2014).

## 8.0 RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter presents the applied research design in the production of knowledge for this thesis. By taking point of departure in the choice of a multiple-case study design, the cases' relations to each other and the scientific values of this design are clarified. Furthermore, the processes of selecting research sites and participants for interviews are described, this additionally entails descriptions of the multiple sites where the research has been conducted, in order to make the research process transparent and the sites' context clear, in case of comparison of this study with similar international research on urban gardening and foraging practices.

### 8.1 MULTIPLE-CASE STUDY DESIGN

The conducted research is based on multiple cases, all projects of the independent private institution The Green House in Køge, Denmark. The cases differ in their project typology divided between urban gardening sites and foraging events. The cases' organisational attachment to The Green House has a relationship of this organisation's work on promoting sustainable and healthy lifestyles, and in that revolt initiating, and collaborating when someone in the city of Køge has a green project idea. In practice The Green House has assisted the funding application processes and the initiation of the researched cases and hosted the events.

The urban gardening projects have characteristics of long-term projects, whilst the investigated foraging practices are based on independent events, however both types of projects intend to inspire and change the perspective on how people regard the nature and urban spaces (Mark 2014).

The multiple-case study design entails detailed analysis of the different cases' as practices and the practitioners' motivations, in this way the research is coherent to the research question. The cases have been investigated on each of their respective sites, thus the research can be characterised as multi-sited (Marcus 1995). Furthermore, the in-depth understanding of the practitioners' motivations informs the exploratory side of this study, in the investigation on if and how these motivations and thereby practices are suggestive to certain conditions in the food system, thus establishing internal validity of the present research (Yin 2009).

Case studies intend to understand complex social phenomena and allow the researcher to gain meaningful characteristics of real-life events, such as urban gardening and foraging practices (Kohlbacher 2005). In this way, the established research design supports the construct validity of

present research, since it allows investigation of the practices as phenomena, and their relations to the larger context of everyday life.

The multiple-cases are applied in the research as exemplifying cases, with objectives to capture and understand the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices and motivations (Bryman 2008). Or, as Kohlbacher (2005) makes clear, that case studies as research strategy are suited to exploration of issues in-depth and that the possibility to follow leads from the cases can establish new areas of theory construction (Kohlbacher 2005). The research design supports the possibility of drawing context-near examples on varying practices and motivations among the urban gardeners and foragers, since the cases are considered to provide a suitable context to answer the present thesis' research question. In addition, it enables and supports the possibility to make comparisons between the investigated cases with similar international contexts and practitioners, which contribute to the external scientific value, and the present thesis' scientific contribution to the research field.

In summary, the multiple-case study design approaches multiple sites and focus on the varying practices, thus it is considered to enable the present research to obtain the scientific standards of social sciences and to render possible analytic generalization with the purpose of making further theoretical reflections and discussions over the produced data.

## 8.2 CASE SELECTION & CASE DESCRIPTIONS

The selection of cases was established in collaboration with The Green House in Køge. The collaboration was based on The Green House's identification of the benefits from having an external resource approaching their projects in a scientific manner and provide them insights from which their future projects could benefit. Whereas, the researcher benefitted from The Green House' established network that aided a snowballing process of speaking with relevant actors related to the research topic (Bryman 2008), furthermore The Green House provided a workstation to the author in their premises during the thesis period.

The case selection took point of departure in a process of discussing all of The Green House's projects in their portfolio that related to food, the case selection process narrowed down the number of possible cases from around twelve projects to the two selected projects and two events included in this research. These projects and events involved people practising respectively urban gardening and foraging. This selection process was guided on a curiosity on if

and how, the practitioners' motivations would vary depending on their practice. Furthermore, the selection of these exact two practices was considered to possibly frame a development in our society on how people relate to food. In this manner, the selection of research sites were two urban gardening projects within the city of Køge, and two foraging events arranged and conducted by The Green House.

### 8.3 URBAN GARDEN CASE DESCRIPTIONS & SELECTION OF URBAN GARDENERS FOR INTERVIEW

This chapter describes the two different urban garden cases to make the researched contexts transparent to the reader. Subsequently, the selection of urban gardeners for interview is described. It is underlined that this thesis does not intend to present an evaluation of these projects, rather the urban gardens are an expression of the physical sites and surroundings that also influence the investigated practices and the practitioners' motivations as conditioning and constituting structures to their common-sense activities in their everyday life.

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#### 8.3.1 THE HASTRUP PARK GARDENS

The Hastrup Park Gardens were established in 2012 with 13 raised beds of around 80 x 250 cm. and expanded with 13 more beds in 2013. The initiative was taken by the housing association of a certain area in Køge. The garden has a tool shed, with a small refrigerator, water supply, a tiled area for barbeque, some benches, and a compost system, a view of the gardens are shown in Photo 1.

The Green House assisted the idea development, and has after the establishment, been engaged in the conduction of events and classes for the urban gardeners, e.g. nature guidance, planting-tips, food preparation, and cooking. The gardens are financed by funding from the Agenda 21 funds and the Danish Outdoor Council. The practical establishment of the raised beds in the garden was constructed by a local municipal centre for unemployed citizens. The urban gardeners have to pay an annual garden rental of 150DKK that covers the maintenance of the facilities.



Photo 1 The Hastrup Park Gardens, urban gardens in Køge. The photo displays some of the raised beds, the red building is the garden's tool shed, in front of the tool shed are a few benches. When standing with ones back against the tool shed, the raised beds are distributed on the lawn, like a fan. Behind the large trees, one can catch a glimpse of the apartments of the housing association of the area. The photo is taken by the author.

The main target group of the project are described as families, with a special focus on fathers to be included in the service and coordination of the gardens. The project goals were: to increase focus on the Hastrup Park area as a green and healthy environment, to facilitate network and social communities around the garden area, to get the families out in the open and get common experiences in the gardens, and to get positive press coverage in the local media. The Hastrup Park Gardens have according to the local project responsible Lotte Varder, obtained the success criteria during the three years of activity. The project and the urban gardens have become sustainable with minimum interference from the housing association, and the urban gardeners can harvest their own herbs and vegetables and meet for self-arranged activities in the urban garden (Varder 2014).

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### 8.3.2 THE HARBOUR GARDENS

The Harbour Gardens area was established in 2013 on the southern harbour area in Køge, by the partnership company Køge Kyst P/S [Køge Coast Partnership company] (Køge Kyst 2014) consisting of the municipality of Køge and the organisation Realdania By [Realdania city] (Realdania 2014), a company working with city development and strategic solutions for cities. The



urban gardens are situated in a present industrial area on Køge harbour that is to be transformed to a new-clustered housing area during the next 30 years. The urban garden is part of a development project in the area, and is located in the public urban space called 'The Exploration' [Opdagelsen]. *The exploration* as name, symbolises the very purpose of the harbour gardens' establishment, namely them being an experiment to explore, and gain knowledge and experiences with how the public urban spaces of the Køge Coast P/S's area's future urban spaces should be planned, and what kind of activities and facilities the citizens want to engage in (Andersen, Kingod 2014).

The idea to establish the gardens and the connected common outdoors kitchen, originated from a local food event and cooking class held in 2012, where more than 100 citizens showed interest and enthusiastic engagement. This indication of great interest generated a further collaboration between a local gourmet chef, The Green House, Køge Coast, a number of landscape architects, and the local municipal centre for unemployed citizens, in the development, design, and construction work of the urban gardens and the surrounding area of the exploration (Andersen, Kingod 2014).

The harbour gardens consist of 70 raised beds 120x120cm. There is a common and public outdoor kitchen, toilet, bonfire place, sitting area, hammocks, three beehives, a hedge of hops, a tool shed, water supply, and a compost system, a view of the harbour gardens is captured in Photo 2.

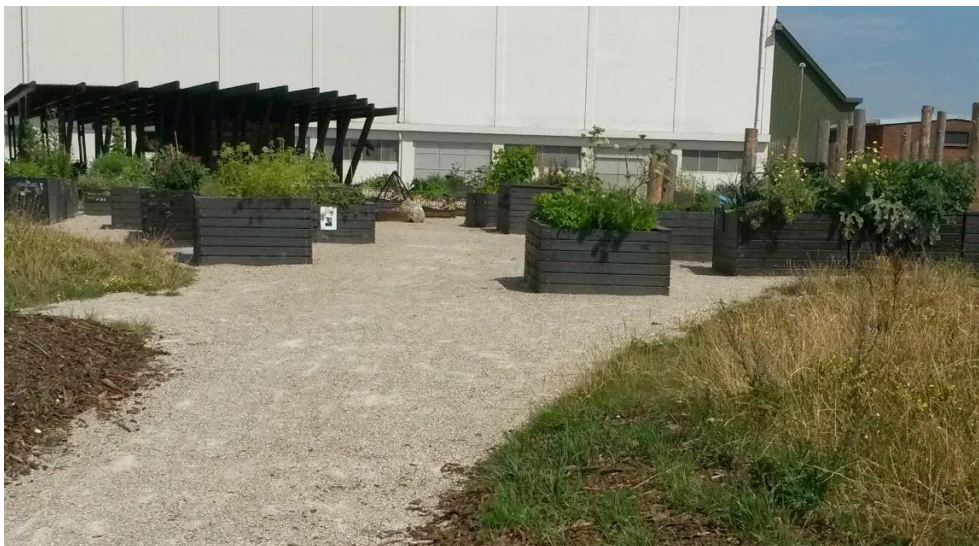


Photo 2 The Harbour Gardens, urban gardens in Køge. The photo displays some of the raised beds, the black building in the background is the pent roof over the common kitchen, and to the right one can see the pillars that the hammocks are strapped on to. In the very back is a large white industrial building, which underlines the situational reality of the area's present industrial location and the future urban development process. The photo is taken by the author.



The harbour gardens are financed by the Køge Coast P/S and used by a range of citizens, institutions, and companies, thus the area is considered somewhat an outdoors local hall that gather people from the area. There is no garden rental for the gardeners, however they are obliged to cultivate their raised bed, otherwise it will be given to another citizen on the waiting list. Likewise, is the kitchen facilities free to rent for the public, in 2014 the facilities were booked around 300 times in the time span from April to October by citizens, companies, schools, and local associations.

The head of city development, culture, and urban life Siv Raun Andersen and the project staff member Berit Kingod elaborated in an informal interview that the gardens are an experimental space to explore and make experiences with the citizens' interests in being active in the public urban spaces (Andersen, Kingod 2014). The overall frame of the work is to create a sustainable and vibrant neighbourhood in the area of Køge Coast. They enhance the matter of the activities relating to food, which they consider as having a positive mediating effect because all people eat (Andersen, Kingod 2014).

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### 8.3.3 SELECTION OF URBAN GARDENERS FOR INTERVIEW

The selection of urban gardeners was guided by the snowball sampling method, with point of departure in conversations with the initiators of the urban gardens and eventually from conversations with the urban gardeners themselves. The snowball sampling method implies that: *“the researcher makes an initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others”* (Bryman 2008, p. 184). In this research, the initial contact was established through The Green House to the different initiators of the urban gardens, who then pointed out urban gardeners relevant for further interview. These appointments took point of departure in having variation in the selected interview participants, in terms of age, gender, and role in the gardening community, in order to identify as many different motivations as possible (Lichtman 2014).

Apart from the selected urban gardeners for interview, all of the urban gardeners in the two urban garden sites were told about the research project, to establish their acceptance and allowing the researcher to take photos and spend time in the gardens. The appointed gardeners were invited for interview by the researcher personally, by either phone call or e-mail. Thus, the selection of gardeners for interview is convenience and snowball sample of the investigated cases

(Bryman 2008, Lichtman 2014). Hence, the selection of interview participants is a non-probability sample in line with the qualitative research approach, which underlines this research's aim in regards to the matter of generalizability, which is focused on analytical generalization and theorising (Kohlbacher 2005).

Despite the convenience of snowball sampling to the researcher, it is important to mention the risk of this approach in the selection of interview participants. The use of the snowball technique puts this study at risk of only approaching people within a self-referring system. For instance, these exact two gardening projects might have been enhanced as especially relevant by The Green House, because of strategic reasons that they wanted to display the projects with most success or with the most collaborative urban gardeners. However, this critique does not weaken the present research's validity, since the research's focus is on the urban gardeners' practices and their motivations, thus their collaboration is central to establish findings. So even if this was the case, the produced knowledge is still coherent to the research question, and establishes construct validity, the internal validity remains to investigate the relationship between the motivation of the practices and the food system, and the external validity consists of analytical generalizability theorised up against the theoretical framework and existing research (Yin 2009).

#### 8.4 FORAGING EVENT CASE DESCRIPTIONS & SELECTION OF FORAGERS FOR INTERVIEW

This section describes the two different foraging events with relevant characteristics to make the researched contexts of this practice transparent to the reader. The selection of foragers for interview is described after the two specific events. The investigated foragers also practise in other sites apart from these two specific events, however it is these foraging events arranged by The Green House that constitutes the frames under which the selection process have taken place.

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##### 8.4.1 THE FORAGING EVENT: THE FORESTS' EDIBLE HERBS AND WILD PESTO

The event was arranged as a course in foraging and preparing wild herbs from the forest in late spring. The course was arranged in a collaboration between The Green House and Svenstrup Gods, a local manor near Køge, and taught by a nature guide from The Green House and a self-employed herbal expert. The collaboration between the manor and The Green House has been

partially financed by the Danish outdoor council, with the objective to develop and establish outdoor life and physical activity.

The project grant covers around four annual activities held from 2012-2015, related to food and foraging. The manor's interest in the project has mainly been to host events and establish certain facilities, in order to create experience economy. Whilst The Green House have been interested in teaching people to be in, and use the nature wherever they are, and facilitate opportunities for primitive food preparation of gathered ingredients from the wild in order to have people overcome the resistance of eating weeds (Mark 2014).

This event was held at May 29<sup>th</sup> 2014 and lasted around three hours, the participant fee was 250DKK, and altogether thirteen adults participated the event. At the event, the participants got an introduction to the planned activities, then a guided tour in the manor's forest was conducted, with focus on edible herbs and how they can be recognised by using sensory tests like the herbs' smell, taste, appearance, and sprouting place as shown in Photo 3.



Photo 3 The foraging event The Forest's Edible Herbs and Wild Pesto's. The foraging event was held may 29<sup>th</sup> 2014. The photos demonstrate the different activities in the course, the photo on the left illustrates the guidance from the herbal expert, the photo in the upper right corner captures the food preparation, and below some of the pesto's and thistle stalk snacks eaten as 'wild asparagus'. The photos are taken by the author.

A range of different herbs were foraged, e.g. thistles, nettles, ground elder, garlic mustard, chickweed, daisies, and dandelions. Afterwards the participants sorted the foraged herbs, in order for them to incorporate them in food preparation. The result of the food preparation was shared, eaten, tasted, evaluated, and discussed around a bonfire near the manor, where the variety of different pesto's, butters, breads, tea, and snacks were consumed (Brandhøj 2014b).

#### 8.4.2 THE FORAGING EVENT: WILD BERRIES AND ROOTS

The foraging event was arranged in collaboration between The Green House, a gourmet chef, and Køge Coast Partnership. The event was held on the exploratory (see description in the previous section on The Harbour Gardens), and the surrounding nature on September 28<sup>th</sup> 2014, with 40 participants that had paid 75DKK to participate. The rest of the expenditures were covered by the Køge Coast partnership company however, the prices rise slightly every year in order for the events to become more economically sustainable (Andersen, Kingod 2014).

The participating foragers were divided in two groups of 20 persons, one group started in the kitchen facilities with the gourmet chef to make Nordic dishes of the vegetables and herbs in season. Whilst the other group went with an herb expert to forage local herbs, berries, and roots in the surrounding nature on the beach, meadow, and in the urban green spaces. The event was announced in the Køge coast partnership's activity flyer, and attracted participants from cities apart from the city of Køge as well.



Photo 4 The foraging event Wild Berries and Roots. The photos are from the foraging event Wild Berries and Roots, September 28<sup>th</sup> 2014. The photos show the different activities of foraging on the beach and meadow, e.g. sensory testing of wild plants, digging up roots, foraged food in the preparation, and presentation of the final menu. The photos are taken by the author.

The main purpose of this event together with a number of other annual cooking classes is to establish a vibrant urban area before the Køge coast partnership start settling housing in the area, under the vision 'life before the city'. Where Køge Coast P/S together with The Green House facilitate and establish experiences on how the citizens can make use of the green urban spaces

for the future urban settlement, with focus on sustainability, the nature, and localism (Andersen, Kingod 2014, Mark 2014).

During the foraging the participants gathered grassleaf orache, broad leaved pepperwood, sea rockets, wild parsnips, dandelions, rosehips, hawthorn berries, and elder berries. In the common kitchen on the exploratory, the participants prepared a meal with the foraged herbs, roots, and berries as tasteful supplements to the purchased locally grown fruits and vegetables, e.g. kale, carrots, beetroots, apples, Jerusalem artichokes etc. as shown in Photo 4. The meal was presented, eaten, and discussed commonly among the participants (Brandhøj 2014a).

