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Harvesting Culture On The Curb

The influence of consumer culture on the growing interest in urban agriculture in Copenhagen

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Abstract

Various types of urban food cultivation, commonly referred to as urban agriculture (UA), are on the rise in the Global North, developing as a growing market. Existing literature on UA consumption has argued that in this geographical context the practice is driven by secondary needs, partly explaining the paradox in which urban consumers desire to consume a practice that is inherently rural and does not match their chosen urban lifestyle.

The consumer motivations and behaviors that hitherto have been investigated mainly focus on rational motivations, unable to fully explain the increase in interest in UA. This thesis suggests that by investigating the consumer culture of UA, one can uncover ulterior socio-cultural reasons to consume UA, answering the research question: *“How does consumer culture incite the increasing consumption of urban agriculture in Copenhagen?”*

With point of departure in a constructivist philosophy of science, UA is studied through the lens of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT)—a framework able to illuminate the symbolic, contextual and experimental aspects of consumption. Within two central domains of CCT, the thesis’ theoretical framework focusses on the person-object relations in regard to identity (consumer identity projects) and the specific culture of the UA marketplace in relation to consumption communities (marketplace cultures). To this end, the study employs the concepts of Self-extension (Belk, 1988) and neo-tribalism (Maffesoli, 1996).

Based on in-depth interviews, this study presents insights from representatives of UA entrepreneurs, experts and farmers. The interview data are employed in an inductive content analysis, utilizing triangulation to extract conclusive findings.

From a consumer culture perspective, the present study discovers that consumers use UA as:

- *a source of identity* - consuming to construct their identity and establish a sense of self.
- *a body of knowledge* - using UA as a source of knowledge and a tool to pass on knowledge.
- *a context of communion* - consumption as a catalyst for sociality with likeminded people.
- *an embodiment of values* - using UA to physically embody values and feel empowered.

In light of the employed theory, it is thus concluded that the increasing interest in UA in Copenhagen, among other things, is incited as it provides a means through which consumers can express and build their identities and presents a marketplace as a context for desired communion and sociality.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Cities were originally constructed around the production and trade of food produce. Since the Industrial Revolution changed the urban environment, the Global North has witnessed several waves of interest in 'growing food in the city', peaking in times of economic stress or war (Lawson, 2005). Since World War II, urban agricultural practices in cities in the Global North shrunk to an all-time-low (Steel, 2008) as agriculture moved out to the countryside and rapid post-war urbanization laid a claim on the sparsely available land in the cities.

In recent years however, despite the absence of hardship, the interest in urban food cultivation has resurfaced among urban consumers in Northern Europe (e.g. Golden, 2013; Mok et al., 2014; Opitz et al., 2016). An assortment of urban food growing activities is unfolding rapidly in many cities, ranging from small-scale window farming, over community gardening and rooftop farming to more technology-intensive forms such as hydroponic greenhouses (Dobernig and Stagl, 2015). In academic discourse these various types of urban food cultivation tend to be subsumed under the notion of 'urban agriculture' (e.g. McClintock, 2014), referred to as 'UA'.

In light of the reemergence of UA, there are numerous causal factors to point out; differing across geographies, cultures, heuristic approaches, scholastic traditions etc. All these causal factors recognize the consumption of UA in Northern Europe as a secondary need, purely driven by the individual's choice and selection (Lohrberg et al., 2015). This presents the paradoxical situation in which urban consumers choose to consume a practice that is inherently rural and does not match their chosen urban lifestyle.

Previous studies have aimed to uncover the ways in which consumers' goals, hegemonic structures and socioeconomic or environmental concerns are negotiated and evolve in the UA context, providing possible explanations for the paradox. These studies have generally omitted to study the culture behind the motivational mechanisms and ascribed meanings underlying people's propensity to grow food in the city and consume UA.

With the intention to contribute to existing knowledge about UA, and the culture of consumption in relation to it, the present thesis studies the rise of UA from a narrow analytical perspective. It does so by investigating and analyzing the culture and consumers of UA in Copenhagen, Denmark. Chapter 2 provides the employed definition of UA together with an introduction to the specific setting of the case study of Copenhagen.

The following part of this introductory chapter presents the questions answered in this thesis and lays out the structure of the following chapters.

1.1 Problem statement

Naturally, the rise of UA has caught attention across a variety of scholastic traditions, including economics, social sciences and natural sciences. Marketers—academics as well as practitioners—similarly turn their attention towards UA. They are interested in the causal factors of consumption in relation to UA, as well as the culture surrounding UA consumption.

This thesis addresses the rise of UA through a narrow scope of investigation by developing a framework of selected theories of consumer culture to guide the research and inductively analyze cultural influences on consumption in relation to UA within the Copenhagen area.

Essentially, the present study is set out to answer:

“How does consumer culture incite the increasing consumption of urban agriculture in Copenhagen?”

The following three sub-questions help to frame the answer:

1. *Does UA become part of the Extended Self of the consumers?*
2. *Can the consumers of UA in Copenhagen be identified as a consumer tribe?*
3. *How do consumers use UA to fulfil secondary needs and create value?*

This thesis finds that the consumer’s desire to commune in the city context, share knowledge with like-minded people, and to organize a sense of personal identity and self-expression is met by supplementing their everyday consumption practices with UA.

With point of departure in recent literary works of consumer culture and UA, the posted research question is answered by theoretical application of Consumer Culture Theory. More specifically, a theoretical framework is establishment based on Michel Maffesoli’s theory of Post-Modern neo-tribalism and Russell Belk’s concept of Extended Self. The employed framework allows the present study to:








1. Present the case of UA in Copenhagen;
2. Identify and analyze consumer-specific motives of consumption in relation to UA within the employed theoretical framework;
3. Discuss the influences of consumer culture in instigating consumption of UA.

On the basis of the above elements of the research question, the present thesis contributes to a better understanding of how consumers drive the rise of UA in Copenhagen. Such a contribution holds specific interest to students and scholars of both UA and general consumer culture research. Finally, the findings of this research are relevant to marketers and other commercial actors keen to get a better understanding of consumer culture in general or to specifically improve their comprehension of the market that emerges from the rise of UA.

1.2 Structure of thesis

Figure 1 chronologically maps the structure of the present thesis, providing an overview of the focus and contribution of each of the next seven chapters.

Figure 1. Structure of thesis

Chapter overview	Introduction of content
 Ch. 2. Objects of investigation Urban agriculture in Copenhagen	Briefly presents the employed definition of urban agriculture and consumers while introducing the case of urban agriculture in Copenhagen to establish a sufficient point of departure and analytical relevance prior to the analysis of collected empirics.
 Ch. 3. Literature review Urban agriculture and consumer culture theory	Outlines the literary development of urban agriculture studies and the academic progression of the contemporary focus on consumer culture. Thus, the chapter justifies and guides the theoretical and analytical focus of the conducted research.
 Ch. 4. Applied theories Consumer Culture Theory	Presents the applied theoretical approach of Consumer Culture Theory and constitutes the employed theoretical framework based on Maffesoli's theory of neo-tribalism and Belk's concept of Extended Self.
 Ch. 5. Methodology Constructivism and inductive research	Presents constructivism as the employed philosophy of science in the thesis. Provides ontological and epistemological considerations together with the employed analytical strategy and inductive research methods.
 Ch. 6. Empirical analysis Inductive content analysis of interviews and triangulation of data	Performs a content analysis, utilizing triangulation, on the collected interview data, guided by the theoretical framework and inductive method as presented in chapter 4 and 5.
 Ch. 7. Discussion Discussion of findings and further perspectives for generated heuristics	Takes point of departure in the empirical analysis to discuss the relevance of consumer culture for the rise of urban agriculture in the Global North and considers the relevance of the findings in a theoretical and practical perspective.
 Ch. 8. Conclusion Summary	Summarizes the thesis' findings and insights to explicitly answer the research question posted in the introduction.

Source: Author's own illustration

2. OBJECTS OF INVESTIGATION

This chapter serves two critical purposes to the present study. It establishes a sufficient point of departure in regard to the analytical elements and it establishes analytical relevance to the study of Copenhagen as the context of UA. First, in order to provide the reader with a clear understanding of UA as a subject of study, the working definition of ‘urban agriculture’ as used throughout the research is specified. Secondly, the rise of UA in Copenhagen and its specific context, is presented to establish relevance of this study.

2.1 Employed definitions: Urban agriculture

In academia, various types of urban food cultivation tend to be subsumed under the notion of ‘urban agriculture (Dobernig & Stagl, 2015). Consequently, to scrutinize the consumers of UA, some clarifications on the notion are required. Especially in comparison to akin practices, as their practical expressions or their outcomes might be similar or even the same.

In previous scholarly works, definitions of UA have shown to be dependent on three different aspects, compared to related concepts¹:

1. The perception of reality on the ground (Ernwein, 2014, p.78), meaning that definitions seem case-specific and linked to the way that people involved in the studies label themselves and frame their own practices².
2. The academic discipline of a given author or researcher³.
3. The (linguistic) culture the researcher belongs to. Since ‘urban agriculture’ and similar terms are not used unanimously across languages, there seems to be a great variety in the purposes, forms and functioning of all projects labelled as ‘urban agriculture’ (Holland, 2004, p.292).

Essentially, there is not one unified definition of UA.

¹ E.g. Urban farming, urban gardening, urban food cultivation, alternative food networks (AFNs), community supported agriculture (CSA) and Continuous Productive Urban Landscapes (CPUL).

² It should be noted, however, that during the data-collection stage of the present research the practitioners on the ground seemed to be less occupied by the exact definition UA and more so by the actual execution of their practices and their outcomes.

³ Urban agriculture is a trans-disciplinary topic (Hardman & Larkham, 2014), studied by a plethora of academic disciplines, among others: architecture, urban planning, (human) geography, ecology, public policy administration, politics, agriculture studies, sociology and economy.

Taking into account the great variety of definitions used in the literature that this study refers to⁴ and being as inclusive as possible in the empirical observations, this research echoes a broad interpretation of UA as comprising all practices of cultivation in cities (e.g. Ernwein, 2014; McClintock, 2010).

The spaces and forms of UA can manifest itself in a number of forms, including – but not limited to: households, balconies, schools, and community gardens; urban farms; backyard chicken co-ops and beehives; aquaculture, hydroponics, and aquaponics facilities; and rooftop, vertical, and indoor farms (ibid.). The present study does not distinguish between these different forms of urban agriculture, but considers the various forms to fall within UA, while recognizing that further research within this field could benefit from separating the different forms of UA to produce heuristic value.

2.2 Employed definitions: Consumers

Since Consumer Culture Theory is applied and because the present study strives to provide insights also relevant to marketers, it is important to state the use of the terms ‘practitioners’ and ‘consumers’.

As this thesis is of exploratory nature and one of the first of its kind looking into the culture of UA consumers, it aims to be inclusive in its definition of ‘consumers’. Assuming that the approach and the context (practice of UA) of this thesis is postmodern, this research follows the suggestion to consider the ‘postconsumer’. Firat and Dholakia (2017a) offer the term to move from the ‘consumer’ subjectivity to one of postconsumers: “*the (post)modernist consumer subjectivity*” (Firat and Dholakia, 2017b, p.515); which allows the buying party to be co-producers of a companies’ offerings.

This and similar new ‘versions’ of *the consumer* are placed in the production-consumption nexus. The few propositions that exist (e.g. construer, designer, prosumer, produser and craft maker) are gaining ground and often intersect and converge. As the scope of this research does not allow space for a terminological investigation into a newly formulated term of the consumer-producer, or for the appropriation of one of the existing proposals, the UA consumers, producers and consumer-producers are considered *pari passu*. The terms might be used interchangeably, but this study will mainly refer to ‘consumers’.

⁴ The majority of published literature on urban agriculture comes from research on (community) gardens, not urban farms; the two being distinguished by the intent to produce goods for sale (Hardman & Larkham, 2014).

The consumers of UA are defined as those who buy the produce of UA, those who practice UA, those who sell UA practices, those who participate in UA practices and those who participate in the UA realm⁵.

This study approaches producers or ‘practitioners’ as also being consumers (or consumer-producers) of the UA scene. Santo, Palmer and Kim (2016) emphasize that: “*Urban agriculture operations may be privately, publicly, or commercially owned*” (p.1). As such, there is not always a profit-objective among those participating in UA in the absence of a monetary transaction. Participants might refer to themselves as practitioners or urban farmers, and not as ‘consumers’.

2.3 The Copenhagen Case: The rise of urban agriculture

The present study aims to answer the research question based on a case study by investigating the consumer culture of UA consumers in Copenhagen, Denmark. Recognizing the specific context of the case study city both confirms the city as representative of the problem statement and uncovers any case-specific characteristics that might have influenced the findings.

Copenhagen is considered a cosmopolitan city, whose consumers can display post-modern consumer behavior in that they do not think along the lines of modern institutions like socioeconomic class. In relation to this, it should be noted that food production and preparation are not considered to be gendered domains in Copenhagen (Reid, Li, Bruwer, & Grunert, 2008). This means that from a cultural perspective, both men and women could participate in UA and everyone is a potential consumer.

One of the biggest influences on the Copenhagen food scene came about with the formulation of the New Nordic Cuisine Manifesto in 2003, aiming to show the gastronomic potential of foods from the Nordic region. The resulting movement subsequently prompted a domestic and international revaluation and appropriation of local Danish food and generally drew attention to quality produce, food production and knowledge of nature (Micheelsen, Holm and Jensen, 2013). The New Nordic Food trend seems durable and brings along a following of daring entrepreneurs, investors, media attention and consumer base.

Although there is no proven correlation, the interview data of this study indicate that the increasing interest in UA practices started around the same time as New Nordic. Since the two

⁵ One of the interviewees (Signe, 2018) said that when she started urban farming, she was (only) managing the website of a local community farm, indicating that people can feel like they participate in urban farming without even being on the land or in touch with the produce.

scenes overlap, reciprocal influences seem possible and could point at a context-specific incentive for UA consumption in Copenhagen.

Twenty-seven percent of the Danish households regularly buys organic produce (Brandt, 2017), a number that is likely to be even higher in Copenhagen. As UA is often linked to organic produce, this number could be an indicator of the potential interest in UA. Besides that, a longitudinal study by the University of Copenhagen shows that over the last 25 years, more people in the Danish capital area turn to farming practices as a hobby (Kyndesen et al., 2016).

Food and the corresponding culture have a special place in the Danish society and a specific group of Copenhageners is excited to try new things in relation to food and cultivation and are willing to spend money.

There is great political support for UA practices in Copenhagen as the city is doing a lot to promote sustainability and the sharing economy. Among other things, in 2009, the City of Copenhagen agreed to a new green roof policy, improving the conditions for vegetation on many roofs in the city. This creates an environment in which UA consumption is not contested and made easily accessible.

Whilst exploring the current stock of UA activities in Copenhagen, it bears repeating that, like other old cities, Copenhagen has a history of agriculture and the current growth does not mean that UA has ever left the city. One of the most pronounced ways in which UA stayed around, is through the strong tradition of allotment gardens in Copenhagen, of which there are currently still 92 organized ones. They have made the inhabitants used to the idea of being able to create *“a rural lifestyle in an urban area”* (Damin & Palmer, 2003). Another UA institute that was already there, are the school gardens, which have existed since the turn of the century, and of which eight still remain today (Halloran & Magid, 2013).

These days, gardening activities in Copenhagen *“take place in well-established associations like school and allotments gardens, as well as new concepts such as rooftop gardening and gardening in movable containers are developed”* (Warming et al., 2015, p.17). There are currently more than 70 public and private urban gardens or farms in Copenhagen (*Byhaver i København*, Copenhagen Municipality, 2018), for example DYRK Nørrebro and ØsterGRO. Slowly, but certainly more for-profit companies focused on UA, like TagTomat and SLOW, join the existing UA initiatives in Copenhagen. In addition, many of Copenhagen’s restaurants use local urban farms to get their produce. Michelin-starred Amass, for example, gets their produce from its own

Objects of investigation

kitchen garden, and, recently, the world-famous restaurant Noma opened a 300 square meter urban green house to supply its new restaurant.

Lastly, there seems to be an interest among private citizens to consume UA in their own homes; on their windowsills, but mainly balconies. The increasing popularity of this type of UA is underscored by the emergence of specialized companies like *Altan.dk* that serve the demand for products and knowledge.

Copenhagen thus holds several examples of cultivation and consumption of UA, while UA being no necessity to survive for any part of the population. Instead, it is part of secondary needs; as such, all the participants are doing it for self-enriching reasons or to be in line with their historic traditions and values. This makes it a fitting context for producing heuristics to the realm of consumption of UA, while no known case study about the consumers of urban farming in Copenhagen has been done before.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

To place the theoretical application and the heuristic analysis of the empirics of this thesis within contemporary academic development, this chapter provides a concise literature review of the mainstream theoretical developments within the field of *urban agriculture* and *consumer culture*, including Consumer Culture Theory (CCT). Building on the review of the history of UA in the Global North as provided in Appendix 10.1, it is argued that in an attempt to uncover the reasons for a surge in interest in UA, a branch of the contemporary scholarly work on UA has developed to focus on its consumers. It is pointed out how the referenced researches seem to overlook the possible role of consumer culture in explaining the growing interest.

Based on a linear overview of the consumer research developments as outlined in Appendix 0, it is described how academic considerations concerning the practice of consumption have been able to move beyond its initial limitation to the field of economics towards a growing interdisciplinary interest in the cultural outlook of consumption. The following literature review describes how this led to the institutionalization and theorization of a branch of consumer research looking into consumer culture and the development of the CCT framework.

3.1 Literature review: Urban agriculture

The following section aims to describe the seemingly contradictory revival of UA in the ever-urbanizing Global North and narrates how academics have tried to explain and make sense of these developments. An overview of the status quo of consumer research into UA in the Global North is provided to show the void in research into cultural substantiations of the growing interest. It is concluded that the most recent research in this direction hints at topics that relate to Consumer Culture Theory, but that no one has officially attempted to apply CCT on UA.

In an effort to provide context to the review of the contemporary literature on UA, an elaborate walk-through of the developments of UA in the North until the present day and the corresponding academic interest can be found in Appendix 10.1.

3.1.1 Main themes in urban agriculture literature

When looking at the academic literature on UA in the Global North, the main focus is on the outcomes of the practice. The potential outcomes of urban agricultural operations will prove to be closely linked to - and embedded in - the rational motivations of its consumers. The following briefly specifies the four main focus-areas of scholarly research:

- **Sustainability:** Academia often places UA within the transition to a more environmentally sustainable and resilient food system. It is often considered to concern ecological farming for the production of organic produce and be less pollutant than normal types of agriculture. Research aiming to prove that UA is more sustainable than alternative forms of food provision, describe for example how the reduction of the amount of agri-chemicals used, curbs environmental pollution and how urban farms and gardens function as the sink for urban waste and is able to cool cities (Van Veenhuizen, 2006). A growing amount of publications focusses on the negative ecological effects of UA, and the assumptions surrounding it that researchers believe to be false (e.g. Glaeser, 2011; McWilliams, 2009), thereby refuting the claim of many consumers of UA who believe to work towards a sustainable future.
- **Health & Knowledge:** Research points at different ways in which UA results in potential health benefits. It is argued that the produce that come from UA are organic and therefore healthier than store-bought produce. Next, practicing UA is said to be a healthy physical activity that usually takes place outdoors (Teig et al., 2009). Some authors state that people in the Global North have experienced an 'alienation from their food' (McClintock, 2010, p.192) which is then explained as the result of the commodification of food, forgoing values as 'knowledge' and 'sociability'. Indirectly, this knowledge about food-production and consumption is brought back to the urban dwellers through UA and might result in a healthier lifestyle for those involved.
- **Community:** One of the most pervasive topics is UA's ability to cure social fragmentation in cities and strengthen the sense of community. This is argued to happen when people get a grasp on collective, public issues and gather in groups (Holland, 2004). As previously mentioned, the history of UA in the Global North lies within community gardens, so it is not surprising that there is a predominant focus on it. Conversely, there is a growing counter-movement that believes the 'social space' as created by initiatives like community gardens is ambiguous (Ernwein, 2014, p.79). The followers of this movement believe that the community argument has a purely rhetoric effect and that cross-community harmony through cultural exchange is merely imaginary.
- **Locality:** The topic of locality is approached from two angles. Firstly, it refers to proximity within the production chain, signaling, among others, the development of 'Short Supply Food Chains' (Aubry and Kebir, 2013). When the so-called 'food miles' – the

distance between production and consumption – decrease, this results in lowering fossil fuel use and transportation costs (Van Veenhuizen, 2006). Secondly, in more sociological accounts, locality is discussed in the context of the benefits of having UA activities happening in a neighborhood or in the city, so that the urbanites can see their food grow.

3.1.2 Research on consumers of urban agriculture

Due to a predominant academic focus on the Global South, Grebitus *et al.*, (2017) conclude: “[...]there seems to be a gap in the literature regarding quantitative research in developed countries [The Global North] that focuses on the urban agriculture consumer” (p.190). For the purpose of this study a small body of literature *related to* the consumers of UA has been identified, which can be divided into two realms. First, ‘literature that describes the characteristics and motivations of consumers’. Secondly, ‘literature that describes consumer behavior’.

The academic literature focusing on the characteristics and motivations of consumers of UA mainly focusses on consumers of farmers markets, motivations to buy local produce and motivations to buy organic produce.

Farmers markets in cities could be considered points of trade of agrarian produce within an urban context. In the context of this thesis, studying its users is relevant as it could tell us something about the motivations of urban consumers of agrarian produce. The main motivations for purchasing are: fresh food, direct from the source (Carey *et al.*, 2011); a high quality of products offered; and the ability to support the local community (Dodds *et al.*, 2014). Hunt (2007) points out how the linkages between producers and consumers at a ‘direct market place’ are often embedded with a sense of local identity. An interesting observation in relation to this analysis of the UA marketplace culture.

A decent amount of literature scrutinizes the importance of the notion of locality in relation to food, usually presented as a way to reduce negative environmental and social externalities (Cleveland *et al.*, 2014). Memery *et al.* (2015), for example, provides the insight that purchase of local produce happens more often as a consequence of local support, rather than intrinsic product quality and found that “*local support has an amplified effect when locality is higher*” (p.1207). This points at the consumers appreciation of symbolic value, as scrutinized in this thesis.

Locally grown food is not always preferred, as is shown by Penney and Prior (2014), who's study revealed that despite urban consumer interest in local food, this does not always translate to purchase behavior, mainly due to barriers of convenience (compared to supermarkets) and price. Likewise, Hu *et al.* (2013) found that in low income neighborhoods, price, food culture and lack of interest formed 'structural and cultural barriers' to buying local food in cities. In an older research paper Lockeretz (1986) suggested that for the 'local origin' to be taken into account by consumers, the produce should be sold in a locally oriented environment.

Although UA produce are not by definition organic, consumers often think they always are. Ergo, the insight that health-conscious consumers show a growing preference for organic food over conventionally grown food (Rana & Paul, 2017), could be of value to consumer culture research into UA consumers. Gracia and Magistris (2007) conclude that these rationally perceived health benefits, together with environmental benefits are the most important factors to explaining the intention to purchase. They also point at 'attitude' and organic product knowledge as influencing factors. Concluding this overview of literature that provides insight into the motivations and characteristics of (urban) agriculture consumers, Jarosz (2008) gives a character description when she states that locally grown organic foods are primarily purchased by well-educated and well-paid urban consumers.

The academic literature focusing on the behavior of consumers of UA focusses on the consumers' involvement with UA; their acceptance of UA and considers UA as a lifestyle.

Grebitus et al., (2017) investigate how likely consumers are to purchase or grow their own food at urban farms and what determines this likelihood. They make an original contribution to the existing literature by singling out millennials as a key stakeholder of sustainable consumption and by providing the numbers showing that this is the group with the greatest increase in numbers of food gardeners. Their study shows that *"both psychological and personal factors affect consumer intentions to participate in UA. Among others, subjective knowledge regarding urban agriculture and a generally favorable attitude towards urban farms increases the likelihood to buy and grow produce at urban farms"* (p.189). Also, female and older consumers are more likely to grow their own produce. According to Veen, Derkzen and Visser (2014), the level on which urban food cultivation gets interwoven with other areas of people's lives differs between people that are actively engaged (the practitioners) and those who are not at all, or only limited, involved in UA and maybe only consume UA produce through direct purchase.

As this thesis aims to explain the upward trend of interest in UA, literature on why consumers are into UA holds significant relevance. Specht et al. (2016) conclude that the highest degree

of acceptance [of UA] is reached for the type of multifunctional UA that combines commercial with ecological and social goals. This conclusion fits well with the findings of Poulsen, Spiker and Winch (2014) who found that 'community buy-in' – defined as the acceptance and support of local residents – is facilitated by '*perceived* benefits' such as access to fresh produce and community revitalizations.

Torreggiani, Dall'Ara and Tassinari (2012) do not talk about *acceptance* of UA practices, but of *a wish* for it. They find that this desire is associated with 'the countryside image', which they believe incorporates a simultaneous wish for non-built areas, open spaces, fertile ground, and direct contact with the ground. In relation to the perceived paradox on which the research question of this thesis is based, they come forward with a valuable consideration: they ask if such a wish for the countryside is 'real', or whether it is related to the *concept* of agriculture, "*which is either situated at a great distance, in space or time, or does not really exist at all*" (p.414). They suggest that, as such, people's wish "*may even be an 'illusion', since everyday life does not allow urban inhabitants to acquire sufficient experience about that countryside and become aware of their self-deceptive mental stereotypes*" (ibid).

Consequently, the question remains why consumers want to consume an apparent illusion. This establishes relevance to the present study. Could the answer lie in the consumers' culture?

Finally, the limited research that approached UA as a lifestyle phenomenon is the most evident step towards describing the sociocultural processes and structures in which consumers of UA find themselves. McClintock (2010) articulates very uncompromisingly that social and ecological dimension alone cannot fully explain the rise of UA in the North. He states: "*For many, a certain lifestyle politics drives the attraction to the urban farming; 'getting in touch with nature' or 'learning where our food comes from' is a common trope*" (p.201). McClintock even believes that what he refers to as 'individual rift' ('the perception of self as external to the rural environment') can be addressed – and potentially overcome – through participating in UA. This hints at UA as a way to construct a desired identity and community among its consumers.

The 'lifestyle politics' that McClintock refers to, seem to be the object of Dobernig and Stagl's (2015) study called "*Growing a lifestyle movement? Exploring identity-work and lifestyle politics in urban food cultivation*". The explorations in their paper have the closest proximity to the problem statement of this thesis. The study discerns the motivational mechanisms and ascribed meanings underlying people's propensity to grown food in the city. Their findings show that:

- Urban food cultivation is driven by entangled, non-prioritized motives that include personal desires as well as socioecological concerns.
- Urban food cultivation supports processes of reflexive identity-formation while it allows its adherents to indulge in a shared ethos of re-engagement with nature, meaningful work and authenticity.
- *“While not engaging in conventional protests or political processes, urban agriculture advocates are assured that by reorienting their everyday consumption practices and participating in local food cultivation, they collectively can induce social change”* (Dobering and Stagl, 2015, p.452).

Dobering and Stagl call for future research to provide a nuanced discussion of the ways in which *“identity, goals, and structures are negotiated and evolving in production-based lifestyle movements”* in order to *“provide further insights in the role that these kinds of lifestyle movements play in contemporary society as means to organize the politics of everyday life”* (p.457). This thesis will serve as a humble answer to this call by suggesting Consumer Culture Theory as a theoretical context to have this discussion.

3.2 Literature review: Consumer culture research

To establish a sufficient point of departure for the application of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), the following section provides a brief literature review of mainstream research within the field of Consumer Culture Research that lead to the establishment of CCT as a recognized field of research.

The consumer culture research literature review builds on the evolution of considerations concerning the practice of consumption as described in Appendix 0. The text in the appendix describes how exploration of consumption moved from being limited to the field of economics towards being considered in the light of its symbolic and hedonic aspects. Subsequently, the section explains the growing interest in the cultural outlook of consumption, and how this led to institutionalizing a branch of consumer research looking into consumer culture. Finally, the overview in the appendix provides a point of departure for the below review, as it describes how CCT is born as a secretion of Consumer Culture Research.

Throughout the following, it is shown that sprouting from its specific background, CCT can contribute to the explanation of *why consumers do what they do* and present a nuanced understanding of how market-mediated, global consumer culture and its localized instantiations shape people’s identities (e.g. Ahuvia, 2005; Levy, 2015). Hence, holds value to this research.

3.2.1 Emergence of Consumer Culture Theory

Consumer Culture is defined as: “[...] the system of commercially produced images, signs, discourses, experiences, and material objects that social groups use to make collective sense of their environments and to orient their identities and social experiences” (Weijo, 2017). The overview in Appendix 0. describes how, from the focus on the consumer culture, Consumer Culture Research emerged - and several secretions developed.

One of the main secretions was formed by interpretivist researchers and those looking into experiential consumption, which led to Consumer Culture Theory.

As such, it is said that “*there is not only one history of CCT*” (Søren Askegaard & Scott, 2013, p.142). However, there is one central point in the history of the development of CCT’s epistemic community: the solicitation by editor Dawn Iacobucci for a review of 20 years of interpretive work published in the *Journal of Consumer Research* (JCR). This call resulted in the inaugural article “*Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research*” by Arnould and Thompson (2005) whom referred to the work of a community of mainly American interpretive scholars addressing the sociocultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption.

Essentially, Arnould and Thompson provided a disciplinary brand-name for this research tradition, which they called *Consumer Culture Theory*. They gave voice to a growing desire among interpretive consumer research academics to be “*recognized and understood as a valid and needed school of knowledge-generation for a deeper understanding of the human condition*” (Firat & Dholakia, 2017, p.198). By introducing CCT as a point of reference, they legitimized research efforts that could previously be considered somewhat arbitrary.

To understand this need among interpretive consumer researchers, it is necessary to take a step back and look into the development prior to Arnould and Thompson’s 2005 work.

Like other epistemic communities, CCT is not existent in a vacuum; it was, and still is, constituted in the discourses and interactions of those *within* the group of CCT researchers, and *in relation to* non-interpretivists modelers, experimentalists and survey consumer researchers (Moisander, Peñaloza, & Valtonen, 2009, p 10).

In this context, the development of CCT research started with an interest among interpretivist scholars in the study of experiential consumption (Søren Askegaard & Scott, 2013, p.143). Two examples of interpretivists work are Belk et al.’s “*Naturalistic Inquiry*” (1988) and Hirschman’s “*Humanistic inquiry*” (1988). They articulated alternative epistemological beliefs and practices

that they believed to be better suited to the work they wanted to do - compared to the ones that underlay established research conventions.

Within the realm of CCT, two moments are generally considered essential (Askegaard & Scott, 2013, p.145). First, the original dissent of the experientially oriented consumer researchers in the early to mid 1980s. During this period, researchers started exploring consumption in its symbolic and hedonic aspects. Secondly, the institution-based move, mainly through academic journals and conferences, toward institutionalizing the study of consumer behavior in the late 1980s.

Following this development, this new way of theorizing consumer culture became an established theoretical field by the 1990s. A breakthrough for CCT was made by Firat and Venkatesh (1995), offering an account of how deeply mired the field was in modernist ideals, and developing contrasting potential contributions applying postmodern insights and research conventions (Moisander, Peñaloza, & Valtonen, 2009, p.13). Their insight was eagerly adopted into the main veins of CCT in the years that followed.

3.2.2 Critique and development of Consumer Culture Theory

Since the work by Arnould and Thompson (2005), the CCT tradition has been well recognized, both in marketing and academia (Moisander, Peñaloza, & Valtonen, 2009, p.12). As such, CCT has proven to hold great value by situating researchers and students within existing methodological customs and theoretical ways of thinking (Moisander, Peñaloza, & Valtonen, 2009, p.9).

In general, little doubt remains of the importance of CCT in marketing and research, especially its objective to generate more socially and historically oriented understandings of consumption. Nonetheless, CCT has been subject to some critique in recent years.

Moisander, Peñaloza and Valtonen (2009) provide general concerns with Arnould and Thompson's (2005) argument about the reduced value of new methods and the reliance on established methodology to study new issues within consumer behavior. Moisander and her colleagues are concerned with scholars and students positioning themselves within existing methods and theories through their application of CCT. While acknowledging the usefulness of such clear positioning, the authors argue that it might limit *"the willingness and development of skills to critique and extent the body of work and its method[...]"* (idem, p.9) Similarly, Craig and Douglas (2006) argue that the rapidly changing global environment calls for research that uses more flexible designs.

In response to this critique of neglecting the need for new methods, Chelekis and Figueiredo (2015) argue that a progressive development toward understanding and studying consumption within broader frames of reference has happened (p.90) to contextualize the practice in (e.g. Canniford and Karababa, 2013; Karababa and Ger, 2011; Martin and Schouten, 2014).

Relevant to the research of this paper, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) criticize CCT for its emphasis on individual agency. They argue that CCT's level of focus weakens its ability to account for sociohistorical processes that shape markets and consumption. Consequently, Askegaard and Linnet call for consumer research that contextualizes the lived consumer experiences to a higher level. A level that captures *"systemic and structuring influences of market and social systems that is not necessarily felt or experienced by consumers in their daily lives, and therefore not necessarily discursively expressed"* (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011, p.381).⁶

In conjunction with the critique of CCT—in particular of Arnould and Thompson's work— *"The last 10 years [CCT] have witnessed an impressive degree of theoretical development [...]"* (Arnould and Thompson, 2015, p.5). Arnould and Thompson (2015) themselves bring the development of CCT forward in an article ten years after their original 2005 work. They explain that critique and development within consumer research have caused numerous publications and conferences that debate, clarify, refine, and expand various aspects of CCT.⁷

CCT has significantly stimulated the development of the distributive view of culture, through empirical studies that analyze how particular manifestations of consumer culture are constituted, shaped, transformed and sustained, by broader historical forces (such as cultural narratives, myths, and ideologies) and grounded in specific socioeconomic circumstances and marketplace systems (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p.869).

The present research recognizes this specific view of culture as proposed within CCT research and therefore wishes to assess the application of the CCT framework in the context of the growing popularity of UA in Copenhagen, hoping it can provide original insights. How the theory will be applied to this case study is outlined in Chapter 4.

⁶ For an insight into the context of the present research, please review Chapter 2 (The Copenhagen Case), Appendix 10.1 (Literature review: Development of Urban Agriculture Literature) and Appendix 0 (Literature review: Emergence of consumer culture research).

⁷ See for example Arnould & Thompson, 2007; Askegaard, 2014; Askegaard & Linnet, 2011; Askegaard & Scott, 2013; Bode & Østergaard, 2013; Domen, 2013; Dominici, Basile, & Palumbo, 2013; Earley, 2014; Fischer & Sherry, 2009; Fitchett, Patsiaouras, & Davies, 2014; Moisander, Peñaloza, & Valtonen, 2009; Thompson, Arnould, & Giesler, 2013

4. APPLIED THEORIES

Connecting the problem statement and the previously reviewed literature, this chapter will present the employed theoretical approach and framework of the present study. The choice of the selected theoretical contributions is being discussed in order to provide an understanding of the theoretical factors used in the theoretical framework to guide the inductive research. The following proves theoretical synergy and applicable value of CCT to the research in this thesis—identity and market culture in particular.

4.1 Theoretical approach: Consumer Culture Theory

In their seminal paper, Arnould and Thompson (2005) defined Consumer Culture Theory as: *“a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings”* (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p.868). They refer to CCT as a ‘family of theoretical perspectives’ as they do not consider CCT to be a unified grand theory. Consequently, this field of research presents a common theoretical orientation toward the study of cultural complexity that programmatically links respective research efforts (Ibid). In the present study CCT is applied as the theoretical orientation, employing two central features of CCT to establish the guiding theoretical framework.

CCT is an interdisciplinary field of research, interweaving disciplines as varied as economics, psychology, sociology, anthropology and marketing (Weijo, 2017). It particularly emerges from socio-economical systems, of which market capitalism and the impact of globalization are the most explicit common denominators in all CCT research (Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p.869). Within these systems, CCT studies are concerned with socio-historic influences and the social dynamics that shape the consumer experience (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995).

4.1.1 Applicable value of Consumer Culture Theory

Providing a distributed view of cultural meaning, CCT is considered an alternative field method to the usual frames of economics and psychology in assessing consumption (Hannerz, 1992, p.16). This view is created, sustained and transformed by larger social cultural forces such as myth, narratives and ideologies (Joy & Li, 2012, p.142). CCT thereby opposes the ‘classic’ understanding of culture as *“a fairly homogenous system of collectively shared meanings, ways of life, and unifying values shared by a member of society”* (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p.869).

As such, CCT explores the heterogeneous distribution of meanings and the multiplicity of overlapping cultural groupings. CCT frames consumers’ horizons of conceivable action, feeling, and

thought; thereby enabling certain patterns of behavior and sense-making interpretations that have not been considered before CCT (Askegaard and Kjeldgaard, 2002; Holt, 1997; Kozinets, 2002; Thompson and Hirschman, 1995).

The setting of CCT studies varies greatly and is sometimes abstract or hypothetical. Firat and Dholakia (2017) claim that the terrain where most of CCT research occurs are the ‘consumptionscapes’ of life. These are the places where people desire, dream, acquire, consume, and commune.

When applied, CCT illuminates the symbolic, contextual and experimental aspects of consumption along their journey in the consumption cycle; from purchase or acquisition to consumption and finally disposition or disposal. Considering the multitude of aspects CCT studies can approach, they encompass a variety of frameworks: interpretive, critical, emancipatory and transformative ones (Joy & Li, 2012, p.143).

In general, CCT research has emphasized the productive aspect of consumption. The consumer culture theorists believe that consumers do not only passively consume to satisfy the basic need they have for the product or service. Instead, CCT explores how consumers “*actively re-work and transform symbolic meanings encoded in advertisements, brands, retail settings, or material goods to manifest their particular personal and social circumstances and further their identity and lifestyle goals*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p.871). From this point of view, the marketplace presents the consumer with a wide array of resources from which they can construct individual and collective identities (e.g. Belk and Bonsu, 2003; Fournier, 1998; Frank, 1997).

This thesis suggests that looking at this ‘productive aspect of consumption’ in the context of UA, shows how its consumers actively rework and transform uncovered symbolic meanings. This process—as highlighted through the CCT framework—in turn explains the growing interest in UA practices.

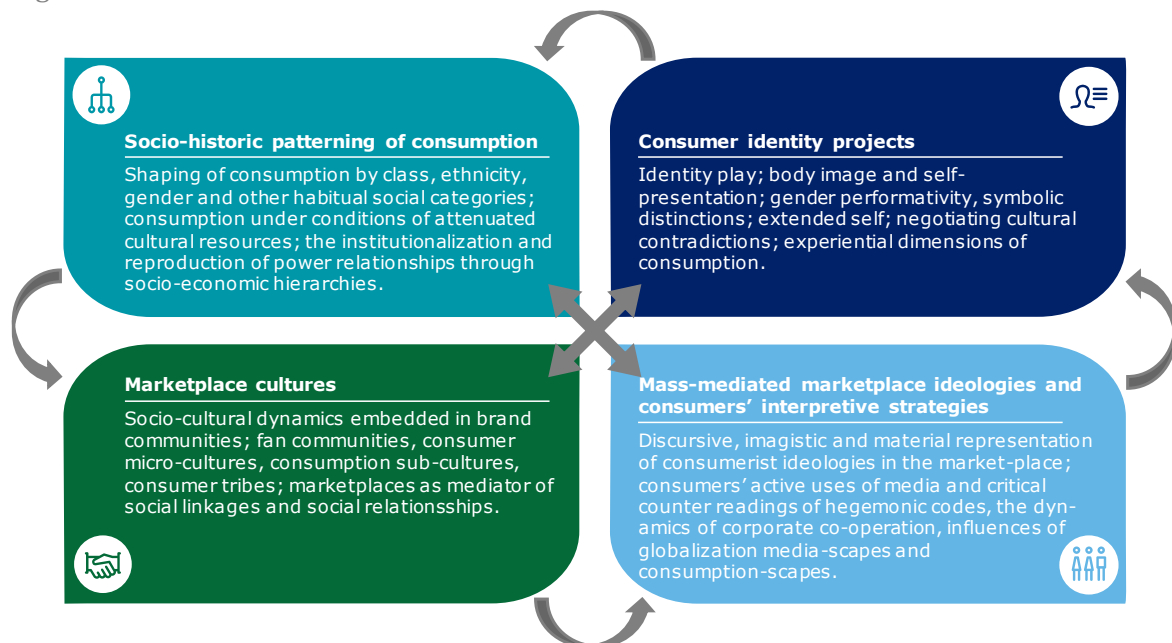
4.1.2 Four research domains of Consumer Culture Theory

The theoretical approach of this thesis will take departure in the Arnould and Thompson (2005) paper which provided a heuristic framework for mapping out the diverse body of CCT research in terms of recurrent core theoretical concerns (Arnould and Thompson, 2007, p.3). In order to create clarity in the contextual and topical diversity presented by this research tradition, they presented four major interrelated research domains within which a number of researchers made methodological and theoretical contributions (Joy and Li, 2012, p.143). The

four domains illuminate sociocultural processes and structures related to: (1) consumer identity projects, (2) marketplace cultures, (3) the socio-historic patterning of consumption, and (4) mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies.

Arnould and Thompson stress that these four domains, or 'research programs', form a holistic research tradition. Some studies exhibit various aspects of each or have relevance within more than one of the domains (see figure 2). The authors however maintain that for the 'purposes of analytic exposition', it is possible to distinguish among the kinds of issues that fall under each domain (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p.871). This research similarly employs CCT in a selective manner, developing the theoretical framework based on two of the domains in order to guide the analytical direction, as explained in Chapter 4.2.

Figure 2. The four CCT research domains



Source: Author's own Own adaptation of Arnould and Thompson, 2007 (p. 10).

As the UA literature review hinted at the specific roles of the marketplace and the consumers' individual values, the focus of the present study will be on the domains of consumer identity projects and marketplace cultures, elaborated below. For a full review of the focus of each domain, please see Appendix 10.3.

The focus of the domain looking at consumer identity projects are person-object relations, however complex and varied they might be (Joy and Li, 2012, p.143). As indicated, CCT is concerned with the co-productive ways in which consumers, through marketer-generated materials, 'forge' a coherent yet diversified and often a fragmented sense of 'self' (Belk, 1988;

McCracken, 1986). The resulting premise is that the market place is a source of mythic and symbolic resources through which people construct narratives of identity (e.g. Stamey and Hill, 1990; Holt, 2002; Levy, 1981).

Studies focusing on marketplace cultures address the most distinctive features that characterize the intersection of the marketplace and culture by holistically investigating the nexus of production and consumption. Consumers are considered culture producers whom can forge collective or community identity and share common value through interaction with the marketplace. By following common consumption interests, consumers create shared cultural worlds; however fragmented, distinctive, self-selective and transient they are (e.g. Cova and Pace, 2006; McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig, 2002; Schau, Muñoz and Arnould, 2009).

4.1.3 Application of Consumer Culture Theory on urban agriculture

This thesis set out to investigate the ongoing growing popularity of UA in Copenhagen. The literature review of UA has shown that people in the Global North do not only passively consume UA to satisfy a basic need they have (i.e. feed themselves): they have other reasons to consume UA. Consequently, the UA literature mainly highlights these perceived rational reasons to consume and participate (e.g. the health benefits or ecological benefits). However, by observing the consumer as a mere rational decision-maker, other ulterior consumption motives, such as symbolic ones, are overlooked.

Aware of this gap in scholastic works on this subject, this thesis looks at the consumer culture surrounding urban agricultural practices, in an effort to explore the hitherto unpronounced reasons to consume UA.

Since CCT illuminates the symbolic, contextual and experimental aspects of consumption, this thesis' case is approached from the CCT perspective. In an effort to make an original contribution, placing UA in the CCT framework will enable this study to address the dynamic relationships between the UA consumers' actions, the marketplace, and the related cultural meanings. In addition, applying the CCT framework on the UA context in Copenhagen is an attempt to understand why and how these people consume.⁸

In the past, CCT has proven to be a valuable framework when used in research in similar contexts (e.g. Arsel and Bean, 2012; Cova and Cova, 2001; Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler, 2010;

⁸ Echoing Zukin and Maguire (2004, 193).

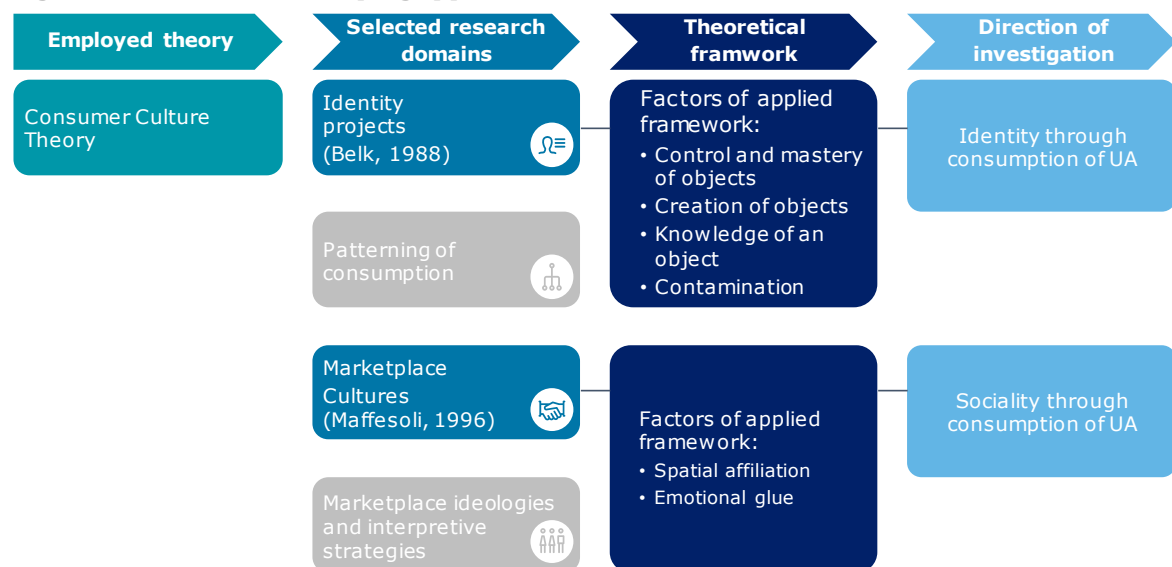
Maguire, 2002; Molander, 2011). In the context of the urban sphere, Bookman (2014) similarly explores the relationship between urban brands, consumption and socio-spatial division in the city using the CCT framework.

4.2 Theoretical Framework

All four CCT domains could shine a light over the UA case, but due to limitations of the scope of this research, only two highly inter-connected domains are employed in the context of UA to develop the theoretical framework. The following describes the theories with point of departure in the works by the respective ‘pioneers’ of each respective stream, and how their theories lead to six factors that are applied in the context of UA. This leads to the theoretical framework on which this thesis is based.

To identify the consumer culture among UA practitioners in Copenhagen, the two chosen CCT domains collectively bring forward six central features to direct the performed data collection and subsequent analysis, as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3. Process for developing applied theoretical framework



Source: Author's own illustration

Using Belk's theory of Extension of the Self (1988) which, as argued in the previous, leads to identity creation, this thesis will explore if and in which ways, self-extension occurs of consumers of UA in Copenhagen. If it does stimulate extension of the self, it means that the produce of UA—which are considered both the actual produce and the production—become part of the consumers' identities.

Referring to the use of Maffesoli's (1996) theory of neo-tribalism in relation to consumer tribes, this thesis will also assess the 'spatial affiliation' and 'emotional glue' among UA consumers in Copenhagen. If the empirics gathered across all three groups of informants confirm these elements to be present to a high degree, it can be argued that the consumers are part of a neo-tribal consumer tribe.

4.2.1 Russell W. Belk (1988): Identity

As previously described, the idea to look at commercial goods 'in the service of identity', is central to the CCT domain referred to as 'Consumer Identity Projects'. This idea emerged based on the concept of the Extended Self, as introduced by Belk (1988) in his seminal paper called *'Possessions And The Extended Self'*, which explains how items that customers come to possess through purchases build (on) the identity of the customer.

In his paper, Belk (1988) brings together a large body of literature to support the thesis that consumers use key possessions to extend, expand, and strengthen their sense of self (Ahuvia, 2005, p.171). He uses the terms "self", "sense of self" and "identity" as synonyms for 'how a person subjectively perceives herself'. This is an important notion going forward in the application of Belk's theory: it concerns subjective self-perception. Thus, when identity-building through consumption of UA is discussed, it refers to the 'self' of the consumers of UA as perceived by themselves. This (perceived) self can however, be recognized (or rejected!) by others as well.

According to Belk, the core self exists of elements like 'the body', internal processes, ideas and experiences. The extended self on the other hand contains places, persons and "*things to which one feels attracted*" (Belk, 1988, p.141). This 'extended self' does not only operate on an individual level, but also on a collective level involving family, group, subcultural and national identities. Items or places that are part of these group identities, such as a rooftop farm, also become part of the extended self, says Belk, based on the extent to which the individual identifies with the group, and the group with the item (i.e. if the individual does not really identify with the group, the rooftop farm will only become part of the extended self to a certain degree).

In order to shed light on the above, this research inductively explores if and how UA becomes part of the consumers' extended self. Based on Sartre (1943), Belk writes that we regard our possessions as parts of ourselves and signals four ways in which we can extend our 'self': "*Self-extension occurs through control/mastery of an object, through creation of an object, through*

knowledge of an object and through contamination via proximity and habituation to an object” (Belk, 1988, p.160).

The first way in which Belk describes one can learn to regard an object as a part of self is through ‘appropriating’ or ‘controlling’ an object for our own use. By referring to Sartre, Belk points out that one can also appropriate intangible or non-ownable objects by overcoming, conquering or mastering them (Belk, 1988, p.150). He provides the example of a mountain climber that in reaching a peak has asserted control of the mountain and the panorama it affords (ibid). Similarly, someone who masters getting around in a formerly unfamiliar subway system literally increases her mobility and figuratively extends her ‘self’ to include the subway system.

Creating an object is a second way of having an object and incorporating it into self. Whether the created object is material or abstract (e.g. a thought or community), Belk (1988) explains: *“the creator retains an identity in the object for as long as it retains a mark or some other association with the person who brought it into existence”* (p.150). Examples would be copyrights, patents, or the sign on the booth at the farmers market with the farmer’s name on it. In relation to this thesis, it should be noted that Belk specifically mentions the relation between the farmer and her land: *“Objects such as land to the farmer [...] may become part of the extended self, because we have intentionally worked upon or created these things, investing both energy and self in them”* (p.151).

The third way in which an object becomes part of self is by knowing them, no matter if this object is a person, thing, or a place. Our intimate knowledge of something would allow us to consider the thing ‘ours’ and part of self (Belk, 1988, p.150). As a side note, Belk mentions that the more intimate the knowledge of the object/person/thing is, the more part it is of our self. Such knowledge can then not be passionless or distance, if the object is to become part of the self: *“Only when the object is known passionately does it become subject rather than object”* (idem, p.151).

Opposed to the first three, the final way of incorporating objects into the extended self is an unintentional one; namely through ‘contamination’. Here, Belk (1988) refers to symbolic contamination involved in incorporation of another into one’s extended self (p.151). There are multiple ways through which this contamination happens involuntarily: violation of one’s personal space, touching, staring, noise pollution, talking to someone, bodily excreta and the acquisition of possessions of another person that have been intimately associated with that person. Instances of positive contamination can also occur, for example when sharing food. Belk

writes that because food is so obviously incorporated into self, “*sharing food [the contamination] is a symbolic way of sharing group identity*” (Belk, 1988, p.151).

In all, Belk proved the importance of extended self as a “*central construct that can explain a variety of consumer and human behaviors*” (Belk, 1988, p.160).

UA fits well with the context of the extended self, as it concerns high-involvement objects with an easy-to-transfer narrative behind it, underscoring the applicable value of Belk in the present study.

4.2.2 Michel Maffesoli (1996): Market culture

Moving from the individual as object of analysis to a meso-social level, research into consumer groups, subcultures or brand communities (e.g. Muniz and O’Guinn, 2001; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Thompson and Holt, 1996) has contributed to “*understanding the consumer not just as an identity seeker but also as a member of small-scale social unions*” (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011, p.383). There have been many studies within the CCT domain of marketplace cultures that have focused on the ways in which consumers forge feelings of social solidarity and create “*distinctive, fragmentary, self-selected, and sometimes transient cultural worlds through the pursuit of common consumption interests*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005).

French sociologist Maffesoli (1996) introduced the concept of a neo tribalism or (‘new’ tribalism) in his book ‘*The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*’.⁹ Today, his work is considered the building block of the research on community and tribal marketing, as the concept of neo-tribalism was found to be useful in understanding consumer behavior from a collective subject perspective (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar, 2007).

According to Maffesoli, the traditional bases of sociality were eroded by globalization and postindustrial socioeconomic transformations and resulted in a dominant ethos of “*radical individualism oriented around a ceaseless quest for personal distinctiveness and autonomy in lifestyle choices*” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005, p.873). He argues that as a response to these possibly isolating and alienating conditions consumers participate in short-lived, ephemeral collective identifications by participating in ‘rituals of solidarity’ (Maffesoli, 1996) which are based on common interests and ways of living. The overall accent of Maffesoli’s work is on “*...that which unites people, rather than what separates*” (Maffesoli, 1996, p.10).

⁹ Originally published in French as *Le Temps des Tribus* in 1988.

In brief, Maffesoli (1996) asserts that small groups operate through proxemics, generating bonds through an emotional climate, and that they foster a communal ethic (Spencer and Walby, 2013, p.54).

The key notions that Maffesoli (1996) brings forward to substantiate the notion of neo-tribalism include: the emotional community, sociality, polyculturalism and proxemics.¹⁰ The latter refers primarily to the foundation of a succession of groups (or 'we's') which - according to Maffesoli - constitute the "*very essence of all sociality*" (Peterson, 1997, p.325). This makes the notion of proxemics a key notion in his theory. Proxemics could be considered as the spirit of localism and as such hint at the spatial aspect of the social relations within neo-tribalism. The argument is that through local affiliations with social relations, 'location' (whether physical or symbolical) becomes connection.

Maffesoli (1996) explains how society changed going from a modern to a postmodern one (instigating a move from individualism to disindividualism), and how there was a passage from the *polis* to the *thiase* (moving from a political, institutionalized order to a 'realm of identification'). Whereas traditional tribes tended to focus on geographical or ethnic identification, shared heritage, conservative values and a sense of putting community interests above one's own, Maffesoli's 'postmodern tribes' (Cova et al., 2007, p.130) are far from having a historical tradition and give way to fragmentation.

After he considers these societal shifts as caught in the metaphor of the tribe, Maffesoli proposes 5 key aspects of neo-tribalism:

1. *Affected nebula:*
 - a. experiencing each other is the basis of community;
 - b. the feeling of passion is the essential ingredient of all social segregations (p.36).
2. *Undirected-being together:*
 - a. being together undirected as a basic given of tribes;
 - b. vital spontaneity guarantees solidity (p.35).
3. *The religious model:*
 - a. social relations are sacred - especially in relation to 'reliance' (p.77);
 - b. there is a link between 'the emotional' and religiosity (p.78).

¹⁰ Proxemics is defined as: the study of the nature, degree, and effect of the spatial separation individuals naturally maintain (as in various social and interpersonal situations) and of how this separation relates to environmental and cultural factors ("proxemics," retrieved from Merriam-Webster, 2018).

4. Elective sociality:
 - a. the choice to be together with other people (p.41).
5. *Law of secrecy*:
 - a. there is a protective mechanism to the outside world (p.90);
 - b. in-group/out group divide (p.92).

These neo-tribes are characterized by being inherently unstable, small-scale, affectual and not fixed by any of the established parameters of modern society (Cova and Cova, 2001, p.67). Instead they are held together through shared emotions, styles of life, new moral believes, etcetera.

In general, the consumer tribes literature centers around two themes in relation to the neo-tribes' key characteristics: spatial affiliation and emotional glue (included in the theoretical framework, see Figure 3). Spatial affiliation encompasses those elements that focus on location becoming a connection; experiencing other tribe members and the spontaneous instigation of consumption spaces that come and go with each undirected gathering. Emotional glue then refers to the aura of shared values and norms that bind people together; emotional ambiance, solidarity, wanting to be connected, feeling part of a bigger whole.

Before moving to forward to the application of the theory it should be stated that there are fundamental differences between a 'subculture of consumption' and neo-tribes (Cova and Cova, 2012). Although both ways of framing cultural collectives share the characteristics of shared rituals and symbolic expression, 'subcultures of consumption' believe that subcultural groupings are defined by "*clear hierarchical social structures that may identify the status of individual members*" (Cova et al., 2007, p.113), something that is absent in neo-tribes.

Another crucial distinction between neo-tribes and subcultures relates to formal and informal membership practices (Cova et al., 2007, p.113). Maffesoli argues that neo-tribes are distinctive on the basis that they do not have any permanent membership, other than during the duration of the rituals, whereas within subcultural framing, identity is theorized as being unified and fixed. It is therefore possible to belong to more than one neo-tribe through switching allegiances; like switching masks (Malbon, 1998).

Although Maffesoli's initial introduction of neo-tribalism did not refer to tribes of consumers specifically, soon after, his concept was applied to study consumer research (e.g. Cova and Cova, 2002 or Cova and Pace, 2006). Cova and Cova (2001) explain that "*Postmodern consumer research proposes putting into play such concepts as 'tribes' and 'linking value' in order to bring*

into focus blurred or fuzzy groupings of consumers in today's society" (p.67). They build upon this theoretical work to present tribes as an expression of both self and social identity (Cova and Cova, 2002). A consumer tribe is generally defined as a group of people emotionally connected by similar consumption values and usage that consciously or unconsciously use the so-called *social linking value* of products and services to create a community and express identity.

By placing the scene of UA (in Copenhagen) in the context of neo-tribalism, it becomes possible to identify the consumers as a tribe in order to bring into focus this - somewhat blurred and fuzzy - grouping of consumers (Cova and Cova, 2001, p.67). If this thesis could confirm this, it could be more easily investigated which marketplace cultures, factors, or linking values, stimulate the growing popularity of UA, in order to be able to answer the research question.

In order to identify the consumers of UA in Copenhagen as a (specific) group of consumers, and not just individuals creating independent identities, the present study assesses the application of the concept of neo-tribe as originally introduced by Maffesoli (1996).

5. METHODOLOGY

In the following section, it is argued that constructivist philosophy of science – methodology, ontology and epistemology – holds the most suiting features for encompassing the subject of investigation in this thesis, when paired with the employed research design. Also, the applied research design, being collection and application of interview data, is reasoned to contribute validity and reliability to the findings of the conducted research.

After this thesis' application of constructivism is presented, the inductive structure of reasoning that guides this research is introduced. Then a section moves into a structured explanation of the research design and associated methods used for data collection and analytical strategy, including application of data. Finally, a reflection on the quality of the performed research is provided.

5.1 Philosophy of science: Constructivism

Scholastic debates on philosophy of social science have their point of departure in two original approaches: positivism (or 'naturalism') and constructivism. Essentially, the two schools are considered with the central issue of whether researchers (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.7-12):

- Study a measurable reality that is independent from its observers and social actors (positivism), or
- Study social life where the observer's interaction with reality and social actors' perceptions of reality holds relevance (constructivism).

As mentioned, this research employs a constructivist¹¹ paradigm of epistemology, ontology and methodology, which collectively constitute its philosophy of science. Methodological considerations are concerned with what methods are suitable to establish knowledge and improve understanding of the subject under investigation. Ontology and epistemology are more intangible. Ontology is concerned with the nature of entities (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.20). Ontological considerations are centered around whether social entities can and should be considered, and thus studied, as objective entities. Epistemology contains the issue of what knowledge is and what should be considered reliable knowledge (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.15).

¹¹ In literature, 'constructivism' is often referred to as 'constructionism'. Throughout this thesis 'constructivism' is used.

It is important that researchers position themselves within these debates to make emphasizes and limitations apparent. In the text box below the three applied elements of constructivist social sciences are summarized.

Figure 4. The three basic joists of constructivist social science

- An *ontology* based on the percepts that women and men are malleable, and that each of us participates in the construction of our own world.
- An *epistemology* which, in addition to sense perceptions and human reason, relies on a much broader repertoire of epistemological devices (such as empathy).
- A *methodology* which seeks to identify socially constructed patterns and regularities.

Source: Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.199 (Quoted)

Despite its adoption of the constructivist tradition, this thesis does acknowledge *“the multiple methods adopted and applied [in CCT research] with great success by contemporary CCT researchers”* (Askegaard and Linnet, 2011, p.399).

Ontological constructivism – the nature of social entities and reality – challenges the positivist perception of social phenomena as external and outside social actors’ reach or influence (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.21; Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.9-12). According to constructivism, social phenomena and the meaning of phenomena are accomplished and shaped by social interaction. Hence, social phenomena are in a constant state of revision, as social actors develop, interact and interpret.

Consequently, *“Rather than uncovering a true account, constructivists seek to capture and understand the meaning of a social action for the agent performing it”* (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.11). This constructivist position fits well with this study as it does not aim to identify the agents of the UA scene, but rather to uncover the meaning of social action for the UA agent. In general, constructivism fits well with CCT, being the disciplinary brand for encompassing consumer research addressing the sociocultural, experiential, symbolic, and ideological aspects of consumption (Askegaard and Linnett, 2011, p.399).

In the present study, the consumption of UA is studied as a social phenomenon that is socially comprehended and is constructed and maintained through actors’ participation and interaction. This is done through the lens of CCT and the two employed domains of *Consumer Identity Projects* and *Marketplace Cultures*. Consequently, the findings and analysis of this research are not to be an account of reality, but more an interpretation of an observed reality – in line with general constructivist objectives.

Due to its open-ended ontology, constructivists' epistemological joists are very broad (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.200). Constructivist epistemology has very little limitations. Instead, it embraces any approach that protects, emphasizes and exploits contextual meaning. They believe that *"...knowledge is carried by individuals but anchored in collectives"* (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.200). Essentially, constructivists are epistemological pluralists. Therefore, when generating knowledge, constructivists are particularly aware of contexts and careful that the social world is knowledge-in-context – a context they are part of themselves.

In this study constructivist epistemology is adopted by acknowledging the relevance of context and culture in the generation of knowledge. First, through the application of CCT as a theoretical approach, the research focus on the role of culture places consumers as agentic components within a specific context. Secondly, the research focuses on the individual's interaction with its surroundings, including whether, and to what extent, that shapes identity and culture in collectives.

From the above ontological and epistemological commitments constructivist methodology emerges (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.201). Constructivists acknowledge regularities and repetitions of the social world but insist that they are socially constructed. Therefore, constructivist methods are tools to identify the socially constructed patterns and understand them in the light of their context.

By applying triangulation for data analysis, and selected domains of CCT as a structured frame for data collection, this thesis similarly applies constructivist methodology to identify replication among the respondents, while acknowledging the respondents' interaction with and within the contexts of the social world.

In conclusion, there is a strong correlation between the employed theoretical approach in the present study and its constructivist philosophy of science: ontology, epistemology and methodology. In particular, the shared emphasis on culture and context in shaping social phenomena under investigation. In addition, the ontological departure from knowledge as an absolute truth underscores the theoretical application of CCT as guidance for dialogue and explorative analysis of observation to generate new insights and nuances to existing knowledge – heuristics.

5.1.1 Structure of reasoning: Induction

To understand findings generated by research, the analytical reasoning for developing theory or general claims from empirical observations, or vice versa, must be accounted for. This requires identifying a mode of reasoning that guides the research's investigative processes.

Generally, within social sciences, reasoning mostly takes two different forms: inductive or deductive. This thesis employs an inductive structure of reasoning.

In a deductive structure of reasoning, researchers start by formulating one or more hypothesis from already true and accepted claims; explanations that could theoretically account for the subject of investigation. Subsequently they employ data to test their hypothesis and draw conclusions (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.22).

Inductive reasoning, on the other hand, begins with empirical particulars to generate theories at a higher level, or generalization (Moses and Knutsen, 2012, p.22). In practice, first, researchers collect observations from which they identify generalizations and patterns. Based on the observed patterns the research establishes theories about the object of investigation.

The present thesis has its point of departure in an inductive reasoning. However, because existing scholastic approaches – CCT - have been employed to guide data collection, in particular the interview guides, and the strategy of analysis, it is not one-to-one application of inductive reasoning. In this study, CCT functions as the theoretical scope, guiding the conducted research, not being employed to structure the findings, nor is it used to generate hypothesis that are tested with observations. Hence, the heuristic value of the findings stems from an inductive structure of reasoning.

5.2 Research design

In qualitative research there is a greater interest in the subject's point of view than in quantitative research, which usually only reflects the researcher's concerns. In order to obtain the quantitative data, interviewing is the most widely employed method. It allows not only for exploration of the interviewee's point of view but can also uncover why they have this particular viewpoint. As this matches the purpose and limitations of the present research, interviewing is the chosen method.

5.2.1 Data collection: Semi-structured interviews

In qualitative interviews different levels of structure can be applied. In semi-structured interviews, the interviewer does - to a certain extent - follow a script (Bryman and Bell, 2011,

p.472), thereby differing from highly structured interviews (often used in market research) or completely unstructured interviews (ethnography) (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008, p.143). Semi-structured interviews are sometimes referred to as in-depth interviews; long interviews (McCracken, 1988); or lifeworld interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). As all advocate similar approaches, this study will simply refer to the descriptive term 'semi-structured'.

Semi-structured interviewing typically refers to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the general form of an interview schedule (or interview guide) but is still able to vary the sequence of the questions (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.205). This gives the interviewer some latitude to ask further questions in response to the replies when they are considered significant to the research question. The interview guide can as such be considered a rough travel itinerary through which the interview can be negotiated along the interview-journey (McCracken, 1988, p.37).

The structure that *is* given through the interview guide will ensure that, by and large, *all* the questions will be asked to *all* the interviewees and that similar wording will be used across the board to ensure the empirics generated are comparable and that specific issues relating to the theory will be addressed. The goal of the researcher is to be active but not obtrusive and to ask open-ended questions (Brymann and Bell, 2011; Kvale and Brinkman, 2009), allowing for an organic discussion to unfold to understand the meanings that interviewees attach to issues and situations. This makes semi-structured interviews a relevant and useful research method in the context of this study, which explores consumer's experiences and motivations.

Developed interview guide

In preparation for the interviews a research guide is created, as a well-thought-out list of issues to be addressed during each interview. The guide takes its departure in the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 4.2. From the topics in the framework, themes are distracted which are then translated in questions applicable to the daily lives of the interviewees (table 1).

The questions are formulated in such a way that they cover the theory to be tested on the case study of UA in Copenhagen, but from the perspective of the interviewee (Kvale, 2007). This allows for an appreciation of what the interviewee sees as significant and important in relation to each of the topic areas (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.475). Simultaneously, the interview guide (appendix 10.4) facilitates the interviewer to both easily gather the ways in which interviewees view their social world and to be flexible in the way the interview is conducted. This means

that the questions are consistent across all interviews but could easily be adapted to the level of understanding of the interviewee or to the direction of the conversation in order to make it a natural-feeling, enjoyable conversation for both parties (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Bringing structure to the interview through an interview guide also means that questions are considered in advance, preventing them from being leading.

Generally, following the framework of Kvale and Brinkman (2009), who propose the coverage of 5 themes in an interview guide and taking the advice of McCracken (1988), all interviews found departure in a general introduction to the research topic. By explaining the research focus and the set-up of the interview to the interviewees prior to the interview, they feel comfortable with what would happen. The interviewees were informed about the topic of the study to be in line with general research ethics and to help them steer toward relevant answers. By not informing them about the *exact* research question, or aim of the study, they could not prepare any specific or desirable answers they would not have given otherwise.

Sampling and Respondents

As the nature of the present research is exploratory and the exact position of the consumer of UA within cultural context is to be located, the method of triangulation of sources will be applied. This means that multiple reference points are used to cross-check the findings. To enable systematic grouping of multiple points of reference on the UA scene in Copenhagen, three groups with different interests were identified in an effort of purposeful sampling (Tracy, 2013, p.134): experts, private sector representatives (referred to as 'entrepreneurs') and farmers. Individuals with knowledge of the UA scene that fit in either one of these groups were of interest as respondents to this study.

Through desk research, qualifying subjects were identified and approached through initial email and phone contact. When the individualistic nature of the UA scene proved challenging in the outreach to potential interviewees, the maximum variation subjects were asked to recommend other useful potential candidates for study (similar to the technique of snowball sampling (Tracy, 2013, p.136).

The below table 1 provides a chronological overview of the interviews conducted in the data collection phase of this thesis. The transcribed interviews can be found in the appendix (see the last column of table 1).

Table 1. Overview of Conducted Interviews.

Company/ organization	Inter- viewee	Position	Inter- view Date	Dura- tion	Appen- dix
Copenhagen Business School	Kirsti Reitan Andersen	Postdoc	November 16, 2017	45 minutes	10.5
Copenhagen School Gardens	Gorm Friborg	Urban Farmer, educator	November 24, 2017	53 minutes	10.6
Wildfooding	Thomas Laursen	Professional forager	December 4, 2018	1 hour, 21 minutes	10.7
PetitGrand	Iben Ros-sell	Marketer for Aarstiderne	December 13, 2017	1 hour, 9 minutes	10.8
SLOW/Copenhagen Seeds	Signe Voltelen	Professional urban farmer and urban agri-consultant	January 4, 2018	1 hour, 27 minutes	10.9
TagTomat	Anne Tange	City gardener	January 23, 2018	1 hour, 7 minutes	10.10

Table 2 on the next page provides a further elaboration on the background of the interviewees and divides them into the three groups; experts, entrepreneurs and farmers. None of the interviewees come from the same company or organization, in order to mitigate the subjectivity inherently determined by their respective experiences and environment, thereby increasing the triangulation methods adopted in this study.

Table 2. Description and Grouping of Interviewees

Group	Company/ Organization	Name	Role/ Position	Description
Experts	PetitGrand	Iben Rossell	Marketer, Aarstiderne	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Freelance Digital Consultant with 17+ years of experience Expert in digital solutions for (urban) farming companies / food initiatives. Clients: <i>Aarstiderne</i> (ideological meal boxes provider), <i>Haver til Maver</i> ('Gardens to Stomachs') and MIT Kokkeri ('My cookery').
	Copenhagen Business School	Kirsti Reitan Andersen	Postdoc	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Postdoc at the Department of Management, Society and Communication Expert in the field of Cultural Intermediaries, Local Production and sustainability. Designed the CBS summer school course <i>Rome-Copenhagen Urban Challenge</i> on urban farming and gardening.
Entrepreneurs	Wildfooding	Thomas Laursen	Professional forager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Founder of <i>Wildfooding</i> Main advisor to the <i>VILD MAD app</i>. (VILD MAD – 'wild food' – is a program designed by the people behind the New Nordic Cuisine movement). Known as 'the ants guy from Noma'. 12+ years of experience in the Danish urban agriculture and foraging scenes. Has an international audience.
	SLOW / Copenhagen Seeds	Signe Voltelen	Professional Urban farmer and urban agri-consultant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Founding Partner at <i>SLOW Living</i> (workshops and Urban farming) Founder of <i>Copenhagen Seeds</i> (a Nordic-seeds company with web shop). Urban Farmer at <i>OPENgardenCPH</i> (provides and advises on urban farming and garden practices).
Farmers	TagTomat	Anne Tange	City gardener	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Professional urban farmer with 20+ years experience in gardening and farming. Urban gardening and school gardens specialist at <i>TagTomat</i> (Danish for 'Rooftop Tomato'): a company that sells urban gardening and do-it-yourself green solutions for in cities. Involved in many ad-hoc urban agriculture initiatives in Copenhagen
	Copenhagen School Gardens	Gorm Friborg	Urban Farmer, educator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban Farmer and educator at the <i>Copenhagen School Gardens</i> for 7+ years. Works to connect the participants and initiators in the Copenhagen urban agriculture scene daily.