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#### 8.4.3 SELECTION OF FORAGERS FOR INTERVIEW

The selection of interview participants from the two foraging events was characterised by direct communication between the researcher and the foragers, since I attended the events together with them as participant-observer. During the events, it was announced that the participants would be invited to share their motivations in an informal interview with the researcher, they were not required to commit themselves at the time, though some did anyway. After the foraging events an e-mail inviting for interview or confirming an interview agreement if settled at the event, was sent to the participants.

This method provided different types of foragers in terms of age, gender, and engagement, though more by chance than strategic effort. Thus, the selection of participants for interviews from the foraging events is characterised with the qualities of a non-probability convenience sample (Bryman 2008), on the basis of the foragers being available to the researcher by their virtue of participating the events and thereby meeting the researcher in person. This provided relevant and informative participants for interview whom could elaborate their practices, motivations, and understandings (Lichtman 2014).

## 9.0 RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter describes the practical applied research methods in this thesis' data production, and presents arguments on why these methods were applied. Furthermore, the development and conduction of the research methods are presented in order to establish transparency of the research, in line with the qualitative research's understanding of reliability. This chapter is structured in three main parts, based on the applied research methods of the conducted literature study, ethnographically inspired observation, and semi-structured interviews.

The combination of research methods was applied in order to secure knowledge to answer the research question. Where the literature study mainly was aimed at gaining an international understanding of the urban gardening and foraging as research field, and investigated both scientific and popular literature related to the themes and the practitioners' motivations. Whereas the ethnographically inspired observations were conducted as an entrance to the field for the researcher and to gain experiences of the practices' settings, furthermore the observations served as a relevant meeting with practitioners to invite for them semi-structured interviews. Moreover, the semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain insight in the practices in general and the practitioners' motivations specifically.

### 9.1 LITERATURE STUDY

The literature study was conducted with the purpose to establish an understanding of the international context of urban gardening and foraging as research field. The search strategy involved two different search strings divided on respectively urban gardening and foraging. The literature search was mainly conducted on SCOPUS, google, and google scholar, and Aalborg University Library's search engine Primo. The search process integrated synonymously or related used terms and concepts such as; urban agriculture, community gardening, food gathering, food gleaning etc. These search terms were then individually combined with search terms related to the aim of the thesis, namely; practices, motivations, objectives, rationalities, meanings, backgrounds, and motives.

The literature study revealed a difference in the established scientific knowledge, with a vast amount of relevant results related to the research area of urban gardening, and with a minimum of relevant results related to foraging. A difference, that is important to make notice of, when it comes to this thesis' possibilities of comparing and reflect its findings up against established



scientific knowledge and research. However, this circumstance is considered, as an opportunity to contribute to the scarcity of scientific literature on foraging, both in relation to provide a Danish context and in terms of the present research's specific focus on the practitioners' motivations. On the contrary, the vast amount of literature on urban gardening made it necessary to limit the search, where the limiting tool of SCOPUS were marked to include results from the field of Social Sciences only.

In total around 35 recent articles published within the last 15 years were identified relevant to the research question and retrieved, read, and sorted in themes and perspectives. In addition, the reference lists of these articles were examined for other appropriate articles and books relevant to the research question, to expand the knowledge base of the literature search. Most of the retrieved articles were about research conducted in United States of America and in the United Kingdom, published by researchers with varying backgrounds e.g. geography and urban planning to mention the most frequent.

Besides, the scientific literature, the literature study as well included popular literature on urban gardening and foraging. This was chosen on the background that the advocates represented in the popular literature as well address a range of objectives on why the practices of urban gardening and foraging are beneficial to the practitioners and the society. Furthermore, these authors represent a section of international practitioners that might as well have been an inspiration for the Danish practitioners and initiators of the projects.

The popular literature were found to address a range of the same purposes of practices as the scientific literature, however presented through a rhetoric requesting and advocating for e.g. food citizenship (Nordahl 2009), food justice (Johnson 2010), and food sovereignty by giving examples of community led and alternative food supply channels and systems benefitting from the practices (Cockrall-King 2012). Additionally, they advocate for increasing and preserving food literacy, by illustrating how many people has decreased capabilities to grow or prepare food themselves, considered a historical and important set of skills and knowledge that needs to be sustained (Nordahl 2009). For instance by incorporating examples that illustrate children not recognizing fresh produce as a loss of knowledge and disassociation with food (Johnson 2010, Steel 2008, Cockrall-King 2012).

The literature study's findings within the scientific publications are presented in chapter 5.0 *State of the Art of Urban Gardening & Foraging Research*. In summary, motivations and objectives related to food quality, food security, cultural and spiritual practices, increased affordability,

localism, sustainability, environment, life satisfaction, physical activity, nutritional value, social coherence, mental health, and creating alternatives to the existing food system were identified, these are listed with the respective references on page 11-12. These findings influenced the focus of the conducted research of this thesis, in relation to formulation of the research question. Based on an emerging wonder in regards to the role of food security issues in the international scientific literature, and the different geographical and societal context of Denmark. Thus, the literature study has influenced the present research and has established background knowledge in regards to the international contexts of the two investigated practices.

## 9.2 ETHNOGRAPHICALLY INSPIRED OBSERVATIONS

The selection of conducting ethnographically inspired observations was established on the background of the researcher being foreign to the practices of urban gardening and foraging at in the beginning of this research process. Ethnographically inspired observations are a commonly used approach in social sciences and qualitative studies. In practice, the research method was applied by visiting the urban gardens and speak with the local responsible of the urban gardens, and by conducting participant-observations at the two foraging events. The collaboration agreement with The Green House, enabled the researcher to get in contact with the urban garden projects' responsible and to participate in two foraging events, as described in chapter 8.0 *Research Design*.

The ethnographically inspired observations' following of practices, things, initiators, and practitioners in a multi-sited research approach, is in congruence with the thesis' ontological ground in constructivism. By focusing on the conjunctions of locations: *"in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography"* (Marcus 1995, p. 105).

In the urban gardens, the ethnographically inspired observations were conducted with the intentions to gain insight in the physical surroundings, facilities, location, project formalities, to see how the raised beds were cultivated, and in general, to investigate the practice as a physical appearing phenomena in its given contexts (Angrosino 2007). The observations are considered qualifying the understanding of the urban gardeners when conducting the interviews with urban gardeners, in case of common-sense understandings or routinized behaviours not being expressed explicitly. For instance, the matter of having water supply available in the garden or



simply the physical size of their raised beds were relevant, in order to comprehend the scale and scope of their practices.

The fieldwork were conducted as an informal meeting with the urban gardens' project responsible (a semi-structured interview guide from these meetings can be retrieved in appendix 1.1) they enhanced some of the urban gardens' facilities and contexts, whilst the observations afterwards were conducted with only the researcher as observer on the site. This resulted in notes taken during the conversation with the project responsible and thick descriptions and photos of the urban gardens areas. For instance by measuring the size of the raised beds, counting them, see what people grew in them, how the practitioners had personalized the beds appearances, the noises, wind, surrounding buildings, sitting on the benches and generally sensing the area (Angrosino 2007, Marcus 1995).

Related to the practice of foraging the applied ethnographic approach were settled by the collaboration with the Green House that gave a research opportunity to make experiences on the practice of foraging and to get in contact with relevant interview participants. Thus, these ethnographically inspired observations are specifically conducted as participant observations. The participant observation as research method allowed the researcher to experience the practices through her own presence, sensing and discovering, and thereby gain insights in the particular context, in this case the practice of foraging (Guest, Namey et al. 2013). The participant observations enabled the researcher to develop the questions to ask, for the later process of more structured data production in the semi-structured interviews. Consequently, the experiences from the participation in the two foraging events benefitted the researcher's data processing, by having an intuitive understanding of the interviewed participants' attitudes and motivations, due to the common frame of reference (Guest, Namey et al. 2013).

The considerations made before the participant observations at the foraging events were influenced by the knowledge gained from the literature study, and thereby largely focusing on the participants' practices e.g. experiences, knowledge, relation to the nature, enthusiasm and articulated motivations and attitudes if outspoken. An observation guide was developed inspired by the work of Guest, Namey et al. (2013, p. 87-92), and structured in three observational spheres: 1) Physical sphere e.g. peoples appearance, number of participants, in couples or alone and time spent. 2) Within human sphere e.g. sensory experiences, skills, motivations, expectations. 3) Social sphere e.g. interactions, questions to the guide, distance making to others etc. A detailed version of this participant observation guide can be examined in appendix 1.2. The

observation guide were filled out right after the events, on the background of not missing too much whilst taking notes during the event or forgetting relevant information if not taken as soon as possible (Bryman 2008).

At the foraging event's beginning the researcher presented herself in a fully self-revelation manner in accordance to ethical practice, this presentation included an introduction to the purpose of presence, and how the data were planned to be used in the thesis. This degree of self-revelation also allowed the researcher to take photos and engage more openly in conversations with the participating foragers (Guest, Namey et al. 2013). The participants were in the introduction informed that photos would be taken, and no one declined to be in the photos.

The visual ethnography of the photos taken, intended to capture the perspectives of the practice that relied on common-sense or routinized behaviours, for instance when the sensory tests of plants were conducted, and how the preparation of the foraged plants turned these into food. Furthermore, the photos have worked as memorabilia for the researcher to re-experience the events, recognise the foragers, being backup material for e.g. count of participants, and remember details like weather conditions, surroundings etc.

In this way, the participant observations accommodated the researcher's intention of both experiencing the practice and securing a common reference frame with the participating foragers, which in addition created a solid basis of establishing a valid understanding of the investigated practices and the practitioners' motivations as intended in the research question.

In summary, the ethnographically inspired observations in the urban gardens and foraging sites, have established knowledge of the researched sites and a range of experiences within the scope and practical conditions of the two practices. The field notes taken in relation to the observations and the photos of the areas have especially been important in relation to the part of the analysis involving materials and physical surroundings, in addition some of the photos appear in the present thesis as illustrative examples of the contextual realities.

### 9.3 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The following considerations regarding the research method of using semi-structured interviews in the data production process cover all the conducted interviews with urban gardeners and foragers in this research. Whilst the conversations with project initiators e.g. with Marianne Mark from The Green House and the project responsible from the urban gardens, have been characterised by being more informal meetings conducted as part of the ethnographically inspired approach related to the observations.

The research method of semi-structured interview is in line with social science and qualitative research strategy, and targets to reach phenomenological understanding of the urban gardeners' and foragers' perspectives and how they describe their motivations and rationalities, from an approach where the individual's perception and worldview is central (Kvale 1997). The phenomenological-hermeneutical approach of the conducted semi-structured interviews, will in the analysis through the gardeners' and foragers' detailed descriptions and experiences, also go beyond the immediate experienced meanings, with the purpose of discussing a certain pre-reflective level, and thereby make the invisible common-sense of the interviewed participants visible (Kvale 1997).

The semi-structured design made it possible to the interviewed urban gardeners and foragers to influence the interview in relevant directions, not pre-identified by the researcher (Lichtman 2014). This strengthens the present research's declaration to a phenomenological approach of understanding the participants, by allowing the urban gardeners and foragers to influence the interview in their own arbitrary manner and thereby allowing the researcher to encounter new perspectives in what can be considered as an interview participant's rambling.

In order to facilitate rapport building the interview locations were selected by the interview participants, since a safe environment support the interview participants' relation to the interviewer (Bryman 2008, Lichtman 2014). Some interviews were conducted in the urban gardens, others in the interview participant's private home, or at their workplace. The initial contact with the interview participants provided them information on the purpose, theme, and expected duration of the interview. In addition, it was underlined that the interview should take place when and where the individual participant found it most comfortable, this was to ensure good conditions for the interview, and minimum inconvenience for the interviewed participants, and in order to secure rapport building (Lichtman 2014, Kvale 1997). Furthermore, all the

interviews were conducted face to face, with only the researcher and the interview participant present, except one interview conducted with a married couple practising urban gardening.

The interview started with an introduction by the researcher to clarify the theme of the interview, the purpose and usage, and providing information that the interview was recorded and how the data would be used in the thesis. The interviews' semi-structured form was planned in an interview guide that can be retrieved in appendix 2.1 and 2.2 adjusted to the practice of respectively urban gardening and foraging. The interview guide intended to follow a certain progress from introducing questions and their considerations on the certain practice in general, and then gradually involve questions demanding a bit more of the interview participant in terms of exposing themselves; e.g. their motivations, rationalities, and everyday life circumstances. Finally, the interview finished off with a few hypothetical questions on future aspects of the practice. This progress was planned in order to support a natural flow (Kvale 1997, Bryman 2008, Guest, Namey et al. 2013).

The themes in the interview guide covers; *the interview participants' meeting with the practice of urban gardening/foraging, description of the interview participant's own practice, their reflections on the practice, their motivations and rationalities behind the practice, a stimulating task of selecting issues/words that the interview participant can identify with, and perspectives on if/how the practice have changed the interview participant in a certain direction.*

It is important to notice that the semi-structured form became less and less structured throughout the conduction of the eleven interviews. This is considered a quality, on the basis that it happened since the interviewer memorised the interview guide better from interview to interview, which facilitated the possibility of asking questions more appropriately in the conversation, that then became more led by the interviewed participant, than the interview guide. In this way, the sequence or introduction of themes and questions varied dependent on a natural flow in the interview, dependent on to which extent the interview participant had already touched upon the subject earlier in the interview (Launsø, Rieper 2005, Lichtman 2014)

The included task for the interview participant had the purpose to stimulate the dynamics and aspects around the theme on motivation (Gaskell 2005). First by asking the interview participant about her/his motivations and writing these on cards by hand, and then presenting cards with 16 different motivations identified and suggested in the scientific international literature. These were: *environmental concerns, freshness and flavour, the supermarkets' supply does not meet my demands, save money, the food/produce yield, wish for alternative food systems, mental health,*

*ideological or religious belief, natural medicine, to have fun, political consumerism, self-sufficiency, social community, family or cultural tradition, want to know how my food is produced, physical health (nutrition and exercise).*

The task was unfold, as they should take the cards they could identify with, explain how, and elaborate if they thought some of the cards being connected. Finally, it was the intention that the interview participants should prioritise the cards in accordance to their motivations if possible, however the semi-structured approach supported that some of the interviewed participants' took this initiative themselves. They started to organise the cards before the interviewer requested it, which resulted in both categorisations, prioritised lists, and discussions on the cards' inseparability and connectedness. As in the interview with Vivian when she had been through all the cards:

*“M: So now you have a few piles [of cards] laying around here?”*

*V: Yes, I have. I think they represent different general main themes. Well, ‘the food/produce as yield’ can actually fit all of them. (...)” (Vivian 2014, p. 12)*

And after a discussion of the Danish culture of being together with other people, she summarised as she realised that:

*“(...) the food creates the foundation of all the activities in our everyday life” (Vivian 2014, p. 13)*

Both the use of the cards, which have influenced the knowledge production and the interviewed participants, and the presence of the interviewer asking questions have contributed to such new realisations, e.g. as expressed in one of the interviews:

*“C: Now that was funny [entertaining] to play with those cards. Then we came far and wide around this, I can suddenly see a mirror image of myself here [pointing at the way she arranged the cards]” (Camille 2014, p. 11)*

Exemplifying the knowledge production created during the interviews, and underlining the constructionism of the conducted research (Gaskell 2005), as also described in chapter 7.0 *Philosophy of Science & Methodological Approach*. The task is found to have initiated deeper discussions, and aided more elaborate answers than the immediate questions on their own motivations did, and is thus considered to have challenged the interview participants to vocalise their motivations and their practices to a higher extent (Gaskell 2005).

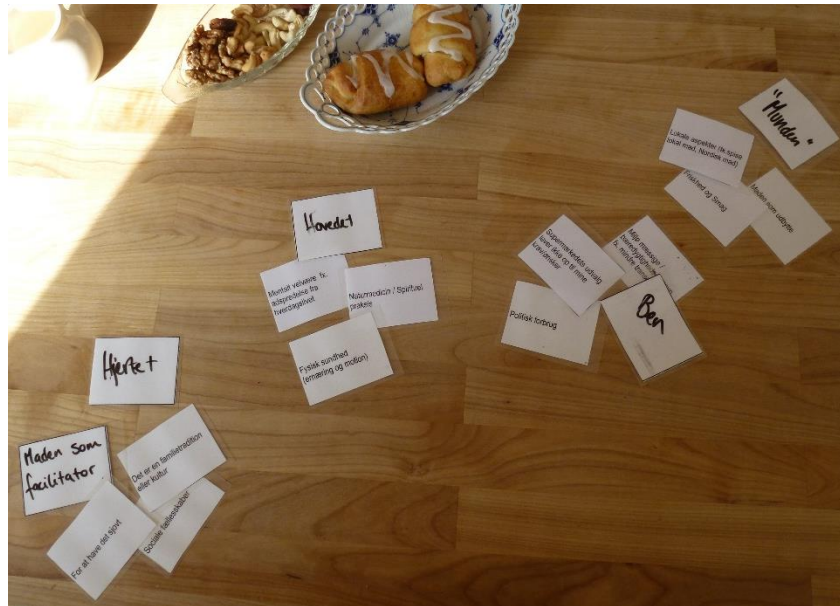


Photo 5 Example of a result from the interview task. Vivian’s categorisation of the cards. The handwritten cards Hjertet [the heart], Hovedet [the head], Ben [the legs], and “Munden” [the mouth] emerged in her elaboration and discussion of the issues on the cards that Vivian could identify with. And worked for her as a way to operationalise her motivations into practices. The photo is taken by the author after the interview.

The elaboration level facilitated by the task, largely revealed an intertwined relationship of the motivations and their practices, which specifically became obvious and visible in the categorisations or prioritisation conducted by the urban gardeners and foragers. The results was often explanations on how the participants found the cards’ issues or words related, and categorisations ended up as holistic circles, or analogies on how the different cards represented different body-parts, motivating them to practise e.g. the legs, the mind, the mouth, the heart etc., as shown in the examples in Photo 5 and Photo 6.

The number of interviews allowed the researcher to develop the interview method along the way, which has resulted in variation in the conduction of the interviews. Most significantly, the use of stimulating task has varied in congruence with the single interview situation and interview

participant, where these two illustrated examples are some of the last conducted interviews, whilst the outcome of the other interviewed participants' task can be accessed in appendix 3.

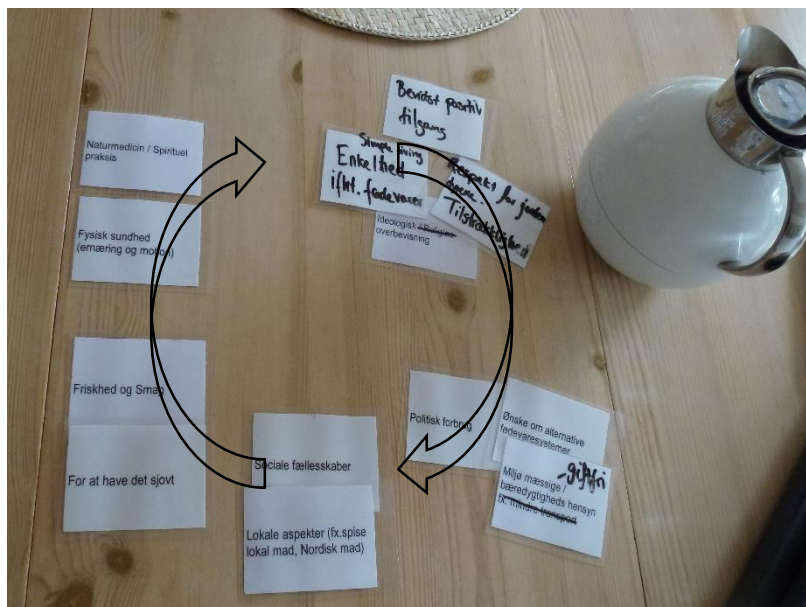


Photo 6 Example of a result from the interview task. The photo illustrates how Camille categorised and understood the issues on the cards as interconnected in a cyclic relationship, as illustrated by the added black arrows by the author. The photo is taken by the author after the interview.

Furthermore, the practical necessity of reading and explaining the issues on the cards varied, dependent of the interview participants' ethnic and educational backgrounds. This can be criticised and understood as a cultural and language barrier, which consequently reduced their abilities to elaborate their answers. However, in most interviews the task facilitated more qualified and detailed discussions. The interview task contributed to maintain the focus of the interview to stay with the intended theme simply by the physical appearance of the cards (Gaskell 2005).

In summary, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in a way that secured rapport building, and in general produced relevant knowledge in relation to the research question, in a constructionist relationship between the researcher and the interview participants, thus this research method have qualified the conducted research's validity and reliability (Lichtman 2014).

## 10.0 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter elaborates the methodological considerations of the conducted research's value in terms of validity and reliability, by taking point of the departure in a positioning within qualitative research, of the applied research design and conducted research methods as described in the previous chapters.

The applied multi-sided research methods are considered to support each other with the purpose to answer the research questions two strings in a comprehensive and integrated approach (Marcus 1995, Nicolini 2009). It is underlined that the inclusion of three different methods for producing data is not an attempt to accumulate data or fact to establish validity, as in quantitative research strategies where the number of data legitimates the empiricism in itself (Bryman 2008). Rather the multi-sided research methods have been applied to maintain the complexity of the situational realities of the studied practices, practitioners' and societal contexts (Clarke 2005).

This in order to, shed light over both micro-sociological questions like the practitioners' motivations, and the macro-sociological structures' in relation to the food system as part of their everyday life contexts, this in a cross-cut and weaving movement in and out of the practice and its contemporary societal context (Marcus 1995, Nicolini 2009). The following chapters' application of theories of practice and everyday life, is the theoretical level at which this research's analytic generalizations will be undertaken and held up against the existing research in the field, which establishes external validity of the conducted qualitative research (Kohlbacher 2005).

The qualitative understanding of validity addresses that the research methods appropriately investigate what was aimed at in the research question, and throughout the research process that the methods have been subject for continuous evaluation, reflection, and theorising, in congruence with this research. Thus, the research establishes a trustworthy knowledge production (Kvale 1997, Kohlbacher 2005, Yin 2009, Lichtman 2014).

The qualitative understanding of reliability relates to the transparency of the conduction of the study, and how this has been influenced by numerous aspects in the construction of knowledge (Kvale 1997), e.g. from the existing research in the field, or how the results have been processed and analysed, which will be explained in the following chapters.

On these grounds, the present thesis' qualitative multiple-case study design validly has focus on the practitioners of respectively urban gardening and foraging as intended in the research



question (Bryman 2008, Yin 2009). The transparent description of the selected cases and participants, and the role of the researcher in the construction of knowledge establish a reliable foundation of the conducted qualitative research strategy, in line with the present thesis' philosophical grounds (Kvale 1997, Lichtman 2014). Furthermore, the approach of taking point of departure in the urban gardeners' and foragers' everyday life practices, by meeting them in face in their homes, gardens, or workplace, in the investigation of their motivations, makes theorising on the practitioners' motivations in relation to the contemporary food system, feasible and reliable on an analytical generalizable level (Lichtman 2014, Kohlbacher 2005).

## 11.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON THEORY OF PRACTICE & EVERYDAY LIFE PERSPECTIVES

This chapter presents the grounds of the thesis' theoretical framework, describing the historical and contextual background of the theories. Furthermore, the comprehensiveness of the selected theories in regards to compliance with the conducted research is described, and the main contributions of the theory of practice and everyday life perspectives to the thesis is clarified. Finally, the assembling of the two applied theories is described, how they are considered complementary to each other and able to nuance the perspectives of the produced findings.

### 11.1 THEORY OF PRACTICE

This section presents a concise introduction to the most relevant theorists and their contributions to the theory of practice that are identified relevant to this research, by focusing on the nexus of practices identified as the components; materials, procedures, understandings, and engagements - and how these components are considered intertwined. Finally, the section unfolds how the theory of practice is applied in the analysis and results, and in general, how it has contributed to the outcome of this thesis.

The inspirations of the contemporary discussions on theory of practice are a result of certain understandings of aspects touched upon a range of historic philosophers. For instance Schatzki (1996) declares to a Wittgensteinian approach, referring to the Austrian Ludwig Wittgenstein's understanding that the mind should not be reduced to physical behaviours or actions, rather he viewed them as conditions of life expressed by the human body (Schatzki 1996). Thus, the practice theory of Schatzki addresses a central relation between the mind and the body, the sayings and the doings.

In addition there are inspirations of early Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, and the later work of Michel Foucault, that have inspired practice theorists like Reckwitz (2002) and Shove, Pantzar et al. (2012). They contrast the established domain of cultural studies, by enhancing the attention on the individual and prioritising human agency and choice without necessarily treating them as a deterministic outcome of given structures (Shove, Pantzar et al. 2012, Reckwitz 2002, Halkier, Katz-Gerro et al. 2011).

This development of conceptualising of a theory of practice spreads to a range of different studies; e.g. organisational, cultural, health, and consumer behavioural studies (Halkier, Katz-

Gerro et al. 2011). This thesis will furthermore draw on inspiration from the consumer behavioural studies, of the consumer sociologist Alan Warde (Warde 2005), who has worked with concept developing the theory of practice within the context of consumption, similar to the thesis' investigation of the food practices of foraging and urban gardening.

The selection of theory of practice as a theoretical framework and analytical lens in this thesis is based on the nature of the research question's focus on the motivations of urban gardeners' and foragers practices. Why do they engage in these practising when they can buy food in the supermarket? What do they gain when performing the practices that keeps them practising? Or, in general as expressed by Warde (2005): "*Why do people do what they do?*" (Warde 2005, p. 140).

The theory of practice recognises the individual as both a bodily and mental agent (Schatzki 1996, Reckwitz 2002), and that the practitioners carry the practice (Warde 2005). Hence, the theory of practice acknowledges the social construction of practices, by the practitioners' interactions with other people and their surroundings (Czarniawska 2008, Nicolini 2009) in line with this thesis' ontological grounds. Thus, the urban gardeners' and foragers' are pivotal in this thesis, because through their actions and perspectives, the researcher and the readers of this thesis can gain insight in their practices and thereby their motivations.

The constructivist thinking of the practitioners as both maintaining and creating the practices, is described in the practice theory as two approaches, under the terms of reproductive practices and innovative practices (Halkier, Jensen 2008, Warde 2005). This distinction is like other theories more clear in the theory than in practice, however it is relevant to discuss in relation to the individual urban gardener's and forager's practices, which entails both. Furthermore, some of the doings and sayings of the practitioners might be expressed in certain ways, reproducing certain patterns of cultural or attitudinal stances among the practitioners; such parts of the practices can be considered conditioning to the individual urban gardener or forager in order to fit in. Whilst innovative practices assure the development of practices in coherence to the contemporary societal changes, which aids an understanding of the investigated practices' connectedness with larger structures such as the food system (Nicolini 2009).

Practices can be regarded as having both micro- and macro-perspectives, which can be investigated by zooming in and out on the practices and practitioners to understand connections and multi-sited perspectives (Nicolini 2009). In the analysis and results of the thesis, the theory of practice lens allows the necessary focus on the performativity of the investigated practices

(Halkier, Jensen 2008), and includes perspectives on the interconnectedness of the practices' addressing of both macro- and micro-levels (Nicolini 2009, Czarniawska 2008) to understand of the practitioners' motivations.

The theory of practice has its focal point in exploring the connection between doings and sayings (Schatzki 1996), and in understanding what is constitutive and conditioning on both micro- and macro-level, in the establishment and conduction of practices (Halkier, Jensen 2008). The agent-near focus on the relation between thoughts and actions (Andersen 2015) guides and sharpens the lens on the produced data to understand the urban gardeners' and foragers' motivations, and furthermore how understanding of these can be suggestive to future qualities in the food system. The theory's central focus on the relation between sayings and doings was touched upon by one of the interviewed foragers that experienced balancing these as sense-making:

*"I think it is a stance, in your practice to live in accordance with what you think is right to do. If there is something you find important, then I think you should do it, so that you do not end up living in a separate relation where – oh I really would like to ... [something]. But instead try to convert these ideas into an everyday practice [doing] instead of just talking [saying]."(Camille 2014, p. 9)*

This example illustrates the relevance of the theoretical perspectives of the theory of practice, because the theory and the data include motivations, desires, attitudes of a given stance, and the actual performance of the investigated practitioners.

Warde (2005) presents the concept of practices to form a nexus that can be deconstructed in three different components, respectively understandings, procedures, and engagements. In relation to these components, Shove and Pantzar et al. (2012) furthermore address technologies such as hardware and material objects in their research. From a consumer-perspective, such inclusion of materials as products, consumed goods, this research specifically include food, plants, and physical facilities as relevant. Since their structural and physical presence is an integrative part in the performance of the practices, this material component is elaborated by the Danish researcher Boris Andersen's (2015) work with practice theoretical perspectives on food and meals.

Andersen (2015) synthesizes a practice theoretical model around the nexus of practices that includes both physical and mental activity, and can be divided in four components:

- **understandings** covering knowledge, and what people say and how they express themselves,
- **procedures** covering principles, written as well as unwritten codes of conduct,
- **engagements** integrating motivations, purposes, beliefs, and emotions,
- **materials** which are objects, technologies or physical surroundings.

These four components are summarised in a practice theoretical model by Andersen (2015) as shown in Figure 1. They are comparable to and recognised in the conceptualisation and theory development in the work of Schatzki (1996), Reckwitz (2002), Halkier (2008), Warde (2005), and Shove, Pantzar et al. (2012).

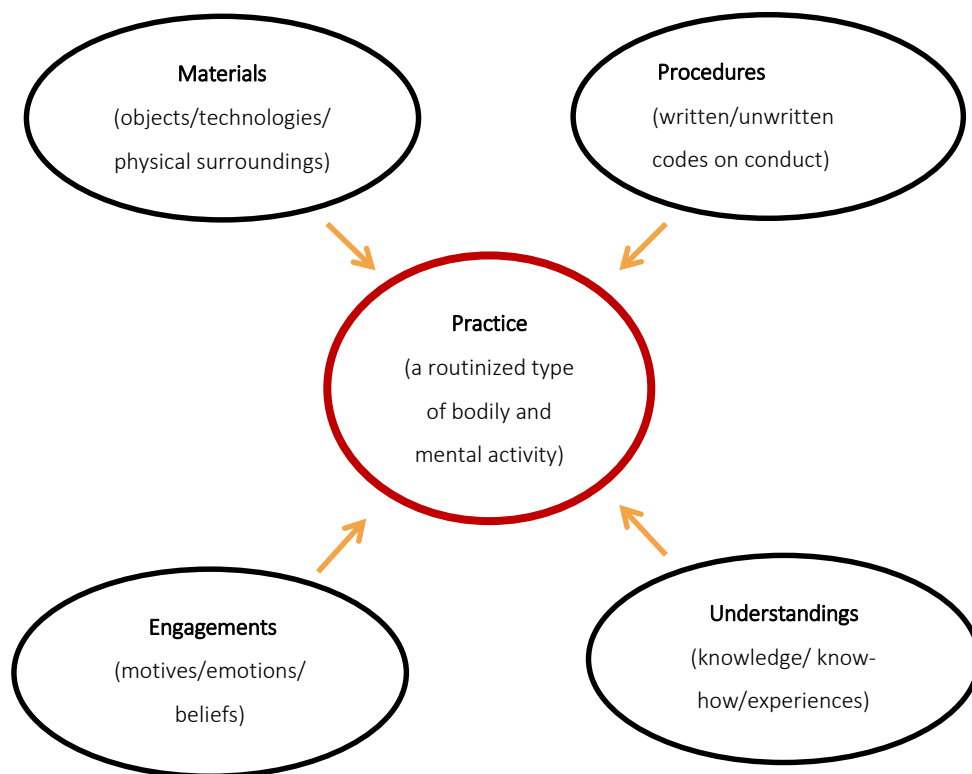


Figure 1 Andersen's (2015) Theory of Practice Model. The model is reproduced with admission from Boris Andersen (2015) and translated to English by the author. The model is developed on the background of definitions retrieved from Schatzki (1996), Reckwitz (2002), Warde (2005), and Shove and Pantzar et al. (2012).

This model has inspired the thesis as a theoretical tool to sharpen the analytical lens on the different components expressed and observed in the produced data in collaboration with the urban gardeners and foragers. However, the matter of practices as being routinized behaviours is considered more fluently in this thesis, to also involve practitioners that recently have engaged in the practices and yet not as routinized in their performance as Andersen (2015) suggests.

The four components are incorporated in the data processing, and analysis and results, they are jointly considered as both constitutive for and conditioning to the performance of the investigated practices of urban gardening and foraging. Though it is not in the single components the practices are lived in everyday life, rather they are an analytical grip to distinguish the currents of the complex everyday life as performed in the investigated foragers' and urban gardeners' practising.

The analysis' addressing of the research question's focus on both the micro-level motivations of practices and the macro-levelled relation to the food system, a metaphoric lens is applied inspired by Nicolini (2009). The methodological grip of Nicolini's zooming in and out on practices is applied as a linguistic concept to clarify and address respectively the agent near micro perspectives and the societal contexts macro perspectives (Nicolini 2009).