Performing the interviews

In order to create the best possible setting for the interviews, two measures were taken.

Firstly, the advice by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2008) on location selection was followed. This meant that the interviewees got to propose a location for the interviews and that when the interviewees did not come forward with a suggestion, the interviewer would propose a few that the interviewee could then pick from. This way, the environment of the interview makes the interviewee feel at ease. In one of the interviews, for example, the interviewee and interviewer first made a round through the urban garden and then held the interview in a shed on the plot of land. The interviewee felt comfortable during the interview and was able to refer to the things he had shown in the garden.

Secondly, the interviewer consciously aimed to strike a balance between formality and informality. According to McCracken (1988) a certain level of formality is useful as it *“helps the respondent cast the investigator in the role of the scientist, someone who asks very personal questions out of [...] professional curiosity”* (p.26). The formality also helps to reassure the trust that the respondent is supposed to give to the researcher in relation to confidentiality and in handling their worldviews delicately. In the specific case of this research, the difference in levels of seniority in relation to the interviewees and expertise on the topic of UA. A certain level of informality, on the other hand, is useful to reassure the respondent that the investigator is not a cold, distant creature that is unacquainted with or indifferent to the complexities of the respondent’s lifeworld (ibid). This was especially important considering matters of identity, belonging and personal convictions where discussed.

The interviews are set-up to be one-on-one *informant interviews*, where “informant” refers to participants who are experienced and savvy in the scene, can articulate stories and explanations that others would not, and *“are especially friendly and open to providing information”* (Tracy, 2013, p.140). The interview stance taken is a cross between collaborative and that of *deliberate naïveté*; (Kvale, 1996) in which the interviewer is required to drop any presuppositions and judgment while maintaining openness to new and unexpected findings.

All interviews were conducted in English, as the native languages of the researcher and the interviewees are not the same. Considering the potential risks of data inaccuracy through translation and influence on authenticity, special attention was paid throughout all interviews to definitions and the Danish sociocultural context (which the researcher is familiar with). The

interviews were all conducted in a face-to-face manner¹², having the clear advantage of providing rich information in terms of nonverbal communication.

After the opening questions, each interview followed the interview guide, albeit allowing for a change in the sequence of the questions and their formulations. Afterwards, each topic (derived from the theoretical framework) would be discussed by opening the theme with some generative open-ended questions before moving into more directive questions (Tracy, 2013, p.146). To validate the interpretation of the answers of the subject by the interviewer, specifying, direct and probing non-directive questions were asked (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.477).

Right after each interview field notes were made in order to “*support the descriptive validity*” (Tracy, 2013, p.163), of the data gathered through interviews about how it went, where it took place, whether it led to new insights and what the setting was like. This turned out to be a helpful way of structurally processing the new information.

Transcription

With the consensus of all interviewees, all the interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed by the researcher herself within 48 hours after the interview. Transcription facilitates the (repeated) close examination of data, which is imperative for interpretation (Tracy, 2013, 178). In this way the researcher can review *what* and, through using common transcribing symbols (idem, p.179), *in what way* the interviewee verbalized their answer. Transcribing allows for a higher level of alertness during the interviews than if the interviewer was to take notes as a way of memorizing the replies (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.42).

5.2.2 Analytical strategy

The starting point of the data analysis of this thesis is the coding of the transcriptions after which a thematic analysis is employed in order to reconstruct the data (Verhoeven, 2008, p.238; Mayan, 2009, p.94).

Interview coding

Coding is defined as “*the active process of identifying data as belonging to, or representing, some type of phenomenon*” (Tracy, 2013, p.189). This phenomenon may be a concept, belief, action, theme, cultural practice, or relationship. In order to code the data of the present research, the

¹² One interview was conducted via Skype, using both the audio and video function. Both the interviewee and interviewer were at their respective homes and alone.

transcripts were read carefully and split into small fragments - as a means of identification - which were summarized in a one word: the code. After this primary round of *open coding* (Verhoeven, 2008, p.238) the terms that emerged were grouped and subsequently structured based on the relations between the categories. To be able to assess in the findings of this research which value the interviewees assigned to the codes, quotes were collected throughout the identification and coding process.

When restructuring and valuing the codes across the six interviews that were conducted, 11 categories were identified, which belonged to 4 overarching themes. These themes are recurrent, might form sequences and are distinctive features that the researcher has identified as holding relevance in relation to the research question (King and Horrocks, 2010).

Triangulation

As previously mentioned, this thesis employs triangulation, which entails “*using more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomena*” (Bryman and Bell, 2011, p.397). As such, triangulation refers to the process whereby multiple reference points are used to ‘locate’ an object or phenomenon’s exact position. When using mixed methods (e.g. qualitative and quantitative methods) in one study, it is referred to as *triangulation of methods*. In this research not methods, but sources are triangulated. When cross-checking data obtained from different sources, each informant is used as a check against the others’, increasing the reliability of the results (Verhoeven, 2008, p.158).

Presently, this *data source triangulation* is achieved by preliminarily constituting three sets of interviewees, classified based on their relation to UA. These sets are: the experts (who have studied or observed UA, but are not directly involved), the private sector representatives (who work for, or own, a for-profit company that provides services or knowledge to the UA scene) and the farmers (those who directly practice or conduct UA). In the context of this research there are two specific motivations to increase reliability through triangulation:

1. Some of the main concepts in this study (i.e. *culture* and *identity*) can only be answered from the subjective perspective of the informant based on their direct environment, experiences and relation to the topic. Although the interview questions do not focus on the interviewee as a person, but rather on the phenomenon, comparing the answers provided by the three different groups will make the outcome more reflective of the UA scene than of the interviewees personally.

2. The exploratory nature of this research requires the framing of the *whole* UA scene, which demands all angles to be included.

5.3 Quality of research: Reliability and validity

Throughout the research performed for the present study, quality has been of utmost importance. The quality of this research is accounted for by its reliability and its validity. In traditional experimental research, reliability has been evaluated based on the extent of replicability – if performed again would a study yield the same results (Merriam, 2015, p.250). In social science research, such account for reliability is problematic (idem), and especially with this study's applied constructivist philosophy of science. This is the case because social behavior is never static, nor are experiences of one necessarily more reliable than experiences of others.

Yin (2014, p.33-39) provides four tests to establish quality of any empirical social research:

- *Construct validity*: applying the right operational measures for the concept studied in the performed research.
- *Internal validity*: Establish causal relations, where conditions are shown to result in other conditions.
- *External validity*: Establishing the domain to which the findings of the research can be generalized.
- *Reliability*: Demonstrating that the research can, for example data collection, can be repeated with the same results.

With point of departure in the above four tests and the employed philosophy of science in mind, the quality of the performed research is evaluated. In particular, it is argued that the employed theoretical frame in combination with triangulation supports the quality of the present study.

Construct validity is concerned with establishing the correct operational measures for the study and avoid that subjective judgements influence the data collection (Yin, 2014, p.35). First, the theoretical framework based on CCT helps guide the selection of relevant operational measures of this research – proven in the literature review and addressed in Chapter 4 on applied theories. Secondly, the application of triangulation across the respondents ensures multiple sources of evidence within the employed measures, and consequently the findings. In practice, this is possible thanks to consistency of identical opening questions in the interview guides and grouping of respondents.

Internal validity is mostly relevant for causal studies (Yin, 2014, p.34), which the present study is, as it - simply put - explores causalities of UA consumption in Copenhagen. To ensure internal validity researchers should make sure that identified causalities are not influenced by potential spurious relationships (Yin, 2014, p.36). For this research, however, due to limitations of time and available observations, internal validity is not entirely guaranteed. As this research analyzes observations within their contextual factors, which are acknowledged but not accounted for in their entirety, internal validity becomes a goal rather than a certain outcome. By utilizing triangulation, the data analysis in this study mitigates spurious contextual factors, thus enhances internal validity. Through pattern matching and triangulation, causal factors are considered valid, because they are found present despite varying contexts for each respondent.

External validity is achieved if the research is possible to apply beyond the immediate study—its generalizability (Yin, 2014, p.37). In terms of external validity, the employed constructivist approach in this thesis generally avoids claiming that the findings are an account of reality or a general truth. Mainly because of the employed relevance of context in the used theories and scientific approach. However, due to replication logic – Finding respondents that are regular in the context of the study – behind the selecting of respondents, it is expected that the findings will be possible to replicate in similar contexts. Similarly, this research employs a rather narrow scope of analysis due to its developed theoretical frame. This allows other researchers to follow the studies' approach. For example, in geographical areas with characteristics like those of Copenhagen. In sum, the contextual setting of this study and the defined theoretical frame enables some degree of generalization.

Reliability refers to whether another researcher replicating the study with an identical method would achieve the same conclusions (Yin, 2014, p.37). The objective of reliability has its point of departure in positivist assumptions that a single truth exists, and replication should result in identical outcomes. Overall, this assumption does not apply to the philosophy of science or applied theories in the present study: as elaborated in previous chapters. Nevertheless, extensive transparency in regard to methods and employed observations throughout, ensures that anyone interested in knowing what has led to the following findings can follow, and potentially replicate, the study. For example, verbatim transcripts of all interviews are found in the appendix, which allows others to understand the process from collected observations (interviews) to findings and conclusions in a very detailed manner.

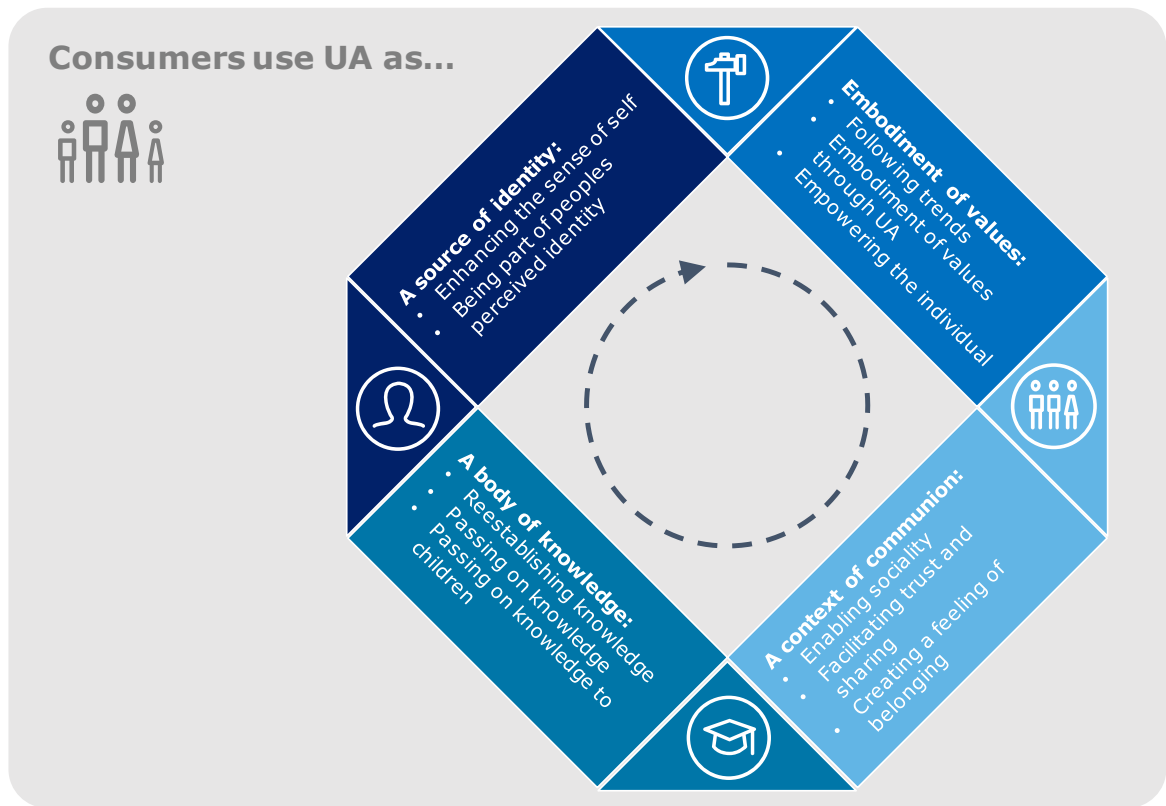
6. ANALYSIS

This section provides a structured analysis to establish the findings of the present research and answer the proposed research question. As described previously, this chapter will present an inductive analysis of the collected empirics, utilizing triangulation, to establish heuristics to the knowledge on UA consumers.

The following section present four key findings that were observed in the analysis of the collected interview data. To perform the analyses, the empirics has been separated into subsets or sub-findings that are all described here as mutually exclusive. It is of paramount importance to note that despite the findings being presented as mutually exclusive, all of the four findings and their underlying factors are strongly interlinked.

The findings of the performed analysis are illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 5. Illustration of key findings of analysis



Source: Author's own illustration based on findings in analysis




6.1 Urban agriculture as a source of identity

When looking at the rise of consumption of UA in Copenhagen, UA as a part of consumers' identity stands out as a causal factor. From the following, it is shown that a principal driver for the growing interest in UA is how consumption influences 'identity':

The empirics of this present study provide that consumption of UA influence individuals' identities, both the self-perceived identity, as well as the individual's social identity—perceived identity.

The findings are all tested for triangulation as summarized in the table below. The table also sums up all the findings laid out in this sub-chapter.

Table 3. Summary of findings: Urban agriculture as a source of identity

Group	Findings
Experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is about more than actual consumption of produce. • The values of UA overlaps with people's values (identity). • UA becomes an element of consumers' identity. • Some values of consumers do not correlate with the values of UA, but people do UA anyways. • UA is part of who people want to be to their surroundings – self-promotion. • UA is sometimes an 'identity building' project. • People brag about their UA involvement.
Entrepreneurs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA overlaps with people's values (identity). • People want to feel like they are urban farmers. • Consumers maintain the rural part of their identity in an urban setting. • Sometimes UA does not correspond with the entire Self of consumers, but this does not hold them back. • Other people look at UA consumers as a type of farmers in situations of involvement with UA. • There is a 'social script' that is part of UA. • People want to be associated with their consumption of UA.
Farmers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is part of how people see themselves and their 'story'. • People recognize the feelings that arise from UA as something they desire, even though they cannot always put it into words. • UA becomes an element of consumers' identity, and a room of freedom from consumers' 'normal' identity. • Some values of consumers do not correlate with the values of UA, but people do UA anyways. • People use UA to show who they are – a social indicator. • UA is considered the "right" thing to do by the consumers.
Summarized findings (Triangulation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is used by consumers to enhance their self-identity or sense of self. • UA is part of peoples' perceived identity and used by consumers to form their identity towards their surroundings.

6.1.1 Enhancing the sense of self

People generally want to do and consume things that correlate with their self-image and their own perception of their own identity (Milne & Bahl, 2010). The findings of the collected empirics in this study show that the consumption of UA is no exception to this custom; as one of the

experts expressed: *"Urban farming for most people is not about volumes. It's about something else."* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). This comes to show that there is more to UA consumption than the material consumption and involvement. It affects consumer's subjective perception of who he or she is – referred to by Belk (1988) as *sense of self*.

Farmer Anne Tange recognizes the narrative about how the sense of self is enhanced by consumption of UA. She explained that UA becomes part of *"How people see themselves and the stories they want to be part of and the stories they want to tell about themselves."* (Tange, App.10.10).

That UA becomes part of how people see themselves appears from the interviews. They all confirm UA as a way to enhance the sense of self, even if it is not premeditated. Consumers can as such, find themselves in UA as described by one of the farmers: *"...there is something that they want to have, but many of them can't put words on it. Or actions on it. But then when they meet the nature, or meet the urban garden, they say 'Hi, this is nice'"* (Friborg, App.10.6). Essentially, once the consumers recognize elements and values in UA that overlap with their own identity, consumption is more likely.

Entrepreneur Signe illustrates that in practice, it does not have to take much to obtain the identity of urban farmer: *"I felt like an urban farmer the first time I was part of the community farm in Nørrebro, but I was only doing the webpage!"*. She continues to say that she *"[...] felt like an urban farmer at that time also."* (Veltelen, App.10.9) and states that one can already be considered an urban farmer if you grow something on your balcony.

Expert Iben supported the above consideration by stating: *"I think that you can have a version of it [ed. identity associated with UA] where you still have a little bit of the rural life implemented in your urban life by having a little, you know, balcony garden"* (Rossell, App.10.8). Professional forager Thomas describes it as being able to *"being into it on different levels"* (Laursen, App.10.7), indicating that consumers can have different levels of commitment and feel part of UA regardless of the level of commitment.

The empirics further elaborated how consumption for many consumers of UA is merely one part of consumer's identity, why consumers can often be a broad variety of individuals.

Farmer Gorm explained: *"As I see it, living here in the towns: we are many different 'ones'. [...] in the morning I am 'this' and in the afternoon I am in that sub-culture and in the evening, I am in*

that sub culture. So I think... it also is one of the 'sub-cultures things' is that they do urban gardening" (Friborg, App.10.6). Iterated differently by the three groups of interviewees, they all describe UA as merely one part of the consumer's identity.

This picture of the consumers having a fragmented self and identity matches the ideas of post-modernist researchers who see the contemporary consumer as possessing a multiple sense of self (Ahuvia, 2005). This multiphrenic identity (Belk, 2013) is considered by Firat and Venkatesh (1995) as a positive because it represents *"freedom from . . . having to seek centered connections or an authentic self"* (p.233). This benefit was evident in the findings:

"I think for some it is part of their identity and for others it is like a little slice of freedom to step out of their normal identity. I think it can be both. If you have a really responsible, boring job; you have to wear nice clothes and sit in front of a computer all day, then it can be a little like slice of freedom to go also out and do it" (Tange, App.10.10).

Emphasizing the role of UA as part of people's self-identity, the collected interviews also provided that having UA as part of one's identity doesn't always fall in line with other values of the self.

Professional urban farmer Anne shared her worry about this inconsistency: *"I think that people think that they save the world when they have this pallet garden, but then turn on the tap and flush the toilet and buy plastic shit and consume lots of other stuff [...]* Sometimes I worry that people think they are really on to the environmentally friendly thing, but they are not." (Tange, App.10.10). Anne thus worries that the outcomes that are supposedly realized through UA are not always there when people identify as an urban farmer.

UA marketing specialist Iben explains the discrepancy between the presumed actions and executions of being a UA consumer and the sometimes-deviant reality: *"It's a nice-to-have in your life and it is a value that you want to pursue and that you want to pass on to your kids. But if you want, you can stick a sunflower seed in the ground [...], then that is sort of OK as well"* (Rossell, App.10.8). To the consumer it seems less important if their actions match the outcome that would be expected from someone consuming UA.

In sum, the interviewees agree that people want to feel good about their actions and find corresponding values to their self-identity in UA. However, it was also expressed very well that *"[...] only very few can actually live up to it [ed. consuming UA]. So, having a lifestyle that will fit into this and that will enable you to grow your own tomatoes and preparing everything. Knitting*

your whatever. So trying to pretend to follow that trend, whilst having two full-time jobs and four kids [laughs]: you're just fucked" (Russell, 2017). This quote underscores that although UA engagement often becomes part of other elements of people's self, sometimes it does not correspond with the entire self.

6.1.2 Being part of consumers' perceived identity

Across the collected empirics, utilizing triangulation, the analysis concludes that consumption of UA is considered to contribute to how people are seen by others (externally perceived identity), and how consequently it is used by consumers to deliberately shape their identity.

By consuming produce with a symbolic function, in a context that recognizes such symbols, people are able to tell the story of who they are or wish to be. When consuming UA—a high-involvement consumption practice (Kotler et al., 2008, p.262)—the link between the product's associated values and the consumer's identity is strong. Thus, consumers can personalize the meanings of the things they consume, *"through storytelling or other forms of sharing with a community"* (Ahuvia, 2005, p.182).

The interview data stipulate that the effect of UA as part peoples' external identity is recognized in practice. Entrepreneur Signe exemplifies how UA is identified by others and associated with consumers: *"I am sure that someone would look at one [someone consuming the UA practice] and say 'she is the one with urban farming', [...]"* (Voltelen, App.10.9). This illustrates how handling the object, in this case seeds, get associated with the identity of being an urban farmer, or gardener, and how this identity is transferred on to the individual.

Schau and Gilly (2003) reiterate the premise that consumption can be both a self-defining and a self-expressive behavior, stating: *"People often choose products and brands that are self-relevant and communicate a given identity. In this way consumers make their identities tangible, or self-present, by associating themselves with material objects and places."* (p.385).

Farmer Gorm recognizes the self-expressive behavior among UA consumers: *"I will say it's also a social indicator of who you are...."* He explains what he means with social indicator: *"You show who you are; what kind of person you are, because you are doing urban gardening. It makes images of what person you are."*

Once a consumer of UA has expressed who they are by communicating their identity through consumption, this identity is perceived by outsiders. Iben believes that UA is a big part of a consumer's identity: *"I think it plays a big part of the identity. At least the perceived identity."*

(Rossell, App.10.8). With perceived identity she means *“who you want to be. Or who you want to be perceived as being. Who you perceive yourself as being.”* (idem). In her explanation she sets out three steps that are recognized by all interviewees; UA consumers want to be a certain person, they want to be perceived by outsiders as that person and then the consumer returns to herself by considering herself from the same position as others are perceiving her. The findings show that UA users are aware of their external perception.

As UA consumers are aware of them being perceived by others, they make use of their (unconscious) knowledge of associated meaning from consumer goods (McCracken, 1988, p.72). This means that consumers use UA in a way they think will influence other people's perception of them in such a way that it matches their desired self-image. Says Kirsti: *“[...] I think for many people who engage in it, it is maybe more or less conscious an identity building project.”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). The interview data show that this does not mean that the intentions of those who consume UA are insincere:

“So I think people are genuine about it, but it's a bonus that, you know, that it is trending, or that they can tell everyone else about their projects.” (Rossell, App.10.8).

Entrepreneur Thomas recognizes that UA, as a positive identity-attribute, is now trending, whereas the association with UA did not use to be a 'hip' one previously. He says: *“But now it's like a social mark that you can put on yourself, like you can put on the “right” shirt, you can listen to the right music...”* (Laursen, App.10.7).

Being able to mark oneself with the UA identity, can fulfill the need of consumers to have a social identity. Farmer Gorm explains that for the consumers of UA, whom are mainly city dwellers, *“you can find urban gardening as a solution to many needs: the need for using your knowledge; the need to be together with others; the need to have a social identity.”* It appears from the findings that the urban context and background of the consumers create an enhanced incentive to shape their perceived identity through consumption of UA.

The empirics give the impression that UA's ability to easily contribute to someone's identity is a significant contributor to its growing popularity. According to the interviewees it is never the sole reason to consume UA, but it is a big part of it, as the following quote shows:

“It is not fake, all of it. It's not like a pretend. People do genuinely care about making a better world and improving it for our kids, and what have you. [...] But half of it is also

'look at me', self-promotion. 'This is who I am; these are my values; aren't I great?' 'Look at her, she's got the surplus-everything going'." (Rossell, App.10.8).

All three groups agree that the ability to promote yourself through UA is an important facet. It allows it consumers to strive for something more, something better that they might not have, or be, at the moment. Signe recognizes this as part of a general tendency: *"But you know, that [promotion of oneself among peers] is how we live. We live also in a dream."* (Voltelen, App.10.9).

Using UA consumption as means to create identity is not always a completely self-motivated decision but can be brought on through peer pressure. Farmer Anne recognizes that some consumers just long to have the 'right' identity, which currently seems obtainable through UA: *"And some people do it because it seems fancy, it is what we do now."* These consumers are not motivated to consumer UA because of it being urban agriculture, but because it is simply the latest rendition of their identity project.

Kirsti describes how this normative picture of the UA consumer might even lead to stress:

"I think for some people it becomes such an identity project that it maybe even becomes more stressful [laughs], right? Because then suddenly I need to do all these things right (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

At the same time the interviewees indicate that the consumers of UA do not want to make it seem that creating identity through UA is a purposeful, let alone hard or stressful mission. Thomas therefore describes the consumers as *"un-fancy in their own fancy way"*. Creating identity by consuming UA can be a conscious project but should seem effortless.

In addition, the research of this study shows that consumers of UA are expressive about their engagement with UA—supporting the argument that UA becomes part of peoples' perceived identity.

Expert Iben believes that the promotion of one's consumption of UA is *"half of it"* (Rossell, App.10.8). Referring to the promotion of consumers' engagement with UA on social media, she says: *"It is Facebook-bragging"* and *"Looking at the numbers of shares on my Instagram feed come August, September, of what people are producing in their gardens or on their balconies... You can see it: it fills people with pride."*

The experts and entrepreneurs that were interviewed indicate that sometimes the promotion of UA consumption is relatively larger than the factual engagement in it: *“some people are more into saying that they are doing it, than actually doing it [...] And some of them are more interested in how they look than what they actually do”* (Laursen, App.10.7). This connects to the previously mentioned point that a consumer does not actually have to do much to feel like a consumer of UA; a consumer also does not have to do much to be able, or feel qualified to, talk about UA.

This argument is narrated by Thomas:

“They will talk about stuff. They will sit in a wine bar, drinking natural wines and talk about the farming. Which actually will be 1,7 kilos of food in one season. They will still talk about it. [...] there is a difference between the amount of food and the amount of talk.” (Laursen, App.10.7).

In this vein, companies selling UA produce recognize that consumers buy their product to be able to be associated with urban agriculture and talk about it, without always having to put in the time and effort. Urban farmer Anne, who works for a private urban agriculture company explains: *“And that’s the type of people that order a seed bomb online on the Tagtomat web shop and think ‘yes, yes, yes, we’re on it now, we’re working on this. It’s going great and I am part of it’ [laughs].”* (Tange, App.10.10). In this way consumers can even buy ready-made stories to help them more easily promote themselves: *“we don’t actually sell boxes with veggies in it, we sell stories about people. They can tell themselves and other to feel better”* (idem). The values that are associated with UA and are reflected in the perceived identity remain, even when a consumer only buys a seed bomb, and do not have to influence the amount of self-promotion by the end-consumer.

From the above it can be concluded that UA is recognized as a part of UA consumers’ perceived identity, and that it is sometimes purposely employed as a tool for storytelling to influence the perceived identity. It should be noted that the quest for an UA-related identity and to be associated with UA, seems to be a sufficient association in and of itself, to part of the consumers.

6.2 UA as a body of Knowledge




Across the collected interview data, utilizing triangulation, this analysis finds that UA serves as a valuable body of knowledge to its consumers, inciting involvement with UA.

Analysis

The analysis shows that consumers of UA find various aspects of knowledge associated with UA to generate a desire for consumption. First, consumers use the consumption practice of UA as a way to reestablish their lost knowledge of nature and food production. In addition, consumers find it appealing to use UA as a source of knowledge and a tool to move knowledge around/transfer knowledge. Finally, UA consumption functions as a way for parents to make their children have the knowledge and skills that they would otherwise miss by growing up in a city.

The above conclusions are tested for triangulation as shown in the table below. In addition, the table summarizes the findings of this chapter.

Table 4. Summary of findings: Urban agriculture as a body of knowledge

Group	Findings
Experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The knowledge about food and food production decreases because we move too far away from it. • The knowledge remains available to people. • People want to understand where things come from. • Consuming UA requires (a lot of) specific knowledge • People share knowledge among each other in various contexts. • Parents feel like they are doing the right thing by teaching their children through UA.
Entrepreneurs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A desire to gain knowledge about produce is often a drive for people to get involved in UA. • As people learn about UA they become practitioners as well. • The educational aspect is a motivator for consumers. • Consumers need to know about UA to become successful, and they search for help among 'experts'. • Gardens and places for farming often function as places for people to meet and share knowledge. • Knowledge sharing happens online among a larger group of people. • Consumers of UA want to gain knowledge, so knowledge holds value in UA. • Using the knowledge of UA is a way for parents to make sure their kids have knowledge of food and nature.
Farmers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge about food and produce decreases with the consumption patterns that we see in urban areas. • The decrease of knowledge on growing produce happened so quickly and so recently that it is still there. • People want to know about how to engage in UA and knowledge is available to people. • As people learn about UA they become practitioners as well. • Consumers want to gain knowledge from people who know about UA. • People arrange meet-ups to share knowledge and best-practice. • Practical experience is valuable knowledge. • Becoming parents is a big motivator for people to start consuming UA as it can teach them essential skills.
Summarized findings (Triangulation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is important for UA consumers to reestablish lost knowledge about food produce and agriculture. • People use UA to practice their skills and maintain knowledge by sharing knowledge in different instances. • Parents turn to UA as a body of knowledge to be able to educate their urban children about food production.

6.2.1 Reestablishing knowledge

This analysis finds that there is a sense of lost knowledge of nature and food production among the consumers of UA and that they use the consumption practice of UA as a way to regenerate this knowledge.

This conclusion builds on the literature presented in Chapter 3 (e.g. Jarosz, 2008; Morgan, 2015; Mok et al., 2014) that argued, for example, “*city life discourages activities that re-engage humans and nature*” (Holland, 2004, p.289”).

Farmer Gorm Friborg expressed a change in consumption pattern as the starting point for lost knowledge on produce and food production. He said, “*The urbanization, when people move into towns, and industrialism has made it so, that we get all our food from the supermarkets*” (Friborg, App.10.6). He continued to say that this change in consumption pattern, from self-grown/locally-grown produce to supermarket bought food, correlates with the decrease of knowledge among consumers: “*...then in a couple of generations you don’t know where the food is coming from. You don’t know what nature is. You don’t know about the connections... that you are a part of that biosphere.*” (Friborg, App.10.6).

In short, the continuing urbanization and life in the city adversely influences the consumer’s knowledge of food production and nature: “*People have done it for hundreds of years, but of course we move so far away from that knowledge that it has become obsolete in many ways*” (Rossell, App.10.8).

However, it was expressed that the opportunity to reestablish knowledge is present. Farmer Anne indicates that:

“The knowledge has been lost so quickly. Fifty years ago... and hundred years back everyone could do it, but it has sort of been un-learned in a short period of time [...] There is knowledge and most grown-ups don’t have it, but they have access to it, if they want it to.”
(Tange, App.10.10).

In conclusion, the knowledge of how to grow produce has not completely vanished but underutilized among urban citizens in recent years; it is still available.

With point of departure in the previous finding on decreasing knowledge about food production, including growing produce, the empirics show a growing interest among urbanites in

gaining knowledge about farming in an urban context. The findings show that this desire to know is a motivator for consumers to get involved in practicing UA.

Entrepreneur Signe noted: “[...] *it is very often that people indicate that they don’t know anything about it [UA], but want to do it.*” (Voltelen, App.10.9). In addition, Farmer Anne thinks that the learning process functions as a multiplier in UA uptake: “*Because if you knew how to do it, maybe you would also do it*” (Tange, App.10.10). Thus, consumers learn AU by doing it, establishing a positive correlation between knowledge and UA consumption.

The interviewees agree that by participating in UA, consumers can regenerate the ‘lost’ knowledge: “*So urban farming has come back also as a tool for people to get closer to where things come from and learn*” (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

The consumers of UA regard it as a learning experience and acknowledge what is often a very limited baseline of knowledge: “*...they know they don’t know anything...*” (Voltelen, App.10.9). This educational aspect seems to be a motivator. Entrepreneur Signe experiences this in her urban agriculture classes and lectures: “[...] *they are not afraid of asking basic questions. Because that is the level it is on. But people are so curious*” (idem).

So, UA does not just “[...] *exert a pull for urbanites through their symbolic quality for overcoming the divide between city and nature*” (Dobernig and Stagl, 2015, p.455). The pull is also knowledge-driven.

6.2.2 Passing on knowledge

In strong association to UA as means to reestablish knowledge about food production and agriculture, UA consumption also serves as a way to maintain and pass on knowledge. UA consumers share and exchange knowledge and apply it so that their skillset as consumer-producer improves.

Involvement with UA and consumption requires knowledge about farming, and consumers eventually realize what it takes to farm and be successful at it. The findings of this study confirm that practicing UA requires consumers need to be somewhat knowledgeable about the subject:

“People exchange knowledge and learn from each other. I think there are also a lot of failed projects, you know? Because people don’t necessarily realize what plants go where.”

You know it's not that simple. It's actually something that requires a bit of knowledge"
(Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

One of the interviewed farmers confirmed knowledge as a prerequisite for consumers of UA, as she commented on how consumers does not always accept the time and dedication that obtaining and applying knowledge takes:

"If you want to grow stuff it is serious. But it is because they [UA consumers] see all these do-it-yourself programs. They are like 25 minutes each Wednesday and they think 'oh, I can make a garden, in 25 minutes on Wednesday evening; it is really easy. But it is really hard work. It is not... it is really tough being a farmer, even in the city. People are not always willing to actually do the work." (Tange, App.10.10).

In the empirics collected for this research it is evident that consumers of UA are very inquisitive and turn to sources, or people, who know more than they do, creating a demand for knowledge. One of the interviewees said: *"They [consumers of UA] really want to be told sometimes because they are nervous about doing it right or doing it wrong. So, people want experts"* (idem). Professional forager Thomas recognizes this in his work with clients and states: *"I think these urban farming people they need to be taught by some of the old farmers who know how to do these things. [...] I mean, it takes a lot of skills: it's a profession"* (Laursen, App.10.7). This was underscored by Mr. Andersen who stated that *"[...] a lot of people, and I know that from myself, think 'it would be amazing to have this on my balcony, but I have no fucking clue how to grow it"* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

In conclusion, the interviewees agree that for the consumers of UA recognize that it requires knowledge to practice UA, and that they search for it among people who know.

This need and status of knowledge is related the previously discussed sense-of-self- identity and perceived identity. Sharing how much you know, can then influence the perceived identity: *"[...] if I can show off my knowledge, then again it is about being in the known, and in a clever way showing that on my Insta-feed [laughs]."* (Rossell, App.10.8)

Interestingly, the performed interviews showed that the majority of learning happens through person-to-person knowledge sharing: *"There is a lot of knowledge-sharing..."* (Friborg, App.10.6). It was expressed that in Copenhagen, consumers of UA come together to exchange knowledge: *"We meet. We make different kinds of events and meet. Just sharing knowledge and information"* (Friborg, App.10.6). Farmer Tange added that *"people are like 'oh I need to read*

more and read on the internet and take classes or get a certificate or whatever” (Tange, App.10.10). Hence, all in all there is a lot of knowledge-transfer in between agents in the UA community in Copenhagen.

Often urban gardens or farms, with their physical presence, serve as places where knowledge is gained, used and shared. Signe, who is an entrepreneur in the field, elaborated:

“But then you can learn from each other and when you have been in a garden for one or two seasons, you know how to weed, and you know how to sow, and you have been specializing in some sort of crop or you have this specific interest, or the composting system you took the initiative for and you are showing other people how to do that. So, it is a space to meet where you know, if you for example, make food together and you know what the food is and then you can also explore what you don’t know together” (Voltelen, App.10.9).

The growing popularity of urban gardens or farms is even assigned to the ability to gather knowledge: *“They join to gain knowledge. Because they think it’s important for the children to find out what to do. Or maybe themselves have an interest. Maybe this is something that ‘you’ would want to find out.” (Friborg, App.10.6).*

Outside the urban gardens, knowledge sharing online is a big part of the renewed interest in UA in Copenhagen. The online availability gives easy access to knowledge about UA: *“Well, knowledge these days is super easy to get into. Well - talking about my field- you can go to the AppStore and get an app, and another app, and another app” (Laursen, App.10.7).* Another interviewee said: *“...it is great that people can meet up online from different parts of the city or country or even world, to share ideas” (Tange, App.10.10).*

In sum, the interview data show that the online environment is not only a source of knowledge but also a place where consumers find inspiration and motivation.