As other theories, the approach with the four components of practices might not embody the actual state of the practices, why it is underlined that the components are regarded highly intertwined (Warde 2005). This intertwined or interconnected relationship illustrates the point of Halkier (2011) when reciting the work of Reckwitz (2002), that despite the analytical approach of dividing components the practice *"cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements"* (Halkier, Katz-Gerro et al. 2011, p. 5). Furthermore, Nicolini elaborates an understanding of practices being constructionist organised phenomena (Czarniawska 2008) and thereby interconnected to other practices and practitioners as well (Nicolini 2009).

Thus, it is underlined that the use of the four components from the theory of practice is a methodological grip and approach to sustain the multiple variations and appearances of mental and bodily interactions and perspectives. By having a framework, that explicitly involves them in the making of a re-presentation of the practitioners' motivations and their connections to the complex everyday life practices.

The theory of practice as analytical lens and theoretical framework is on this background considered to contribute and qualify the understanding of the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices and thereby their motivations in both the zoomed in and zoomed out levels. By being able to focus on the different components, how they are intertwined, and the performance of the practices, through investigating the relation between sayings and doings. And the zooming out movement on the practices', that demonstrates the connectedness to other societal contexts, which can qualify a discussion on how the insights in the investigated practitioners' motivations are suggestive to future qualities of the food system.

## 11.2 EVERYDAY LIFE PERSPECTIVES

The theory of everyday life is applied in this thesis since it investigates the everyday life practices of urban gardening and foraging. The theory of everyday life contributes to the research question's interest in how the investigated urban gardeners' and foragers' practices on a micro-level can relate to larger challenges in our food system and societal context that represent a macro-level (Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005). The everyday life theories are complex and diverse, thus a general presentation of the everyday life theory is too comprehensive to include in this thesis. Why it is underlined that this thesis' application of everyday life theory positions itself under the branch of the Chicago School that Jørgensen (2005) have categorised as the socio-psychological track, which is presented in the following. Finally, the theory of everyday life's contribution to the conducted research is elaborated in terms of how it is applied in the analysis and results.

The Chicago School was concerned with understanding and explaining social phenomena's and way of life that emerged with the modern society (Jørgensen 2005), likewise do the research in this thesis concern understanding of the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices and why they have emerged, in terms of what motivates the practitioners. The Chicago School applied empirical studies comparable to this research's use of qualitative ethnographically inspired research methods.

The everyday life can be considered as consisting of what the theory of practice describes as reproductive practices, namely the knowledge, experiences and meaning structures produced in the everyday routinized activities (Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005). Likewise practice theory, this entails a general focus on doings and especially doings that are reproductive. In relation to the practice of urban gardening, as a reproductive everyday life act could for instance be weeding, watering, making compost etc. However, in everyday life theory it is important to notice that the focus is not only on the practice of weeding in itself, but also the implicit common-sense structures of the urban gardener, why he weeds his urban garden that are subject to investigation, in other words culturally and social conditioned habits.

This underlines the relation between the actor and structure perspectives of the theory on everyday life. Where the theory of everyday life is characteristic by its attempt to both working with human and human practices and tie these up on the structures of their natural and societal contexts (Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005). As Nicolini does as well his method of zooming in and out. Where the zooming in focuses on saying and doing in the local and actor near context, whilst the

zooming out associates the practice with other practices and has focus on the effects of the global (structures) on the local (actor) as described in Figure 2 (Nicolini 2009).

Zooming in	
Focus on / articulate the:	Sayings and doings Active role of material elements and infrastructure Local methods and micro strategies of concerted accomplishment Body choreography Practical concerns Sense and object of the practice Local repertoire and lexicon of accountability Conditions of legitimacy Sociality and socialization process [...]
Zooming out	
Follow the practice and articulate the:	Associations between practices and the resulting practice-net Reciprocal implications (how one practice becomes the resource for other ones) Mediators Patterns of associations and interests (practice-net) Local and trans-local (global) effects Effects of the global on the local [...]

Figure 2 Nicolini’s (2008) Zooming in and out table. The table is reproduced from Nicolini 2009 p. 1412. The table summarises the perspectives and foci when respectively doing the metaphoric movement of zooming and out of practices.

These perspectives are similar to the socio-psychological track under the Chicago school, by focusing on the individual as both being deliberately doing practices whilst also being subject to cultural and societal influences as conditioning structures (Jørgensen 2005). A perspective that ties the practices of urban gardening and foraging to both the local and global context expressed as a relation between the practitioner and the food system in the research question.

In this way, the theory of everyday life renders possible analysing the urban gardeners and foragers as both individual characters and social beings. The application of the theory of everyday life under the socio-psychological approach intends to establish the bond between the research question’s understanding of urban gardeners’ and foragers’ motivations and the theorising on how these motivations and food practices can be suggestive to future qualities in the larger structures of the contemporary food system.



### 11.3 ASSEMBLING AND APPLYING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The combination of theory of practice and everyday life perspectives is considered a comprehensive theoretical framework applicable to the thesis' research question and produced data.

The assembling of the two theories is considered feasible in the framework of the four components of practices with inspiration from the model by Andersen (2015), and by switching theoretical lens to support both the zoomed in and out perspectives related to the practices. The zooming in movement will elaborate the practice theoretical focus in the understanding of practices and practitioners' motivations, whilst the zooming out movement will focus on the everyday life perspectives, clarifying the interconnectedness of the four components with the conditioning structures and cultural contexts influencing the practices. The two theories overlap in their actor - structure perspectives, thus both theories offer perspectives to the zooming in and out movement, hence it is underlined that this theoretical divide is a methodological grip to theorise on the interconnectedness of the researched practices and to the constitutive and conditioning global-level of the societal context, and in relation to the food system specifically.

On these backgrounds, the theoretical framework of theory of practice and theory of everyday life is considered to comply with the ontological approach and data production methods, the analysis' focus on the research question's interest in the motivation of the investigated practices. And, finally as suggestive to rise some reflections on the practices in order to theorise on the contributions of these practices in relation to future qualities in the food system.

The assembling of practice theory and everyday life perspectives has been a feasible and comprehensive framework in the research on the multi-sided structures of urban gardening and foraging practices, and the multiple motivations of the practitioners. The analytical grip of dividing the produced findings from the practitioners into the four components of the practice theory and the distinguishing between macro- and micro- level can seem a reductionistic approach to the complex reality of the lived practising of life, which is rather in constant movement between these analytical categories. However, the approach preserves a meaningful view on the multiplicity of motivations and the constructed connections of sense making in peoples' practices, that otherwise are at risk of disappearing in the overview of the diversity of findings from qualitative multiple case studies like this. In this way, the present thesis' research provides experiences with a practice theoretical approach to urban gardeners and foragers everyday life practices, which can inspire future research in international contexts as well.

## 12.0 PROCESSING OF PRODUCED FINDINGS

The produced findings from the literature study and from the ethnographically inspired observations are considered as introductive for the researcher to the given research fields, hence the generated knowledge from the research methods in general permeates the overall conducted research, analysis, and the outcome of this thesis, as being part of the author's experiences in the construction of knowledge.

The knowledge gained from the literature study is explicitly applied in chapter 5.0 *State of the Art of Urban Gardening & Foraging Research*, and will be re-examined in the light of the produced results in this thesis' chapter 13.0 *Analysis & Results on Urban Gardening & Foraging Practices*. Whilst the processing of findings from the ethnographically inspired observations from the two urban gardens, the participant observations from the foraging events, and the semi-structured interviews are elaborated in the following sections.

### 12.1 PROCESSING OF ETHNOGRAPHICALLY INSPIRED OBSERVATIONS

This section describes how the processing of the ethnographically inspired observations has been conducted and how they have contributed to the knowledge production of this thesis. Besides this processing, it is enhanced that the findings from the ethnographically inspired fieldwork, not only serve as empirical records on specific situations, contexts, or practices, in addition they represent the researcher's experiences, and function as a reflection tool during and after the fieldwork (Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, Whyte 2008).

The findings from the ethnographically inspired observations vary in their degree of structuration and type; there are observation notes, notes from the informal conversations in the settings and photos as empirical findings from the fieldwork. These were subject to a structuration process, by thematising the content. Whilst the researcher's bodily and mental experiences are less structured, and less tangible, though they are part of the produced knowledge and immanently influencing this thesis.

The thematising was inspired by the practice theory's four components and on the role of respectively micro- and macro-structures inspired by the everyday life theory. Through these perspectives, the findings were interpreted and categorised. Large parts of the findings are presented in this thesis' case descriptions, describing the physical surroundings from the researcher's perspective and parts of the interactions on the different sites.

The observations and photos capture routinized behaviours and common-sense structures of the practices (Nicolini 2009, Angrosino 2007). These characteristics were especially adding knowledge to the practice theory's components of procedures and materials. For instance, the participant observations of the foraging events raised the researcher's attention that certain sensory procedures emerged in regards to the participants'; visual orientation to the ground, their picking and touching the weeds, the gentle rubbing of the leaves followed by an inhalation of its smell, another look at the sprouting place, tasting and describing the flavour, smelling again and so on. In addition, the materials, such as the facilities in the urban gardens, were interpreted in relation to how the physical space and materials were constitutive for and conditioning to the urban gardeners' practising.

Finally, the notes from the participant observations regarding interactions within, and between people informed the two components of understandings and engagements, by revealing parts the foragers' experiences, motivations, and expectations, which have informed the analysis and results.

## 12.2 PROCESSING OF THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

This section describes and explains the conducted data processing of the semi-structured interviews. The influences of the interview task of using cards with issues and words are elaborated, and how the theoretical framework affected the processing as a reflection over the production of knowledge and transparency of the processing in general.

The eleven semi-structured interviews were recorded on a dictaphone in order to be transcribed and to gain further knowledge after the interviews, this enabled a re-experience of details and nuances not noticed by the researcher during the interview situation. One interview was not transcribed since the researcher did not accomplish to build rapport with the participant who distinctly felt unsafe and precautious during the interview. The interviewer tried to accommodate this in a range of ways, however unsuccessfully. On the background of these ethical circumstances and the fact that this specific interview did not contribute with new perspectives, the interview's produced findings have not been processed nor integrated in this thesis.

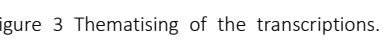
The ten other conducted interviews were transcribed, and can be retrieved in appendix 4.1 – 4.10. The free trial transcription software *Express Scribe* of NHC<sup>2</sup> was used to transcribe the

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.nch.com.au/scribe/>

interviews. The transcriptions were made excluding pauses and expressions like [sigh], [hmm], [ahh] and the like, unless they were meaningful for the explicit context (Kvale 1997). The transcriptions were maintained in the original language of the interview, in order to sustain any linguistic characteristics and cultures of the interviewed participants (Marcus 1995), except the selected quotations present in this thesis, which have been translated into English. Throughout this thesis the selected participants for interviews are applied using their first names, since none of them expressed a desire of being anonymised when asked explicitly, this further establishes a basis for the reader to relate better to the interviewed foragers and urban gardeners and their statements than if referred to as UrbanGardener1/UG1. However, by chance, two interview participants have identical first names “Vivian”, hence one of the Vivian’s are presented by her middle name “Camille” to prevent misunderstandings and confusion for the readers of this thesis. The transcription process facilitated thorough and deep insights in the urban gardeners’ and foragers’ practices and everyday lives, by the focus on their specific words through which they expressed themselves (Kvale 1997).

After transcribing the ten interviews, the further processing dealt with the findings as two sets, one set with the urban gardeners and the other with the foragers. Each transcription were read thoroughly twice straight after each other, the first time to establish a detailed impression of each of the urban gardener’s and forager’s practice, and the second time to infer themes and characteristics of the articulated practices.

A manual coding of the interviews were conducted, in practice by using different colours for the natural meaning units (Kvale 1997). The natural meaning units were designated under themes like *“Doing gardening/foraging e.g. Foraging, harvesting etc.”*, *“Facilities and place”*, *“Knowledge from family, background or other resource persons”*, *“(Lack of) Food quality”*, *“Benefits and emotions”* etc. These are presented in Figure 3 . Displays the natural meaning units identified in the transcribed interviews as themes with their different colours applied in transcribed interviews when processed.. The designation of themes were partly inspired by the words and/or issues on the interview task cards, e.g. *“Health”*, *“Mental wellbeing”*, and *“Social cohesion/community”*, but some also emerged from the interviews themselves among others *“Barriers and boundaries”*, *“Senses”*, and *“Lost values”*.

### Theme colour scheme



Figure 3 Thematising of the transcriptions. Displays the natural meaning units identified in the transcribed interviews as themes with their different colours applied in transcribed interviews when processed.

In this way, the process of establishing and developing codes and themes in the sorting of data developed continuously through the first half of the transcriptions, from that point the interviews did not infer new themes. This repetition of the same themes' reoccurrences in the interviews indicates that the data production has reached a form of saturation. On the other hand, it could also indicate that the researcher in this role constructed an approach in the thematising process that made the transcriptions fit under the themes.

This underlines the researcher's role in the construction of knowledge production. Since the experiences and knowledge gained through this process, is likely to induce and emerge as new themes or to share new things if conducting the processing of findings again. Thus, this thesis' declaration to the qualitative understanding of reliability is gained through the researcher's self-reflexivity and transparency of the processing (Lichtman 2014), since repeatability from this perspective seems both paradoxical and infeasible (Kvale 1997).

The natural meaning units of the interviews' themes were interpreted and analysed as sub-themes under the four components of the theory of practice: "Knowledge", "Procedures", "Engagements", and "Materials". For instance the theme "*Facilities and place*" were settled under the component "Materials" due to its physical context e.g. a kitchen or a tool shed, and the theme "*(Lack of) food quality*" under "Engagements" since this component among other things includes beliefs and attitudes.

As displayed in Photo 7 each component was asserted different sub-themes derived from the interviews. This example is from the interviews with foragers, it illustrates the processing and categorisation of the transcribed articulated themes under the component “Engagements” having the sub-categories: “Beliefs/ Attitudes”; concerning the themes “Lost values”, “(Lack of) Food Quality”, and “Food system issues”, “Purposes”; divided in “Environment”, “Health”, and “Benefits”; includes e.g. “Mental wellbeing” and “Emotions”. All guided by the thematised coloured data bits cut from the transcriptions, which provided concrete examples of practising urban gardening and foraging, and detangled by using the four components.

Hence, the themes were led by the interviewed persons’ articulations and the interview task’s cards with words and issues, together with the framework of theory of practice components that established a systematic data processing method, resulting in an overview of the foragers’ and urban gardeners’ articulations and

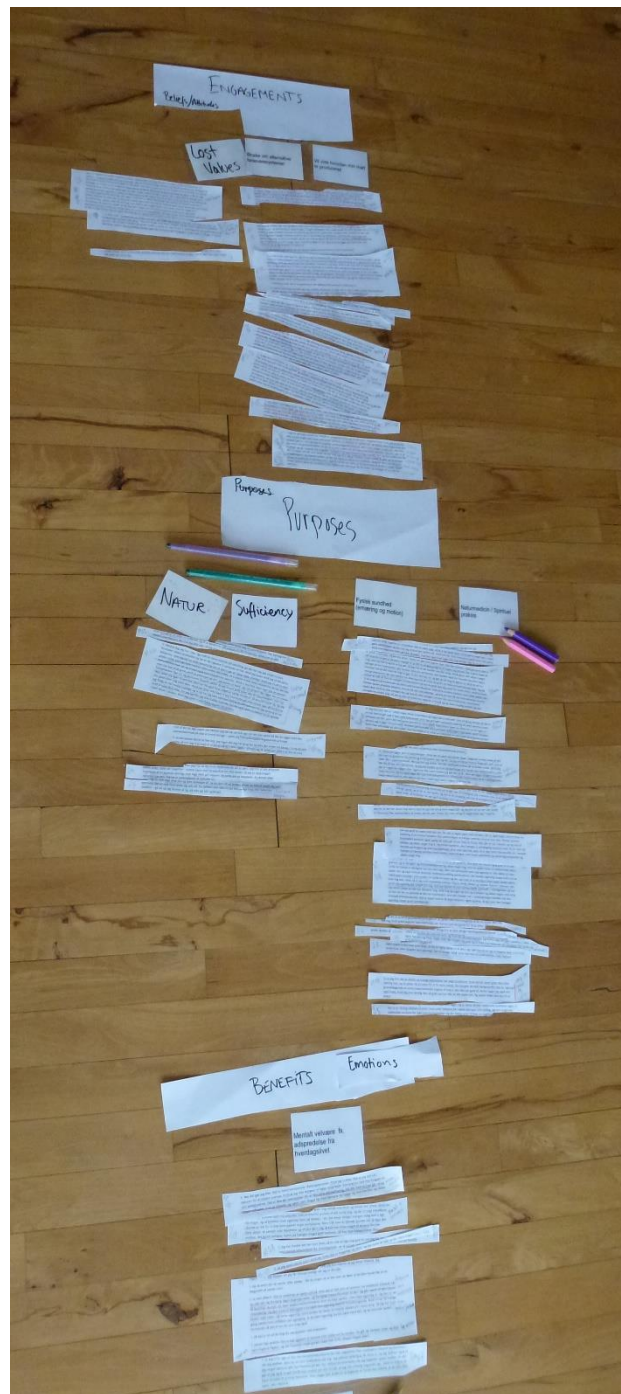


Photo 7 Processing example of the interviews with the foragers. The themes of the transcribed interviews with foragers, cut and categorised under sub-categories of the theory of practice component “Engagements”. The photo displays the data processing, thematising, and overview.

practising – sayings and doings (Kvale 1997, Lichtman 2014). However, at some points some of the interviewed persons, seemed to articulate the very nexus, which made the data processing of detangling of themes and components difficult, these cut passages were then placed in the

centre under the headline “Food Practices” referring to their everyday life activity of urban gardening and foraging practices.