Specifically for UA, a significant factor for peoples’ desire and willingness to share knowledge—and especially meeting in person—is the value of practical skills and actual experience in doing UA. Farmer Anne explained the relevance of practical experience, underscoring that in the context of agriculture, skills and knowledge are strongly linked:

"But the thing is, you need to practice how to grow stuff. Because although you can read how to sow this seed, and you can read about companion plants and altering and whatever. But sowing is different, and location is different, and every season is different, so you really need to..." (Tange, App.10.10).

Farmer Friborg underscored the relevance of diverse skills by saying, *"[...] it really works when there are lots of different skills and knowledge involved."* (Friborg, App.10.6).

Of great interest to the found relevance of knowledge, the interviewed entrepreneurs confirmed this by elaborating on their business. For example, entrepreneur Thomas explained a part of his business model: *"I don't have any knowledge that I keep to myself, but I charge for sharing some of it. When people want me to be at 'this certain spot, at this time', that will cost money"* (Laursen, App.10.7). So, since knowledge about nature and agriculture is a common good, companies and entrepreneurs do not charge for the knowledge, but for presenting and interpreting knowledge—emphasizing the previously iterated value of experience.

In conclusion, it is important to UA consumers to have knowledge, pass it on and to retain it through applying it. The necessary knowledge is freely available but needs to be made sense of through explanation and practice. For this reason, consumers of UA participate in knowledge-sharing practices and employ their knowledge to endorse their skills.

6.2.3 Passing on knowledge to children

There is one specifically well-articulated finding in the interview data that stands out, highlighting one specific audience that considers UA as a valuable body of knowledge: Parents.

To prevent a future loss of knowledge of food production and nature, many city-dweller parents have turned to UA to make sure that this knowledge is passed on to their children. The findings show that for many, in order to be a good parent, consuming UA for and with your children is the right thing to do.

With the arrival of parenthood comes the realization that *"Parents as key agents of socialization play a critical role in children's/adolescents' acquisition of consumer skills, attitudes, and knowledge"* (Kim, Yang and Lee, 2015, p.15). This means that parents' consumer choices and patterns will rub-off on their children. Parents that are conscious of this influential power might start to take conscious consumption decisions once they have children. The interviewees seem to think that this is also what happens in the case of UA: *"to many people this [urban agriculture] also becomes important when they get children"* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). This

means that *"...kids are a very important factor in opening the eyes of their parents to make them realize this is something interesting"* (Friborg, App.10.6).

It seems that parents of children who live in cities are afraid that their children will miss knowledge of nature and food cultivation because of their living environment: *"If they grow up in the country side then, you know, it is just a part of life I suppose. [...] I think they [city children] are aware of it. [...] But doing it themselves that is the experience that is exclusive, really"* (Rossell, App.10.8).

To give children the ability to participate this 'exclusive experience' they would have to participate in agriculture. However, *"...you can't take everybody to the country side to... So urban farming is a method to basically educate and engage the people and children to better understand where things come from"* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

The interviewees recognized this as a big motivator for people to start consuming UA: *"That is a big motivator for people, that they get kids and want to go back to Earth"* (Tange, App.10.10). The idea is that by *"...bringing the rural area into the city!"* parents are doing the right thing *"For themselves and their kids"* (Rossell, App.10.8). For some parents, UA is not just a body of knowledge that they can occasionally tap into, it's a way *"to give the kids survival skills"* (Tange, App.10.10). They would explain that *"kids should learn to read and to write and to do math's, but they should certainly also know how to grow stuff and pick herbs and flowers to eat in nature, because that is just as important."* (idem).

Not only parents, but also schools can play this role of being a good educator: *"they can educate so that the kids can learn where their food is coming from and through that they can value the food better and also they can make better choices"* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

The interviewees believe that the goal to educate children through UA consumption, be it buying a little greenhouse for in the window sill, buying a course in flowers growing or by cultivating the neighborhood garden, is not merely to make sure their children gain knowledge, it also influences their sense of self as a good parent. Says Gorm: *"I think it's something they want to do for their kids. [...] And I also have the impression from the parents that they are very happy that their children are learning about nature and where food comes from"* (Friborg, App.10.6).

In sum, parents turn to UA to make sure that their children have the knowledge and skills that they would otherwise miss by growing up in a city. Parents argue that this knowledge is im-

portant for their children to become connected to nature and informed consumers. Considering UA as a body of knowledge that they can tap into through consumption is a big motivator for parents to participate in its consumption.




6.3 UA as a context for Communion

Across the collected interview data, utilizing triangulation, this analysis finds that UA serves as a context for communion to its consumers, creating a feeling of belonging and inciting involvement with UA.

It appears from the analysis that UA can be used as a social activity, bringing its consumers together in communion (whether physically or not). Through social interaction, the consumers' sense of being part of a fluid community is strengthened and forms a prime motive for (re)turning to the consumption of UA. The context for social communion is facilitated by trust and based on sharing among the consumers. These two values lean on the locality of the city and are supported by the innate social nature of food production and consumption. Finally, the findings establish that being considered part of the communion of UA consumers is important to the consumers as it increases their feeling of belonging, which in turn stimulates consumption.

The above conclusions are tested for triangulation as shown in the table below. In addition, the table summarizes the findings of this chapter.

Table 5. Summary of findings: Urban agriculture as a context of communion

Group	Findings
Experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is used as a way to build communities, both engaged physical ones as well as virtual ones. • Food is universally something that people come together around, which supports the development of local communities centered around UA. • UA encourages the feeling of togetherness. • The popularity of UA is driven by the possibility to be part of an in-group, for which outside validation is essential. • UA is something you need mental space for. • A certain awareness is required to value UA and consumers find a congenial group in the consumers of UA.
Entrepreneurs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People want to be part of a community and try to maintain the formal networks that they are in, also those connected to UA. • UA brings people together in groups, but not periodically and not supervised: it is a fluid community. • UA is handing over trust to be given on further. • The UA scene is quite open and there is a lot of sharing going on. • Being validated by outsiders is highly important to the consumers of UA. • To be considered part of the UA community (versus not being part of it) is more important than how the community is perceived by the outsider.
Farmers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need of people to gather in communities is getting more popular and bridging, bonding and linking are the latest buzzwords in the UA scene. • Cooperating and sharing are necessary elements of UA. • Sharing of food and farming together in the context of the city is logical, because it is sustainable to share in a dense environment. • UA in Copenhagen is run by a small core-group that knows each other well and is up-to-date on the happenings in Copenhagen. • The UA community mainly consists of upper-middle class people. • The context of UA is generally open, but currently not an inclusive one as some people do not have the time and resources to participate.
Summarized findings (Triangulation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is used by consumers as a social context that enhances a feeling of community and belonging. • UA as a context of communion is based on trust among the consumers and facilitated by the practice of sharing which allows for new members to join and the community to sustain. • The consumers of UA share the same values, making them feel part of a collective exclusive to the outer-group, increasing their commitment to the UA community.

6.3.1 Enabling sociality

UA can be considered a social activity, which means that when it is done together, a community can form. This community can be temporary and leans heavily on the sociality that comes with food consumption.

The interview data show that the consumers of UA consider UA to often have a social nature. Gorm states: *"I think it's much a social activity. I don't think [...] that there are many doing it to have a lot of food"* (Friborg, App.10.6), indicating that he believes the sociality of UA takes precedence in importance over its outcome.

The consumers of UA make use of the social side of UA and often consider it an opportunity to come together as *"they meet in groups"* (Laursen, App.10.7). Coming together to be social in the

context of UA is a reoccurring phenomenon. In academic literature this pattern is said to “*promote social health and community cohesion in form of stable relationships, which also contributes to a healthy lifestyle*” (Greibitus, Printezis and Printezis, 2017, p.190). These ‘stable relationships’ that are established through UA, connect people.

The social element of UA that is found in the empirics of this thesis, loudly echo previous research: “*Particularly for northern Europe, urban agriculture has largely been investigated in relation to its social functions, and it has been proposed that urban agriculture as a “hobby” boosts quality of life, leisure, and community building*” (Specht, Weith, Swoboda and Siebert, 2016, p.17). The possibility to use UA as a social context in which consumers commune is considered a positive element of the consumption practice.

The option to commune often results in the formation of communities of UA consumers. Although it is not necessary to do UA together with someone else, it is often considered “*kind of a group thing*” (Tange, App.10.10) as Anne says. When asked about the composition of the consumers of UA as one entity, the interviewees agree that there is something binding them together. Thomas says:

“*Well, I am not sure it’s a community. It is something... There is a culture. And if there is a culture it’s... there is some sort of community*” (Laursen, App.10.7).

It appears that the interviewees ascribe the values of what they would normally consider a community but sense some difference from a normal community that is organized and gathers regularly. Gorm describes it as “*a niche of the people*” (Friborg, App.10.6). Either way, it is clear that the consumers of UA think it is “*important that you do it together*” (Voltelen, App.10.9).

For some consumers, “*UA’s ability to strengthen a sense of community*” (McClintock, 2010, p.192) is a prime motive for turning to the consumption of UA. To these consumers UA is not only about the food production and consumption: “*But it is also just to be together. Just a community, making food together*” (Voltelen, App.10.9). Kirsti believes that the commitment of the consumers makes them “*a very engaged community*” (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). These statements seem in line with “the new buzzwords this year in the Copenhagen urban farming scene” as they are described as “bonding and bridging and linking” (Tange, App.10.10). It seems that for some consumers the practice of communing and being together is more important than what it is they are doing.

Analysis

The community aspect of UA is important which is emphasized by the efforts people put in maintaining it, also outside of the season. Entrepreneur Signe elaborates on this:

“But when the autumn comes, and the garden is put through winter, it is also about maintaining a community. Some places are very good at what I call ‘gardening the whole year around’. [...] it is also about maintaining the group and the social thing” (Voltelen, App.10.9).

This maintenance does not only happen in physical gardens, but also online, as is highlighted by Kristi: *“[...] a lot of these communities really try to build an online community as well, because, you know... Gardening happens kind of six months during the year and if you wanna build a strong community, you also need something to happen for the rest of the... the other six months”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). It is important to not the idea that the UA consumers can still commune without getting together physically. This shows that the ‘community’, as Thomas hesitantly calls it, is fluid and dispersed; social aggregations that can be maintained, but also switched off when not online. UA can provide a context of communion wherever, whenever.

The empirics point at the special social context that seems connected to food. Says Kirsti about UA:

“It’s also a way of contributing I think, for some people to build a nicer local community. Gardening is often used as a way [...] for people to gather around those, you know, food and cooking.” (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

Food is often connected to socializing qualities. Gorm, for example, believes that *“there are a lot of competencies that idealistically seen, should meet in an urban garden”* (Friborg, App.10.6). He believes that for the optimal outcome of UA, people need to come together: *“It’s kind of a collective thought I think”* (idem). Kirsti simply states: *“[...] food is always something you can come together around, right?”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). The commodity of food seems to have a natural social pull, communing its consumers.

In sum, the interviewees describe UA consumption as something that is often a social activity and communes the consumers in a broader collective of urban food growers which is fluid in its nature. In practice, the commodity of food has socializing qualities.

6.3.2 Facilitates trust and sharing

Across the collected empirics, this analysis finds that when consumers turn to UA as a context of communion, this context is facilitated by trust and sharing among the consumers. These two values lean on the locality of the city.

Trust plays an important role in establishing UA communities and is a requirement for it to sustain and grow. Research shows that *“increased face-to-face interaction between growers and eaters [...] engenders trust and cooperation within a community”* (Jarosz, p.234). If people get together, trust can stimulate social behavior. Entrepreneur Signe explains how that works by giving the example of seed-swopping—a practice in which UA consumers swap their home-grown seeds for someone else’s, with no quality insurance: *“is a trust you give. You hand over the trust to be given on further.”* (Voltelen, App.10.9).

It is easier to trust when the circumstances lower the risk of trust being violated. This seems to be the case in the context of UA, where the nature of the practice, also in a commercial context, seems reliable: *“because it is a good cause [...] you sort of automatically trust it to a different level. If it is a good cause and you want to support it.”* (Rossell, App.10.8). The perceived benevolent nature of UA stimulates higher levels of trust. When UA consumers commune and interact, mutual trust increases, nourishing the feeling of community.

When people turn to UA as a context of communion, they want to be part of something bigger than themselves: *“It is actually tapping into this whole ‘be local’ and ‘let’s create a community around something that we see and feel and touch. And have this togetherness feeling”,* says Iben (Rossell, 2017).

The way to enter in communion in the context of UA seems to be through the practice of sharing. Farmer Anne highlights the connection between the community and the desire of UA consumers to share within this group:

“I think it is coming back now that people want to do more things with other people in communities [...] They want to share their garden, they want to share dinner with their neighbors and stuff.” (Tange, App.10.10).

Sharing seems to be both a reason for communion, as seen in the above quote, as well as an outcome of it. The latter is illustrated by Gorm, who says about sharing: *“I mean, it’s also a corporation and interaction with each other when you help each other. When you say ‘Hey, when*

you do that, the seed has to go this far down” (Friborg, App.10.6). He shows that when people corporate and interact in an UA communion, they will end up sharing.

When people commune around UA in Copenhagen, there seems to be no reluctance in sharing; the community appears to be open. Entrepreneur Thomas signals:

“And there is, [...] definitely in Denmark, there is a lot of sharing. It is easier to learn when you are with people. Considering this urban farming scene and how they share... I think it is quite open” (Laursen, App.10.7).

Signe reiterates why the consumers are eager to share: *“because when you find out, like in nature, if you make space for others there is also space for yourself”* (Voltelen, App.10.9). It appears that the context of communion for UA is both based on, and instigates, sharing and trust among those communing. This secures the accessibility and sustainability of the community.

The physical context of communion around UA is always the city. Many urbanites find themselves in a social rift; where the characteristics of urban life have separated them from traditional social contexts (McClintock, 2010). Nevertheless, the findings show that the characteristics of this urban landscape actually stimulate coming together in the context of UA.

Anne shows that as the communion of UA is based on sharing, the city is a well-suited context for the practice: *“I think people are more into sharing and [...] they lean into the compact city concept, right? You live closely together, you might as well do a lot of stuff together”* (Tange, App.10.10).

It seems that as space is limited, sharing is encouraged - as also articulated by Thomas: *“You cannot just go in and have a piece of land and farm in Copenhagen. You need to know somebody to get a piece of land. But I think a lot of people are willing to share”* (Laursen, App.10.7). He notes that even though people are eager to share, *“some of them will probably look at you, to see who they are sharing with”* (idem). The city stimulates consumers to commune through sharing, although the sharing might not be fully inclusive.

In sum, the empirics show that the option to commune around UA is based on trust among the consumers and that the practice of sharing allows for new members to join the community and feel included. The locale of the cityscape encourages sharing and, as such, forms a stimulating physical context for people to use agriculture as a way to commune.

6.3.3 Creating a feeling of belonging

When people turn to UA as a context of communion they do so because they feel like they belong in that social context, based on values they share with the other consumers. The findings establish that, consequently, there is a pronounced feeling of inner group and outer group.

The consumers of UA generally have the same ideals and goals. Even though it is said that *"Growing food in a communal way, in community gardens and city farms, breaks down barriers between people with regard to differences in age, ethnicity, class and gender [...]"* (Doron, 2005, p.54), there are values that all these people share. As is illustrated by farmer Gorm: *"A niche of the people is getting their eyes opened [saying, ed.] 'that's important': to take care of nature and to get involved with nature."* Caring about the same things in relation to UA is what attracts a specific group of people to commune around UA.

The interviewees denote consuming UA a way of belonging to *"a broader collective of urban food growers"* (Dobernig and Stagl, 2015, p.455) and describe a strong bond with people who engage in similar actions, both in public and private spaces: *"It is an informal network. We just know each other"* (Voltelen, App.10.9). As such, the interviewees signal a group that is most engaged: *"We all know each other. We meet. We make different kinds of events and meet. Just sharing knowledge and information"* (Friborg, App.10.6). This group is recognized by all three groups of interviewees.

There is a small group of front-runners, of which most interviewees are part themselves, which they refer to as 'the core group': *"I think the core doing urban gardening... if you take the front runners... I think it's about, between thirty and one hundred people. That's the maximum."* (idem).

All three groups of interviewees stipulate the smaller size of this core group: *"I think the core community of the people driving it in Copenhagen is pretty small"* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). This smaller group of people facilitates UA in Copenhagen for the other *"people who are [...] super excited about it"* (idem).

Recognizing a community of people that subscribes to the values and practices of UA, also means recognizing those who do not turn to UA as a context of communion, and their reasons why. The majority of the people in Copenhagen that turn to UA as a context of communion are not part of the core group but are part of a fast-growing community which is signaled by Signe who says that *"...more projects and more small gardens are coming all the time"* (Voltelen, App.10.9).

Although UA is considered to be *“open to many people”* (Friborg, App.10.6), the interviewees conclude that *“as inclusive as this gardening thing can be, it can also exclude”* (Tange, App.10.10). The interview data show that UA is mainly consumed by the upper-middleclass and by those with access to agricultural spaces: *“[...] it is a problem if you garden on a rooftop: there is no access for disabled people and you have excluded them. If you only do meetings in the evenings you have excluded all single dads and moms, because they have to stay home.”* (Tange, App.10.10). Similarly, outsiders can feel too intimidated by the in-group experts to participate.

This means that there might be people who want to participate in UA and subscribe to the values but are excluded from physically participating. In the same vein, Gorm sees *“a lot of people in the lower socio-economic areas in town that simply just don’t have the resources or the time”* (Friborg, App.10.6). There is a group of potential consumers of UA in Copenhagen that are currently excluded from using it as a context for communion.

The empirics show that those people that are purposefully not part of the in-group of UA, are either not interested or do not value UA in the same way. Expert Kirsti explains that: *“still urban gardening is something that you need a bit of, uhm, mental space for. You need to be able to value ...”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

She elaborates on the need to be able to understand the value of UA: *“You also need a certain awareness [...] of why is this [...] it’s not like you’re gonna save money on it, right? You’re not going to save a lot of money on growing vegetables on your own balcony.”* (idem.) The need for a specific cultural capital is echoed across the interviews: *“it’s just something that does not have their [the people who are not involved in UA, ed.] interest. Or they haven’t met it.”* (Friborg, App.10.6). The context of communion that UA provides *“seems to be [...] for a particular group of people, who find it interesting”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). Consumers need to be able to value UA as part of a potential social context in order to consider using its context as a means of communion.

It is important to the consumers of UA that they are recognized as part of the community, both by those they commune with, as well as, by the outside group. Signe says that to be validated by outsiders *“is very important”* (Voltelen, App.10.9). At the same time, Iben reasons: *“it counts more for me, the nuances that my peers will pick up, than the ‘not in the known’ people.”* Either way, an in-group and out-group are recognized, and positions are allocated.

The validation of a UA consumer as such, adds to the feeling of belonging or not belonging. This applies to both individuals, groups and companies. Gorm depicts, for example, the way in which waiters in a restaurant *“are together with their customers”* (Friborg, App.10.6). He describes how the people behind the restaurant and the individual costumers feel like they belong to the same community: *“you build up a culture like ‘that’s what we are doing: ‘we are getting the food from the garden’”* (idem). In this scenario, the restaurant and customers form a like-minded community, communing in their ideas about UA.

It appears that in practice, it does not matter if the recognition of belonging to the UA community is based on a positive or negative judgement. Thomas explains:

“I think that, that they will get just as much value from being looked down upon as being looked up to by outsiders. I mean: they like the difference. [...] it makes sense for them either way” (Laursen, App.10.7).

What matters, is that as a UA consumer you get any kind of recognition: *“it is important to [...] get the feedback”* (Russell, 2017). Outside validation enhances the UA consumers’ feeling of belonging, in turn inciting their motivation to commune.

In sum, the findings show that consumers of UA share the same values, making them feel part of a collective. However, even though UA facilitates for consumer to be social, it is not entirely inclusive. Those who do not belong to the UA community might either lack the resources to be able to participate, are unable to value the practice of UA, or are simply not interested. The recognition of belonging to the in-group, both by their colleague-consumers and by the out-group is important to UA consumers. Being recognized as part of the UA community increases the feeling of belonging to a congenial community which stimulates its communing.

6.4 UA as embodiment of values




Across the collected data, this analysis finds that consumers use UA as an expression of their personal values as well as a way to embody their values and empower themselves through consumption.

First, it appears from the analysis that current trends are much in line with UA consumers’ values and that many of the values associated with contemporary trends are in line with the values associated with UA. It is shown that consumers use UA to embody their values through

consumption. This may eventually lead to an empowered feeling among the consumers of UA, as the consumption practice is an easily accessible, hands-on outlet for their values and goals.

The above conclusions are tested for triangulation as shown in the table below. In addition, the table summarizes the findings of this chapter.

Table 6. Summary of findings: Urban agriculture as an embodiment of values

Group	Findings
Experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is becoming well-known among people • Trending values of craftsmanship and self-reliance in UA practices • UA is a consumption driven by secondary needs • Consumers of UA often engage because they want to good and contribute in a positive manner • UA is a way to instrumentalize consumers' values and a tangible way to challenge the status quo
Entrepreneurs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UA is a way tap into the trend about organic food and being "green" • UA has always been around, but is growing in popularity • Trending values of craftsmanship and self-reliance in UA practices • UA is more than just a story, it is a tangible thing and a way to do something good
Farmers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People are starting to pursue wholesomeness and focus on getting "back to nature" • Sustainable production is growing in people's consciousness • UA feels like it is a temporary trendy thing for some people • UA is a way to handle all the agendas of sustainability and such • People wants to get hands-on experiences and get their hands dirty • People want to feel that they are doing something right
Summarized findings (Triangulation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The value of UA is much in line with larger trends in society • Consumers use UA as a way to embody their values, mainly in regard to sustainability and green energy • UA practice is a way for people to feel empowered in the challenge of status quo

6.4.1 Following trends

The analysis finds that the consumer-values of UA consumers are reflected in larger societal trends and that consumers might use UA as a means to express their values and follow these societal trends. This chapter is closely linked to subchapter 6.1.2, which describes how UA becomes part of consumers' identities through the connection of associated meaning of UA and the desired identity of the consumer.

In consumer research, values have been extensively studied because "*value is a critical predictor of future behaviors*" (Jeng and Yeh, 2016, p.226). According to Woodruff (2001) values are the goals and objectives that customers seek to achieve through the process of consumption, which influences the consumer's decision-making-process. In this process, the consumer not only assesses both the product's (or service's) attributes to see if they meet certain needs; they also assess the results and values obtained following the use (Peter and Olson, 1999).

Consumer values are directly related to societal trends as they both reflect and influence the world around them. It is important to note in this context values are not beliefs that can be proven in any conventional sense (Thompson and Troester, 2002, p.551); instead, they are "*abstract ideals*" that represent a person's "*conception of the desirable*" (Rokeach, 1973, p.10). Factors like economic development and disposable income will influence the short-term frames of behavior for many consumers. However, Dalen (1989) says that in the long run, consumer behavior will depend on values and that "*the development of such human values is the real definition of cultural trends*"(p.184).

The empirics of this study show that UA is related to larger societal changes, as the values of its consumers are reflected in contemporary societal trends.¹³ The interviewees recognize that the growth of interest in UA is somehow related to other movements in society by, for example, describing how UA is: "*tapping into the [...] trend of, you know, being all 'green', 'organic', looking after Mother Earth*" (Rossell, App.10.8). This linkage with societal trends seems to give UA exposure to a wider audience: "*the move has been from not knowing anything, to everybody knows what it is*" (Voltelen, App.10.9).

UA in Copenhagen is not necessarily recognized as a trend itself. One of the reasons expressed by the interviewees that there has always been UA, even if it is now linked to trends. Thomas signals how previously UA was not appreciated in the same manner as it is now, since the values of the general public have changed over time. He explains that "*there was a time before Noma, there was a time before 'New Nordic'*" (Laursen, App.10.7) indicating that UA has been around for a longer time than the products of certain trends have.

In a world where megatrends such as urbanization, globalization and commercialization (Lancefield and John, 2015) result in societal trends such as an increased focus on sustainability and locality. Since UA knows many shapes and forms, it is not surprising that the interview data reveal a wide variety of trends that UA links into.

Craftsmanship is one of the trends inciting UA, and Thomas believes that it will make urban farmers "*the next rock stars*" (Laursen, App.10.7).

¹³ Please note that the word "trend" has become a very popular term and may be applied to changes in a variety of contexts and to phenomena of varied significance (Nordin, 2005). "*In general, there are three key terms used to describe changes: 'fad', 'trend' and 'megatrend'. 'Fads' are short-lived and typically do not have broad social implications or significance. Fads are phenomena that are fashion- able. 'Trends' have a greater impact on society that is typically long-lasting. The term 'mega- trend' has been coined by Naisbitt (1982) to describe overarching transformations in society which will have great and long-lasting impacts.*" (Tolkach, Chon and Xiao, 2016, p.1071).

Iben also recognizes the ability to create things with your own hands; being self-reliant, as a value that consumers appreciate in UA. She believes the UA consumers aim for *“having a lifestyle that [...] will enable you to grow your own tomatoes and preparing everything. Knitting your... whatever”* (Rossell, App.10.8). In this context, it is not about what exactly is being made or done, but it indicates that *“an increasing value [is] given to being able to grow your own things”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). Thus, Consumers of UA seem to recognize the trending values of craftsmanship and self-reliance in UA practices.

Similarly, the empirics show that UA seems to be related to larger trends that speak to consumers' emotional values such as *“wholesomeness”* (Tange, App.10.10). Iben explains that the related way of thinking is focused on going *“back to basic”* (Rossell, App.10.8). In relation to agriculture, this means that consumers *“need more green”* and *“want to go back to Earth”* (Tange, App.10.10).

Consumers also demand more transparency of food supply chains transparency, which goes well in line with UA. Scholars recognizes that, for this reason, *“Many consumers have reoriented themselves towards local food, i.e. food that has traveled only short distances or towards food that is marketed directly by the producer”* (Feldmann and Hamm, 2015, p.153).

The interviewees identify this consumer trend among UA consumers. Farmer Anne even believes that the importance assigned to transparency overshadows the relative value of quality: *“People tend to rely more on local produce than organic produce. They trust that more than they trust their eco label”* (Tange, App.10.10). Aiming for local produce as a way to get closer to nature is a trend that is in line with the development of UA.

Finally, the interview data show that consumers of UA participate in practices that increases their feeling of consciousness, specifically to be a sustainable consumer. Iben describes this trend as *“the whole shift in less consumption and back to basic”* (Rossell, App.10.8). Not only individual consumers, but also companies aim to be mindful as *“[...] businesses talk more and more about the triple bottom-line, so you need both the environment and the economic”* (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5). Hence, consumers of UA see added value in the consumption of UA which contributes to their feeling of being conscious and sustainable.

As UA is being linked to current trends, this does bring the worry that as the trends will fade out, UA will as well: *“But also I sometimes feel that it is just a trend. It is going to go again. [...] But it seems more serious this time. It seems more sustainable, so I am hoping it is here to stay in one way or another.”* (Tange, App.10.10).

In sum, it appears from the empirics that contemporary trends are moving in the direction of UA, leading to a growing popularity of UA practice.

6.4.2 Embodiment of values through UA

Across the empirics this analysis finds that consumers use UA to embody their values. The physical characteristics of the consumption of UA provide its consumers with a tangible way to express their values.

Iben notes that *“It’s a by-product. It’s a nice-to-have in your life and it is a value that you want to pursue”* (Rossell, App.10.8). When pursuing a value, as she says, there is an actionable element present. By using UA to pursue your values, the action of consumption becomes the embodiment of this pursuit.

Not only do the values of the consumers match the perceived values of UA, since it is an action, namely consumption, which often times means growing your own produce - investing, time, knowledge and resources - people feel that their values come to live. Kirsti says:

“I think it is a very engaged community. A lot of them are in it because they want to do socially good, or environmentally good. They are pushing boundaries, you know, to some extent they are on a mission.” (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

This indicates both the values (wanting to do socially good) as well as the drive to be actionable by pushing boundaries and being on a mission. Consumers are able to move their values forward through consumption of UA.

It appears that the practice of UA is specifically well-suited as a means to reach goals connected to values, as the consumption is physically very close to the consumer, both in the production phase as in the final consumption phase. In the context of UA Dobernig and Stagl (2015) explain that: *“being involved in producing a tangible, visible product provides an emotional reward and direct feedback about one’s capabilities:[...] Thus, in offering a sense of self-control and evidence of self-effort”* (p.455). The consumption of UA is not only a way for consumers to practice their values, there is also a tangible outcome, creating added stimulation to put time and effort into UA as it might help pursuing goals based on values.

Another term than embodiment that could be used to shed light on the relationship between values, meaning and consumption, is coined by Arsel and Bean (2012). They write about ‘in-

strumentalization' as the "process of connecting objects and doings to the actualization of meanings" (p.909). UA can for example instrumentalize the nostalgia-element of a consumer's values:

"I think it [UA] is tapping into some of the same values as when it comes to putting your kids in a bus every morning and taking them out of the city. You know, these skovbørnehave¹⁴, which is a weird thing, because we choose to live on asphalt, but we don't want our kids to do it. And I think it is the whole nostalgia and the whole getting back to basic thought. Trend. That is just growing, and a human needs to have some green to look at and to get some actual earth under your feet" (Rossell, App.10.8).

The meaning of, in this case, nostalgia is actualized by 'getting some actual soil under your feet'.

The argument that UA supports consumers' embodiment of personal values was further elaborated by Signe who sees the value of 'creation' realized in the ability to "actually do something with the land in the city" (Voltelen, App.10.9). Similarly, Gorm recognizes the embodiment of the value of wanting to 'make a physical impact' in the world by people who "wanna do something with their body[...] to be in the earth and get dirty hands" (Friborg, App.10.6). Practicing UA can make the consumers feel fulfilled and accomplished as their values are embodied through the consumption of UA.

In sum, consumers can turn to UA to embody their values as the outcomes of UA are connected to the goals that consumers base on their values. So, providing a tangible outcome of values through consumption of UA makes consumers feel good and accomplished.

6.4.3 Empowering the individual

Across the collected interview data, it shows that the embodiment of consumer values through the consumption practice of UA can make the consumers feel empowered. The feeling of empowerment mainly comes from the ability to use UA as a tool to oppose the status quo.

All three groups of interviewees emphasize the actionable part of UA in connection to the consumers' embodied values. Signe explains:

¹⁴ The Danish concept of forest-kindergartens, where the children usually roam free in the woods whilst being supervised.

"[...] you want to use your hands, because it is a way of handling the overwhelming agendas that for example climate change and so on and pollution and so on; we have a chance to...to heal a little bit, show our children that we can actually also live a good life in the city and that we can also be a part of the change." (Voltelen, App.10.9).

The actionable part of UA thus becomes a means for people to feel productive and in-control, in an environment where the consumer often feels out-of-control.

UA provides a way for consumers to take matters in their own hands, in the most literal sense of the word. The physical aspect of the empowerment is expressed by Gorm: *"I mean, it's like people want to do it in 'real' virtual reality; not on a screen. [...] I think that people wanna do something with their body; feel this... try to be in the earth and get dirty hands"* (Friborg, App.10.6). Devoting time and physical energy in UA allows consumers to connect their values with outcomes.

The apparent empowerment through UA by instrumentalizing consumers' values is also recognized in academic research. Dobernig and Stagl (2015), for example, state: *"Embedded in the broader choice of crafting life in harmony with one's natural environment, social community and personal well-being, urban food cultivation provides a feeling of agency and empowerment"* (p.455). This feeling of agency has a positive connotation among consumers. Anne also indicates that consumers take charge *"To feel better"* (Tange, App.10.10). She explains:

"We're being bombed every day with stories and news and papers online, television. Things are going wrong, going bad [...] And I think it is really nice to feel that you do something to prevent that. Or to help out. Or that you are trying to stop something bad or something. And that is really nice to feel, that you are doing something." (idem).

This quote shows that just being able to do something that goes against the current, which is a relative measure based on personal values, is already a motivation for consumers to engage in UA consumption.

It should be noted that in the context of UA, research often explain empowerment as being self-reliant (e.g. Mok et al., 2014), with a focus on the quality and quantity of the production of produce. However, in the context of Copenhagen, and the Global North in general, the focus seems to be on achieving goals based on values, as bluntly explicated by Iben: *"It is more a story and the vision of you can grow it yourself and you can eat it."* (Rossell, 2017).

Analysis

In the context of Copenhagen, the feeling of empowerment mainly comes from the ability to use UA as a tool to oppose the status quo. The general population has enough, high quality food to eat and so the consumers of UA are mainly concerned with self-actualizing values:

“[...] it’s also, you know, an opposition to ‘everything needs to go super-fast, you know, we’re always on the run. Where this is more of an opportunity to kind of, maybe, slow down. [...] I think it’s really kind of a statement to try to go against all the pace and the mass consumption.” (Reitan Andersen, App.10.5).

The idea that when consuming UA you are working against big societal systems like mass consumption and global supply chains, exposes the feeling of empowerment among the consumers of UA.

From the above it can be concluded that UA is recognized as the fulfilment of consumer values. As the contemporary consumer values develop in the direction of values associated with UA practices, consumers turn to the consumption of UA to see their values embodied. The ability to realize their values through embodiment in the practice of consumption might leave the consumer feel empowered in their pursuit of values that oppose the status quo.

7. DISCUSSION

The present study contributes with insights into the consumer culture behind the consumption of UA. In this chapter, the analyzed findings will be discussed in regard to the employed theoretical framework as well as the practical value for managers and marketers. In addition, reflecting on the scope of this study, suggestions for future research will be brought forward.

7.1 Academic heuristics

The applied theoretical framework suggests the investigation of the two consumer-driven processes of identification and socialization, which in the light of CCT, might be inciting the consumption of UA in Copenhagen. Below, the findings that resulted from the triangulation exercise are accordingly mirrored to the parameters that constitute these processes.

7.1.1 Application of Consumer Culture Theory

In line with the idea to look at commercial goods in the service of identity, Belk suggests that self-extension occurs “*through control and mastery of an object, through creation of an object, through knowledge of an object, and through contamination via proximity and habituation of an object*” (Belk, 1989, p.160). The performed analysis in this study reflects the occurrence of all four practices in the context of the consumption of UA in Copenhagen.

The appropriation of UA through mastery and control of the related agricultural practices is only successfully conducted by a smaller group of consumers. However, the biggest part of the consumers aspires to master and learn about the UA practice.

Creation is at the core of UA. Whether it is the creation of honey in a beehive or carrots on a rooftop farm, the findings show that creation is almost always the case in Copenhagen and provides an easy way to extend the self. The successful outcome of the creation and the frequency of creating, differs but does not influence the feeling of having created.

Knowledge of the ‘object’ of UA has shown to be of high importance to the consumers and its initial absence even an incentive to start participating in UA. Belk states that in order for self-extension to occur through knowledge, the consumer cannot be passionless about learning (Belk, 1989). In the context of the case study of Copenhagen, the majority of the consumers are highly passionate about both the knowledge they already have and about learning more.

The contamination via proximity and habituation of UA in this study happens through sharing. It could be contested whether the sharing of food to eat is part of UA or moves into the domain

Discussion

of food consumption. However, the interviewees referred repeatedly to practices of food sharing in the context of UA and even likened it to “*sharing of love*” (Voltelen, App.10.9), so it is considered part of the UA practice in the context of Copenhagen.

From the above it is concluded that Copenhagen’s UA consumers subscribe to the indicated ways of self-extension. This indicates that the consumers of UA in Copenhagen experience an extension of self.