The data processing resulted in 2 x 12 categorised themes from respectively the interviews with foragers and urban gardeners, consisting of cut phrases of the conversations, expressing different themes placed under specific components. To establish an overview of the structure of this data processing, the practice theory model of Andersen (2015) has inspired and been applied in Figure 4.

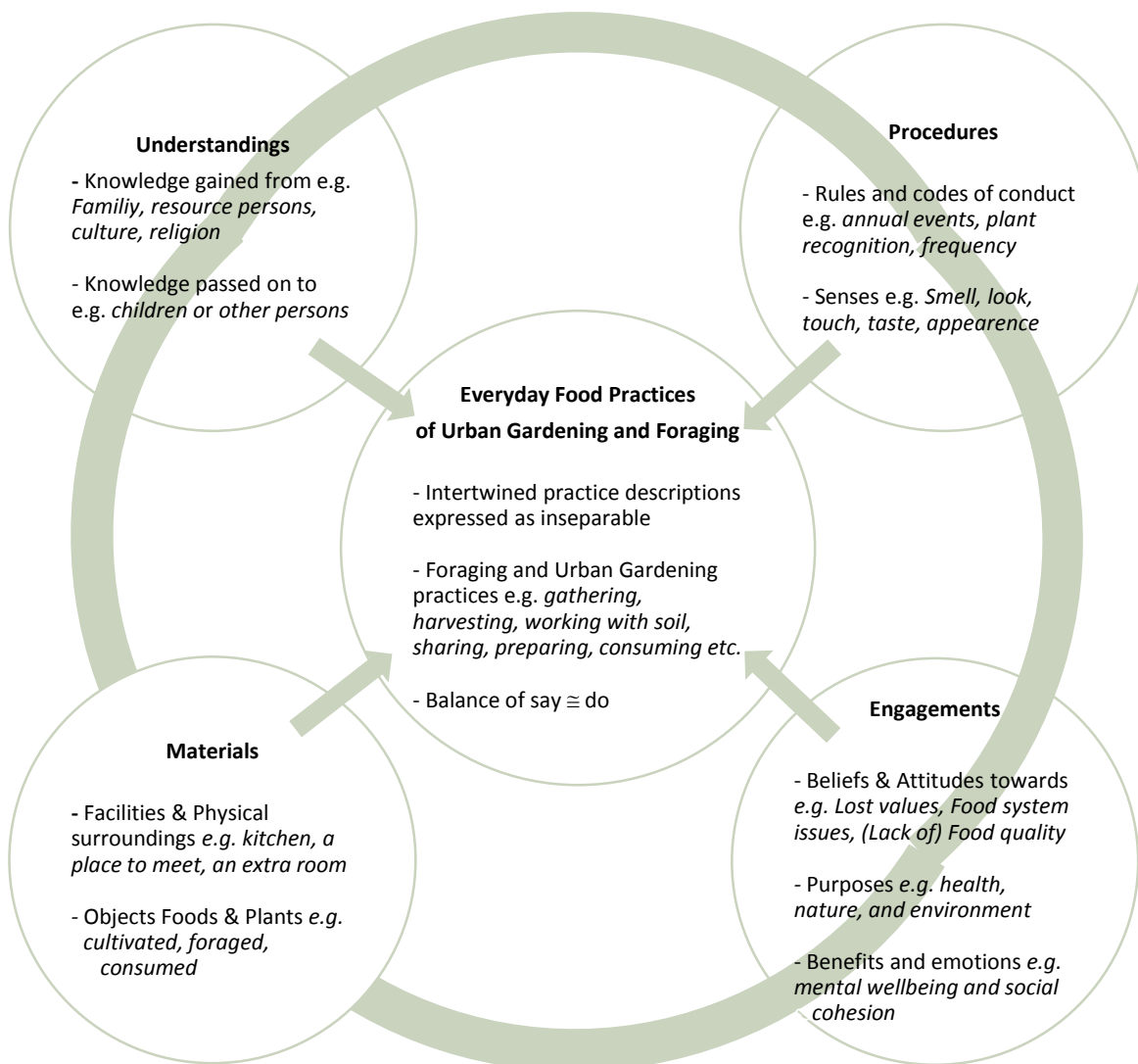


Figure 4 Overview of the results of the data processing. The result of the data processing was 12 categorised themes under the practice theory's four components. The content of the components illustrate central findings of the investigated urban gardeners' and foragers' practices. The figure is made by the author, inspired from Andersen (2015).



To gain insight in the manually driven execution of placing the cut phrases from the interviews under each of the 12 final categorised themes. Photo 8 gives an idea of this part of data processing progress with a range of the categorised themes under each of the theory of practice's components, altogether establishing a frame under which the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices and motivations can be investigated.

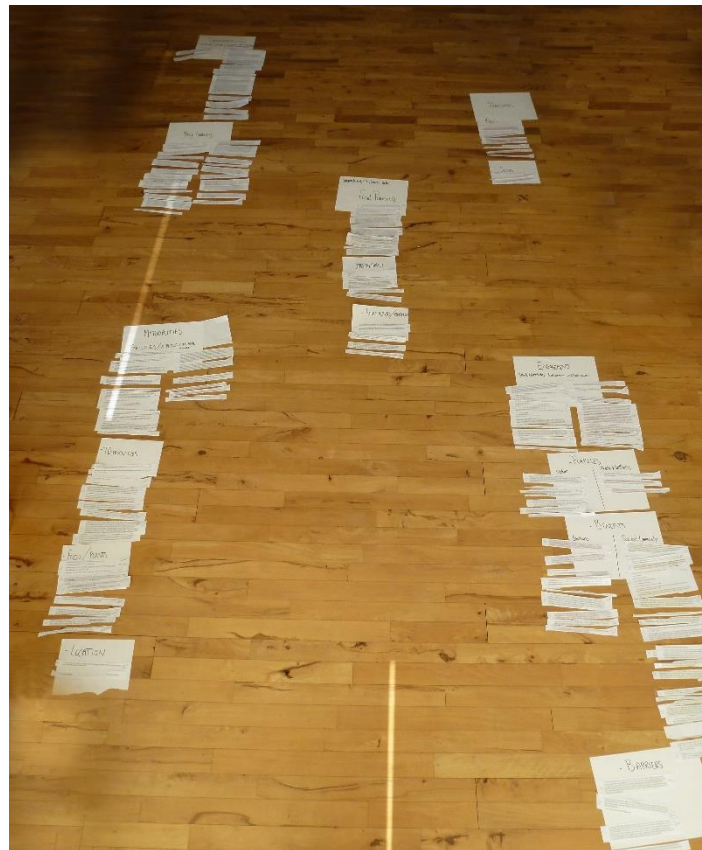


Photo 8 Manual data processing. The processing was conducted using the cut bits of conversations by assigning them to the different components of the practice theory. On the photo is the result of the processing of the transcriptions with urban gardeners.



## 13.0 ANALYSIS & RESULTS ON URBAN GARDENING & FORAGING PRACTICES

This chapter presents the analysis and results of the conducted research. The chapter is structured in accordance with the theoretical framework's four components of practice theory; Understandings, Procedure, Materials, and Engagements. However, due to the intertwined nature of practices, the sections will cross-refer to the other components, and it is underlined that this structuration and approach together with the theory of everyday life, is an analytical grip to understand the multiple reasons and motivations for the urban gardeners' and foragers' practices. The chapter finishes with an overall summary of the main results and enhances the interconnected and intertwined nature of urban gardening and foraging practices and how they relate to the food system.

### 13.1 UNDERSTANDINGS

The interviewed urban gardeners and foragers represent a range of different understandings from where they have gained knowledge and experiences in regards to their practices. However, what unifies their understandings as part of their practices is that their know-how relates to entities larger than themselves which influences them and their everyday life practices. These are characterised as structures such as; cultural backgrounds, family traditions, residential circumstances in childhood, or by turning to resource persons within the practices e.g. as engaging in organisations, courses, and events. This underlines the connectedness of the individual practitioner's practice to others (Czarniawska 2008, Nicolini 2009).

One of the interviewed urban gardeners from The Hastrup Park Gardens narrates about some considerations he has had in relation to his friends from similar cultural backgrounds like himself, on why they want to have an urban garden in the park as well:

*"I have thought about that it [the gardening practice] arouses interest in many people, and for instance with my background, I come from Lebanon, but I am actually Palestinian, we descend from a people of peasants. And, regardless of living in the city and living that kind of life, then we will eventually turn around, back to the soil, because that is what we can. We return to our roots" (Khaled 2014, p. 2)*

Thus, when zooming out from the practising, he as well as other interviewed immigrants, relies on his cultural background from where they have gained knowledge and understanding of the certain practice that has structured the way he does gardening. In the existing scientific literature, there are as well perspectives on immigrants' urban gardening practices, where it is underlined how they contribute with new knowledge to their current societal context. When they bring local knowledge from around the world, and practise these in urban gardens, they are considered to influence other urban gardeners' practices in their relation to each other (Baker 2004).

An immigrant from Ghana explained her foraging practice, to which she has never really been reflective previously, as a common-sense cultural practice, since there were no supermarkets to buy food in, as she explained. Hence, she makes a counterpoint to the Global North logic of the researcher's raised question in the introduction of this thesis, because from a Ghanaian cultural understanding she raised the implicit argument:

*"(...) so when going to the local market to buy food it is actually the same things [foods/plants] I can get there as I can get for free in the nature. They [food/plants] are right over there so why go to the market?]"*  
(Dorina 2014, p. 8)

This is a zoomed out perspective on the cultural background of her practice, but these perspectives influence her practice when zooming in as well, e.g. how she establishes certainty on edible or non-edible plants. Demonstrating the complexity of practices, since such certainty would come with a range of specific procedures, underlining the interconnectedness of the practice theory's four components.

The different perspectives of respectively the researcher's raised question in the introduction and Dorina's argument illustrate the phenomenological-hermeneutical ontological approach. However, later in the interview Dorina as well elaborated that in the Danish context she did not practice for saving money nor by necessity, but from an interest in using the plants she removed as weeds on her private property in the preparation of food to add more sense-making in her private gardening activities. This sense-making activity is recognised in the literature on foraging as well, where the understanding of plants as merely a recreational activity, is added that plants as well can be considered productive (McLain, Hurley et al. 2014, McLain, Poe et al. 2012).

Whilst, immigrants to Denmark represent these kind of cultural backgrounds as fostering to their understandings, the ethnic Danish urban gardeners relates their residential circumstances of

Danish single-family housing with gardens during childhood and their parents' gardening practices as being grafted or sown into themselves, as part of their upbringing (Helle 2014, Susanne, Kurt 2014, Kit 2014). This kind of understanding influences, their consideration of their current urban gardening practices as less ambitious in terms of acreage and yield of crops, when comparing their parents' vegetable gardens to the small-scale facilities of the urban gardens (Birthe 2014, Susanne, Kurt 2014, Kit 2014). In this way, their know-how relates to their parents have taught them how and to cultural macro-structures of e.g. physical surroundings – illustrating connectedness to the component of materials.

In regards to know-how, some of the interviewed foragers' rely on their upbringing as well, where hunting, foraging, and passing on knowledge on usability of plants and herbs as both natural medicine and food, were a natural family activity. They describe foraging as a common-sense activity, when spending time in the nature e.g. to forage, eat nuts or apples, alleviate pains from insect bites/stings with certain plants, or bring not ready-to-eat foraged plants back home to prepare meals with them (Vivian 2014, Judith 2014). An understanding through which the foragers consider their practices of foraging as an integrated sense-making whenever spending time in the nature or simply just outside.

From these perspectives, the understandings of the urban gardeners and foragers are characterised by structures outside the individual, namely the cultural context of urban development with single-family housing in Denmark, and their parents' practices in their upbringing. Thus, their know-how is constitutive to the practising, since it enables them on the zoomed in local level e.g. how to recognise certain plants or weeds, and carry out related procedures (Schatzki 1996). Simultaneously, the know-how is conditioned by the component of materials, the facilities of having a garden, and when zooming out to a societal perspective the know-how and thereby practice can be conditioned by the urban development, as an effect of the trans-local level to the local lived everyday life circumstances (Nicolini 2009, Halkier, Jensen 2008).

That the urban gardeners and foragers have obtained understandings as the know-how they have, is central for them actually being able to perform the practices, since 'not knowing' would probably prevent them from performing (Schatzki 1996), as Vivian elaborates in regards to her common-sense approach to foraging where she knows the plants like the back of her hand:

*"You should look for signs in the nature, for instance in my garden I have fairy rings of growing mushrooms, and they are edible, but they exist in*

*all colours, so you have to know if they grow on the tree or in a ring surrounding the tree – right? Then they are ok. It is just some technical things you need to know, it is evident that I am not scared of it, because I was weaned on it [foraging]” (Vivian 2014, p. 3)*

In contrast to this perspective on how knowledge enables practices early in this practitioner’s life, some of the interviewed participants have gained knowledge and experiences later in life, through actively seeking organisations and events, and thereby establish contact to resource persons through other structures and cultural patterns. Representing this approach of understanding of the practice is for instance the forager Camille who explains:

*“I grew up in the city, in Valby actually, in an urban built-up area [high dense building], so I was not raised with going out to forage mushrooms or plants on the beach and stuff. (...) So I participate [in events] to gain knowledge on these practices, I am actively going towards this. (...) I want to learn about these things, so I do it [forage] and I use it [in food preparation]” (Camille 2014, p. 2)*

Such understandings in the produced data, which relies on knowledge primarily gained and actively sought is also found among the urban gardeners. These practitioners represent such an approach to their practices that seems to be more reflective about their engagements and awareness about the purposes of their practices, which is described in section 13.4 *Engagements*. The understandings and knowledge behind these practitioners’ practices are intertwined with their engagements and are largely comparable with what Kneafsey et al. defines as a set of interlocking “*Care about transparency and integrity in the food system/rejection of new technologies*” (Kneafsey, Cox et al. 2008, p. 121). This emerged in the interviews as a matter of not-knowing, not knowing how the food industry produces food, how they grow and process food or the conditions of the animals and farmers. This not-knowing then becomes constitutive to their performance of practices, by their resistance to be subject to a food system conditioning their basic life need of eating (Halkier, Katz-Gerro et al. 2011).

Besides the component of understanding’s knowledge, know-how, and experiences, many of the interviewed participants were also concerned about the further passing-on of their knowledge related to the practices to others and especially to future generations. This is in line with the concerns represented in the popular literature on the loss of knowledge, food literacy, and increasing disconnection with food. As Johnson narrates about her nephew who did not know

that peas come in pods (Johnson 2010), and Cockrall-King that elaborates how people become food illiterate and not able to recognise whole foods (Cockrall-King 2012). One of the interviewed foragers who is also hunting expressed this concern on passing on knowledge:

*“My youngest daughter, she is like her mother and father, she is involved when cleaning the game for entrails, well she does whatever I do. (...) She is exactly doing as I did when I was a child. And she is the one that says, give me that mushroom I want to hold it, and then she carries it all the way home. She has got it in her, it is just a question on how she will bring it along [in her adult life]” (Vivian 2014, p. 8-9)*

This example illustrates very well how keen and proud this forager is that she has passed on the knowledge that she has gained from her father and uncle in her childhood. In the interview, it was clear that she was concerned with passing on this knowledge, because she considered it a good resource to possess in relation to health and personal expression from which she herself had benefitted. Furthermore, it was a matter of sustaining family traditions through the practising of foraging. Hence, from these perspectives foraging practices have some reproductive characteristics as well (Warde 2005).

Another approach to the passing on of knowledge to children and future generations in general, was represented in the interview with the urban gardener Khaled, who deploys the urban gardening practices as a practical source of teaching his life philosophy for his children and to teach them to understand the comprehensiveness of certain manners and behaviours e.g. patience:

*“As I said to you, what you sow is what you yield – in the future that is. And how you raise your children, they will become as adults. So, you reap what you sow. (...) I could see my children’s excitement when their radishes had grown a bit, they said: dad come and see they have grown a little bit! So, they learn patience. That they have to work a little and wait a while before they can get something. When I realised these opportunities of the gardening, I also started to help other children here.” (Khaled 2014, p. 1)*

In relation to the presented concerns on passing-on knowledge to future generations, this matter is also considered crucial to the practices’ future existence. From an everyday life perspective,

this concern underlines the importance of the studied practices as consisting of a range of important values and attitudes carried by the foragers and urban gardeners, establishing frames and rules for social behaviour (Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005), such as practising foraging or gardening. However, as the example with Khaled demonstrates these values reach out to practices apart from gardening activities as well, where the urban gardening is constitutive for the remaining practices and vice versa (Warde 2005). Thus a zooming out movement enhances the inter-component perspective of the relation between understandings and procedures; understandings represented by the knowledge that is being passed on to future generations, and procedures in the way the practitioners' choose to integrate their children in the practices as routinized performances of reproducing unwritten codes of conduct (Halkier, Jensen 2008, Reckwitz 2002).

The component understandings of the investigated urban gardeners and foragers is summarised in Figure 5. The practitioners are concerned with both expanding their own knowledge as innovative practice of learning new things regarding plants, sites, and preparations methods, and passing on this knowledge and their practices to future generations implicitly passing on the inherent values of the practices, which is considered a reproductive practice (Warde 2005).

Seeing this in the light of everyday life theory, the practices of urban gardening and foraging includes micro sociological actor perspectives in the creation of new knowledge by experimenting and building culture, and with the interpersonal level of securing certain knowledge and values will endure in the future by educating constituting citizens (Jørgensen 2005). Moreover, the analysis sheds light on a paradoxical perspective of knowledge, where the interviewed participants under the component of understandings illustrated how non-knowledge had inferred and been constitutive to their practices, since they would not conform to or be subject to the conditioning macro-structures of the food system (Halkier, Katz-Gerro et al. 2011, Schatzki 1996).

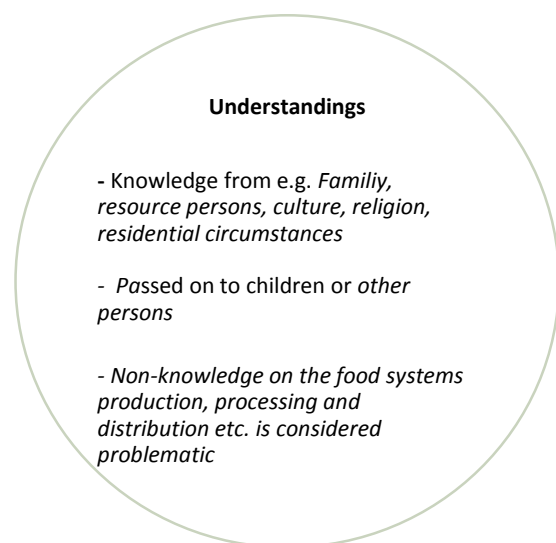


Figure 5 Summary of Understandings. The findings from the conducted research under the component of the practice theory's understandings are summarised as influenced by knowledge from, passing on to, and non-knowledge. All three can be considered as both constitutive and conditioning to the investigated practitioners' practices and motivations.

## 13.2 PROCEDURES

In the produced findings, different kinds of written and unwritten rules and procedures emerged as influential to the urban gardeners and foragers practices. These are for instance related to spiritual and religious practices, to have respect for nature and be aware of what, how, and when it offers plants and foods, whilst quite contrary some omitted to be subject to the rules of the nature and seasonality. In addition, distinct sensory procedures and experiences were articulated and observed among the urban gardeners and foragers, with focus on flavour, freshness, and appearance. These variations in the practices under the component of procedures are elaborated and analysed through the lens of practice theory and everyday life perspectives in the following.

Among both foragers and urban gardeners, some of the interviewed participants described their practices as relating to their personal beliefs like spiritual and/or religious practices. For instance, the forager Judith who participated in both of the investigated foraging events had established a range of unwritten codes of conduct in her practising. Her rules were among other things concerning, the frequency of 1-2 times per week and how many hours she spends foraging, that she should meditate when being in the forest, and to always forage alone. She elaborated her practising as:

*“I always go alone to Dyrehaven [a specific forest north of Copenhagen] (...). For some periods, I have certain routes I walk through. I love this place, especially when Bakken [an amusement park in the area] closes, otherwise there can be too much noise. I walk there at certain hours, where there are not too many people up there, because it is important not to talk or let yourself distract. You have to just walk, enjoy, and feel the atmosphere. Because if you are on the phone when foraging, then you just bring your everyday life out there, and then you haven't really been in the forest, then you could have stayed at home as well.” (Judith 2014, p. 4)*

These specific spiritual procedures and her accommodation hereof is characterised by ritualistic and routinized practices. Comparable to one of the urban gardeners, who had a religious background as a believing Muslim. He accommodates the written rules of the Koran in his food practices in terms of the importance of expressing gratefulness for the food as kind of a practice of saying grace:

*“You have to appreciate what you eat, because well in our religion, when we say grace, then Allah gives more. If you are not thankful, then Allah will not give you any [food]. So this card also represents something in me [he takes the card with the issue religious practice]” (Khaled 2014, p. 7)*

Similarly, to Khaled’s stance, Judith as well at another point in the interview underlined the importance of mental presence when eating, and how this can be secured by the practice of saying grace. These unwritten and written codes of conduct are performed as an integrative part of this urban gardener’s and forager’s practices, where the examples illustrates that their practices are not only performed in the garden or at the foraging site, but are deeply integrated in their relationship with the material of food in general in their everyday life. Thus, it is demonstrated how the component of procedures reaches out to the component of materials in the form of food, underlining the intertwined relationship of the components (Warde 2005) that emerges when zooming out of the practices (Nicolini 2009, Czarniawska 2008). In addition, the examples demonstrate how procedures are performed based on the actor’s beliefs and from structural conditions like religion, thus everyday life is lived as an expression between the interconnectedness of the micro- and macro-level (Jørgensen 2005).

In the interviews it seemed as if the foragers more deliberately assigned to being subjects to the unwritten codes of conduct when practising, they underlined how they relied on nature, seasonality, and the signs nature offer in terms of where to forage and what plants not to forage. This was expressed in a range of different ways for instance one of the foragers explained her reliance on the season and thereby nature as an unwritten code of conduct:

*“Preferably I live in accordance with the seasons. So it is not only a matter of it [the food] being vegetable it also depends on what it is. Well, you should not eat tomatoes and salads in the winter and stuff like that” (Camille 2014, p. 4)*

In the existing scientific literature, the matter of seasonality is as well considered conditioning to the practice of foraging, though there have been found different seasons depending of the areas investigated, which again illustrates one of foraging practice’s central codes of conduct that nature provides what, how, and when it does (McLain, Hurley et al. 2014). The matter of the practice and thereby the practitioners being subject to nature is conditioning for the procedures, and draws lines to the component of engagements, where environment and nature preservation



in general are important issues among the foragers' attitudes and beliefs (Judith 2014, Camille 2014, McLain, Hurley et al. 2014).

Thus, the foragers create a culture, where one of the key issues is how this culture should adapt to the external structures of nature in the zoomed out perspective, and thereby the local practising should comply with these perspectives, resulting in a range of related procedures when zooming in on the practice. This illustrates how the foragers practices establish in the relationship between global or trans-local and local level of everyday life, resulting in a weaving pattern of entangled procedures, materials, understandings, and engagements (Nicolini 2009, Jørgensen 2005, Andersen 2015, Czarniawska 2008).

On the contrary, the urban gardeners' were less deliberate in their relation to nature. One of the urban gardeners omitted to be subject to what she called the "*vegetable garden tyranny*", no matter how many beans the garden could produce in the season, neither the season nor the garden should dictate what she should eat for dinner (Susanne, Kurt 2014, p. 6). She refused to conform and be subject to nature as conditioning her everyday life circumstances, by claiming her individual choice and desires as basis for her actions, these values were demonstrated in her practice of urban gardening as well (Shove, Pantzar et al. 2012). Where she rather considered her attendance in the urban garden as an identity creation project, in line with the actor perspectives of Giddens.

Others of the urban gardeners enhanced codes of conduct related to the structural cultures ruling the urban gardens related the both cultivation and the surrounding areas as elements. For instance, they referred to the regulations of the gardens where they oblige to cultivate their raised beds, and their participation in the established traditions such as yearly sprouting event, and autumn closure event (Helle 2014, p. 8). Furthermore, it was explained how common written regulations confined the gardeners from changing the visual expression as displayed in Photo 9 as for instance Kit explained:

*"We have a set of regulations; we made it in the spring, on what you can do and what you are not allowed to do. And it has stated things like that, for instance the appearance of the trellising it cannot be too high, and it has to be natural colours etc."* (Kit 2014, p. 9)



Photo 9 Restricted trellising in the Hastrup Park urban gardens. The Hastrup Park urban gardeners have due to the gardens' set of regulation not the opportunity to support the plants with random materials for trellising, in addition, the maximum height and range and colours are fixed.

This kind of formalised written rules on what is allowed and what is not, may be an expression of the Danish cultural context with preferences for standardisation and legislation, which then influence the procedures in a conditioning manner. Regardless, these procedures are considered as in contrast with the international perspectives of Baker (2004), illustrated in Photo 10. She elaborates a purpose of encouraging different approaches to how the urban gardens are cultivated and maintained, thus accepting different appearances and agricultural techniques:

*“Not only are the vegetables densely planted, they climb tall structures made of scavenged materials: broken hockey sticks, broom handles, old pieces of wood. Companion planting, vertical gardening, and succession planting are all agricultural techniques used by the Frances Beavis gardeners to increase their yields, techniques adapted from methods the gardeners had used before they emigrated from China.” (Baker 2004, p. 314)*

Hence, there is a different cultural approach in terms of procedures related to the practice of urban gardening, in the investigated Danish context compared to the American. These differences are relevant in the international research context of the practice of urban gardening, and underlines how the people create the practices, cultures, and procedures through their performativity of urban gardening and vice versa, as both innovative practices and reproductive currents of existing structures conditioning the frames (Shove, Pantzar et al. 2012, Jørgensen 2005).



Photo 10 Trellising in urban gardens in Toronto. The picture is from Baker 2004 p. 314 and illustrates the extent of the urban gardeners' use of trellising with random materials in the urban garden that is geographically located in Toronto.

Apart from these kinds of procedures that indicate how the practices, foragers, and urban gardeners seemingly differ in their relation to nature and the conditioning of their practising by the unwritten and written rules, they have comparable procedures as well. Especially related to a range of emerging sensory experiences, explicated by the interviewed participants as everyday food experiences related to flavours, textures, freshness, smells, aesthetic appearances, and delight (Khaled 2014, Judith 2014, Vivian 2014, Camille 2014, Dorina 2014, Susanne, Kurt 2014, Birthe 2014). Which in addition, made the card “Freshness and flavour” be one of the most frequently enhanced issues recognised by the interviewed participants.

The observations of the foraging practices found that the senses play a central role, and has given this study the impression of a certain sensory regime including a range of certain common-sense codes of conduct and routinized behaviours as captured in Photo 11 of the practice of foraging. This matter of sensing has a strong connection to the component of materials, where the food

items constitute the foundation of these sensory experiences and thereby its related routines and procedures as well. In addition, this relation feeds back to the practitioners' perception of food quality, hence influencing the component of materials.

Thereby certain procedures are reproduced and interacting within the practices when performed in the everyday life and in this way they are both conditioning to the practitioners in the form of cultural structures, but meanwhile constituting to the motivation of the practitioners in the form of positive food experiences (Halkier, Jensen 2008).



Photo 11 Procedures of Foraging. On the photos, the foraging guide and herbal expert instructs in procedures on how to recognise certain plants as edibles, by visual examination, smelling, and tasting. The photos are taken by the author.

The procedures drag lines to all of the three other components; to understandings in relation to experiences and know-how of sensing the “right” things, to engagements since these sensory experiences also were represented among their motives as flavourful, and to materials because the sensory experiences always included the object of food. This demonstrates how the components shape each other (Shove, Pantzar et al. 2012) as interconnected actions, actors, and things (Czarniawska 2008).

The findings under the component of procedures are summarised in Figure 6. They underline the intertwined nature of procedures with the findings under the other components of the theory of practice model (Warde 2005). However, the procedures are characterised with a distinct set of practices related to written and unwritten codes of conduct in relation to the single practitioner and their practising, and in addition between the two different kinds of practices. These procedures are both conditioned by societal structures though constituted as sets of practices in certain cultures established by the urban gardeners and foragers as actors, through intra- and inter-personal practices (Jørgensen 2005, Czarniawska 2008, Halkier, Katz-Gerro et al. 2011).



Figure 6 Summary of Procedures. The figure summarises the main findings from the investigated urban gardeners' and foragers' practices. Where the sensory procedures among other things were found to influence their motivations and food quality perceptions.

### 13.3 MATERIALS

The component materials involve physical surroundings, technologies, and objects (Andersen 2015). From the semi-structured interviews and ethnographically inspired observations, the produced findings were emerging within especially two of these types of materials. This section presents and analyses the physical surroundings, and how they influence the practitioners' in their performance of practices, and the objects related to the practices, dominantly consisting of foods and plants.

In relation to physical surroundings, the produced findings from the semi-structured interviews predominantly relate to the practice of urban gardening, since the urban gardeners' practices are conditioned by the physical build environments. The urban gardeners deliberately talked about the size and numbers of the raised beds, the location of the garden, the building materials, and physical appearance of the urban garden area, structures that were observed by the researcher as well. However, it is important to underline that the foragers' as well depend on structures, in this case the nature's provision of edible food at the foraging sites though they were just not that explicit about materials. This can be interpreted in relation to their stance that nature provides,

what, when and how it does, in line with their environmental concerns and attitude that nature should not be altered by human impacts (Poe, McLain et al. 2013).

These perspectives on the foragers' physical surroundings can be interpreted as both conditioning and constitutive to their practices, which underlines the complexity of everyday life. Conditioning since they can only forage when the season is right and if they have access to natural surroundings, and constitutive since this matter of non-altering with the physical surroundings is actually one of the drivers to their practice due to its sense-making in compliance to their attitudes under the component of engagements.

The distances from the practitioners' homes to the practices physical surroundings are considered conditioning to both urban gardener's and foragers' practising. Among the foragers, there were identified two different approaches to distance depending on the everyday life context, one was to forage whenever the possibility emerged, for instance when walking the dog or going to the beach for a morning swim and thereby integrated in other everyday life activities (Vivian 2014, Camille 2014). This approach is comparable to what Poe et al. (2013) have defined as "plant-tenders" who for instance would remove certain other plants in public spaces to make productive plants thrive. Another approach was the more planned foraging approach, going to a specific foraging site, often a forest, a meadow, or the beach, which is similar to the "gatherer" as defined by Poe et al. (2013).

In this research, the first approach was characterised as local and near the forager's home, whilst the second involved travelling to practice sites. However, they considered that travelling to get to a specific foraging site, should be a matter of relative short distances like 5-10km by car (Vivian 2014), or easily accessible by train (Judith 2014). Distance can be interpreted to relate to the component of the foragers' engagement in their practice, since they in general expressed attitudes towards localism, and environmental concerns, thus their reluctance to travel long distances with its consequential carbon emissions, limits where their foraging sites can be physically located (Poe, McLain et al. 2013). This underlines how physical surroundings and distances to these, even if theoretically positioned under one component, the everyday life performance intrinsically relates it to the other components and establishes interconnectedness (Nicolini 2009).

Distance is as well influencing the urban gardeners' practices. Regarding physical locations the Hastrup Park urban gardeners live in the housing association's apartments surrounding the garden, whilst the Harbour Gardens are in an industrial area to become a future urban area. The



key difference is the urban gardeners' possibility to be able to see their garden from their home, the importance of this physical condition of distance and location, emerged in relation to what the urban gardeners' of the two different gardens perceived as important when they articulated the physical surroundings and materials of the spaces.

In the Hastrup Park gardens the physical surroundings and the space the gardens create were regarded as preventing people from sitting alone in their home (Birthe 2014), and to give a legitimate reason to be outside without going somewhere else (Kit 2014), and as Dennis explained

*“Because people seem to be attracted out here [in the urban garden] as soon as they see someone else down here” (Dennis 2014, p. 5)*

Thus, the distance to the garden and its physical location succeeds in building community in the housing area and get people to spend more time out in the open. The focus on the social cohesion emerging from being physically in urban gardens is also among the results of a review article on urban community gardens (Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012). Though the review article does not include the topic of distance to the gardeners home nor materials explicitly, it only addresses the matter of urban gardens being located mostly on public land, whilst only three in the review study were located on privately owned properties (Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012). Compared to the present research, that only involves urban gardens on privately owned land by respectively the Hastrup Park housing association and the Køge Coast P/S, where the findings from a practice theoretical perspective enhance the importance of materials such as physical surroundings and location as influential to the practices and the practitioners' sense of ownership. Thus, the practice theoretical approach to the research field of urban gardens, leads to new perspectives from its explicit focus on the four different components, in the understanding of the multisided structures of the practice.