As part of the extended self, UA is subsumed into the consumers’ identity and becomes an “*objective manifestation of the self*” (Belk, 1989, p.159). When people are aware of this process, they deliberately turn to the consumption of UA as a co-productive way to forge a sense of self and contribute to the narrative of their identity.

In addition to the considerations on identity and sense of self, the employed theoretical framework of this study presents two themes in relation to the neo-tribe’s key characteristics: spatial affiliation and emotional glue. The analysis reflects a presence of these elements to a high degree, which suggests the identification of the consumer-base of UA as a neo-tribe.

The physical element of the UA consumption practice makes for a strong spatial affiliation. Although gathering on a specific plot of land or webpage is no absolute necessity in the case of UA in Copenhagen, the location often becomes a point of connection. Due to its physicality, the spontaneous instigation of UA consumption spaces is less clearly pronounced. However, if the consumption of UA can be defined to include passionate knowledge exchanges and storytelling, then spontaneous instigation of spaces appears to be omnipresent (think of the example of two friends in a bar talking about their yields). Unless it concerns an UA class or the context of school gardens, the practice of UA is based on undirected gatherings.

The interviewees recognize the consumer-base as one entity, confirming the presence of something like emotional glue. The consumers pursue opportunities for communion, as they want to (temporarily) feel part of the bigger whole. A clearly articulated aura of shared values and norms binds the consumers together. On top of that, the clearly pronounced feeling of ‘in-group, out group’ (Maffesoli, 1988, p.92) creates a feeling of belonging. One specific ingredient of the emotional glue that was clearly reflected in the findings was the feeling of solidarity, as the consumers are eager to help and teach each other. At the same time, UA is only one of the many entities that the consumer is simultaneously part of and identifies with.

The majority of the elements of the neo-tribe as described by Maffesoli are recognized in the Copenhagen scene. Therefore, the consumers can be identified as a postmodern tribe, also known as neo-tribe.

This means that as members of a tribe, consumers of UA come together in the context of a consumption practice, based on shared values. The ability to use the marketplace for communion, allows the tribal members to find opportunities for sociality with like-minded people.

7.2 Further Studies: Reflecting on the current scope

The emphasis on shared values in the thesis' findings suggests that the concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) could be of value in the context of UA in the Global North. Bourdieu builds on Karl Marx's work on economic capital to understand how multiple forms of capital, economic, cultural, social and symbolic – circulate across the social field (Naccarato and LeBesco, 2012). As UA is recognized as a secondary need in Copenhagen, only those who see added value to the practice will turn to it. The concept of cultural capital could explain why specific consumers value UA while others do not. Therefore, future research could investigate if and how UA can function as a platform for creating cultural capital.

Within the Bordieuan scope of capital, it could be interesting to look at the pronounced aspirations of expertise by the consumers that the findings of this thesis brought forward. Recognizing their position as amateur, the consumers appear to be on a quest of knowledge and mastery of nature. The apparent quest could be reflected in theories of practice, typically invoked to understand unsustainable consumption patterns and marketplace transformations (Arsel and Bean, 2012).

Also, approaching UA as an integrative practice (Warde, 2005) could highlight how the actionable element of UA consumption and its context are just as valuable or important, if not more important, than reaching the outcome of UA. In this pursuit, a relevant concept could be found in the assessment of the concept of 'the craft consumer' (Campbell, 2005), where the argument is that individuals consume principally out of a desire to engage in creative acts of self-expression. This means that the consumer wants to realize their potential in the act of consumption, through production, instead of aiming for a specific goal. Due to limitations, the present study will not go further into this area of study. However, for future heuristics, one could consider conducting research in this direction.

Considering the exploratory nature of this study of the consumer culture of UA consumers, a reflection on the context of the study provides suggestions for further research, which could strengthen the arguments brought forward in this thesis.

The research question of the present study is based on the specific context of the Global North, where there seems to be an apparent paradox as a significant number of affluent urbanites with easy access to plenty of high quality (even organic) food, turn to UA. As such, the case study of Copenhagen provides findings that, for instance, echoed academic accounts of a post-modern consumption context (e.g. McClintock, 2010) in which the *“individual values the social aspects of life at the cost of consumption”* (Cova, 2011, p.307).

If the context for the study were to be changed, to for example another city in Northern Europe, it would add heuristic value as it could be tested how much of the findings were specific to the local cultural context of Copenhagen versus the culture of the community of UA consumers. Changing the context to a Global South city, could add theoretical value by showing why an increase in popularity is incited in the north and not in the south, potentially touching on the CCT domain that looks at socio-historic patterning of consumption, which was left out of scope in this research.

Lastly, if the content of this research would change from AU to something else, it would add insight on the consumer base. The consumption field of UA is unique in that it is connected to a specific location (the city) and its consumers can also be producers. As such, it is difficult to find another product group that could compare to show the uniqueness of the consumers of UA. A similar study as the current one could be executed looking at, for example, organic beer brewers. It could show in comparison how specific the consumer base is to UA.

7.3 Practical value of findings: Managerial Implications

The most straight-forward managerial implication of the study might be the understanding of UA as a consumption practice that consumers turn to for added value, something they are willing to devote resources to, and companies could thus capitalize on. From this, a line of implications can be outlined.

In making UA consumption part of the extended self, the linking value assigned to UA practices and products is highly important to the consumer. The insight that the linking value between the UA product, or service, serves as a source of identity and embodiment of personal values or desires, is a valuable insight for companies, and marketers specifically. As the practice of

marketing is understood as 'adding value' to goods and services, this practice taps into the desire of the consumers who look for this added value. By figuring out which associated values are most desired, marketers could employ these associations in their campaigns.

Marketers will benefit from the empirical insight that the time and resources spend on UA, or the proven knowledge of the consumer, does not have to be directly aligned with their identity. As the interviewees indicated they already feel like an urban farmer when editing an UA website; or that consumers already talk about their farming practices for hours after merely watering one plant, it appears that the association with UA in itself is sufficient. This means that in order for their actions to be effective, the only thing marketers have to do to speak to consumers' (perceived) identities, is emphasize the associated values of their products with UA.

As this research has shown that one of the underlying motives of UA consumption is the attainments and dissemination of knowledge, companies could use this insight to position their product or service as a source of knowledge or as an educational tool. Related to this, parents are focused on making sure they fulfil what they see as their parental duty: to educate their children about food and nature. Seemingly happy to spend money and time on whatever is best for their children, parents are likely eager to consume products that offer added educational value.

As this research recognizes consumers of UA as a neo-tribe, it answers marketers' calls to look beyond conventional marketing theory and avoid pigeonholing consumers (Addis and Podestà, 2005). When scrutinizing consumer behavior, the tribal approach provides a means to single out groups of potential consumers based on meaningful shared characteristics. Besides, the affection that members possess for their tribe (Cova, 1997) presents marketers with the opportunity to foster relationships with a group of consumers, that would otherwise be hard to connect with in a postmodern consumption context. This relationship is based on more than the repeat purchasing behavior and allows for a consumer-relationship based on "affective bonds of loyalty" (Cova and Salle, 2008, p.7), ensuring a lasting relationship with the customer.

Lastly, in line with the pronounced desire of urbanites to commune, a suggestion to marketing managers to reconsider the positioning of their products and services as 'a potential context of communion'. The desire for goods and services which, through their linking value, permit and support social interaction of the communal type could potentially also be met by other offerings than UA, suggesting future opportunities.

8. CONCLUSION

This thesis is set out to study the growing interest in UA in Copenhagen. Employing CCT as a theoretical point of departure, more specifically by employing Russell W. Belk's (1988) theory of Extended Self and Michel Maffesoli's (1996) concept of a neo-tribalism, the present study has answered the research question by uncovering cultural factors that incite consumption of UA in Copenhagen. It thereby contributes to the excising fields of knowledge of both UA and consumer culture studies.

In short, the present study utilized the employed theoretical approach to find that consumers are using UA (1) as a source of identity, (2) as embodiment of personal values, (3) as a context of communion and (4) as a body of knowledge.

UA as a source of identity refers to the finding that consumers engage with UA because the practice corresponds with the values on which their identity is build, and as such with their sense of self. Absorbing the identity of an UA consumer happens through Self-Extension processes. In addition, UA is also found to be a source of identity, used by the consumers' narrations of their identities to influence their perceived identity, referring to the subjective valuation of the identity by the consumers themselves and their outside world.

UA as a body of knowledge denotes that knowledge of UA holds value to consumers as an objective of education and knowledge. The analysis shows that consumers of UA look to UA to establish knowledge about farming and food produce. As the consumers experience a decrease in general knowledge of nature and UA in the city environment, they consider consumption of UA a source of knowledge. In the empirics, it is also found how consumption of UA is driven by a desire to share and pass on excising knowledge between practitioners. Especially parents, who consider it their role as a good educator to pass on knowledge about food and UA to their children, are a driving force for consumption of UA in relation to knowledge acquisition.

UA as a context of communion contains that consumers of UA in Copenhagen experience UA as a positive catalyst for sociality with likeminded people, which communes the consumers in broader collectives. In this regard, the study also finds that these communities are part of a social engagement build on trust and sharing among members of the communities. This essentially generates the desired feeling of belonging among the consumers.

Conclusion

UA as embodiment of values refers to the way in which consumers use UA to embody their values. The physical characteristics of the consumption of UA provide its consumers with a tangible way to express their values. As such, the embodiment of values through UA can make the consumers feel empowered as they find a way in UA to oppose the status quo — or follow it. Supporting this argument, it appeared from the analysis that values of current societal trends are much in line with UA consumers' values and the values generally associated with UA.

Explicitly answering the posted research question, the above findings establish the conclusion that the increasing interest in UA in Copenhagen, among other things, is incited as UA provides a means through which consumers can express and build their identities and presents a marketplace as a context for desired communion and sociality, based on shared values.

Having established the problem statement and clarified objects of investigation in Chapter 1 and 2, this thesis began its investigation of the phenomenon by reviewing previous and contemporary literature on UA as well as the employed theoretical approach—CCT—in Chapter 3. The literature initially established the scholastic relevance of this study, by showing how UA literature mainly highlights rational reasons for UA consumption, leaving out other ulterior consumption motives, such as symbolic and cultural ones. Subsequently, the chapter provided a brief overview of literary works on consumer research and CCT, which places the conducted research of this work within contemporary scholastic developments and underscored the applicable value of consumer culture to studies within the realm of consumption.

In Chapter 4, the employed theories were laid out. The theoretical approach of CCT that this study utilizes was introduced together with its applicable value within this realm of studies. Subsequently, the research domains of CCT were shortly introduced, followed by an explanation and justification of the selected two domains that constitute the applied theoretical framework. Finally, the employed theories of Russell W. Belk (1988) and Michel Maffesoli (1996) were elaborated to then develop the theoretical framework for data collection and analysis.

With point of departure in the problem statement and objectives of the research, its place in contemporary scholastics and the employed theories, Chapter 5 presented the methodology used to establish knowledge. It was argued how constructivist philosophy of science – methodology, ontology and epistemology – holds the most suiting features for the investigation of this thesis. The chapter then established the quality of the performed research by explaining the applied research design with associated methods used for data collection, analytical strategy and the analysis' inductive structure of reasoning, guiding the analysis.

Conclusion

In an inductive content analysis of the collected empirics, Chapter 6 utilized triangulation, to establish the findings summarized in the beginning of this conclusion chapter.

Finally, Chapter 7 discussed the mirroring of the academic heuristics, that resulted from the triangulation exercise, to the parameters of the applied theoretical framework. As such, the theoretical reflection allows the study to identify the consumers of UA as a neo-tribe and conclude that UA practices instigate the extension of Self: two cultural phenomena that serve the consumer in the fulfilment of their socio-cultural desires. Also, in Chapter 7, further theoretical and contextual reflections, including a suggested expansion of the scope of research to include Bourdieu's concept of capital, brings forward potential directions for future research within this realm. Finally, the chapter reflects on the practical value of the findings for managers and marketers.

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10. APPENDIX

10.1 Literature review: Development of urban agriculture literature

In an effort to provide context to the review of the contemporary literature on UA, the below serves as an elaborate walk-through of the developments of UA in the North until the present day. It is also indicated how the corresponding academic focus and interest has changed over time.

Historically, food production and cities did not exist in the apparent paradox as it is deemed today. In fact, the rise of cities was closely related to agriculture and food trade, their influence *“etched into the anatomy of every pre-industrial urban plan”* (Steel, 2008, p.118). After the industrialization however, *“it was widely assumed that the atavistic challenge of feeding people adequately had been solved once and for all by an industrialized agri-food system [...]”* (Morgan & Sonnino, 2010, p.209) which had rendered sufficient, cheap food accessible to everyone, both on the country as well as in cities. The production side of this ‘system’ was now solely based in the country-side. With this separation of food production and consumption in cities, a decline in knowledge about agriculture and ‘nature’ among urban dwellers was eminent (Colasanti, Hamm and Litjens, 2012).

As a reaction to this separation between the city dweller, nature, and the knowledge about cultivation, the end of the 19th century saw the rise of gardening movements and the sprawl of allotment gardens at the edge of cities (Ernwein, 2014, p.78 and McClintock, 2010, p.198). During the two World Wars, UA flourished in the Global North as it required urban dwellers to be more self-sufficient (e.g. Doron, 2005, p.53). Consequently, academics often discuss UA in the Global North until the 1960s as a solution to: crisis, the global challenges posed by urban population growth, and climate change (Despommier, 2010; De Zeeuw, Van Veenhuizen & Dubbeling, 2011; FAO, 2007). In the after-war period the number of allotments started to decrease, and a new sort of urban garden began to develop, referred to as ‘community gardens’. To this day, the majority of published literature on UA is based on research on community gardens, in which produce are not grown for sale (Santo, Palmer, & Kim, 2016, p.1).

Due to food insecurity¹⁵, UA has had a necessary and stable presence in the Global South. The UA schemes from the South have therefore more frequently been featured in both practice and academic debates for several decades (Hardman & Larkham, 2014, p.400). On the other hand,

¹⁵ Referring to an adequate quantity and quality of sustainably grown food.

public policy and scientific research on UA in the Global North has seen an increase in attention over the past 15 years¹⁶ (Ernwein, 2014, p.77), mirroring the growth in its public's interest that this thesis aims to explain.

The emergence of successful entrepreneurs in the field of UA has also attracted the interest of practitioners who aim to emulate UA practices. As a result, UA has increasingly been addressed in terms of new business models and (social) entrepreneurship by policymakers, researchers, and its stakeholders (Specht et al., 2016, p.2).

One persistent theme in the literature that has served as a 'tool' rather than an outcome or target of UA, is the role of *urban planning* in designing UA. Literature in this direction is often case-based (Sonnino, 2009), small scale, or meant to show extraordinary practices and projects¹⁷ (Nasr, Komisar, & Gorgolewski, 2014). The relatively large body of literature concerning the physical presence of UA in a city, demonstrates the institutionalization of UA as a direct outcome of urban policies. What this shows, and why this is important to note in the context of the research question, is that the rise of UA is also 'supply-driven'. The growth of UA is not only driven by individuals; there are also groups, or companies that have a demand for it. Hardman and Larkham (2014), for example, write about the rise of something they call 'the food charter': 'a statement of aims' which functions as the foundation of a mechanism to increase UA based on a pre-defined agenda.

This finally leads to a more general remark about the analytical perspective that scholars have when studying UA. According to McClintock (2014), research on UA tends to emphasize one of two perspectives that are seemingly on opposite sides of a spectrum. There are those for whom UA has become synonymous with sustainable food systems, standing in opposition to the dominant industrial agri-food system. They are described to be more radical and reformist. At the same time, he identifies a group of 'critical social scientists' whom increasingly argue that UA programs fill the void that is created by the shrinking social safety net, privatizes green public spaces, and that these programs thereby underwrite neo-liberalization. McClintock argues that such contradictions are in fact central to UA; that they should be understood as internal and

¹⁶ Hardman and Larkham (2014) distinguish between North America and Europe in this development, stating that: "For over two decades North Americans have embraced the concept, although in Europe the idea of UA has only recently gained attention from academics, practitioners and policy makers" (p.400).

¹⁷ Versus ordinary, day-to-day best practice designs. See also the *Carrot City* initiative (<https://www.rverson.ca/carrotcity/>), a traveling exhibit that examines how design at all scales can enable the production of food in the city.

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inherent, to *“not risk undermining urban agriculture’s transformative potential”* (McClintock, 2014, p.147).

10.2 Literature review: Emergence of consumer culture research

Consumption is an age-old phenomenon based on the sharing, exchanging and trading of goods and services. For a long time, economists considered 'consumption' a *matter of maximizing utility* or it was similarly considered a *process of acquisition* in business studies (McKendrick, Brewer, & Plumb, 1982).

The practice of consumption has evolved over time. Generally, three 'consumer revolutions' in the capitalist Western world are recognized to have shaped the practice of consumption (McKendrick, Brewer, & Plumb, 1982). The first revolution in the sixteenth-century Elizabethan England signaled a shift from the cult of family status -related to class- to the individual. The second revolution during the eighteenth century introduced 'fashion' as an entirely new habit of mind and pattern of behavior (Usui, 2008). The third consumer revolution happened in conjunction with the Industrial Revolution, leading to *modern* consumption. The Industrial Revolution facilitated upscaling of production which resulted in standardization of products. This meant that for the first time in history it was clear what selection of products consumers could choose from.

To be able to differentiate their products from competitors', companies started to emphasize the unique characteristics of their product and adding perceived value to it to create a demand. This created 'the marketing system' (Addis and Podestà, 2005).

In academia, the marketing system was first described at the end of the nineteenth century in the context of the *marketing problem* and the *distribution cost debate*, both focusing on sales, looking into the distribution of costs along the supply chain (Usui, 2008). From there, the focus turned towards 'applied economics' in the early twentieth century, using economic theory to look into the actual functioning of marketing. This instigated the first debates of philosophy of science in marketing.

An important contribution to marketing theory was made through the works of Frederick Winslow Taylor, known as the father of scientific management. Marketing scholars applied Taylor's work as a way to make marketing, retailing and salesmanship more efficient (Usui, 2008). By the end of the 1930s there was a movement away from this limited efficiency-focus to a greater emphasis on consumer needs and desires. "*Marketing research consequently gained a foothold in the industry*" (Ellis et al., 2011, p.20).

After a massive industry expansion in the second World War, the post-war world probably represented the most competitive landscape business had ever seen. This made it ever more

important for companies to gain insights through consumer research. A paper in the *Journal of Marketing* written by Robert Keith indicated that the attention paid to the customers grew exponentially in the 1950s and 1960, writing: *"In today's economy the consumer, the man or woman who buys the product, is the absolute dead center of the business universe. Companies revolve around the consumer, not the other way around."* (Keith, 1960, p.35).

In their desire to appear credible and useful to the management of their companies, the consumer research conducted by marketers from the second half of the twentieth century onwards was conducted as scientific as possible. The underlying assumption was that companies were the sole determiner of what kind of values consumers could distract from their product or service. In practice, this meant that there was a great focus on segmentation of the target audience. One of the most well-known theorist in this vein is Philip Kotler, who's publication of *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning and Control* (1967) emphasized the perceived rationality in the consumer's decision making process, largely ignoring the role of other cognitive processes, such as symbolic ones—ignoring actual consumer behavior.

By omitting *actual* consumer behavior in consumer research, marketers were missing out on valuable insights that lay beyond their list of a priori hypotheses (Ellis et al., 2011, p.42).

In the 1980s and early 1990s, academia started taking great interest in consumer behavior, studying the multitude of ways in which people are involved with consumption. An example is Hirschman and Holbrook's (1982) exploration of the emerging concept of hedonistic consumption. As a result, *consumer behavior research*, with a specific focus on consumption's sensory and experiential aspects (Joy & Li, 2012, p.148), established itself as an important discipline; also for marketers. With point of departure in the relevance of behavior, the *context and culture* of consumption showed to hold great value.

In the context of the growing interest in the *cultural outlook* on the age-old process of consumption, consumption became a term containing the relations between society and individual: *"[...] be it in the form of social classification and communication systems, identity formation processes, ritualistic and community processes, the relationship between the individual and the state under the reign of new public management, or the search for existentially fulfilling experiences"* (S. Askegaard & Linnet, 2011, p.382). These relationships form Consumer Culture.

Consumer Culture is defined as: *"[...] the system of commercially produced images, signs, discourses, experiences, and material objects that social groups use to make collective sense of their environments and to orient their identities and social experiences"* (Weijo, 2017). In modernity

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this means, as Zukin writes in a 1995 review, that consumption simultaneously overcomes and reestablishes social and geographical barriers, obliterates and creates physical contexts, and mobilizes yet never eliminates alienation in a world of strangers (Zukin, 1995, p.71).

From the focus on Consumer Culture, Consumer Culture Research emerged. A central contribution to Consumer Culture Research is McCracken's (1986) 'transferring of meaning' theory. McCracken establishes where meaning is located and how it is transferred between three locations of meaning. According to McCracken, meaning exists and moves from (1) the culturally constituted world (i.e. the environment that, through culture, individuals make sense of) to (2) objects (e.g. the urban agriculture produce), to (3) consumers.

From Consumer Culture Research several secretions developed. All of which have their own focus. One of the main sub-groups was formed by interpretivist researchers and those looking into experiential consumption, which led to Consumer Culture Theory.

10.3 The four research domains of Consumer Culture Theory

This thesis refers to Arnould and Thompson's (2005) division of CCT research into four domains, or 'research programs', which form a holistic research tradition. Even though the focus of the present study is on the domains of 'marketplace culture' and 'consumer identity projects', it exhibits various aspects of each domain and might also have relevance within the domains of 'the socio-historic patterning of consumption' and 'the mass-mediated marketplace'. In order to provide a further reflection on the potential cross-references, a short description of the focus of each domain follows below.

Consumer identity projects

The focus of this first domain are person-object relations, however complex and varied they might be (Joy and Li, 2012, p.143).

As indicated, CCT is concerned with the co-productive ways in which consumers, through marketer-generated materials, 'forge' a coherent yet diversified and often a fragmented sense of 'self' (Belk, 1988; McCracken, 1986). The resulting premise is that the market place is a source of mythic and symbolic resources through which people construct narratives of identity (e.g. Stamey and Hill, 1990; Holt, 2002; Levy, 1981). These mythic and symbolic resources, or 'objects', thus become central definitions of self, and in particular become extensions of self although such constructions are complex and often riddled with ambivalence and internal contradictions (Joy & Li, 2012, p.143).

In CCT, consumers are considered identity seekers and makers, even if the crafting of identity does not always happen consciously or successfully. Arnould and Thompson (2005) also note that this also concerns those who lack resources to participate in the market as full-fledged consumers (p.871). The most thorough example of this CCT domain's approach to consumption was delivered by Belk in his now classical work on consumption and the extended self (Belk, 1988). This study employs the basis of his theory in its theoretical framework.

It should be stressed that the notion of self-extension does not only pertain to the purchase or physical use of material goods by the consumer. The concept of 'experience' - either referring to the experience of utilizing the purchased good, or to the consumption of a service - is just as well part of consumer identity creation through the extended self (e.g. Thompson, 1997; Maclaran and Brown, 2005; Penaloza, 2001).

In this thesis consumption of UA is considered both purchasing UA produce, as well as producing and consuming them; the experience will therefore be considered implicit potential in consumer identity creation through consumption.

In line with the findings of this thesis, contemporary researchers in the CCT identity domain consider consumer experience through a prism of multiple selves (see for example Milne and Bahl, 2010). This means that consumers can adopt different levels of self which they use in different contexts and employ depending on the situation. This explains why consumers can hold inconsistent consumption preferences; one level of self might be in favor of consuming locally grown food and another level might want to live in a city.

Marketplace Cultures

Miller (1995) predicts imminent changes in the study of consumer culture and subsequently called to focus on both production and consumption. As a result, the concept of 'marketplace cultures' (mainly based on co-production) became a widely used context in the application of CCT (Joy & Li, 2012, p.152). Marketplace cultures include brand communities and practices, and collective or family identities (e.g. Cova and Pace, 2006; McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig, 2002; Schau, Muñiz and Arnould, 2009). Studies focusing on marketplace cultures address the most distinctive features that characterize the intersection of the marketplace and culture.

Arnould and Thompson (2005) formulate the key research question of the 'marketplace cultures domain': "[...] *how does the emergence of consumption as a dominant human practice re-configure cultural blueprints for action and interpretation, and vice versa?*" (p.873). They view consumers as culture producers whom can forge collective or community identity and share common value through interaction with the marketplace. By following common consumption interests, consumers create shared cultural worlds; however fragmented, distinctive, self-selective and transient they are.

One of the most frequently cited motivations for consumers to create these cultural worlds, is eloquently explained by Joy and Li (2012): "*In the context of major socio-cultural transformations that have eroded traditional bases for sociality, consumers search for ways to collectively identify and participate in rituals of solidarity.*" (p.150). This idea stems from Maffesoli's (1996) ideas on neo-tribalism —used in the employed theoretical framework. In the sub-genre of 'marketplace culture research' that developed based on his ideas, different terms emerged to describe these collectives of consumers: consumption micro culture (Thompson and Troester,

2002), subculture of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), consumption world (Holt, 1995) and culture of consumption (Kozinets, 2001).

The socio-historic patterning of consumption

The name Arnould and Thompson (2005) gave to this domain of CCT research speaks for itself: it addresses how institutional and social structures such as ethnicity, class, families, households, gender and community, systematically influence consumption (p.874). CCT researchers then examine what the relationships are among consumers' believe systems, practices and experiences and these underlying institutional and social structures (e.g. Dobscha and Ozanne, 2001; Fischer and Arnold, 1990).

Within this domain, consumers are considered enactors of certain positions and social roles. The main question is, put bluntly; What is a consumer society, and how is it constituted and sustained? (Joy and Li, 2012, p.152). In general, this domain has dug into the cultural categories and principles to produce insights into how consumption is affected by socio-cultural forces (e.g. Csaba and Ger, 2013; Holt, 1998; Schroeder and Borgerson, 1998; Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983).

Mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies.

When CCT examines consumer ideology, they refer to: *"systems of meaning that tend to channel and reproduce consumers' thoughts and actions in such a way as to defend dominant interests in society"* (E. J. Arnould & Thompson, 2005, p.874). Most of the research in this direction takes place outside of consumer research and instead figures in critical theory or media theory.

The main question in this research domain asks which normative messages commercial media transit about consumption (Hirschman, 1988). As consumers in this CCT domain are conceived of as 'interpretive agents', the logical follow-up question is how the consumers make sense of these messages and how they formulate critical responses (e.g. Murray, Ozanne, & Shapiro, 1994). The meaning creating activities of the consumers under investigation, range from implicitly embracing the dominant representations of consumer identity and lifestyle ideals (as portrayed in advertising and mass media), to those consciously deviating from such ideological instructions. The consumers that consciously deviate from the status quo often critique capitalism and marketing as being social institutions. (Joy and Li, 2012, p.153)

One of the main ways of doing research in this domain, is by reading popular cultural texts, (such as advertisements, TV-shows, websites etc.) as if they were 'lifestyle instructions' that

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convey marketplace ideologies (e.g. ‘this is what you should look like’, ‘this is where you should travel’) and idealized consumer types. By decoding the ideologies that are connected and shaped through these pop-culture ‘texts’, CCT scholars reveal how *capitalist cultural production systems* seduce consumers to follow a particular lifestyle and the products and services related to it (e.g. Chapter 9 in Ellis et al., 2011; McQuarrie and Mick, 1992; Ritson and Elliott, 1999; Stern, 1995).

10.4 Interview guide

Below follows the guidelines used by the interviewer for the conducted semi-structured interviews of the present study.

1. Introduction: Briefing:

Explain what the purpose of the present research is.

1.1 Thank you for wanting to participate in this research, I highly appreciate it.

1.2 Inform responded on the purpose of the study: I would like to figure out if and how consumer culture drives the growing interest in urban agriculture in Copenhagen.

1.2.1 Define urban farming: Urban Farming can be viewed as both the production as well as the consumption of produce grown in the urban context. Producers and consumers are sometimes, but not always the same.

1.3 Encourage to give the answers she wanted; there are no wrong answers.

There are 15 questions. It will be recorded; is that OK with you?

1.4 Do you have any questions before we start?

2. Introduction of respondent

Make the respondent feel comfortable with the interview situation by asking her/him to begin by presenting herself:

- Could you please introduce yourself (name, age, profession)?
- How did you get involved in Urban Agriculture in Copenhagen? (Who introduced you and what were the reasons for you to start doing it?)
- How long have you been involved with Urban Agriculture?

3. The relation to urban farming

Broad questions regarding the respondent's relation to UA in Copenhagen.

If and how you are affiliated with the subject:

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- Have you seen specific developments in Urban Agriculture in Copenhagen?
- Do you believe there is an urban agriculture community in Copenhagen?
- Where does urban agriculture take place in Copenhagen? (Physically, but also: restaurants/schools/online)

4. Thematic questions

4.1 Spatial affiliation:

- What reasons do you see for people to pick up urban farming/ agricultural practices?
- Why do people in the city, specifically, want to get involved in farming, a practice that is usually connected to the rural environment?
 - What is the role of the city/urban?
- What are the places, both physical and non-physical where the community gathers?
- How connected do you think the members of the community are to the spaces; how important is this specific place to them?
- Does the location become a connection between people?

4.2 Emotional glue & values:

- How would you characterize the people that are involved in this scene?
 - Who are the members?
 - Do you think there are specific demographics connecting the members?
- Do you see any commonalities or patterns among those involved in urban farming?
 - Shared values
 - Aesthetics
- Is it important that their values are validated and/or verified by outsiders?
- How important is being part of the community for the members and how does that manifest itself?
- Would you say that growing food is growing love?

4.3 UF as part of identity

- How important is it really to be able to correctly conduct the Urban Agriculture? (Versus doing it for other reasons).
- How important is the feeling of mastery and control?
- Do participants in UA feel a different connection to this food than to store-bought food?
- Do the practitioners feel more like practitioners or consumers?

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- Do you think the practitioners/consumers feel like they are 'creating something'?
- Do the practitioners actually feel like they are experts?
- Is knowledge seen as exclusive to the group?
- How is knowledge disseminated?
- Do people in the community trust each other? (Maybe more than people from outside?)
- Do you trust others to farm your crops?
- And would you eat someone else's produce?
- Do people eat the food together?
- Do you think people in the scene promote their practices/purchases outside the community?
- What would be the goal of such 'story-telling' practices?
- How is Urban Farming part of the identity of those involved?
 - Do you think people involved in the scene regard urban farming as 'having a garden or the produce'; as 'being a farmer/producer' or maybe 'sometimes being part of a group'?

5. Closing/debriefing

The respondent was encouraged to add any last comments, and thanked for the collaboration and participation:

- Do you have any last comments?
 - Thank you for collaborating & participating
- If I have any specific further questions, would it be OK if I send you an email?

10.5 Transcribed interview: Kirsti Reitan Andersen, Postdoc

Interviewee: Kirsti Reitan Andersen, Postdoc at Copenhagen Business School

Interviewer: Judith Neijzen

Date: November 16, 2017

KR: Ok, so... I am at CBS. I did my PhD in... the fashion industry and sustainability. But actually, when I started my PhD we also... we... I started out doing, working on a project that my advisor was running as where we both looked at kind of food and fashion, because the fashion industry to some extent has looked towards the food industry for inspiration as to... you know... what change has happened over the last 15 years, at least in Denmark, in terms of how people relate to food and organic food and local production and all these things. And... And the fashion industry has kind of look at that directly to understand what kind of motivational drivers have... you know, have made that happen. Also, how it is happening, you know, physically in terms of businesses. So, I think that has been my inroad in to... now it's suddenly very loud [*commenting on the background noise*] ... So that has kind of been my inroad into looking at the fashion industry. And with Urban Gardening, specifically, that really kinda came around... with the urban gardening course that we're running. Are you familiar with that course?

JN: Yeah, yes.

KR: Which I think I was mostly dragged into cause... because I am used to working with designers and the whole idea was to collaborate with the Urban Agency, Christian, who...

JN: Yes.

KR: You spoke to, and then Esben my advisor though, you know, this is kind of Kirsten. Food and design thinking, so I was dragged into it in that sense and then through that course I started to learn more about... I didn't know anything about urban gardening or farming, or not much, before the course and then during the last two, three years I've come to learn more... I have a bit of a network in that community. So I can definitely point you to some people I've been working with.

JN: Yeah, that would be great.

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KR: And now you say, you know, that it's... it's... a kind of consumer-driven thing... and I think there is... because if you talk to at least the urban farmers I have talked to... people say, like, what are you doing because you are never going to be able to feed the city.

JN: Mm.

KR: Most people, like experienced people who are involved in this, though, that's not their ambition. It's not... It's not a question of feeding the city.

JN: Yeah.

KR: It's a question... for many of uhh... there's kind of two sides of it. There is kind of the educational perspective. So urban farming has been come back also as a tool for people to get closer to where things come from and learn more about, like, so... maybe one reason that the modern food industry had gone complete bisurd, it to some extend... is that people have gone so far from how things are made and how... and where things come from and then if you are going to have people pay more for their food, for better produce, you also have to understand why it is a better choice then the other one.

JN: Ok.

KR: And urban farming isn't, you know, you can't take everybody to the country side to... So urban farming is a method to basically educate and engage the people and children to better understand where things come from.

JN: Ok! ... So, ...

KR: So that is a thing from a consumer perspective. That's... You know the whole 'slow movement'? You need to, you know... So I think that's very well connected from an urban perspective. The arguments that I hear, is that you need to green the city, and this is one way of doing that... to create better communities, more healthy communities. So that's a way of doing it, and then I simply think it's... some people see it as a business opportunity. Not like huge-scale farming, but, you know... there is *Beyond Coffee*... who grown their mushrooms. It's a startup, it's never gonna be a probably a huge business, but it is business opportunity that you can kind of drive on.

JN: Yes, exactly. Ok, thanks. I've just structured it a bit around the theories that I am using so that is, what we'll kind of walk through if that's OK? If you should define it, how would you do

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that? This is a very broad question: the whole urban farming scene, or... what would be characteristics of it?

KR: I think what's most characteristic of the people I've been working with, is basically... more focused on people who do the urban farming: not necessarily the kind of businesspeople where (inaudible 38:31) so basically less the consumers as such. But I think what characterizes these people is that they are super passionate.

JN: Yes.

KR: I think it is a very engaged community. A lot of them are in it because they want to do socially good, or environmentally good. They are pushing boundaries, you know, to some extent they are on a mission.

JN: Right.

KR: To me that is basically what drives the whole thing right.

JN: So if we look at the city specifically... as I said before it's not a logical site to practice farming or growing produce so why did people that live in the city, according to your views want to participate in urban farming, so specifically the urbanites?

KR: I think that not growing things in the city... Not the... Like, if you look back, people did grow things in the city. So I think... and the collaboration that we're doing with the urban gardening course is uh... with Rome, and Rome historically and still has then the... the way they define Rome, also the city limits kind of allows to do this, but they produce a huge amount of food for the city that is used in Rome.

JN: Interesting.

KR: So, you know the whole... some cities I think actually have a quite uh... they have a tradition of producing these things.

JN: Does Copenhagen have that? Do you know?

KR: So, Copenhagen has... we've been working a lot with one person you should probably talk to, that is Gorm, he's from the Copenhagen School Gardens...

JN: Is that the Blågårdsschule rooftop?

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KR: No, so the School Gardens are an old institution, I think that they were established in the 1930s or so and they used to have quite a lot of sites around the city. And back then it was basically a place where kids, through the school were growing stuff... for... to feed their families. So it was not just for fun it was to feed the people right? Then throughout history, you know, land became really expensive... they basically took the school-gardens and converted them into building sites. Because you could make more money that way. So I think they have been through some really rough years, but now that new interest in... so now they only have... I think there are six gardens left and the main garden is out in north-west in Bispebjerg Parken and they can't like, they have so many schools that want to go there, that I think that they can take one-third of them, actually and take that in. They have bought it through the municipality but what they do is... it is also because in Denmark, the kind of requirements to the schools has been... they call it 'open school', so the schools are required to take their students outside of the class. And their school gardens they have come up with this... they had this... they made this very educational project, because again they are not like... 'we're not going to be able to feed the city, but we can educate' and the kids can learn where their food is coming from and through that they can then value the food better and also they can make better choices.

JN: So the idea is that it is better to know where the food comes... like, this is a very basic premise, but...

KR: The idea is that, if you know more about how things are grown and where they come from, you are also more likely to maybe, wanna... wanna pay the extra cost of nutritious, good, healthy, food... or organic... not that everything needs to be organic. There's a big discussion around that, but... you're gonna be more aware of animal welfare, you're gonna be more aware of pesticides, you know, what's good for you... so... I forgot the question.

JN: Well, it was like, why do people in the cities want to get involved with farming? So why don't they... You could say 'why don't they move out of the city if they want so much to be in touch with nature'?

KR: That's pure guess-work, because I don't actually, I don't have that much of an insight from that perspective, but uh... I think there is an increasing awareness about, you know, about being, and also an increasing value given to being able to grow your own things. I think it's not just... I think it is less about feeding my own... because you can't feed, you can't... you can't live off what you grow on your balcony. It's sort of... for a lot of people it is kind of meditative. It's kind of something to do to calm me down, when I am very stressful. It's also a way of contributing I think, for some people to build a nicer local communities. Gardening is often used as a

way to... there is quite a few projects that use urban gardening as a way for people to increase safety, and for people to gather around those, you know, food and cooking. There's a project out in Nordvest as well where they use the gardening for refugee women, whom are of course super stressed... who have like, mental issues and they are actually not even in a state where they can do they daily things for different reasons because they are not actually, you know they are not in a place where they are ready to do that, but they see this garden as a way... as an therapeutic instrument to get them out of the house. The women cook together... make them feel valuable basically. So I think for me, when I look at various... there are many different ways of why people engage in this. There are also people like... I met this guy who is kind of exploring vertical growing. Basically they are growing... I just forgot what the name is... but they are growing plants in the air, so they are just hanging in the air. Then he just sprays water at the... because it says that the... the soil is just basically there to hold the plant. All the nutrition it gets through the water. So you just spray it with water and then you can grow it in these small tents. And he's in it, because, you know, it's a big business idea, you know.

JN: If you talk about 'the place where it happens', would that always be a plot of land, or would it be... because, the way you describe it, sounds a bit like a community. So maybe a physical place for people to gather, to feel like a community, or to make it feel like a platform or a place. This is kind of an assumption. But would that be true... and how would you... Is it always an urban farm or do you maybe also see online communities...

KR: Oh, yeah there're lots of online communities, like where people exchange knowledge, I think it's both kind of offline and online. And the... you know, there is a whole plant-swopping community. Then there is, in Amager, there is this woman, she is doing quite uh... she driving this whole project that basically there is in Amager. It used to be a big orchard, it used to be the big garden of Copenhagen, when there were no houses out there really. All the villa's out there basically have huge apple trees and they don't know what to do with all the apples, and the apples just go to rot, and there are lots of wasps, you know [laughs] having a party on all those apples. But she's now building a community around both a social project where she is giving jobs to people whom might have difficulties finding other jobs, but she is basically making apple juice and building a community around having access to the gardens... and having people go get the apples and bring them back to the juicer and then produce local apple juice from the leftover apples. And that, you know... a lot of these communities really try to build an online community as well, because, you know... Gardening happens kind of six months during the year and if you wanna build a strong community, you also need something to happen for the rest of the... the other six months.

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JN: Right.

KR: And often that can happen now that there are more and more educational voices coming up. Because also, a lot of people, and I know that from myself, think 'it would be amazing to have this on my balcony but I have no fucking clue how to grow it.

JN: [laughs]

KR: Why does it die? So I think there is a... I think it is both online and offline. (28:55)

JN: Is it kind of 'fluid', because if an initiative like this with the apples comes up, but maybe the next year, the apples year isn't a great year and then it's not there anymore. Is there, like an on-and-off... I mean, it sounds like there are some specific places, like gardens, that people will return to each year. And there are some sort of 'boarder' initiatives that come and go?

KR: I think this women, she will manage. Even in a bad apple year, they are going to have enough apples to make apple juice. But there are definitely some projects where you... you had these, you had these 'prag boulevard' (28:15)... some of the urban gardens communities, that like, come, are there fore... they have a limited timespan when the city starts building something and then they have to move somewhere else.

JN: Yeah.

KR: So... but I think the core community of the people driving it in Copenhagen is pretty small, to some extent. Uhm. And then you have people who are, like, you know, super excited about it, but also sometimes there's also a dream of, you know... gardening is hard work as well! [laughs] It's not just something you do you know.

JN: Yes.

KR: It takes some work.

JN: Yes, exactly. If you had to... so this 'core group', for example. If you had to describe them, are there shared characteristics, are they from a specific background, is there anything that they have in common? Either looking maybe at demographics, or educational level... If I think of this community: what do they share? What is the connecting characteristic?

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KR: So again, now I am not kind of... I am not on the consumer side so much, because I don't... I can only have the impression of the... I know the Copenhagen Food Co-op, Københavns Fødevarefællesskab, they are very much a group of well-educated, kind of younger, like their consumers, the group, or... they don't see them as... they see them as members, because it's an association, but they're very much the kind of 'caffee latte' kind of people [laughs]. And they have actually been trying to... I know that that's been a challenge to them, that they want to be an offer to everyone, but they have actually no idea how to reach their... the people at the bottom of the... or the kind of lower end of the social kinda ladder in Denmark. They have no idea how to reach them.

JN: And so why is it like that? Why is it that group that is more attracted, you think?

KR: I think it is because, still urban gardening is something that you need a bit of, uhm, mental space for [laughs vaguely]. You need to be able to valuate, because if you... even though the Copenhagen Food Coop, for example, says, you know, or, you know, get all these vegetables for one hundred kroner and say that that is cheap that... But actually one of the students a couple of years ago, she was really into this and she did a really quick, like kind of... you know, I don't know to what extend that holds water, but she did a really quick comparison of like walking down Nørrebro and looking at how much vegetables can I get with... for the same amount of money at the local, kind of, you know, shop compared to what I get from the Copenhagen Food Coop. And you get much more at the local vegetable shop. So even though they say it's not expensive; for some people, this is expensive. You also need a certain awareness, you know, of why is this... If you can't... it's not like you're gonna save money on it right. You're not going to save a lot of money on growing vegetables on your own balcony. It's probably... you can grow too little... It requires some investment if you want to go buy the things to do this. So, I think, I think so far at least, the urban gardening seems to be kind of, you know, for a particular group of people, who find it interesting.

JN: So, I wrote down 'is it important that these values are validated by the outside'? So if you can speak about an inside group and then the people that are not involved in this scene...

KR: Mm-mm.

JN: Is it how... how important is it for the in-group to be able to show what they are doing and that it makes sense. Or, is it very much like, we know what we're talking about and that is enough?

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KR: No, I think for these people it is very important to communicate it outwards, because... at least, again, for the people who are in it, kind of on the business side, or on the educational side; their whole point is, like, spreading it and making more people kind of understand that this is important. And again, not as a way to feed the city, but as a way to make better city environments. And to educate, basically.

JN: Right.

KR: So I think it's not... it's not just about doing it in between ourselves... it's really a... for a lot of these projects it's about communicating the value of it.

JN: So that is the commercial side of it? It is important to them to spread the word and grow it?

KR: Yeah. Ok, so there is kind of... Again, so it is a little bit like it seems to be that there are two... not 'exclusive' groups, but they are working together. A lot of the, kinda, small-middle sized, kind of entrepreneurs, they are doing it... you can say that they are doing it to make money and for the social and environmental 'good'. And then you have institutions like the Copenhagen School gardens, where it's all about the education, right?

JN: Yeah.

KR: Now I forget the question...

JN: Well, oh yeah: I was saying 'there is the commercial side and it's important for them to communicate outwards what they are doing for commercial purposes...

KR: But definitely also for the, you know, it's a little bit, if you talk about the... business talk more and more about the triple bottom-line, so you need both the environment, the environment and the economic. And I think that, at least for the projects that we've been working with it's kind of all those three together right. I can hopefully make some money on doing good for people and the environment.

JN: And then if you would look at the... I mean consumers here can be... the way I look at it is that you can be a consumer-producer; so I don't think you *only* consumer urban farming if you buy the produce, but doing it itself is kind of also 'consuming urban farming'. I don't know if you agree with that, but the practice of it itself can also be 'consuming'. What I have been reading it that this group that is not per-se interested in earning money on it or, feeding the whole

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neighborhood, is that they do it to also be able to 'story tell' about themselves and create this picture. So the whole identity part of it. Do you agree with this?

KR: I think for some people that is definitely part of it. I think, you know, you sort of have, you know... a lot of them struggle and... a lot of the businesses struggle to survive, right? So if you're not in some extend personally involved in it, you wouldn't be dealing with it. So of course that's part of your identity building, for sure. Yeah yeah yeah.

JN: Ok. Let's see. I am still thinking about identity. One of the scholars I look into is Belk and the extended self because food is very much like... you eat it; it extends you even literally. But also the whole, you know, he has these four points of knowledge, creating, and mastering, through which you create and extension of yourself by creating or using this product, by knowing it. I am trying to get an idea of this extension, like 'he, I am doing this. I am part of this community that seems to be kind of fragmented, but still I feel part of it. I am also doing it'... kind of how all of this could come together in this story of identity creation. So if you have any thoughts on that.

KR: Well... I am not that familiar with Belk's... but I think for many people who engage in it, it is maybe more or less conscious a identity building project. I also think, what I have heard is, this... to many people this also becomes important when they get children. Because it's... this is more also part of the clothing perspective, but uhm... Vigga Svensson who has this uhm... it's called Vigga it uhm...

JN: Oh, is that where you pay a monthly fee and then you get your clothes delivered?

KR: Yes. It is all done it, kind of, somewhat at least more sustainable materials. You know she is very much trying to create these sustainable business model and kind of enuate and she's... she has always said that she is dealing with the easy target group, because she is dealing with moms who want the very best for their children and they don't want them to have any pesticides. They don't want them to have any chemicals in the clothing. And all that. And that also goes with food. So, I think when you...

JN: So are you a better parent, so to say, when you would feed your children organic food, grown locally, ...

KR: Yeah, yeah yeah! And that's also, again, something about learning kids where things come from and by doing that... that's a huge thing. I think.

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JN: Where do you think that kind of social role comes from? Or what constitutes that?

KR: Well, so, but again, this is purely guess work, because I don't... but... It's my impression that the whole rise of the urban gardening scene, from this kind of, you know, 'we grow things on our balcony' it's very much a... it's also, you know, an opposition to 'everything needs to go super-fast, you know, we're always on the run. Where this is more of an opportunity to kind of, maybe, slow down. The fact that... I think for some people it becomes such an identity project that it maybe even becomes more stressful [laughs], right? Because then suddenly I need to do all these things right. I need to bake everything for my kid and everything. So that puts maybe even more pressure, really, where it's... I think it's really kind of a statement to try to go against all the pace and the mass consumption. You know. It's an attempt to slow things down a bit, often. And then for some people it becomes an additional stress factor. [laughs]

JN: So, just to provoke a bit, but do you think that those people, or parents, think that they are doing a better job than people who are not?

KR: Uhm...

JN: Is it a 'we' versus 'them' kind of dynamic?

KR: I don't think necessarily people are thinking that consciously. And again, I am not a mom myself, but I have friends, many friends who have children, and I know for sure there is a bit of finger-pointing, you know. 'I am doing the good thing, I am baking my own bread with my kids and, you know, da-da-daa and you're just kind of feeding your kids fast food'. You know? So I think there is... But you know, one thing is food, than there's that about other...

JN: Ok, so that is kind of a lifestyle?

KR: Yes, I think so. But I think, it's my impression that for many people it's an attempt to try to slow things down a bit. A little bit like knitting. It's about where do you have your skillset to some extend.

JN: So is that also, sort of a... If you say 'skills', that comes with the 'knowledge' thing that you talked about. Would that be kind of a shared thing in this community; if you can look at it as a community at all. But would that be kind of a shared value or asset that they have?

KR: Yeah, yeah, I think so.

JN: The development of that, and what you said, 'how do I grow something on my balcony'?

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KR: For sure. People exchange knowledge and learn from each other. I think there are also a lot of failed projects, you know? Because people don't necessarily realize what plants go where. You know it's not *that* simple. It's actually something that requires a bit of knowledge. I think also that's sometimes why it will be... it ends up being more stressful because people have big ambitions about how, what they're gonna grow and then they fail. And then it becomes more stressful than what was really the intention to begin with. But, yeah yeah, there's lot of uhhh... I think that's one of the great things about it, you know, that's also why it's used by this kind of urban, kind of municipality projects bettering neighborhoods. It's because it very much encourages people to share knowledge and exchange things. And cook together. It's also a lot about the food right, that's so... about the cooking. And the understanding of that. I think that goes across all cultures; food is always something you can come together around right?

JN: Yes, exactly. Why do you... because I have been reading so many articles about farmers markets, which is very much related to this. But there is no farmers market in Copenhagen and it just seems to me like such a good scene to have something like this. Because the people that you just described that are looking for this lifestyle; pure, organic, locally grown etcetera... I mean it is not per-se a question I think you have an answer to but it is just more uh...

KR: Well I think that... one thing is basically the... if you're going to have locally produced stuff in Copenhagen, it's a very limited kind of period, time of the year, when you could actually have these farmers markets, right?

JN: Yeah.

KR: Because here in Denmark you have tomatoes one month a year and that only goes to so-and-so many farmers markets. There is Kødbyen, they have had farmers-markets throughout the summer. There used to be some in Jægersborggade. Torvehallerne, I think that's not really a farmers-market, that's kind of the super expensive version of it. But I think to some extent it's to some extent because there has never really been a tradition for in Denmark.

JN: OK.

KR: I think they are trying to grow it, again. And then I think that also maybe, one of the things that *I know* is a problem is the... as compared to for example, Broadway market, in London, where they, every Saturday, you know, they have this amazing market where people come in and they cook their own... And basically because of the food security rules in Denmark it makes it really difficult. So, some of those things have basically been restricted through law; because of food

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security, making it... it's very difficult if you have, like, a mid-seized garden somewhere outside of Copenhagen and you grow your own things and you come to Copenhagen to sell it, I am sure there's a lot of restrictions on what kind of regulations you have to fulfill before you can actually do that.

JN: That's interesting; I hadn't thought about that.

KR: I think that, look, with regards to the farmers-market, there is also... for example, I know that there is this service in London where you can basically sell your leftover food the next day for your neighbour's lunch box.

JN: Yes, I know what you mean, what is it called again.

KR: You cannot do that in Denmark, because if you're gonna sell food, you have to have a certified kitchen. So you can't really provide that service. So I think that there is maybe some of that, that there is something about that, in terms of restricting it's pretty difficult for small-holders of any kind to do this.

JN: But then probably, amongst each other, people *do* trust each other that it is good stuff...

KR: yeah, yeah, yeah...

JN: ...and that they would exchange it...

KR: yeah yeah yeah...

JN: Which is interesting, because it means that it doesn't become kind of a static or commercialized thing. Which is probably what they are after, because if they don't want the supermarkets that are very institutionalized...

KR: But I know the Danish so 'Coop' I think it is, or Danish Supermarkets... they uh. Like a few years back... if you go into the shops now... there is a much bigger variety in terms of the products or brands that they have on the shelves then there were just some years ago. Because they have opened up much more in terms of 'Ok, so we have a local butcher here who makes really good saussage, we can sell that locally here'. Compared to, because... I don't even think that was the food regulations, that was just the Coop, or that supermarket in itself, had really strict rules on what it would take to come, you know, to have your product in their store. That's opened up hugely. Maybe partly driven, actually, by local beer, as well. You know, because now you have all these local beers that have been sold all around. A friend of mine that heard that, just opened

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a small brewery in Møn, so now there are making beers. So now it's him and one and just a half employee or so, but they are selling it to all the Michelin-Star restaurants in here. And you know, a few specialty shops. So I think that market is... there is definitely more space for it now than that there was just a few years back. And also interest of course. People are willing to pay... Denmark is notoriously known to not... people are not willing to pay a lot for their food.

JN: OK.

KR: You know, in Italy, people are all about the quality of their food, bla bla bla... In Denmark there is no tradition of that.

JN: Yes, so seen as a percentage of their income.

KR: Exactly.

JN: It's funny with the restaurants, what you said; the highly ranked, star restaurants. Because they are all... they have people foraging for them, or they have their... Amass has their own little garden. So maybe, because it is again the people who have the money that want this kind of... practices this lifestyle.

KR: It is definitely people who have a bit of extra time or money to do it, right? To invest in it now. [...] In Rome the situation, again is completely different. There people probably do it for, you know, it is also a cheap way... it's a cheaper way of maybe getting food. Sometimes, you know. It's quite interesting They had one of their professors showing urban gardening projects around the world and she had some pictures from the middle east and there was basically on the top of the building in the middle of the city they were having goats running around for the meat. So there is, you know... In Denmark urban gardening, at the moment at least, it's not driven by people who are trying to save money to get cheaper food. It's kind of coming much more from the other end, where it's kind of... it's a sign of having mental space, of being, you know...

JN: Is it [looks at time] last question, because then we will wrap up; but do you think that is also... that is also has to do with the authenticity of farming? So there is no need to have lots of food? I have seen these urban farms where they have everything in drawers, for like, mass-production. But it seems like... I have talked to several people and as soon as you talk about that they would say 'no, no, but that's a different kind of urban farming'.

KR: Yeah, yeah!

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JN: So that's interesting because that would mean that they don't see themselves as part of *that* urban farming community...

KR: No, no, no, no. I think that there are many... I think that you are completely right: there are different types of it. Urban farming for most people is not about volumes. It's about something else.

JN: They want to see a field with some carrots.

KR: Yeah, yeah, yeah! And also its... for sure it's for a lot of people there is actually a lack of understanding what it actually, you know, takes to farm anything, right? There is often kind of, like, a romantic view of it, to some extent. Where then, if you start thinking about what it actually takes to farm: it's a completely different thing.

10.6 Transcribed interview: Gorm Friborg, Urban Farmer and educator

Interviewee: Gorm Friborg, Urban Farmer and educator

Interviewer: Judith Neijzen

Date: November 24, 2017

JN: Thank you for participating. I am recording it, just so you know. We talked about, more or less, what I am looking into, which is the culture and the identity of the people that participate in this urban farming. I think there are about fifteen bigger questions with some sub-questions.

GF: Yes! That's fine.

JN: So yes. Do you have any questions before we start? I have to ask that.

GF: No.

JN: No? Ok, good.

GF: I will try to be open-minded. [Laughs].

JN: [Laughs] Yeah, yeah, and tell me if you don't agree with anything. Like, there are no wrong answers. So maybe, can you tell me again, I know it a little bit... who you are and what you would call yourself, as a profession?

GF: I am Gorm Friborg I am working at Copenhagen School Gardens and I am teaching children and... kindergarten children about nature, about where the food is coming from. So I am working with pedagogies and didactics and other education... grown ups studying pedagogics and to be a teacher and other things and how to use nature in teaching.

JN: Ok. How did you get involved with urban gardening? Or with this whole scene?

GF: I think has been something that has been inside me for many, many years, because when I grew up, I was a lot on the country side. And then we moved into Copenhagen, in the urban... the big urban city in Copenhagen, and then I was working with a lot of different things in my life. Then I got a daughter; I was working at CBS seventy hours a week then I got a daughter and quit my job, because it did not seem fair for her, that she wouldn't see her father. Then I was looking around, thinking 'what should I do now?' and I found this Copenhagen Schoolgar-

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dens and there was an opening for me and that suited me quite well. And because of my childhood and because I had been working a lot with green NGOs in my life, I think... I could feel that is what I should do now. So, that was how that happened.

JN: And you don't have an education as a farmer, or in agriculture?

GF: No. I know a lot of it from my childhood and of my work in NGOs.

JN: Yeah.

GF: But in the NGOs more theoretically. But out here we have to do it in practice. I had to re-study a lot of things.

JN: That makes sense. And how long ago is this?

GF: Seven years, I think.

JN: Ok. And the school gardens, how long have they been around?

GF: Uhm... the history goes down to nine hundred thirty-three. I haven't been here for that long [laughs].

JN: [Laughs]

GF: And then in the seventies the tendency about learning practical skills was reduced in the school systems and then it came back in about... in two-thousand-ten, when there was a big school reform. And then it all started all up again. So there had been a period out here when there has been nearly no activity and then ten years ago it started again.

JN: Ok. Let's see. If we look at... because I am looking at Copenhagen for my study. You just said that ten years ago there was an incentive for the schools to get more involved; do you see a general development in the urban gardening scene in Copenhagen? Is it growing? Is it attracting more different people?

GF: I can see both of them meet here, but as... when I go around Copenhagen, there are a lot of people who want to do urban gardening. For instance just over there [pointing in a direction] in buildings over there, you can see the gardens transform more into gardens like... so it's not just something kept up by the green keeper but it's now involving the people living in their flats.

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JN: Mm-mm.

GF: So I see a tendency that many people want to do urban gardening. And it's very much exposed in the media. And the politicians are also talking a lot about there should be more green areas. Every time they say that, they build a building, because they want more taxpayers [laughs].

JN: [Laughs] So, do you think there is *one* community, or *a* community of urban farmers?

GF: I would say it is divided up into... It has the same theme, but mostly locally or a sub-culture you could say. But it is open up to many people. But I think it is... as I see it, it's upper-middle class most doing it; or they are the front-runners. And then involving other people and other classes in the society.

JN: But then there are local communities around specific farms?

GF: Farms or garden areas? Yes. They have an area in a park and say 'we want to do some urban gardening here'. It is actually... As I see it there are always... in Denmark we call it XXX 'fire-souls', the ones who really want to do something; they found a green area, they start and then it attracts more and more people.

JN: So, if you would kind of look at the map of Copenhagen, or at these spaces; where does it happen? Is it mainly in the yards in between the buildings?

GF: It can be, yes. There is a tendency that is starting now, as I told you, just across the road. And for instance, if you go to Nørrebro, there's Nørrebro Parken, there is an area there that is also doing urban gardening.

JN: Byhaven 2200.

GF: Yes. And there's roofs where they put urban gardening. And now there's somebody who's doing it in conjunction with a restaurant. The restaurants can be very interested in urban gardening also.

JN: Why is that?

GF: Because they can... the famous restaurants use fresh crops, fresh herbs, and such things which they get there. And they can make an image of that they are working to build a... they

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are doing something with urban gardening. So it's a good image for the restaurant. For when they are branding themselves.

JN: So, it's a branding...

GF: Yeah.

JN: Do you think it's true? Like, do they get all there food there?

GF: They can't get all their food from a little roof on top of the building. But then you got some specialty they maybe have difficulty getting... and I think it maybe also has something to do with the social culture between the waiters in the restaurants and the way they are together with their customers; that you build up a culture like 'that's what we are doing: we are getting the food from the garden'.

JN: Right, yeah.

GF: I think there's... I think it has a meaning employed at the restaurant also. That do this kinds of things.

JN: Well, that makes sense. But there aren't many gardens like here. Like, specific places assigned for gardening or agriculture?

GF: The reason why we are here is because it hasn't been possible to build anything on top of it. Because there are relations that say 'it's part of the park'.

JN: Ahhhh!

GF: And that's also for other places we got left. Where we have the afternoon urban gardening classes.

JN: So do you think it's 'the green spaces versus the buildings' in Copenhagen?

GF: Yeah!

JN: Like, it's not... if you can't build in it, *only then* it stays a green space?

GF: Every time there is green are in Copenhagen there is a fight of what should be on top of it. I don't know if you hear there should be.. out on on Amager...

JN: Yeah, on Amager Fælledparken...

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GF: Amager Fælledparken there should be a big fight about... there are species that are only living there, and such things. So you can see... And the problem is for the municipality is that they have to sell land to earn money so they can do infrastructure.

JN: Yes.

GF: So: that's all just a problem. Everybody... politicians say we need more green area, but they can't find the funding for it. I think that's the problem. That's the catch-twentytwo.

JN: So it's expensive, in a way, to have green areas, because you *could* earn more money with it.

GF: If you look at it in that way.

JN: Yes.

GF: But, then that could be put upside down. If you knew how to calculate externalities in economic and say: 'if the health was twenty percent better because there were a lot of green areas and the health would be better for the citizens of Copenhagen, the... we would save a lot of money' ... perhaps. That's where economics get to politics and leads to a fight.

JN: Yes. That's interesting [laughs]. So, the people that are involved, or getting involved: why do you think they are?

GF: All kinds of different [phone rings] "Goodnight" [switches phone off].

JN: [Laughs]

GF: We have a lot of volunteers in the 'afternoon urban gardening teams'. Somebody, for instance, teacher student they want to learn something about outdoor teaching. Somebody wants to just make sense for them to go out and grow something in the urban garden with their kids. So they... I think many of them do it also because of the kids.

JN: OK.

GF: They can take them out, the kids can find out how to grow carrots and beans and salad and everything. And it's a good way for them to be together as a family and have their spare time together.

JN: Do you feel like parents are better parents when they take their kids out to do this?

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GF: I think so.

JN: Ok.

GF: I think it's something they want to do for their kids.

JN: Yeah.

GF: Of course and then they look back and then do it.

JN: Yes, that makes sense.

GF: And I also have the impression from the parents... they have their children in school, who would come out and do the school gardening that they are very happy that their children are learning about nature and where food comes from.

JN: And that is because they don't know... they cannot teach them that themselves? Or?

GF: Yes. As I said [referring to our conversation when walking through the garden], that's a culture of knowledge laws that we have made. The urbanization, when people move into towns and industrialism has made it so, that we get all our food from the supermarkets.

JN: Yeah.

GF: And then in a couple of generations you don't know where the food is coming from. You don't know what nature is. You don't know about the connections... that you are a part of that biosphere. So I think, for a lot of people, they found out that they have to do something for their children, so they can be re-connected with nature. And know something about where the food comes from. You can see, in general, in Denmark... the sales of organic food are growing. And it's many of those that come here [in the school gardens] in the afternoons, who also buy a lot of organic food and such things.

JN: And... this is maybe provocative, but why wouldn't you move to the country side?

GF: [nodding his head] yeah...yeah...

JN: So why is it that...

GF: That's the big 'why'!

JN: Right?

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GF: Maybe because they think their jobs are here. Maybe because all their free-time activities, their friends are here. Uhhh... it's quite crazy because it's so cheap in the countryside now. It's so cheap you can't even borrow money from a bank to get something because they are afraid you cannot re-sell it.

JN: [laughs] Yeah.

GF: But it is right now that you should move out of town. There is a quiet tendency that has started, where people are moving out. But right now Copenhagen is racing in the amount of citizens. About ten thousand every year!

JN: It just seems interesting to me that you would want to live in a city and at the same time you have this want, or this need, to know more about nature; to get involved with nature. Uhhh...I don't know if there is an answer, but it's just interesting.

GF: It's a paradox, I would say. Maybe it has something to do with... I mean, you can cover about 100-115 people... that's the size of the tribe you can be in and manage. And you have that in the town, but in all different places. In the old time you had it in your little village. Maybe there is something about the fact that you can choose what you wanna do...for instance, in the town you would see a bigger market for... or many more possibilities; you *think*. But it's not... it's like that. But I really think that it's a paradox that people want to have the countryside in the middle of the town.

JN: Yes, I think it's super fascinating.

GF: But I can understand why people... One of them can be living near a green area, as we talked about earlier down in the garden. It means a lot for your health, it means a lot for your free-time activities. You just feel better when you are in a green area. You are... all signs of investigation shows that you have a better life, a more healthier life if you live close to nature. So maybe it's an instinct...

JN: Yeah, yeah – that could be. Ok, let's see. So, what you were just saying about this 'tribe thing', it's actually interesting because I am using Maffesoli, do you know his theory?

GF: Mm-mm.

JN: He's talking about the neo-tribes and that's specific but I think it might be applicable to the people involved in the urban farming. So I am trying to figure out if there really is a sense of

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community, or being part of it. So, would you say that... I mean, OK, the kids maybe don't have that feeling but then the parents at least. Do you think they feel connected to the other parents who bring their kids here. Or that there is maybe some sort of understanding among people in the urban farming scène?

GF: Yes and no.

JN: OK.

GF: Because I can see in the 'afternoon urban gardening activities', there are some parents who know each other; bringing their children here year after year. And I can see somebody who just... who don't know each other coming and bringing their kids. So it's both I think. But I can also hear that once somebody has found the School Gardens and comes to do urban farming in the afternoon, the rumor is spreading. So you can say there are different sub-cultures that are spreading, coming in. But there have to be some front-runners, who find it. But I think also it's a kind of... I mean, we... as I see it, living here in the towns: we are many different 'ones'. I mean we are... in the morning I am 'this' and in the afternoon I am in that sub-culture and in the evening I am in that sub culture. So I think... it also is one of the 'sub-cultures things' is that they do urban gardening.

JN: But that's I think exactly... Well, that's exactly what this theorist writes; that you have many 'we's'...

GF: Yes!

JN: As part of yourself and your... but yeah.

GF: But I think that you can see when you are here, when you are down there and when working with the volunteers and the families that are bringing in their children for urban gardening. That's the picture you get.

JN: And then how important is the location for that? To have a physical... or maybe even online...

GF: Well, people will travel a bit for doing this! Young people coming from 4 or 5 kilometres away. But that... it's is easy to come around in Copenhagen it's a small city, so.

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JN: Is there an online community, where people also exchange...

GF: Not really. They have tried to put something up. But, I mean, it's like people want to do it in 'real' virtual reality; not on a screen. Of course, we have a website and such things. But there is not a big activity there. I think that people wanna do something with their body; feel this... try to be in the earth and get dirty hands.

JN: Yeah. I mean, it completely makes sense for the urban gardening. And among you and other initiatives in urban farming in Copenhagen; is there a lot of contact?

GF: We do. When somebody calls and says 'Can we have ten wheelbarrows? We have to move to...to move ten tons of soil up to the roof' and that sort of thing. We all know each other. We meet. We make different kinds of events and meet. Just sharing knowledge and information. Not only in Copenhagen, but also all over Denmark. We have a school-garden-network that meets around five times in different places in Denmark. When they start a new school garden everybody who is 'doing school gardens' goes out and say 'hey, what are you doing?'. Giving all kinds of advice to them and...

JN: Yeah.

GF: We can all learn something from what they are doing.

JN: Sure, yeah.

GF: I think... and the same thing is of course in Copenhagen. We know 'oh! There is a new initiative: is there something we can help with?'.

JN: And how do you learn about that?

GF: Doing it.

JN: No but I mean 'how do you learn about new initiatives'?

GF: Rumors. Facebook. I don't use Facebook. Camilla, our leader does. She keeps the contacts. Or you talk together. "Hi! Have you heard that they are doing something on Amager in that corner?" and such things. Because there are only a few persons doing that.

JN: I was just going to ask: how big is this group of, as you say, core people?

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GF: I think the core doing urban gardening... if you take the front runners... I think it's about, between 30 and one hundred people. That's the maximum. And another reason why I know much about it, is: many of the teachers, or the instructors that we employ in the summertime also get a kind of education if they are not fully skilled, we skill them up. To do urban gardening, to do teaching.

JN: Yes.

GF: And then... they do it as a part-time job, so when they are out doing other things... and of course they make a network, because we know them. And many of those we see probably in other kinds of urban gardening things come from here. So it's... Copenhagen School Gardening is a good starting point if you wanna do it.

JN: Okay. So it's a bit of a 'central spider in the web'?

GF: Yeah, you could say that yeah.

JN: Okay. Yes, I guess it makes sense. Also because uhm...

GF: We are institutionalized.

JN: Exactly! Exactly. Because you get the money to do it, and you don't have to ask for it anymore. Yes, that makes sense.

We talked about it a little bit already. About how to characterize the people that are involved with this. The question is 'who are the members?', but that's way too big of a question. But do you feel like there are shared values, or characteristics among the people? Maybe: is it a specific age group? I mean, you work with kids so that's a 'yes' but...

GF: As you see, in regards to your question I am looking at the afternoon voluntary groups. Because, I think that's where we can get the best view of what is happening. I see it's all kind of different people doing it. I couldn't say that they are all nurses or that they are all involved in NGOs or something. It's normal people, but with an interest in urban gardening. Maybe... I can see some of them are coming here, because -for instance- they are... They have children that are going to one of the local day-care institutions. And then the children say, when they catch up in the afternoon when they get home [in a children voice] 'We're just gonna go down and look at the rabbits in the school garden'. There are a lot of small children out here that are able

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to say the word 'school garden'. And then, of course, their parents learn about it and they involve... and in that way the kids involve their parents in doing that. I think the kids are a very important factor in opening the eyes of their parents to make them realize this is something interesting.

JN: Yeah, and in general, what you are saying with the volunteers; that they are sometimes parents of the children: it sounds like as soon as you're a parent you become maybe more... you feel more responsible for your kids and the Earth? Like you become more idealistic maybe, even?

GF: Yeah, I think so. There is a tendency that people are talking about: how to re-connect, or connect their children with nature again. That we have a nature deficit.

JN: Yeah.

GF: I can see also when I look out in the bigger world, there is a tendency... a trend going of connecting children with nature, so... I think that's

JN: And grown-ups then?

GF: Yeah, and grown ups! Yeah. So there is something happening. A niche of the people is getting their eyes opened 'that's important': to take care of nature and to get involved with nature. I think.

JN: Do you feel like everyone could participate in urban farming? Is it accessible?

GF: If everybody wanted to do it, there wouldn't be enough green space. And there is also the question of 'could we feed ourselves by urban gardening?'. Nope! We have not enough space to do that. *Even* if you used all the rooftops. It's not possible.

JN: No.

GF: I think it's a way that one... I will say it's also a social indicator of who you are when you do urban gardening.

JN: What does that mean?

GF: That means that it's... you show who you are; what kind of person you are, because you are doing urban gardening. It makes images of which person you are. For instance, we also had it... ten years ago when the sales of organic foods were growing, the prices were sky-high. Because

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everyone who looks at price-elasticities knows that *that* group bought it because they say 'I have a healthy life, I do the right thing. I want to really pay for this'. And now, after ten years, the prices are going down, so more and more can afford to buy organic food. But in the start it was an indicator of who you were as a person and this sub-culture: 'I have a healthy life, I do the right things'. And now it's spreading out to say 'I just don't want pesticides, my children should not eat something with pesticides on it'. Or: 'I think that animals should have a good life' and such things.

JN: Yeah, so there are some values that people share?

GF: Yeah.

JN: OK. Let's see. Is it then important for outsiders, people who... well... let me think of what I am actually asking.

GF: I think I know what you're asking.

JN: Is this... the people *in* the group share these values. Is it clear that there is also an 'outside' group?

GF: Something could... Those who don't do it have to have an opening to that. Some say 'I don't want to have anything to do with the farming. I don't want too... I want to eat fastfood'...

JN: Yes, exactly. It's not that they really have to be opposites to it. But is there kind of a clear border?

GF: It's not a *clear* boarder, as I see it. But it's just something that does not have their interest. Or they haven't met it. And then I see a lot of people in the lower socio-economic areas in town that simply just don't have the resources or the time. For instance, if you have three children, your husband is working nightshifts and the mother is working in the supermarket on day-shifts; they don't have the resources to do anything together with their children. Or to do it. But on the *other hand*, there are some garden, if you go down the park [pointing] down to the rail-ways down there, there are a lot of gardens, that are called 'integration gardens'.

JN: OK.