Since the location of the Harbour gardens is distant to the urban gardeners' homes, they focus on the material facilities in the urban gardens, e.g. the décor of the exploratory area surrounding the harbour gardens, by having facilities like toilets, water, outdoor kitchen, hammocks, and beehives. This focus on facilities, that adds comfort to the time spent in the garden, can be interpreted to be more important when the urban gardeners are distanced from their homes, so that they do not have to leave the gardens to wash their hands, or go to the toilet.

In the interview with Susanne and Kurt that are urban gardeners in the harbour gardens, Susanne elaborated how the materials and the physical environment are influencing their practice:

*“(...) but again that is actually more the kitchen than the gardens, but the gardens provides the environment down there. If it was only the kitchen, well then it was not as cosy an environment. It is everything down there; it is the bees, the hammocks, the gardens, the kitchen, the barbeques etc.” (Susanne, Kurt 2014, p. 11)*

This illustrates the interconnected relationship between the components materials and the gardeners' engagements, as highly entangled in the shaping of the landscape that forms and are formed by the practitioners' everyday life use of it (Nicolini 2009).

The practice sites of urban gardening and foraging, and the physical surroundings are being considered an additional room to the practitioners' home. A room where they bring family and friends, socialise, have fun, or forage and eat (Dennis 2014, Khaled 2014, Vivian 2014, Kit 2014, Susanne, Kurt 2014, Dorina 2014). As an organised form of time-space production in their inhabitation of the spatial structures and usage of materials in the practices' physical surroundings (Shove, Pantzar et al. 2012).

The articulated objects of the investigated practices in the interviews, were mainly food and plants, with a certain focus on the variety of what food items the practitioners typically cultivate or forage. However, this result is under influence of the constructionism of the knowledge production from the interview situation. For instance, the interview guide included questions on “What do you grow in your garden?/What do you typically forage?”, thus these were articulated. Whilst other common-sense objects of their practices might not have been touched upon by the researcher, and thereby not unfolded by the individual urban gardener or forager because of their perception of it being common-sense (Czarniawska 2008, Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005). Nevertheless, the matter of other important objects did neither occur from the observations.

What is characteristic about the objects are that the food they cultivate or forage seem to be conditioned by the practice. From the ethnographically inspired observations and interviews it was found that the urban gardeners cultivate food items like; potatoes, herbs, culturally appropriate foods, salad, spinach, raspberries, strawberries, tomatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, beans, courgettes, figs, and carrots. Whilst, the foragers gather food items such as; mushrooms, dandelions, nettles, thistles, ground elder, garlic mustard, chickweed, grassleaf orache, broad-leaved pepperwood, sea rockets, wild parsnips, rosehips, hawthorn berries, elder berries, apples, and plums. These differences are represented in the existing scientific international literature as well, where this relation between the human-plant interactions are identified as a continuum of



varying practices depending on the degree of cultivation versus natural conditions (Poe, McLain et al. 2013). For instance, the objects and food items the foragers forage are considered as weeds to the urban gardeners, underlining certain practice specific procedures of unwritten codes of conduct (Andersen 2015).

Figure 7 summarises the main findings from the investigated urban gardeners' and foragers' practices under the component of materials. In summary, the findings under the component materials indicate that urban gardening and foraging are distinct practices for instance illustrated by the different cultures of structuring or not structuring the physical sites of the practices depending on their engagements. Furthermore, the findings underline that facilities and physical surroundings are influential to the practitioners' practices. As well that both practices have a common pivotal point in regards to the human-plant or actor-object interaction (Shove, Pantzar et al. 2012) where the sensory experiences of the material food objects are central to their motivation. Likewise is the matter of being physically in the process important, in order to be near to, and see the plants grow, touch them and take part in this immediate materiality, on the local level everyday life of the zoomed in perspective.



Figure 7 Summary of Materials. The figure summarises the main findings from the investigated urban gardeners' and foragers' practices under the component of materials. The findings illustrate the importance of the material food and plant as objects, and that the practice sites influences the practitioners' practising and motivations.

#### 13.4 ENGAGEMENTS

The component engagements consist of beliefs, motives, and emotions. These three sub-categories relate in a network of both sayings and doings of the practices that was difficult for the interviewed participants to separate. Especially it seemed difficult for them to separate their current benefits of the practice from their beliefs and motives. This section describes and analyses the urban gardeners' and foragers' beliefs and motives and how they accommodate these in their everyday life practices. Finally, the section presents some of the emotions and benefits enhanced by the practitioners, since these also motivate the practitioners in their maintenance of the practices.

The practitioners expressed beliefs concerning the food system, which can be interpreted as a distrust to the way food is produced, processed, and distributed. Elaborated by the interviewed participants as beliefs and negative attitudes towards e.g.: additives, pesticides, chemicals, artificial growth conditions, agriculture's impoverishing of the soil, animal welfare, too much processing of food, and lack of freshness, flavour, micro-nutrients, and other food related quality parameters in the contemporary food system (Vivian 2014, Camille 2014, Helle 2014, Judith 2014, Kit 2014, Dennis 2014, Susanne, Kurt 2014).

As Helle, one of the urban gardeners, and the forager Camille contested in the interviews:

*"Well, additives and all that kind of shit [sic] they contaminate our food with." (Helle 2014, p. 16)*

*"I am interested in finding food that is as pure as possible. Well, it is probably an intrinsic part of me, I do not want to buy all that [food] from the supermarket which is sprayed, adapted, and processed with more chemicals than I can imagine to ensure its shelf life and stuff." (Camille 2014, p. 3)*

Thus, they clarify their beliefs in regards to the food system, and why it does not live up to their attitudes towards how food should be produced and processed in an opaque manner.

These beliefs are similar to the existing scientific literature, that among others to mention find sustainability, environment, health, and food security as among the practitioners' motives for practising (McClintock 2010, Baker 2004, Galt, Gray et al. 2014, Poe, McLain et al. 2013, Tornaghi 2014, Kneafsey, Cox et al. 2008). These issues represent a zoomed out perspective from the everyday life performance of the practices, to a global perspective on societal level with certain

characteristics of the contemporary food system (Nicolini 2009). The practitioners on the one hand address these issues by their individual attempts to produce some of their food themselves, but on the other hand, they consider the issues as cultural structures and entities conditioning their everyday life where they also have to compromise with their beliefs now and then (Halkier 2013).

The existing scientific research in the field, the issues related to the food system's opaque character and its consequences are besides the zoomed in consumer perspective, addressed from and a zoomed out citizen perspective as well (Nicolini 2009), relating to the food production's and distribution's environmental consequences (McClintock 2010, Galt, Gray et al. 2014). Similarly, the urban gardeners and foragers identification of consequences relates to two levels; when zooming in there is a micro-level concerning their own nutritional health; and when zooming out on a macro-level they have concerns for humans health in general and for the nature and environment related to negative impacts of the intensity of the food system (Nicolini 2009).

Regarding nutritional health, one of the foragers argued that the nutritional value of the available foods has decreased:

*I think that is the reason why so many people have weight related problems, because what they eat does not give them enough nutrients, and then they will eat more to get more energy. But it is the micronutrients they lack. In general I think the supermarket is full of things [food] that is not good for us at all, that is also why I make my own bread [refers to the dough raising next to us], because I do not think that all that other kinds of food agree with me" (Camille 2014, p. 7)*

In this way, Camille presents one of the common found beliefs produced in the interviews, which can be characterized as the food systems processing of food and its consequences for human. As Camille finishes her sentence, she demonstrates how she considers her practices as an attempt overcome the personal consequences of the impact of the food system, by ensuring her own health in the everyday life. In this way, her argument goes from the zoomed out macro perspective, through the practice and transforms into a zoomed in individual perspective, as a strategy to not conform to the food systems available supply of e.g. bread or trust the opaque condition of processing of foods (Nicolini 2009, Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005).

In this way, the interviewed practitioners' addressed their own role as both citizens and consumers. In addition they considered that also retailers and politicians are responsible for reducing the consequences of the food system, and changing the way the food system (mal)functions as seen from their perspectives (Vivian 2014, Dennis 2014). This perspective is comparable to the governance triangle's divide of market, state, and civil society (Renting, Wiskerke 2010), and to the existing scientific literature that address the state/government and market/food industry institutions, as for instance the work by McClintock (2012) on urban gardens and by McLain & Poe et al. (2012) on foraging. These different perspectives manifest themselves in varying ways, depending on the zoomed out or zoomed in lens' frame of reference, though in a continuous weaving movement between these perspectives constructing the complex everyday life practices (Nicolini 2009).

Likewise, the performativity of the practitioners was characterised in such constant zooming in and out movement between the micro- and macro-levels of everyday life (Jørgensen 2005). The urban gardener Helle characterised this relationship quite well from her everyday life perspective, when she described her motives of her practice:

*"Yes, I do it for the sake of my health, but also to influence the society, that is no secret. Because I deeply hope that everyone would stop, buying that shit [processed mass produced food], then we could close that crap once and for all, I wish people would react like that. Because we as citizens, consumers, we have so much power if we are willing to take it. It just requires that we all stop buying it, and then it will close – tomorrow that is!" (Helle 2014, p. 16)*

This example illustrates a network of beliefs and attitudes, which the urban gardening practice accommodate according to Lyson (2004), by linking production and consumption activities on the local micro-level, through accessibility of alternatives to the food products of the industrial food system. Which can be interpreted as a general desire of living the everyday life in the zoomed in perspective, untangling oneself from the other two institutions of the governance of triangle, as an expression in search of sense- or change-making in compliance with the practitioner's own beliefs through engagement.

The urban gardeners and foragers furthermore explained how their engagements in these practices had influenced their beliefs, and everyday life in certain directions, as one of the interviewed urban gardeners described:

*“(…), when you start toying with organic [food] and stuff like that, then you also get a new way of regarding nature. This might also be why I am taking this new education. It [the practice] drives me in a certain direction” (Dennis 2014, p. 10)*

Thus, the practising of urban gardening and foraging entails a range of qualities in relation to address the global agenda on sustainability.

Another emerging topic in the conducted interviews relates to the practice theory’s focus on balancing saying and doing. This balancing was maintained among some of the interviewed practitioners’ intentions when they articulated a desire of taking back the power from the food system (Judith 2014, Helle 2014), or as expressed by the forager Camille:

*“If there is something you find important, then I think you should do it, so that you do not end up living in a separate relation where – oh I really would like to ... [something]. But instead try to convert these ideas into an everyday practice instead of just talking.” (Camille 2014, p. 9)*

In this way, the urban gardeners and foragers did not only put their beliefs on the agenda through saying, they benefit themselves on the micro-level, both by reducing the perceived consequences for their health, and by balancing their saying and doing (Warde 2005). Their practices springs from motivations related to the macro-level, in regards to how the contemporary food system is working, which makes them engage and act in certain ways among other places expressed through their everyday life practices of urban gardening and foraging. Practices that provide them with some of their food, as a sense-making symbolism of being less dependent on conditioning structures of the food system.

Besides these beliefs and motives of the urban gardeners and foragers practices, they also experienced a range of emotions and benefits through their engagements. Throughout the interviews, they enhanced their practices as being, cosy, fun, sense-making, satisfying, giving them a higher sense of freedom, promoting a positive behaviour, and giving them enjoyment, pride, and comfort. In addition, two major benefits emerged in the interviews, related to respectively mental health and wellbeing, and social community and network. The practices’

influences on wellbeing and mental health were expressed by foragers as well as urban gardeners. In general, they considered the nature as a healing place, and since their practices were outdoors they were exposed to these natural forces.

Put into an everyday life context, Vivian explained that the practice of going foraging with her family gives her:

*“(...) mental surplus energy. When coming home from work, you are under a lot of pressure, there are deadlines etc. Then you come home and think - ahh tomorrow it will be nice, we have to hurry up packing the picnic stuff. But then when you are out there [she exhales deeply], then everything says like that [refers to the exhalation], and you lower your shoulders and all that.” (Vivian 2014)*

These everyday life experiences as the relaxed emotion Vivian benefit from her foraging practice can be understood from a leisure experience perspective (Jacobsen, Kristiansen 2005, Getz 2012). Where Vivian and the other interviewed participants' experience a certain 'time out of time' through their engagement in the practice, which can be interpreted to accommodate their cognitive and affective beliefs and benefits. These then contribute to their maintenance of the practice, and give them a meaningful memorable experience, in the zoomed in perspective of the everyday life (Getz 2012, Nicolini 2009). Such experiences are in the existing literature of the research field, seen to aid mental welfare (Freeman, Dickinson et al. 2012), especially among immigrants and ethnic groups (Holland 2004) when engaging in activities such as gardening. One of the interviewed gardeners and immigrants expressed similar emotions that he benefitted from in his coping with war experiences by the means of the gardening practices:

*“As I said previously, as soon as you get down here and start toying with your fingers in the soil, then you forget so many things. If you have something that bothers you, or something that is stuck in your head that you can't stop thinking about, then it is like as if the garden takes up that space instead.” (Khaled 2014, p. 5)*

In this way, the practice enables him to spend time out of time, not necessarily as an escapist strategy, rather as a time-filling coping strategy, a comprehensive activity in his everyday life. These emotions are similar to the international scientific findings in regards to benefits of the practices. Where emotions are considered as benefits of practices, related to among others;

leisure activities, therapeutic effects, general life satisfaction, and community building that contribute positively to the practitioners everyday life experiences (Freeman, Dickinson et al. 2012, McLain, Hurley et al. 2014, Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012, Baker 2004, Lyson 2014).

In regards to the social cohesion as benefit that was articulated in the interviews, mainly the urban gardeners underlined how they benefitted from their practice in the establishment of social bonds with other practitioners. Furthermore, some of the interviewed participants explained how the materials of plants and foods mediate a sense of social cohesion:

*“So it is social community, integration, what can I call it...? The people become more open over here [in the gardens]. If we just talk about plants, then we become friends.” (Khaled 2014, p. 4)*

*“The first two strawberries we picked, we brought back home, and then we shared them with our neighbour [who they share the raised bed with]. We cut them into four half strawberries, and then we enjoyed half a strawberry each. So that [the food] is kind of a representation of that you have something together (...)” (Susanne, Kurt 2014, p. 22)*

This can be regarded as the cohesion is building upon the sharing of having an everyday life interest in common, coming to expression in their actor-object or human-plant interaction. These examples demonstrate the intertwined character of practices and within the practices' components, in this respect between the engagement's emotions, as for instance experienced from social cohesion, that are affected by the materiality of plants and foods, and to have a common place to meet (Warde 2005, Andersen 2015).

In summary, the urban gardeners and foragers expressed certain beliefs regarding issues in the contemporary food system, they elaborated the consequences, and whom they considered responsible, and they described their own practices as deliberate actions in order to reduce the consequences for themselves, and the nature and environment as illustrated in Figure 8.

The component engagements especially enhances the interconnection between the global and the local perspective (Nicolini 2009). Where the motivations of the urban gardeners and foragers relate to their engagements in regards to the food system that does not live up to their beliefs and motives. However, the cultural structure of this macro-level institution of the food system, conditions and restrains the practitioners' practices to mainly manifest itself on the micro-scale, namely in their individual and local level of balancing of sayings and doings in their everyday life. In addition, the interviewed practitioners gain other benefits as they experience that the practices facilitate positive emotions, such as mental welfare and social cohesion.



Figure 8 Summary of Engagements. The figure summarises the main findings from the investigated urban gardeners' and foragers' practices under the component of engagements. The interviewed participants' desires in regards to food qualities are suggestive to changes in the contemporary food system.

### 13.6 THE PRACTICES OF URBAN GARDENING & FORAGING

This section summarises the analysis and results of the researched urban gardeners' and foragers' motivations for their practices. The summary is illustrated in Figure 9 on page 7979, which gives an overview of the urban gardening and foraging practices' components, their interconnectedness, and intertwined everyday life circumstances of the researched practitioners. Furthermore, this section elaborates some of the discovered influences of the relation between macro- and micro-level structures among others how the food system are conditioning and constitutive to the practitioners' motivations of practices.

The component of the urban gardeners' and foragers' understandings, underlines the necessity of knowledge and know-how to perform the practices. The researched practitioners perform urban gardening and foraging because they know how to do it. The origin of this knowledge showed to be a result of cultural structures that were constitutive to the practitioners' capabilities, and interconnected with procedures such as family traditions and cultural forms of material and urban settlements making a physical space available to practise in.