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GF: And they get about... as gardens, about ten square meters each. Or maybe it was forty, I cannot really remember. But they are made to make a society where everybody meets. And every second garden is for 'white Danes' you could call them, or 'ethnic Danes' and every other garden is for non-ethnic Danes. So it's used as an integration project.

JN: And who runs that?

GF: It's a volunteer... I can get... we *know* them, so if you want to I can talk to the chairman and I think he could give you some good impressions about what they are doing.

JN: Yes, that would be very nice.

GF: Because they are forming a community around gardening down there. And about the process of you should know each other. And that's for the local areas. You know, Mjølnerparken and all those places where we have problems.

JN: Does it work, when it's kind of 'forced'?

GF: Yeah. They say. I think they are fully booked. And there is a lot of people coming from abroad, refugees and that sort of thing; they know a lot about gardening. So it works quite well down there.

JN: Okay. Let's see.

GF: But you can say that they also make their own social area around that theme.

JN: Yes, exactly. I mean, it sounds like gardening, and 'food' as a bigger thing, is such a good way to unite people.

GF: Yeah!

JN: I mean, I studied some sociology in my bachelors degree and 'food' is one of the topic that you would always study. Because preparing food is kind of 'showing love'...

GF: That's why you communicate! That's when you're social to each other. Actually, then there is a tendency today where everybody is sitting with their smart-phones. Every other place...

[Interrupted by someone walking into the room]

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JN: Uhm. Okay, let's see. This is a very random question now, at this point in the conversation, but I am kind of 'hopping' subjects. If we're talking about, actually, you know, the gardens, and doing it and the 'mastery' of it: how important is it to actually do it well? Or do the gardening versus... there is 'doing it' and '*doing* it' you know?

GF: Yes. Having the skills for doing the gardening.

JN: Having the skills and being able to do it; is that the most important thing, or is it important to be involved with it, and *try* to do it? Like how is this perceived?

GF: I think it is both, because there are some nerds that really know everything about soil and about how to use... which fertilized to use; how much water to use; and which seed. And then there is someone who participates because they want to be involved in the social *actions*. I think you can find urban gardening as a solution to *many* needs. The need for using your knowledge; the need to be together with others; the need to have a social identity. I think you will find many different needs that can be solved in urban gardening in that way. But I think, also, that that is the strength. Because you need to have a 'green nerd' when you're doing it. But at the same time you also need somebody who can get the social flow between all the people to work, and such things. So there are a lot of competencies that idealistically seen, should meet in an urban garden, I think. And then I think that's when I have seen it really works when there are a lots of different skills and knowledge involved.

JN: Mmm. Yeah, that makes sense.

GF: It's kind of a collective thought I think.

JN: That's actually beautiful.

GF: It's like when... In a way you need a lot of time, and a lot of different 'needs' and such things. And when that works together, things actually happens.

JN: Yeah, exactly. Uhm. Do you think that people have a different connection to food, once they get involved in any kind of urban agricultural practice versus just buying from the supermarket?

GF: Some of them might change their views on what they should eat and if it should be organic and such things. Yes, it can change a little, but I think many of those that go into urban gardening, you could say "they are saved" as they are know a lot about you should eat healthy, you

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should eat crops without pesticides, you should eat vegetables. But of course, you could ask that when you talk to the guy from the integration gardens. There will probably be someone who learned something who will say 'hi! There is another way of doing it'. So yes, I think that there are also some people who will change their views on nutrition and on what type of food they should eat. But I think the starters; those who start activities about urban gardening, are normally people who know a lot about organic food, who know a lot about nature and really think we should have a better life and do more green things.

JN: Do you... I mean, after all this is kind of a marketing study that I am doing: do you think that people feel like 'consumers' of urban farming, or urban agriculture? Or do they feel like farmers; like practitioners? Or both? I mean, that could be.

GF: I think it's much a social activity. I don't think it's much... that there are many doing it to have a lot of food.

JN: No, no, exactly.

GF: Then you look... There was, many years ago in Copenhagen... You know the Danish term 'kolonihaven'? small houses, ground? But before that you had 'muttehaven'; then you... the labor families got a green area... at that time it was out here. I mean it's only a hundred years ago that this was fields, that there was agriculture here. Then they got this area where they could have their potatoes and their carrots, so this other... they had something to eat. Because they had so little salaries that if they didn't do that, they would starve.

JN: Yeah, so the purpose was...

GF: So you could say today there is not enough area to grow food in this... in Copenhagen. But it's nice to have some good... some *very* nice vegetables, some very nice herbs, but it won't... it is not enough so you can live of this.

JN: Yes, exactly.

GF: But there is of course somebody that is going now... going together in communities and working together with the farm outside Copenhagen. Go out there, doing farming so they get some vegetables and such things?

JN: So it's more about the creation maybe, then about the consumption?

GF: It's more... I think it's more the creation than the consumption, yes.

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JN: Yeah, ok.

[Phone rings, Gorm asks if it's OK to pick up. He has a small conversation].

JN: I have some questions about expertise. Just to figure out if people feel like... I mean, *you* would call yourself an expert, I guess? I think everyone in this building would call themselves an expert?

GF: Yeah yeah.

JN: Would the volunteers call themselves experts?

GF: I think they would call them participants.

JN: But would they feel, compared to other people, like they have an expertise? Like, is it...

GF: Some of them are of course frontrunners and then many of them are those who are 'green nerds' you could call them. And I would call them experts.

JN: Yeah.

GF: But I think that they also feel like they give something away. They are so enthusiastic, they like what they are doing. They want to share it with a lot of people. So, I kind of expertise that they would also... of course they know also a lot about how to grow vegetables, and how we do green gardening and such things. And then I think you have some growers who want to participate and doing it. Those are two different roles. I think.

JN: But still it sounds like, that everyone involved: the kids that come here, the parents, the volunteers, everyone in general in the city that participated in some sort of urban agriculture have a certain knowledge that you don't have when you're not involved.

GF: Yes of course. You have to have some *habitus* [referring to the concept by Bourdieu]. So you can find it again, I think. But also, we had something on the afternoon urban gardening team: they would try to do it before and say 'come along with your son or daughter who would like to participate in that'.

JN: Yeah, so then they join?

GF: Then they join in...

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JN: To gain knowledge?

GF: Yeah, to gain knowledge. Because they *think* it's important for the children to find out what to do. Or maybe themselves have an interest. Maybe this is something that 'you' would want to find out.

JN: And it sounds like, it's a kind of... if you look at it as a group then, where there is not one person with all the knowledge, but they would kind of give it to each other? Is that right?

GF: Yeah! There is a lot of sharing.

JN: Yeah exactly. Uhm. This sounds a bit weird [laughs]. I wrote down 'do people in the community trust each other? But I think what I mean with that is that... well, maybe, actually: would you trust someone else to cultivate your crops or... This has something to do with the 'knowledge'.

GF: Yeah.

JN: I am guessing. Do you see 'the other' as equally capable of doing what you are doing?

GF: Yeah, yes.

JN: Maybe it is a bit too theoretical of a question.

GF: It depends on what I observe when they are doing it. I mean, it's also a corporation and interaction with each other when you help each other. When you say 'Hey, when you do that, the seed has to go this far down'.

JN: Would you... I mean, would you for example help someone else if you see that they are doing something wrong or that one of their plants is dying?

GF: Yeah. Like if someone has been sick for two times [referring to gardening sessions] and they haven't watered their plants, we of course water them. And I think everyone is doing that down here. Because you could say that maybe inside ourselves it's nice to create life, and preserve life.

JN: Yeah.

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GF: I think that's an instinct we've got. So therefore of course you don't say 'Ha! That garden... she hasn't been there for months and she hasn't watered it, now it's going to die'. If you have the water you just pour some water over it.

JN: Do people eat together?

GF: Yea! In the urban garden things, we make on different evenings, we make pancakes, or soup, a squash soup or squash-tzatziki once the squash has grown up. They do that.

JN: That's nice.

GF: Or in the apple season they make apple juice or some things.

JN: I am just trying to think of one last question. Uhm. Maybe I should just ask: what do you think the role, like... that's my main question: the whole identity part. And you already answered it a bit, that people used to, like, maybe then years ago it was a stronger presence... that people would participate in this scene because they wanted to have a certain identity, or be seen as a certain something uhm. How... Compared to 'educating' or 'knowledge sharing' or 'community building' do you think it's a motivation *at all* for people to get involved with this scene? I understand that they wouldn't say it about themselves, probably.

GF: I think there will still be a motivation for people to... because it feels natural to grow your own vegetables; to know where things come from. And another important thing that people are finding out about is that fresh herbs and fresh vegetables taste better. I think that's a driver that is very important. But if you have made it and have found out what is possible, you wanna do more of it. And then, of course, you drag-in your friends and your... and all the people will know 'oh, I did this phase and it's fantastic'.

JN: Yeah, so maybe it's...

GF: There is a lot of knowledge-sharing there, also.

JN: Yeah.

GF: And identity-sharing.

JN: Maybe it's a little, what do you call it? Hedonistic? When you are looking for a nicer lifestyle.

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GF: Yeah, you are looking for something you haven't got. You have a deficit of something. I think many people, living in a town, can feel that there is something that they want to have, but many of them can't put words on it. Or actions on it. But then when they meet the nature, or meet the urban garden, they say 'Hi, this is nice'.

JN: But then it sounds like not everyone can afford it, what you were saying with these 'classes' [referring to social economical classes] kind of. So then, there would be some sort of division connected to identity or background. So, then maybe it's a luxury to be able to participate in this, somehow?

GF: As you see... it will be a luxury, because everybody cannot do it, because there ain't the space in Copenhagen. But I think that there is... I can see a bigger diversity in who is participating. So.

JN: Good, right? So, uhm, I think that's it. I have to ask: do you have any last comments that you would like to add?

GF: Not really. Those were some very good questions.

10.7 Transcribed interview: Thomas Laursen, Professional Forager

Interviewee: Thomas Laursen, professional forager and founder of Wildfooding

Interviewer: Judith Neijzen

Date: 4 December, 2017

Note: Conducted via Skype

JN: Good! Do you have any questions before we start?

TL: No.

JN: Ok, good. Well, you already just introduced yourself a little bit. What would you call yourself, as a professional? Or as a person?

TL: [Laughs] Well, I always... I get that question and sometimes you need [inaudible]. Well I call myself a forager. People like to call me a chef or cook, but I am not really educated as it, but I have done cooking quite a bit, and I know how to do this things. So I do events, but events are kind of 'old'. Like an 'event maker' is kind of an old expression, so I am a 'forager that talks and cooks'.

JN: Ok, so how did you get involved in what you're doing? What is the story?

TL: Well, when I was five years old, my parents took me to Britannia, Normandy and we went out foraging, or collected oysters and blue mussels. And this kind of lit a spark inside me, and I really liked that. It wasn't part of my parents culture that we did that. And then I actually on my own, along the way, I started doing some of these things. We started collecting blue mussels on the beaches in Denmark, and no one did that in the seventies. But I really enjoyed that. Then I have done some fishing; soeafishing as well. And I taught myself mushrooms with three seasons when I was around eighteen, nineteen, twenty. And I was young, normal [laughs], girl-chasing, football playing... but I really enjoyed food. Food has been my most... my first relation was with food and gastronomy.

JN: Right.

TL: So I started doing these things and I really hated the scouts which natural approach to food... because actually the approach... we take nestles, we put them into water and add salt and that's a soup. Enjoy: it's a lovely soup, it's wild, but it's horrible. So, but you can do lovely

stuff with nestles and so I started doing that. And that was in a time before, way before, Noma. And not a lot of people did that. And then I became a trained teacher around the millennium. I studied for four years for that. And then, I stared... before that I had done cooking courses, took people out, doing that. But, it's kind of... people were not into it. I was working at the hippest café in Aarhus at that time and I remember one night, talking to a girl, trying to make a move on her. And I was working at that café, so you were 'something'. And then I said 'Can I take you out; tomorrow I am going foraging for mushrooms' and she was just like stepping two steps away from me. Literally, from that, that weirdo. And that... I wasn't a weirdo; I was super contemporary; young, slim everything was fine, but... and that's just to give you an impression of how times work. Because there was a time before Noma, there was a time before 'New Nordic'. But then, I used it in school, I did like gardens. I took kids out foraging. I implemented it in all my teaching. Then I got a job at a boarding school, an old, traditional boarding school called '(1h13m25s)', which is where the young girls were sent, say one hundred years ago. So, when we had the transformation from living on the country to industrialization... so they lost the skills of cooking and taking care of kids. So, a lot of schools were starting to take the young girls to re-teach them and I was hired in such a school. Which was run like a basic school, but within an old law. So, a third of all the time was to be spent among health and cooking. So, I did a lot of stuff and I really changed that school and we did a lot of that. Alongside all these things I did a lot of foraging for restaurants: mushrooms... and that was, you know, money... like 'back-door sales'. Then I started doing... and Noma stared. I did a book, which was not printed, but just an e-book, for this group of schools, about this New Nordic thing. And that was in 2006, which was quite early. I saw Roland Rittman, who is this Swedish guy with a big beard. Have you seen him?

JN: Yeah.

TL: So, he was the one who initially stared doing these things for Noma, and taught them how to do it. And that's kind of, I mean: no Roland Rittman, no Thomas Laursen! So I am always trying to pay my respect to people, like to him. But I saw what he did and thought 'well, that's what I do. I can do that!'. So I started doing that around here where I live, on a small-scale. But there is, I don't know how much you are aware of it, but there is 'Copenhagen' and then there is 'the rest of Denmark'. You probably get the same thing in Holland, I guess. And so it's like very small and people don't want to spend 200 kroner on something... but I did that very small-scale and... When was that, 2009, 2010 something like that? Then I knew about these ants that I have been using to make fun with the kids at school, with the orange copper ant. And then at some point, I wrote an email to Noma and said... I had eaten there a several times, back

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in the early days and then wrote 'well, I have a lot of trumpet-mushrooms, do you want some of those? And I got an answer from a new sous chef and he said 'no, we don't use that, but can I *join* you for a walk in the forest?'. So we did that and I told him about these ants. Because they were talking about wanting to implement insects in the food. So he said 'I need to know about these ants'. And from that moment, I was the 'ant-man'. And I got like, huge publicity and I started a business over-night.

JN: Okay.

TL: And then I started working half-time with that and then since 2013, I got divorced and kind of changed my life and now I am full-on with these things and yeah... now I do all these things and I am involved in this thing around the world. I went... with that walk in the forest, in 2010, with that Noma sous chef, I discovered how... the level that I am on. At the time I thought 'well, you are Noma, you know everything' and I am just this guy from the forest in Jutland, but you figured... René has said in an interview 'now we have seen what's in the Nordic nature'. And I went for a walk with this guy and said 'well, you don't know that, you don't know that. You are not done yet!'. So, I discovered the level that I was at. Which was way higher than I thought. So now I am just involved in this whole scene. So, people call me from around the world. And my level has been lived extremely much, the last... Because like, I share knowledge. I tell people what I do, and I post pictures. And I don't keep it to myself. But talk to a lot of super clever people around the world. Within the last two years I have foraged in Australia and Mexico and Israel and Spain and France and Norway and I can't remember. Lots of places.

JN: Yeah, and I imagine that with every country that you add, your knowledge grows immensely.

TL: Yeah exactly. I mean, going to Australia, I am like... I am not an expert in Australia, but I go with the clever people. And I can still find stuff with... When I was there with Noma, two years ago, I found some wild plants that no one has been using in Australia. Ever. And now they do.

JN: So your network and your clients, as such, are all over? They are not only in Denmark, or in Scandinavia.

TL: Yeah, I, I... well the scene is international, so I do my newsletter for my customers in English. It's like that, and I have people reading it around the world.

JN: Yeah.

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TL: And it's just a list of plants that I pick right now. So it's like taking the temperature, right here right now.

JN: Right. Ok, let's see. I have some questions about, well... So, I am not looking into foraging but I think it's interesting to hear *that* because in my view it's exactly what people in the city are, maybe, looking to do. Maybe have this urge to go out and explore and try?

TL: Mm-mm.

JN: But they are in the city, which is fascinating to me.

TL: Yeah.

JN: What I kind of read about you, is that you have a kind of... view on this whole 'bigger scene' ...

TL: I think so, yeah.

JN: Yeah... So, I'll just ask: what kind of developments have you seen? I mean, you have just described your *own* timeline, kind of, but if you look at the last, say, ten years: within this whole scene, what are the main developments? Is it growing, or is it just getting more media attention, maybe? Or?

TL: No, no. It is definitely growing and it is definitely... well... The urban farming, like... is... I don't think there is a full balance in the amount of interest into it and the amount of publicity and the media interest. I think it is more... it is not getting enough attention actually, that's what I think. Talking about the foraging: it is getting a lot of attention. I think that it is growing, I think that it... I mean it's the same thing as I said with that girl that stepped away: I think that if you talked about urban farming ten years ago: people would step away. Then you were a hippie: 'shut up'. But now it's like a social mark that you can put on yourself, like you can put on the right shirt, you can listen to the right music. Then... I mean, I meet so many 23-year-olds hipster types [inaudible comments, pretending to be a cool person]. And when I am bragging, I would say: 'you all want to be me'. [Laughs].

JN: [Laughs].

TL: Slightly younger probably, but yeah... So it is definitely something that you can put some, I mean, you cannot –living in Copenhagen- you cannot not be into food if you wanna be somebody. You have to. You have to... You can be into it on different levels, but you cannot just go into Fakta and buy coffee. You cannot just go into Aldi and buy your potatoes. You need to be

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aware of stuff like this, it's really crazy. And sometimes a bit too much; it's very... well political correctness... and this is in *Copenhagen*: so these people... I would normally say, the more they are in the center of Copenhagen, the more hip I get. But when I go home, they are like: What are you doing?

JN: Yeah.

TL: But now it's changing, it's coming here. It's moving, like, into the rest of Denmark. But, I mean, a few years back, people thought I was crazy. But now it's like coming... Say, for example, I was invited to dinner with the queen a month ago. So she wanted to say 'thank you for your contribution to the Danish gastronomy. And there were just very few people. And when I tell that to people here, it's like a huge endorsement. It does not really make any sense to me, but yeah... I did it and it's worth it and it is publicity and all that. But *here* it makes sense. Probably it would not have the same influence on people in Copenhagen.

JN: yeah, so would you say that it is a think that started growing or, gaining interest in the cities first?

TL: Yeah, definitely.

JN: And that moved... is now kind of moving to the...

TL: They are starting to understand it. When people around... where I live, they would put stones and tiles in their gardens so they don't need to spend time on that. So I have a *wild garden* I don't have a lawn-mower. I have a piece of... I don't know the names of the tools. Like a big scissor on a stick. I don't know what it is called in English actually.

JN: Yeah, uhm. Yeah, I cannot think of it now, but I know what you mean.

TL: So. But it is changing. It is like, I think like most trends they start in the inner city. Even though it is... there is a contradiction in agriculture in any part starting in the city. But it is like that.

JN: Yeah. And so do you think that there is, and this is maybe a too easy question, but would you call it a 'community'? The people that are involved in it?

TL: Well, I am not sure it's a community. It is something... There is a culture. And if there is a culture it's... there is some sort of community. It is not like... What is a community. Define a community?

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JN: So maybe the word *scene* would be better?

TL: How?

JN: Meaning there are activities, that people participate in...

TL: Yeah, they meet in groups, they do stuff, they... It's like. Sometimes I get it. Because I am a little bit older than most of the people. I mean, they are quite young. How old are you?

JN: Twenty-five.

TL: Yeah, they are more around your age. And some of them are more interested in how they *look* than what they actually do. And some... I mean, that's what I mean with: 'Look at me I am fucking cool. I do these things'. It's like the amount of voluntary work in some of the things, it's amazing. And some of them, some people are more into saying that they are doing it, than actually doing it. I am not pin-pointing everybody, but there is a tendency to do some of that. And with the... I mean if you look into the change that is actually being done by a group of urban farmers and the amount of words put into it. That is not completely in balance. I like the idea and we should do it, and we should push for it. But push for way more, to make an actual change.

JN: So you are saying that the buzz around it is bigger than the actual...

TL: Yeah, the actual impact.

JN: Yeah.

TL: Yes, definitely.

JN: I mean, that's what I am thinking too. That is kind of where my research question stems from.

TL: It is fashion. I would consider it fashion. And I hope it lasts.

JN: Right. I mean, I talked to, for example the school gardens here in Copenhagen, and...

TL: Haver til Maver, or?

JN: No, I think it is just called the Danish word for 'school gardens'. They are located in North West.

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TL: Ok, well there are different projects. I mean, not every school has this. There will be projects and some schools will mark themselves as a school who has that.

JN: Who has that. Exactly. But the farmer there, kind of said the same, that there is more buzz then actually happens. Be he said that it was because there is not enough space? If everyone that would want to participate, or everyone that says 'Hej, I want to urban farm', we could not do that because there is not enough space...

TL: Because you live in a fucking city. [Laughs]

JN: [Laughs] But it is interesting.

TL: But I know people that would be closer to my age that move out of the city and start doing that, even though they are still... I mean you can be a city in your head, but live somewhere else. It is a matter of... I think people around... I mean, this is not urban Denmark, I live in a small town with 6000 people, right next to a bigger one with 45000 people this is medium size Denmark and people here are super lazy. And I see what people do and how they act and sort of the obstacles that they articulate. "No, we cannot do that" we can fucking do that! I mean, it doesn't take... I mean, people probably spend more time in their gardens managing the ones with the tiles and the laws than I do. And I have diversity and I have more food in my garden because... but I put less effort into it. I have more knowledge, but I put less effort, spend less time... But people are not that into that. It is just too easy to go to a supermarket. I think that this whole urban farming thing, is this to the whole food system [shows his middle finger]. Because the whole food system is just... I don't know. It is so hard to get fresh, very fresh green and fruits from very close. Because all the systems are managed like 'we bring it from Poland, or we bring it from where it's the cheapest' in super huge quantities. So it's so hard to get it locally. The only way you can get it, is by getting it yourself or collaborating with small communities. And these things exist. I mean, I guess you met some of those.

JN: Where you get a box or a bag?

TL: Exacly.

JN: But I am still, I mean, it's still kind of a you know a 'flipping the finger' and sort of 'counter movement action' of these people that get involved with urban farming. Then it's still the question: why don't they move to the country side?

TL: Because people on the countryside are so boring [laughs].

JN: [Laughs]. Silkeborg is a beautiful city, right?

TL: Yeah, that's true. But you don't want to live where I live when you're twenty-five. Maybe once you have a husband and you're ready to have kids, then maybe that's what you do, but... Copenhageners are a community in themselves and they are really... I have been working with so many people from Copenhagen. Actually, I spend most time with people way younger than me than with people my own age. And first time where one guy, slightly older than you, whom had been working a lot with the MAD project, he considered himself to be typical Danish, nothing special. Which is so odd, because he is super intellectual, he is super urban, he is super picky with what he would do and he has never met people from southern Jutland. I mean, he considers me to be a hillbilly. And I am *here*, I am like super-hipster, fashion, upfront in so many ways. And he considered me to be a hillbilly. And he has *no* idea. And I think he is kind of... it's not typical. There are a lot of people like him. I meet a lot of people who are... I mean if you live in Copenhagen, it's an enclave it's called in Danish.

JN: Right, enclave.

TL: Yeah. It's so different and one way to say it is that the distance from Copenhagen to where I live is twice the distance from where I live to Copenhagen – mentally.

JN: I think it's true. I can tell all the time that people talk about Copenhagen as if it is Denmark... and especially people from Jutland, talking about them as if they are crazy. But, ok, that's the Denmark story, but you have been to more countries where the urban farming and these movements within the kind of urban area are also on the rise, they cannot all have the same explanation as the Denmark-explanation?!

TL: If you're talking about urban farming in the world. England. I have a quite good impression of the wildfood scene in England, but the urban farming... Well, England has another tradition. They are more hippie-ish. So also the foraging part. So, like; people would go out foraging, they would, maybe not directly, dress for it but they will be aware of what they are wearing in Copenhagen. For the same thing in England they will be more a dreadlocks kind of style. Like old-fashioned; shitty clothes, like all torn. It's just different. Yeah, whereas in Copenhagen, they will be more like 'a white shirt, and a pair of jeans and converse and black pants or something. That would be more their style. And that is because they have seen the pictures of chefs doing it. And no chef does it in those clothes of course; only with the journalists.

JN: Yeah [laughs].

TL: I have literally done like, I don't know, a hundred interviews over the last few years. And they always make you do things like this [shows gestures of how they want him to pose]. Like look for something, you know, like being this *wild* man who really can interpret the land and understand it. While basically, you need to get up and open your eyes. It's there, right there! So all the tours that I start with like, getting down on my knees and I point at whatever I can see that is eatable. Which could be like a [inaudible 52m30s], we would not pick it, but just to get the impression to show that wild food is everywhere. Because people think you need to go so far away to be 'a man' etcetera. No, everybody can do it! I have a plastic bag with me when I go biking, so I can pick stuff on the way, so I can see it. Because that's what I can do that not everybody can do: I can see it everywhere. Because I am used to it; I scan nature all the time.

JN: I am just curious, and this is a side-question: how do you find out... where do you get your knowledge from? Do ever get sick if you think 'hey that looks edible' and then it isn't?

TL: Well, you should eat stuff when you don't know what it is. And I know a lot by now. Well, it's like a puzzle. Lots of books, lots of people around the world and I have a chemist that I work with, who's really interested in what I do. She's a... it's called... she knows the field of sensory and she's a chemist as well. So I will ask her: 'so this plant, I know they eat it in England, we don't. Why?'. And she'll look into it and figure out what's in it. How much can you actually eat? I mean, in Denmark there is a list of what you are not really allowed to sell and handle commercially. Some of the reasons are super stupid. But basically, with wild food and with food in general, you don't know... you've never taken a person like 'now we make him eat five kilos of carrots and now twenty and now two-hundred and fifty'. So you've never done that so it's all based on assumptions. And then you can do the analysis and see what's inside, but all this stuff you don't know how it reacts to heat, or time or fermentation or whatever. But I don't take chances. But I know stuff. When I meet something new, what I would normally do, is I would smell it and say 'mmm, this is interesting'. I would always be able to tell 'this is not a deadly plant'. I know that for sure, so then I will taste it on my tongue and if it's not that interesting, I might just do that [makes a gesture indicating the disposal of the picked food]. But if it is interesting, I will look into what it is. I use the flora list or I will call people, or... So it's a puzzle!

JN: That is really interesting.

TL: But I know by now that I am *there*. Well, I still don't know everything. But I mean, I started using ants. And actually nobody knows if ants are edible, but I am probably the one who has eaten most in the world and so far I am good.

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JN: Exactly, you're still standing.

TL: Yeah.

JN: I am just thinking about the community side of it. You described a world-wide community...

TL: Mm-mm.

JN: Do you, well OK, I am obviously looking into urban farming specifically, but what would you say is the role of the location, in this community? So the location where they farm, the location where you would go and forage. So the physical location; does it have a connecting factor.

TL: Say that again, I just need to put some wood on the fire, but I am still here.

JN: What is the role of location in connecting people. I think that is the basic question. So if you go and talk to someone, like me, right now, about foraging; or if you go and take someone for a walk in the forest: do you feel like it connects more, to be in the place where this happens, or where you would grow stuff, or where you would pick stuff?

TL: Yes, definitely. I mean, it's about senses and about feeling, and taste and smell. So, if you're there, it's better. That's what it is all about. I mean I could... if I took you out foraging, you would be changed. Have you ever done it?

JN: Not officially.

TL: I mean, you would look at nature in another way. It's not like 'your life would never be the same', but some things will be changed, whereas this conversation is not going to change your life.

JN: Yeah, exactly.

TL: I mean, smell it, feel it, touch it. That does make a change. And see it. So the thing that I really love to do is to take people to a place that they know. So if I can, when people hire me to do a walk and ask me 'where should we go', I will say: 'tell me a place where this group of people comes'. If it's a company, I would ask 'where would you go for a walk'. And then we will look at this place and after they have done a walk with me, it's going to be a different place, because now they have seen this huge abundance of food there, that they have never seen before. So that's what I like to see: so, changing a place – the perspective of a place. So now you can go

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there for a walk and they can bring food back. So they will be more into taking care of it. That's my general point.

JN: Ok. Let's see. We talked a bit about this already: how would you characterize the people that are involved within this whole scene? And the way I have understood it so far is that there is the genuine group, who seem to be the leaders, or the knowledge leaders. And then the people who say 'look at me I am the urban farmer'.

TL: Yeah Yeah!

JN: Is that right?

TL: I mean, there are both kinds of people or perspectives are represented. There are also like... I think the farmers are going to be... I mean, right now being a forager is a bit like being a rock-star. Uh... ten years ago it was like being a no-body. I think the urban farmers are going to be the next rock-stars. They are going to take over. It used to be like you're not... I mean, working only with your hands is not intellectual. I mean, you haven't gone to university. But now the work of the hand, the skills, being able to understand; being able to brew beer or whatever – that's the shit.

JN: Yeah.

TL: So that's... I think the farmer are going to be... I think there urban farming people they need to be taught by some of the old farmers who know how to do these things. I can do some of this farming, but I am not really good at it. I mean, it takes a lot of skills: it's a profession.

JN: Yeah.

TL: Yeah.

JN: And this is a sub-question, but if you look at the demographics of these people - age, background - can you say something about that?

TL: Well my impression... there is a Copenhagen scene of youngsters. Hipster- youngsters, your age [laughs]. And then there is the old generation, which is like... they are probably older than me, who have been doing these things all the time. And they are kind of connected to Rudolf Steiner, biodynamic... and they are still there. And they are about to become fashionable again. Even though they are old?

JN: Again a side question: does Aarhus have an urban farming scene?

TL: Yeah, there is a bit around the harbor, things have started there. There is an old... around this place called Dome of visions, there. I was actually just talking about someone this morning there was this local green distribution, whom said the membership level dropped. That was because they were aiming at student, who don't have the money for an expensive celeriac. You should never talk about... I don't think the local production can go on the actual market with a lower price, but it can go on the market with a better product. And to me, whether you pay twelve or twenty-five kroner for a celeriac in this world that we live, even as a student, does not make any difference. I mean, we pay forty kroners for a cup of coffee.

JN: So, in general, would you say it's not about the food production? The idea of sustaining yourself with the food that you grown.

TL: I think it has the potential. If you look into it. I mean, say you and I... Let's consider Copenhagen: the buildings we cannot move: they are going to be there, but we can take charge of the roads, the parks, the harbor. Say that we decide about that. We can decide to park the cars outside of the city; we have the metro. Bikes or metro. Then cars can bring in goods between one o'clock at night and four. That's it. So apart from that, we can have gardens in the streets. That would make a change. So, clever farming. Have you seen or talked to Mads Orlando at Amass?

JN: No, I tried to reach out to them, but it didn't work.

TL: He is one of my clients. He is the one who really is into this. But it is still not a huge part of his business. For now he focusses on all the flowers and small greens. It's not *food*. So, I distinguish between these things, also when I go foraging; between herbs or it's actually greens. Which is food. Very few things are actually food. So, I collect seakale or sea beets which is huge amounts, and mushrooms obviously. But otherwise it's herbs, super bitter, which you use a little bit of, for flavor or for looks.

JN: They are growing their own garden, right, at Amass? (40.29)

TL: Yeah, Yeah, I think they have about 90 boxes by now. You cannot use the soil out there; there is just one meter of soil on top of concrete and it's been used for different purposes. So they have brought in their own soil and put that in the boxes, but they have a super-clever garden... Clair, or what's her name. I don't remember. But they do well.

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JN: Exactly. Uhm. Just one more question about the community and their characteristics again. What would be their shared aesthetics, or their shared values?

TL: Mm. Beards. [Laughs] Bikes, yeah.

JN: And what about sustainability, do you think that's an important factor for the people involved?

TL: Yeah yeah yeah, you would never see any of these guys with a plastic bag.

JN: Right.

TL: You will see them with a tote bag, or what is it called?

JN: Yeah.

TL: Stuff like that. Un-fancy in their own fancy way; it's hard to describe. But you're talking about clothes?

JN: I mean their way in life. Their approach to teaching the next generation about their values. That's a thing I have been hearing over and over again: how important it is for the children to learn how to grow food, or to forage.

TL: There is a little bit of 'new hippie' to it. But in another way. I mean, community dinners, they really like that. Share food, do dinners together.

JN: Eating together.

TL: Yes. I have been working with the guys from Byhøst. Have you heard about them?

JN: [Nods her head to indicate she has heard of them].

TL: And they do these things. I think they gather a huge group of these people, exactly *these* people. They have done their Frederiksberg Allé dinners. So I think that must be a gathering of these kind of people you are talking about. 95% of them will fit into the group of people you are talking about, I think.

JN: And then, does that include the people that, as you described them, the people that actually do it; that actually know about it? Or would you say they have different values or characteristics?

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TL: Well, I haven't been to the actual dinners – so it's just based on an idea. I *think* I know who comes to these dinners, but I haven't actually been there, so... But I *know* from Mikkel and Christoffel, what kind of group of people comes.

JN: If you look at the whole scene again, so including foraging, including the restaurants, everything. How important is it for them to be validated for what they are doing and their kind of way of life and way of thinking by outsiders? Or is it mainly an inside-group?

TL: If you're in Copenhagen, you are kind of inside all the time. I think, I mean, it's a social marker that actually in the sense of... I am walking on thin ice, because I don't feel like I am an expert on this, but I think that, that they will get just as much value from being looked down upon as being looked up to by outsiders. I mean: they like the difference. So, the difference will show... "You are an idiot, why do you spend so much time getting that celeriac, it doesn't make any difference!", "No, but I believe in it". So, I think that it brings a lot of... it makes sense for them either way.

JN: Yes. Then I have some questions about the skill-set. Because I think that when you talk about identity and exactly what you're saying and what you said before about how important it is to *actually* know stuff. How important is it to *correctly* conduct farming or foraging or anything? Versus *saying* that you are doing it, or *thinking* that you are doing it to be able to still be part of this scene?

TL: Say that again.

JN: So how important is the feeling of mastery? Of controlling what you're doing when you're doing it?

TL: So that you have the feeling and the actual skills of a farmer or whether you're just kind of saying that you are doing it? I think for a lot of people, the latter will be enough. I mean, feeling that you... well, just doing a little bit. Maybe just having a tomato plant in your window or, I mean... it's a hard question.

JN: Yes, it is. So, say, your tomato plan fails; do you then feel like you're part of it, or would you conclude that you're clearly not an urban farmer?

TL: That's a good question. That would be a guess. I don't know.

JN: You don't have to know.

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TL: I don't know because I am not inside the heads of these people. They will talk about stuff. They will sit in a wine bar, drinking natural wines and talk about the farming. Which actually will be 1,7 kilos of food in one season. They will still talk about it. That's what I said: there is a difference between the amount of food and the amount of talk. So, by saying that, that also means that people feel like they are part of it, even though they are not really making any difference.

JN: Right. An easier question, I think: is there a difference between how people relate to food when they are participating in this scene, no matter whether they are actually doing it or *saying* they are, versus if they are not involved in this scene at all. So: if you would buy your food in the store, or if you would go and pick it.

TL: A huge difference! A huge difference for people. For me. For everybody. I am a strong believer in that the closer you get to your product, or your – for example – meat, which is not a product group we usually talk about when we discuss urban farming. People think about greens, they don't think about meat. But if you have seen the death of the animal that you are eating, that will change. And I think it's the same with the greens. Of course you don't *kill* the greens, it doesn't feel like a kill in that way. But still; then you will make better food. You will take more care. You will use that kind of, the one outside. The leaf that's kind of brown; you will cut away the edges you will still cook it. You'll use the whole thing, whereas if you buy a cabbage for eight kroners in Fakta, you just clean it and then throw it away.

JN: So, does creating something make more conscious?

TL: I am always on the way to the next meal. I am thinking now what I am going to eat tonight. Within the last five years I have gone to the supermarket once to buy stuff for a meal.