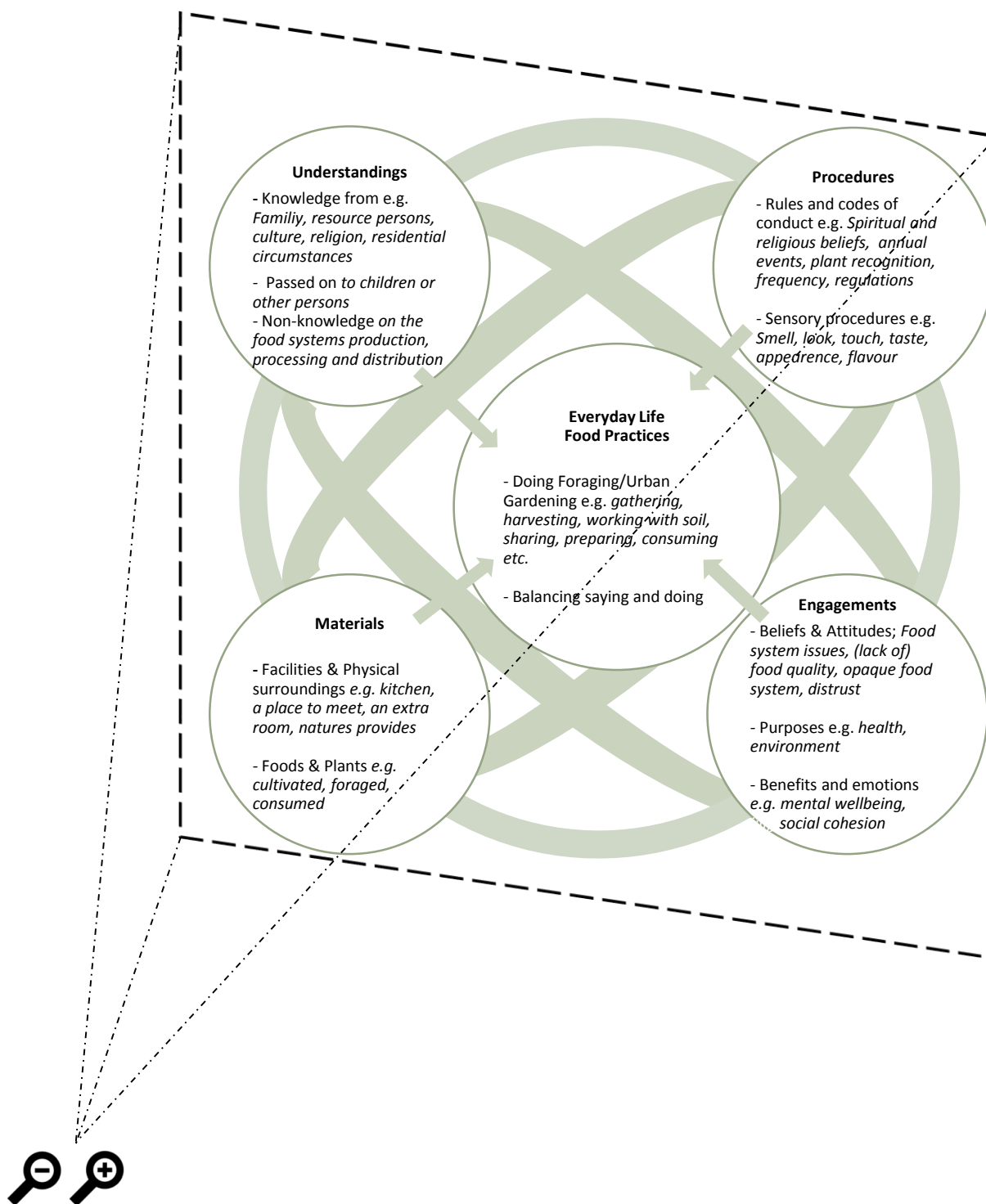


Figure 9 Overview of the result and analysis from the produced findings. The urban gardening and foraging practice's components are in accordance with the theory of practice highly interconnected and intertwined, thus the block arrows illustrate this weaving pattern. Whilst the dotted lines together with the magnifiers illustrate the zoomed in and zoomed out perspectives of the practices' relations between macro- and micro- level structures as constitutive and conditioning to each other, thus influencing the motivations of the urban gardeners and foragers practices. Made by the author, inspired by Andersen (2015), and the emerging findings in the present research.

However, some of the urban gardeners and foragers had actively sought and gained knowledge later in life. Regardless of this, the fact that they now do know, is constitutive to and motivate their practices.

The practitioners' consider passing on of knowledge important due to the benefits and emotions the performativity of the practices entail. The motivations of the practices derive partly from their beliefs and attitudes criticising the opaque character of how the contemporary food system produces, processes, and distributes food. To which everyday life cultivation and/or foraging evidently demonstrate alternatives to access food products, and the lived performativity of the practices sustain their knowledge by reproducing the characteristics of the practices.

Thus, the component understandings is intertwined with the three other components, and entails both micro- and macro-structures that influences the practitioners' motivations. From a zoomed in perspective, the local level of the individual practitioner's knowledge is at once conditioning and constitutive to the performativity of and thereby motivating her or him. Whilst, from a zoomed out perspective and global level the practitioners' non-knowledge relating to the opaque and complex character of how the contemporary food system produce and process food, is constitutive for their motivations to perform urban gardening and foraging, though at the same time constraining their remaining everyday life food practices when buying food in supermarkets.

Under the component of procedures, the findings as well illustrate both conditioning and constitutive characteristics that derive from macro-structures and the other components, evolving in the micro-level of the individual urban gardeners' and foragers' everyday life practices. Some of the participating practitioners expressed their performativity of the investigated practices as related to other everyday life practices, such as religious and spiritual motivations. Furthermore, the research found distinct approaches of procedures between the investigated urban gardeners and foragers, in terms of written and unwritten codes of conduct such as cultivating or non-altering practice sites, which showed to be interconnected with the component engagement as distinct beliefs and attitudes. These motivate the practitioners' performativity of complying with and reproducing certain procedures as sense-making activities in accordance to their remaining everyday life practices and understandings. In addition, the research showed that the sensory experiences the practitioners gain from the material outcome of food motivated their practices, and influenced their view on foods from the supermarket as trivial.

The physical surroundings under the component of materials are central to the urban gardeners and foragers performance of practice, because they have a site to practise in. The participating

practitioners consider the physical surroundings of the sites as an additional room to their home, a room they are motivated to spend time in to conduct various food related practices and because it is within a reasonable distance from their home. However, it seems that cultural facilities like shelter, sitting areas, water supply, kitchen and toilets are more important to urban gardeners than foragers, and especially if the urban garden is distant to the urban gardener's home. Whereas the foragers' dogma on that; nature provides where, when and what is does and what is necessary, permeate their perspective on objects and physical facilities, as being less important as well. This perspective can be interpreted in line with the findings under the three other components, that the foraging practice more distinctly entails to be subject to nature and its physical surroundings as part of the essential sense-making and thereby motivating their practice of foraging.

In relation to the food and plants as materials, both the urban gardeners and foragers were motivated by these objects as products. Motivated to prepare and eat the food products, though the specific food items respectively cultivated or foraged are conditioned by the practices with certain characteristics in the human-plant interaction, of eating carrots or grassleaf orache. On this background, the physical surroundings and structures support the underlying philosophies of the practitioners' beliefs and attitudes as engagements. Thereby materials are as well constitutive to the practitioners' motivations, where the urban gardeners' value the comfort of a range of cultural home-like facilities, whilst the foragers are motivated by the natural and primitive facilities of their foraging sites.

The component of engagements especially contributes to uncover the urban gardeners' and foragers' sayings, where they represent both zoomed out citizen perspectives and zoomed in individual and consumer perspectives. The zoomed out perspectives of the practitioners are in regards to e.g. environmental concerns, public health due to decreasing food quality, and concerns on decrease of food literacy, where the zoomed in perspectives centres around individual health, personal benefits, and the satisfaction they get from balancing their sayings and doings.

The conducted research has found that the macro-perspectives of practitioners' motivations are related to a distrust to the contemporary food system's production, processing, and distribution of food, which they consider decreasing the food quality in the supply. The investigated participants enhance the lack of qualities such as freshness, flavour, naturalness/organic, healthy, and local. Qualities they find in the food products from their practices of urban gardening and

foraging, which motivate them on the micro-level, and are suggestive to future qualities of the food system. Hence, the macro-structures of the urban gardeners' and foragers' perception of the food system are constitutive by motivating their practices, so they can experience food that meet their expectations in their everyday life, in regards to food quality.

In spite of the practices being motivated by macro-structures, the urban gardeners' and foragers' performances of the practices remain to the micro- and local level of the individual's everyday life. Although they under the component of understandings are aware of passing on their knowledge, their performance of practice does not target the market nor political agendas. Additionally, the zoomed in perspective entails a range of emotions and benefits from engaging in the practices from urban gardening and foraging, among others to mention are social cohesion and mental wellbeing, which motivate the investigated participants to maintain their practices.

## 14.0 CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis has been to investigate *how the motivations of urban gardeners' and foragers' practices in a contemporary Danish urban setting can be understood, and how these food practices can be suggestive to future qualities of the food system.* This chapter summarises the multiple motivations of the investigated urban gardeners and foragers, in the Danish urban setting of Køge, and how these relate to both macro- and micro-perspectives of the practitioners' everyday life food practices. The assembled and applied theoretical framework establishes an understanding of the complexity, where the four components reveals a diversity of motivations behind the performativity of urban gardening and foraging as lived in the everyday life, which this conclusion re-establishes in a re-connective approach.

When walking into the forests with their heads pointed at the ground or when stooping over and maintaining the raised bed urban garden, the urban gardeners and foragers perform these practices because they know how to cultivate and forage food, and they have physical surroundings available that contribute to and facilitate their performances. They are motivated to cultivate and gather food products that comply with their beliefs and attitudes towards food quality, sustainability, health, and localism – thus balancing their sayings addressing macro-levelled issues with practical doings on the micro-level of the everyday life. Furthermore, the performance of urban gardening and foraging as practices are sense-making to the practitioners' remaining everyday life practices, hence the investigated practising relate on an inter-practice level underlining the interconnected pattern between other practices conducted on the basis of the same beliefs and attitudes.

The practitioners value the material food products highly, which they have seen sprouting from seed or from the natural occurring sites, where they have connected with the process and the natural conditions when experiencing the seasons' characteristics. In addition, they benefit in regards to positive emotions like the mental well-being they experience in the human-plant interaction, and from the social cohesion, they construct with other practitioners and the ones they pass on their knowledge to.

The practices are performed within a range of procedural frames, maintaining certain written and unwritten codes of conduct. These frames contribute to the urban gardeners and foragers feeling of sense-making, and satisfaction from sustaining the practices by reproducing these procedures e.g. in the form of spiritual and religious beliefs, by living in accordance with the season, and in general uphold the practices and traditions.

The practitioners are dissatisfied with the contemporary food system's way of producing, processing, and distributing the food products that are available in the retail stores. Expressed as a distrustful relationship and ingrained attitudes regarding lack of food quality that can fulfil their desire of sensory experiences in the everyday life practice of eating. In spite of urban gardening and foraging seemingly can be regarded unnecessary in the Danish context and thus outdated practices, the practitioners are motivated to cultivate and forage food products as an act of claiming back food practices and eating experiences of fresh, healthy, local, natural and/or organic, and flavourful food products which are suggestive to future qualities in the food system.

However, the complexity of the investigated participants' experiences regarding the existing structures of the contemporary food system cannot be fixed from the findings of this thesis. Nevertheless, the findings point in a direction of turning to a future focus on human-food experiences that focus on the sensory experiences related to the materiality of bodily and mentally sensing the food from production to plate. Involving to feel the seasons, toying with the soil, seeing it grow, harvesting, and finally enjoying its sensory attributes when consumed. Thus pointing in a direction of reclaiming the bodily sides of food production and practices, in the balancing of sayings and doings, by increasing the transparency and physically experiences on a local and context near level.

## 15.0 FUTURE ASPECTS ON QUALITIES IN THE FOOD SYSTEM

This chapter takes point of departure in nuancing and discussing the existing international literatures' findings in regards to motivations related to food security and reconnection with nature of urban gardening and foraging practices, with the findings from this research's contemporary Danish setting. This leads on to in what direction the findings of present thesis are suggestive to future qualities in the food system, in terms of focus on transparency and sensory experiences of food. Finally, it is discussed how approaches to accommodate the found expectations of the urban gardeners and foragers entails drawbacks as well, illustrating the complexities of the food system as well as of people's everyday life.

In the existing literature, the background of engaging in practices like urban gardening and foraging is described in relation to the practitioners' work for a more just food system, ensuring food security, and increasing affordability of food (Baker 2004, McLain, Hurley et al. 2014). However, in the contemporary Danish context the investigated urban gardeners and foragers, do not regard these factors among their motivations, rather they consider their practice opposite as both time and money consuming activities. Thus, the present research differs from of the existing international research in regards to perspectives on motivations for practicing. Furthermore, existing literature suggests that the investigated practices relate to the practitioners' desire of reconnecting with nature (Guitart, Pickering et al. 2012, Steel 2008). This can be interpreted among some of the interviewed participants, though the results of this thesis rather point in a direction of that the urban gardeners and foragers re-connect with their food, concerning the human-plant interaction or human-food relation. With motivations based on both mental and cognitive practices of knowing how their food is produced, processed, and distributed, and bodily practices on experiencing certain processes and eating experiences that result in sensing of fresh, flavourful, and healthy foods in their everyday life.

These findings are suggestive to how the future food system could meet these contemporary consumers' and citizens' expectations of food experiences to be fresh, local, flavourful, natural, and healthy. The motivations from the urban gardening and foraging practitioners in the present study can inspire the production methods, for instance by decentralising production to accommodate the matter of localism and make a bodily experience the materiality of food production possible. Furthermore, local production could possibly reduce food miles and ensure freshness and flavourful produce in season. Meeting such expectations has been approached in recent years e.g. by Danish alternative food networks, whom have proven the feasibility of setting

similar agendas as the ones addressed by the urban gardeners and foragers in the present research.

Other future aspects in relation to meeting the practitioners' expectations to their food, points in a direction of merging the two investigated practices in the development of communities practising forest gardens, or food forestry. The idea behind forest gardens is an accomplishment of creating natural-like forest environments that are food productive, with the purpose of among other things reducing the environmental impact on the land from agriculture and securing diverse, fresh, local, organic plants and foods for consumption.

In spite of these good intentions that can be considered suggestive to meeting the investigated practitioners' expectations for the food system of tomorrow. It is important to notice, that changes of the food system in such direction require something from the consumers and citizens to prevent establishing an exclusionary food system of feeding the privileged. Thus, a requisite of for instance reducing the degree of processing of food in accordance to the present research's findings on attitudes, make the maintenance and rebuilding of peoples food literacy and cooking skills crucial, in order to ensure capabilities of turning food from ingredients to meals. In addition, a reduction of the processing degree of food would probably entail increasing prices on food products, since large parts of the food industry and food system is build up around the profit from processing food ingredients into food products. Thus, consequences of such transition could be increasing food prices, which turn the perspectives back to performing these practices by necessity in regards to affordability, exclusion, and food security issues.

Hence, these complexities illustrate the importance of comprehending the multisided structures and interconnections of the constitutive and conditioning realities of the food system, and of peoples' food practices and their everyday life in general. The findings focus on balancing sayings and doings and integrate global issues in the local lived everyday life, in order to create a sense-making relation to the individual. Thus, the food system of tomorrow, cannot meet these demands only focusing on storytelling in an attempt to increase transparency, nor relying on logistic solutions to deliver fresh produce only. The findings suggest that more than knowledge is required, and enhance the importance of bodily experiences too, where sensing the situational realties of food production and physically seeing, touching, smelling and so on, indicate qualities to an actual reconnection between the consumers and their food products as a future quality parameters of the food system.



## APPENDICES

The appendices can be retrieved from the disc below.

### Appendix 1: Ethnographically inspired observation materials

- Appendix 1.1 Questions for initiators-project responsible
- Appendix 1.2 Participant observation guide for foraging events

### Appendix 2: Interview Guides

- Appendix 2.1 Interview guide for urban gardeners
- Appendix 2.2 Interview guide for foragers

### Appendix 3: Photos of visual presentations of interview task

### Appendix 4: Transcriptions of interviews

(The numbering reflects the chronology of the conduction of the interviews)

- Appendix 4.1 Judith, forager
- Appendix 4.2 Kit, urban gardener
- Appendix 4.3 Birthe, urban gardener
- Appendix 4.4 Dennis, urban gardener
- Appendix 4.5 Khaled, urban gardener
- Appendix 4.6 Helle, urban gardener
- Appendix 4.7 Dorina, forager
- Appendix 4.8 Susanne and Kurt, urban gardeners
- Appendix 4.9 Camille, forager
- Appendix 4.10 Vivian, forager

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