JN: Wow!

TL: And that was on a holiday with my kids. Going into a supermarket with nothing at home to build a meal, it's just straight depressing to me.

JN: And so... because I am thinking about the city and the people: do you think this exact thing that you just described is a way for them to get more creative when they get involved with it?

TL: There is a huge creativity in the lack of reducing your possibilities. I mean, the whole idea of a supermarket is that that is what they offer: everything. And people just end up standing, staring into pale, grey chicken breast and chopped beef and then they end up doing the same

ten dishes of shit every day. So say you give them a cabbage and say 'this is what you are cooking tonight, you can take some take some melted butter and some herbs, and you can fry it really hard on one side and that's a meal. But they will ask 'where is the meat?'. No! You will be filled by that. So it's all about the old tradition of Danish food is a lot like, you know, frikadeller, potatoes and sauce. And actually a meal can be more casual than that. It is super quick to cook food, but people still have the idea that they have to make a 'full' meal, and it takes a lot of time to do that. And that you *have to* go to a supermarket, whilst actually you don't have to.

JN: So that's probably coming from the idea that there is a *right* way to be a parent, or to care for each other?

TL: Well, and if you don't know what to do... Look at the amount of cook books that comes out: it's crazy. I even wrote one this year; so I am contributing. So people eat out more, a lot of people don't buy that stuff that... I mean, they are super inspiring, these cook books, but that doesn't really change how people cook. Cook more simple. Just time and place; that is the simple way to say it. Just eat what is in season or is cheap at that moment; what you can get.

JN: I have two more questions left, if that's OK with you. Let's see. This is about knowledge. Is knowledge - which I guess in this context is about what you can grow, how to, and what you can eat - is it: a. exclusive to the group? And b. if it is not, then do you feel like the group keeps it to themselves, or the inner circle? How important is knowledge and how does it move around? That is kind of what I am looking into.

TL: Ok. Well, knowledge these days is super easy to get into. Well, talking about my field, you can go to the AppStore and get an app, and another app, and another app. Or you can go to the library or you can go and buy books. You can do lots of stuff. And there is, I mean, the whole identity of food and the Nordic countries, or definitely in Denmark, there is a lot of sharing. It is easier to learn when you are with people. Considering this urban farming scene and how they share... I think it is quite open. There is a limit to how... You cannot just go in and have a piece of land and farm in Copenhagen. You need to know somebody to get a piece of land. But I think a lot of people are willing to share, but some of them will probably look at you, to see who they are sharing with. But that's kind of... I am not that inside that group.

JN: But it sounds like it *does* create some sort of border!/? When you say that you know a lot, you are at the top of knowledge in your field which sets you apart from people who either don't know anything about it or know little about it.

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TL: But I make a *business* from it, of course. So, with my friends or with people that have certain interests I will share, just share. But I have had... about two years ago a girl I used to know from way back and fell out of touch with, asked me to come and do a talk about what I do at her building's garden. And I said 'yes, I can do that', but then it turned out that I would just come and do it. But then I told her: 'This is what I do for a living and you're asking me to do it for free'. I mean, I was polite but we didn't know each other, so I am not going to do that. So, that part... I mean, because that is teaching, that is what I do for a living, and I spend my time coming to a certain level.

JN: Mm.

TL: People today, more than before ask me: 'What do you do?'. And I will show them what I am doing, and show them this, and let them taste that and tell them 'go and pick that' and you can show me that you're cool and that this is indeed the thing that I told you to pick. So, I will do that, but I am not taking a group of people for free. So, I will share, but I won't share my good mushroom spots. So that's why I tell people, when they hire me for a tour, that it is better that they tell me where to go than that I say where to go. Because there are places where I will not take people.

JN: Yeah.

TL: Even though it is on other peoples land [laughs]. They don't know what's there, but I do.

JN: No, but that's exactly where this question comes from, is that on the one hand it is very open: you developed the app, right? The MAD app?

TL: Yeah.

JN: So there is a lot of sharing going on, but then there is also this sense of 'this is what *I* know or what *we as in-group* know. And somehow we also like to keep it to ourselves because it gives us a certain role or position or... yeah.

TL: I don't have any *knowledge* that I keep to myself, but I charge for sharing some of it. When people want me to be at 'this certain spot at this time', that will cost money. When they run into me, they can get lucky, I mean, I am not like 'no I am not going to tell you about that herb'.

JN: [Laughs]

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TL: People say... I have picked a lot of trumpet mushrooms this year, like a crazy amount. And people have asked me where I pick it and then I say: "In Jutland!". [Laughs]. And then they will say 'Ah! Come on, tell me where!' and then I will say 'If I tell you that, I will have to kill you afterwards and we don't want that, do we?'. So then some people [inaudible 21m32s], well this particular mushroom prefers a lot of clay there need to be birch trees, they like the edges. So now you go and find such a place.

JN: Yeah.

TL: So I am not going to tell you exactly where, but if you want to put some effort into it, I have given you quite a good lead.

JN: Yeah, so it has nothing to do with not *trusting* each other, it's just to do with making a business.

TL: [Grins]. Well, I am not going to give my business away. If I wanted to really keep it to myself, I should not be on Instagram, right!? So I am the guy who lets a lot of people know that now it is the time for that, now it's time for that and there is a lot of it and... I am very aware of the fact that when I pick stuff and I take pictures, you cannot see where it is. There will not be markers on the pictures. There will just be nature. I'll show them nature; what it looks like, the place. So that they can identify, and that is fine. But not the exact location.

JN: I have met other people in the businesses of urban farming and they will say the same; "this is a business". Their approach is very different from the people that are in it to be hip, or to be part of this scene.

TL: Yeah. I met up with some of these people to and we talked about how to do it. I have some super good business ideas about how to capitalize certain things, which I won't talk about to just anyone.

JN: Of course.

TL: But I will talk about it with some of these people as I need some business partners. But I think it will mainly be about upscaling.

JN: Are you ever worried that everyone will get into foraging, like you do? That they would screw-up the nature, or the physical location?

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TL: I mean, there are so many people so concerned about that. I don't really think it is possible. I think wild nature has so much more power. I think there is a culture of biologists trying to protect nature, but actually I do believe that you and I are animals and disturb it. And what happens when we disturb it, is that we get more diversity. And obviously there are some things that you cannot take everything of a certain herb or whatever and I promote that, I am very much aware of that, and maybe there will be a problem around Copenhagen, since it is in fashion, but the one product that has been most concern about, which is the sea buckthorn, you know, the little orange berry?

JN: Yes.

TL: It is still fine in Copenhagen. Actually I know that the ranger who runs the naturcenter Amager and until now he said "Fine, you can go and cut it, it is no problem". But now he's limiting it, saying where you are allowed to cut it. So there is this app, which is like a treasure hunt map, which I call a 'supermarket app' because the makes put sea buckthorn bush on it, so everyone walked to *that* sea buckthorn bush to cut it. So it was all cut down. But you cannot approach that bush without walking past sea buckthorn, but people didn't see that, because they went for this one specific bush. But the sea buckthorn was everywhere. Which is what the app that I have been part of developing focusses on: understanding. We will tell people what they should be looking for but not *exactly* where they should go. So I want people to have knowledge, I want people to be interested, I want people to engage.

JN: How's the response been, to the app?

TL: That's good. People are positive. I don't know anything about how to do apps. But the app is basically made based on the way that I think. So people who've made it joined me in nature to understand what I do and why I take specific steps in the process. Because we did some surveys and that's what everyone said: we asked them what they want when they go foraging and they said that they wanted *me*, or someone who could tell them what to do and what to look for. So they tried to put me into the app.

JN: [Laughs]. That is pretty special. Last question. And it's the main question. How is being part of urban agriculture, foraging, part of identity? Of your identity, of identity in general?

TL: Yeah, how's that!? I have done some work on my identity. People approach me and expect me to be something. To begin with, there was a lot of press interest. I was just like a happy fool, going along with everything they said. But now I am just like 'no, you're not going to take a

photo of me like that, because that is not like that'. We can do an interview but I want to say this and that. Some of the journalists want to tell a fairytale. But I want to tell the story, I want to push for things. So people want me to talk about the ants, often, and I'll say 'I will talk about the ants, but I will talk about how we can change the world too'. So I have started using the ants as a jump-board. In the beginning, I would always talk about the most exotic thing, that people would never be able to find. Like telling that 'wild' story. But now I am more into telling people that food is everywhere and trying to, I would say, democratize, or making it approachable and easy to use. That's what I am trying to do now. So the book that I did, I tried to break it down into biospheres, like areas; so this is a beach, this is a meadow, this is a pine forest. And there you can find this and this and this. And you can make this dish, which is super simple. I try to do as short recipes as possible. So my dream scenario is that people buy my book and think 'Oh, that looks like the beach near my summerhouse and that plant, I think I have seen it!'. They would go there, they find it and they are happy. They go back and see my recipe and do something else, without the book. So that the book is not between them so they get enough knowledge, enough inspiration to get started, and then leave the book. So that's what I want to do.

JN: So you are consciously using 'storytelling' to shape your identity right now?

TL: Yeah yeah. People are *super* interested in these things so... I get huge amounts... I mean, I do it the Jutlandic way. Today I have been talking a lot, but normally I will just be a little bit laidback and wait for people. When I meet people and they don't know who I am that's funny. And then when they realize they want to listen to me and I can tell them how I think they should do stuff.

JN: Okay. And then the final-final question: Let's take Noma as an example. The question is who's the chicken and who's the egg? Did they want to change the food scene and say 'OK we are now going to serve ants' or is it also a story-telling device to them to attract certain people that they want to attract?

TL: Well, I think the NOMA restaurant started as an idea from Claus Meyer and he wanted to show that we have really nice food here. We don't need to get stuff from France. So, he did that and then along the way the whole monster evolved and the whole 'wildfood' thing wasn't part of it to begin with and then it became a huge part of it. And now it's also about seasonality and fermentation. I mean, it is like an art museum: they will have a period where they are very interested in this painter and then they will have a period where they are interested in another school of painting. It changes. And the Monet will stay, but it will stay in a room 'back there'

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and so it's like that with the food. The wildfood is still a huge part of it, it's in the DNA, but it is also... So they do it because... the way... I don't know if you should publish this, but, the way that NOMA handles their foraging is not sustainable. Period. They want to have everything so fresh that they make so many miles on the road and so many cars, so that doesn't make any sense. That's just high end, avant-garde gastronomy.

JN: So then it's storytelling and identity, more than actual...

TL: Yeah, yeah. If you look into Amass, they do it. Relæ, the whole family of Christian Puglisi, they do it in another way. But I am not sure that they are really. Maybe it's better but that's the thing with small-scale: if you still need one car to drive to bring in fifty liters of milk, then you can also bring two tons of milk and that would slightly be the same amount of gasoline you're using. So is that good? They are upfront, they are moving the idea of how food should be? So I think it's good that they are doing it.

JN: Ok. Do you have any other last comments?

TL: I just want to say that I don't live in Copenhagen. I am there very often, but when I go and meet these people we're talking about, I always meet them when something is *on* so to speak. I have friends who I consider to be part of this group, but I don't have a real impression of their everyday life. So one thing is... I mean, I can dress up nice when I go out. And you can cook up something nice, or you can go out to the right restaurants if you need to, but what is their Monday morning like? I don't know that. I think there might be a difference between that. The other day I bought some produce somewhere, just because I love shopping for things there. Then I thought to myself: 'why did I do that? I am an idiot!', because nothing is organic there and I don't really need it. But I still go there and I bought a box of oranges, because I like making orange juice in December with other fruits and I did that, and I don't feel right about it. I *wonder* how these people will talk about it. Because obviously we all do stuff that is not like what we *say* we do. And I can say this out loud here, I don't feel embarrassed, I am just trying to put out my own doubt in why I do stuff, because it's all a contradiction. And I wonder with this group of people why they do the things they do.

JN: Right.

TL: You cannot be like a holy person all the time.

JN: Great. That's it. Thank you so very very much it was really...

TL: You're welcome! I hope it was helpful.

JN: Definitely, especially to get the 'outsider look' of what's happening in this 'pretty little world'.

TL: Yes, it is. It *is* a pretty little world.

JN: Yeah, I think so too. But that was a very valuable contribution, thank you very much.

10.8 Transcribed interview: Iben Rossell, Marketer at Aarstiderne

Interviewee: Iben Rossell, Marketing specialist, marketer for Aarstiderne

Interviewer: Judith Neijzen

Date: 13 December, 2017

JN: What I am looking into is the users of urban farming and I kind of approach them as consumers, as I study marketing. So it has to have a relevance for marketers. That is kind of the outcome that need to be able to explain: this the profile of the people that we are looking at and so my hypothesis is that a lot of the urban agriculture that is happening in Copenhagen and other cities in Northern Europe, happened maybe more because of identity creation than because of actually growing the produce. So it's kind of a lifestyle thing, rather than 'hey it's actually really important to me to know how to grow whatever'.

IR: Yes.

JN: So that is what I am trying to figure out.

IR: So tapping into the macro trend of, you know, being all 'green', 'organic', looking after mother earth.

JN: Exactly! So I am talking to urban farmers, people who have a company in this area... these people are super passionate and really friendly, it's a nice scene to look into.

IR: But I think you are right about, you know, your idea of it deriving from this whole 'going green', 'going healthy', staying in touch with yourself, mother Earth and what have you. And it is of course... these people that you are talking to, so should be kind of open-minded... [laughs].

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JN: I mean, it's, you know, the urban farmers, so far, none of them have said 'yeah I do it because of my identity. Obviously they wouldn't say that about themselves.

IR: No, no.

JN: But then if I asked them about others, they would be like 'Yeah, yeah, of course there are some that do it because it is a hip thing to do'.

IR: Yeah.

JN: And the third group is people who have done research before, or have somehow looked into this sphere or scene or whatever you want to call it. And then I will kind of compare their answers and see if there is any sort of red line...

IR: pattern?

JN: Yeah, exactly.

IR: That is super interesting!

JN: Yes. And also a bit nerve-wrecking because I have no idea...

IR: You don't know what is coming out of it.

JN: No. So. I think, let's just go through it and see what you can tell me.

IR: Yes, let's go.

JN: So Maybe if you can tell me a little bit more about what you are doing in regards to the clients?

IR: Yes, so basically I am dealing with the two non-profit organisations of Aarstiderene and they are called Mit kokeri and Have til Mave. And they are pretty much you know, tapping into the same idea of bringing passion about food in... you know, kids. So, getting them passionate about cooking, about growing stuff, seeing how it comes up after they sow it, they grow it, harvest it, prepare and eat it. That whole over-arching mission about 'let's give it back'. And what I am doing there is I am looking at the different channels and platforms and trying to analyze who is actually using it, how are they using it and what should we do going forward in terms of improving and optimizing. And what would happen. So that it sort of my angle in there.

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JN: Yes, exactly. And when did you start doing that? How long have you been involved?

IR: A few months. So not that long. But what I can tell you is that the majority of users on the main platforms that we have, so the website, Facebook, Instagram; it's women. Yep. Mainly Copenhagen region, or some of the bigger cities. Although all of these gardens... just to say that Haver til Maver they have, I think it is 40 different gardens around... where they bring school kids and they go through this 8-step program of sowing, growing, eventually eating the stuff. And they have these gardens across Denmark. So it's not just an urban thing, but it is also a bit outskirts. However, the main consumers of the digital content are females, 35-45, so moms...

JN: The mothers.

IR: Yeah. In the capital region. Except YouTube, which is apparently the only place where women have a 50/50...

JN: Kids/Mothers, or?

IR: No, not kids. We're not looking at kids on the 13+ platforms at all. Of course they are there, but you can see it's mainly the moms, except YouTube which is 50/50 mom and dad. So that's an interesting fact about...

JN: So dad's like to consume videos, is that the..

IR: [Nods].

JN: Interesting. What is your explanation behind the Copenhagen segment looking into it more?

IR: I think it backs-up your thesis about this being like a trend thing. Because it comes from... it is always like that. It comes from the bigger cities and then it spreads. So it.. yeah. It is uhh...

JN: How did you get into that... connect to them, or have you been working with this before?

IR: No, I am pretty much only working with the digital sphere and they approached me because they wanted a... yeah, they have these projects that they want. And actually it was a... the project was about creating a community. These garden-owners. But before doing so, we had to, at least as I see it, we had to step back a little bit and look at how the platforms are performing before we actually. It doesn't make any sense to do a community and what sort of community. How should we, sort of, initiate it and how should we make it work and that is why we are sort

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of taking a step back and who we said 'so let's look at what role these platforms have and who is using it'.

JN: Yeah, 'what are we doing before we steer it in a direction'?

IR: Yes.

JN: Ok. The formal set up forces me to state: there are 15 questions. It will be recorded. Do you have questions before we start?

IR: No [laughs].

JN: In your preparation for your client, or maybe in general, have you seen any developments or trends in this scene or do you know of anything?

IR: Yes, I know some of the trendiest people that I know are actually looking into becoming urban gardeners themselves. And they don't really care of what it is... uhh... whether they are growing lettuce in old things or whether it is cleaning up the lakes in Copenhagen to feed some worms or insects that you can then sell or eat. That kind of thing. So it's more the whole idea of how to create an ecosystem in an urban space.

JN: When do you feel it started, this whole trend?

IR: I don't know actually. When did this rooftop garden..

JN: Østergro?

IR: Yeah, when did that start?

JN: Five years ago?

IR: Something like that, yeah.

JN: OK, so in your opinion, they were some of the first ones?

IR: In my mind yeah.

JN: OK. You already, kind of, used the word 'community'. Do you think there is a community in Copenhagen?

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IR: Yes, I am sure there is. And if also you will get TagTomat and these kind of places. You will see that they actually have quite some... it's very specific and you still have... It's a very specific target group that they are aiming at. Or that they 'attract' I'd rather say. But those, you know, trendy hipsters, will then spread the word and make it mainstream at some point. But you can see that's already in process. So it has come to Valby [laughs]...

JN: So we're kind of passed the point of early adapters? We're now sort of getting the main stream people?

IR: In the very beginning of that I think, because it is still an urban thi... Like a capital thing.

JN: Right, which maybe in Denmark is maybe even more... the difference between the capital and the rest of the country.

IR: Yes, that's true.

JN: If you, you said in regard to the online platforms it is the capital areas where it is happening.

IR: Yes.

JN: So would you say that that is where it is going on; this green living healthy...

IR: Yes, as far as I am aware. So it is at least... I think it is about 60%-70% of the website stats or any of the analytics that I have my hands on that I can see, are from the Capital region.

JN: So, my fascination with the subject started exactly because of that: because it seems like such a paradox to live in a city and want to get involved with farming and this thing that happens usually right out of the city. So why do you think people have that urge, or what is the background behind that?

IR: I think it is tapping into some of the same values as when it comes to putting your kids in a bus every morning and taking them out of the city. You know, these Skobornehave, which is a weird thing, because we choose to live on asphalt, but we don't want our kids to do it. And I think it is the whole nostalgia and the whole getting back to basic thought. Trend. That is just growing and a human needs to have some green to look at and the get some actual earth under your...

JN: So, if we look at the parents, is it because the parents all grew up outside of the city and that's where the nostalgia comes from? Or is it a kind of imagines nostalgia?

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IR: From my own, I mean, I can only say it from myself, and that is for sure because I grew up in Aalborg, which is one of the bigger cities, but still having a lot to do with, you know, no urban... I had a horse, spend a lot of time holidaying outside of the city. So I think it is the parent's nostalgia coming from their own upbringing somewhere else.

JN: So by taking their kids outside of the city or bringing...

IR: Or bringing the rural area into the city!

JN: they are doing a good thing?

IR: For themselves and for their kids. That's what I think, yeah.

JN: Looking at the two initiatives that you work with, does it come from the school? Or do the parents enroll the kids in these programmes or?

IR: No, the Mit Kokkeri is actually from the school and it depends maybe... It's very different, apparently. But it is mainly from the kommune.

JN: The municipality.

IR: Yes. They have some sort of arrangement with Mit Kokkeri and they can... it is a cook book and they can get it for free. And it is of course then support by the digital platforms. But sometimes it is also the teachers themselves who go out and order this book and initiate this whole... And for the gardens I am not actually sure where they are coming from. But I think they are driven from the same passion that the founder, Søren Ejlersen, they just want kids to see the light in this [laughs] 'grow your own vegetables'.

JN: I have a question: what is the role of the city versus the urban? Which is very much connected to what we already discussed. What I am trying to get at is 'why wouldn't people move to the country side'? If this is really what they want?

IR: Yes.

JN: So why is there a certain importance I living in this urban environment and wanting to have this identity or to get involved with this?

IR: That is a really good question! I don't know, it's a bit schizophrenic I suppose because we all love to watch Frank Bonderøven on telly and have this dream about 'oh my god, if I could be self-sustained I could just go out and pick my vegetables, slaughter a pig sometimes and just

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grow beans, you know [laughs]. And you see the tendency that people, some people are actually doing it, slow living and minimalism and all of this. But I think we are too used to the commodity of urban life and we don't want to give that up. We still want to be able to go to cocktail bars and we still want to be able to go to, you know, go to the cinema and do whatever you want to. Have our take-away coffees and...

JN: So it is good enough for the users to have it be part of their identity, instead of their life, is that kind of...?

IR: But I think it is a different identity. I don't think that, I mean, going all-in and moving to the country side and you know skipping all electrical devices and never look at an iPad again and your kids will stop eating sugar... that is a little bit extreme, but I think that you can have a version of it where you still have a little bit of the rural life implemented in your urban life by having a little, you know, balcony garden or... you know, a lot of people do also have these kolonihaven, if they can get their hand on it, right? So it is still about growing stuff yourself. No-one eats it: ever! [laughs]. I mean, you do loads of tomatoes every year and no one eats it! But it's more the whole 'watching something grow' and, you know, 'life finds a way'.

JN: Ok. So in relation to that, how important is the location of this happening? So we talked about the city/country-side kind of interfering. These kids go to the school farms, so that is a very physical location; the other platforms sound more like an online platform ordering this book, using it...

IR: That is very much... we're promoting it to support the gardens out there. To give them tips and tricks on how to run a garden. How to do the actual education. So they have like 8-steps to, like.. so the first time that you visit the garden this is happening, the second time this is happening, so the online platforms are there to support whatever is happening out there. And also, at least that is what I suggested now, is to use it more pro-actively to use the user-generated content. Because want to show off their work. So if they create something, or they have grown a pumpkin, or they do their own version of spaghetti Bolognese, they want to share it. And that way, it is really just raising awareness.

JN: And in that way the physical location would get less important?

IR: Yes!

JN: Because then it is more a story around it?

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IR: It is more a story and the vision of you can grow it yourself and you can eat it. It does not have to be, you know, way off in [inaudible placename] or it could be on the [inaudible] and actually quite some schools will have... I know there is one school in Barnsdorf.

JN: Where is that?

IR: It's out in Hellerup, it's a little but outside of Copenhagen, but it is very urban still. And they have their own garden at the school. So that is a possibility as well.

JN: How would you characterize the people, I guess the parents, in this context mainly, that want to get involved with this scene.

IR: I think they are very 'spelt mødere', do you know that?

JN: uh-uh.

IR: No? It originates from Østerbro and it is these moms that are really really concerned about their kids' health, their own health, the Instagram moms that will show off any, you know, bake that they do without suger, without gluten, you know, just using spelt all the time. And that kind of summarizes that female group of users that of course just want the best for their kids and they are willing to go far lengths to give them that. So I think it is a very specific group, health concerns...

JN: Health concerns, having children, ...

IR: wanting to do good, wanting to *show off* that they are doing good. Wanting to improve Earth!? You know.

JN: But do you think it is *that*? Or is it a trend? Do you really think that they want to improve it?

IR: I think it is a trend to want to improve the world, the Earth.

JN: That is really hard, you know, to get that information from people, about themselves.

IR: But of course it is! I mean, we're not that unique we're only victims of whatever everyone else is... but all this talk about climate change and all this talk about healthy-living-stuff. Of course it has an impact.

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JN: And then there kids are kind of the end-users of this product? Would you see them as one group, or do you see the moms...

IR: I think it is the moms that are the facilitators of the trend. The kids are just kids and by their parents' location they are also capital residents. But I think also what is happening and what we can see now. For instance, my kids, they would like, you know 'vegan day'. And we never discussed that! That is something that comes from school and from their peers, so it is being spread in that group as well. In our kids. But of course it is coming from somewhere [hinting at it coming from the parents].

JN: Is it important that these values, or these ideas, or trends, are validated by outsiders? So, I am trying to find out whether it is an in-group thing where everything is OK as long as *we* all agree, or do they want to be seen as something by the outsiders?

IR: Yes, I am *sure*... and I might as well say 'we', because I am a part of that as well. But it is important to portray who I am, but also to get the feedback, you know from people who may not be as 'far' as I am [laughs out loud] 'trendy me'. But I think that is sort of enhances the trend that you get that feedback.

JN: So even if someone from the outside would have a negative look on it...

IR: It would still enhance it!

JN: ... it would still validate what you are doing?

IR: For sure!

JN: Going back to the community: how important is it to feel part of it, or to show that you are part of it? I mean that is kind of what you are looking into I guess.

IR: Yeah.

JN: It's this whole community building.

IR: I think it is super important. Looking at the numbers of shares on my Instagram feed come August, September, of what people are producing in their gardens or on their balconies. You can see it: it fills people with pride. And they, as I said, they might not eat it; they may not use it. But the fact that you can go out and pick your raspberries and you can go and put them in

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your yoghurt in the morning, that is *amazing*. Because we have grown so far from that rural life. We are so used to picking up stuff in plastic from the supermarket and getting that...

JN: But isn't that... is it an actual community or is it a kind of a "I am sharing it with people who will see it and therefore..." and other people are doing the same, and that makes it a community? I mean, this goes back to the definition of community of course.

IR: I suppose. It is not something... for myself, I am not sort of discussing it among friends online of how to, you know, keep my yeast fresh or whatever. But uhm... if I can show off my knowledge, then again it is about being in the known, and in a clever way showing that on my Insta-feed [laughs].

JN: Than that is what counts?

IR: Yes, yeah. So it counts more for me that the nuances that my peers will pick up than the 'not in the known' people. So *they* might think that I am a bloody spelt-mom and [makes 'pfff' sound].

JN: Do you think that there are some central figures in this community that people will follow?

IR: Yeah, for sure. Oh – what is his name now? I cannot remember now. But you see them popping up all the time. These little Søren Ejlersen wannabees. They all have the same passion for organic stuff. And being so passionate about it... you know, in Aarstiderne you cannot even bring coca cola to the office and if you bring cake from the outside, it has to be Emmerys because that's 100% organic, you know, and they are very religious about it.

JN: Right.

IR: And I think you see that sort of *religion* in more and more startups. And they have supporters already. And you can see also... where do you live?

JN: Nørrebro.

IR: You can see down here, and that is also saying something about Valby coming up, but they have opened this Brødflov, and there is an equivalent in Vesterbro on Inghaveplads, that sort of little back-to-basic, we only bake here, we only bake with organic etc.

JN: Ok.

IR: And they have a feast.

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JN: So maybe it is also a skill thing? And not only an urban-rural thing, but a 'look at us being very local here'?

IR: Yeah. But actually, I think you are right. It is actually tapping into this whole 'be local' and 'let's create a community around something that we see and feel and touch. And have this togetherness feeling.

JN: So when you look at online networks, because then you are not local anymore?

IR: Yes, but I think that is what has happened online for many years. That you create your own living community, whether it is physical or not. You have the same geeks that are in to, I don't know, whatever random crazy lifestyle, but you will find them out there [referring to the Internet].

JN: So, *Local* can be localized around something?

IR: I suppose yeah.

JN: You already kind of touched upon this question; how important is it to be correctly conduct the practice? And you said it is not really important because it is more about the experience of growing it and seeing 'hey, we can do this. We're not going to eat it...' [laughs].

IR: [Laughs]... because actually when you look at it, it is full of worms and snail slime and you don't really want to eat it. You want to go down and buy the plastic wrapped food... but it is... sorry, what was the question again.

JN: How important is it to actually have the knowledge of how to grow a product the way it is supposed to be or the way, or to be able to be *involved*. So the *practice* versus the *specialism*.

IR: I don't know. It is the... uhm. I think you *want to learn* if you try to grow cucumbers three years in a row and you only get like little wrinkled augurs then you... there is a learning curve in it and you actually want to learn how to do it and you feel pride when it is happening and when you actually grew something that is edible.

JN: The way I have seen it so far is that there are a couple of spiders in the web, the people in the center of the web that everyone looks at they are *actually* the farmers, they would *actually* know how to do it. Like, they are the true nerds. And then you have these kind of outside field, like these moms, I am guessing. They don't have the time to really know everything, is that right in your view?

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IR: Yes, because that is not a profession, you know. It's a by-product. It's a nice-to-have in your life and it is a value that you want to pursue and that you want to pass on to your kids. But if you you can stick a sunflower seed in the ground and see it grow three metres, then that is sort of OK as well.

JN: [Laughs] Exactly.

IR: You know, you don't have to be a connoisseur about these kind of potatoes versus whatever. And actually I think it limits it. Because you don't want a space-wise, you don't have much space to grown. So either is has to be vertical or you have to be really careful of your choice, if you know what I mean. You cannot just go and experiment.

JN: How does it change the relation to food? How do the kids and the parents that are involved with this big scene change their relation to food? How does it change compared to supermarket-bought food?

IR: I think it changes it dramatically. Because you do all-of-a-sudden realize how much it takes of effort to produce a plum or a fig or a tomato and they the amount of work that *you* put into it, that makes you want to enjoy it more and the experience lasts longer when you eat it, rather than just buying four new ones for 10 kroner and chugging out the old ones. I think you *do* learn to appreciate the produce more.

JN: You're saying that people don't really grow it to eat it, it is more an experience thing, not a knowledge -learning thing?

IR: Yeah, I think people will say that we are eating it, but they don't. Actually, we have a gigantic fig-tree in our garden and none of us eats any figs. But it is a really good question to bring to people. And we made a deal to the restaurant now that all the produce will go to them and then we can come and have a dinner once-in-a-while. So in that way, I think... and that is also a nice story in that eco-system: I have something; do you want to trade? Rather than you want to buy it from me. So that whole...

JN: So it is also looking at it like 'this comes from the Earth, it's not per se *mine* to take?

IR: Yeah.

JN: So besides the appreciation of food, the appreciation of?

IR: Sharing.

JN: Sharing? Yeah?

IR: I think so. I have been trying to look into... because if you have so much, I mean, we have a gazillion figs, we have so many apples then come September, our garage is overrun with these things. And I have heard about this thing called Del Jorden [share the earth], where you log in and you can say: OK, I have Marie apples, come and pick them yourself and you can have as many as you want. But I have not been able to find a community... place that will actually do that: bring produce to whoever wants to come and pick it.

JN: The next question is; do practitioners feel more like practitioners or consumers? So it's you know, because you are producing it. But also, especially if you are connected to a food-box programme, like the ones you're looking into; you're kind of consumers?

IR: Well, it depends on what part of the target group you are talking about, because if it is the owners of the garden, you are not, if you are the teachers; you are not. If you are the kids, you are, I suppose. Yeah?

JN: It's a hard question right? I don't know the answer either. What I found so far is that the actual urban farmers, so the people instructing the kids, they wouldn't see themselves as consumers. But I suppose that if you volunteere once a week you *might* consider yourself a consumer? On the other hand, you might feel like you are contributing – you are putting your energy into growing something. That's contributing and that is producing; not consuming.

IR: Yeah, and I think it is more the membership sort, that you contribute to [talking about food box services].

JN: But then for example the people in the restaurant that eat your figs, they are consumers in a way. If you look at Amass, they have their own little garden. They kind of jumped on this bandwagon and grow their own food in the city that they then sell. They probably do this because they want to sincerely do something, create something. But also attract a certain audience that is attracted to this idea. Those people are probably just the consumers of urban agriculture projects.

IR: I suppose.

JN: Just out of curiosity: do the kids feel a different connection to the food? Does it work?

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IR: Yeah, they tell me that it does big time. And the kids are so proud and they are so, you know, they are super thrilled being.. And again, this is when they are outside of Copenhagen. They are taking this trip so that has something to do with location as well, I suppose.

JN: Is it a sustainable feeling? This thing? Like, I suppose they go there and they would come back all enthusiastic, but a year later and they haven't been there in a year. Would they still kind of feel the same?

IR: I don't know. They didn't make any evaluation on that, to know if it is still... if it says with them. But you can only hope that having this cook book. That you will take it to heart and that you... I should have brought you one, so that you could see it. It is really nice. Think there is a difference, because Haver til Maver is a different target group. You start with those, it's the fourth grade.

JN: How old are they then?

IR: Nine, ten-ish. And after that you have Mit Kokkeri. So they sort of initiate, spark the passion. The visit to the garden, the growing it,

JN: The doing it...

IR: ...the doing it, the tasting it. And then introduce the kookbook afterwards. And in that way it is kind of a nice follow up.

JN: Smart concept.

IR: Yeah, yeah.

JN: We already discussed this too: do the people involved feel like they are creating something? I think the answer is yeah.

IR: Yes, for sure.

JN: Is knowledge seen as an exclusive good, or something... I mean, these kids you talk about go to the gardens to become knowledgeable and you already said that uhm... it's not so much about creating the best pear ever. But more about hey I know that now, if I put the seed in the ground, something you can grow. So how important is knowledge and how exclusive is knowledge within this group?

IR: Exclusive how?

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JN: I guess, how hard is it to get that knowledge if you are outside of the group?

IR: Well, it is now really, because it is basic facts. Anyone can put something in the ground and grow, if you have the facilities. But I think that is very much is the community around it, again, that supports or enhances the feeling of the knowledge and make it stay with the kids.

JN: So maybe 'give the knowledge value'?

IR: Yes, Yeah. That's a good way of putting it.

JN: Because it is available to everyone always.

IR: People have done it for hundreds of years, but of course we move so far away from that knowledge that is has become obsolete in many ways.

JN: Is that why you take the kids to the garden, because they don't have the knowledge anymore? In that sense for the kids it is kind of exclusive.

IR: Yes: I don't know where else they would be taught this, if they are urban kids. If they grow up in the country side then, you know, it is just a part of life I suppose. But not everyone growing up on the country side are farmers, but still it is closer to their everyday lives. But I think they are aware of it. They know how things are done, but doing it themselves that is the experience that is exclusive, really.

JN: So the experience and the knowledge are actually very closely connected?

IR: Yes! I would say.

JN: That is a good insight. How is the knowledge disseminated? You are looking at these platforms. How do people talk about it?

IR: That's really tricky, because I don't have much on that. And I wish.. that is the next step in... we're creating the new website for Haver til Maver and we need to know more of, you know, the *needs* because they don't' ... because you cannot analyze the needs of the users from Google analytics. And for the demographics: you need to go out and talk to them. And I think it is very specific. If you're a garden-owner, you want to have access to knowledge, to shared knowledge from other garden owners. What is the best, I don't know, these outside the wood-fires. What is the best version of that; how do you feel 'dadada' [indicating etcetera]. Whereas the kids are very... You don't see them on these platforms anyway. Of course, you do off the record, but if

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they are not thirteen plus, you don't. So their knowledge is filtered through these teachers and through their visits to these gardens.

JN: If they would spread knowledge, what would it be? Techniques, how to grow things? Or is that kind of..?

IR: For that specific group, I think, for the garden owners who are opening their gardens to the school kids, I think what they need, from what I heard. And there is actually a big study going on, trying to extract that knowledge. I think they need to be able to talk, because they are very different as well, but I think they need to be able to talk to each other as well and compare notes. Tips and tricks: 'Do you have one of these tools that I need? Can we share, can we swop?' whatever. The *teachers* they need to be supported by the right educational material, so that has to be easily accessible, easy to understand, easy to print and hand out. Some good little tasks that you can give to the kids.

JN: So it should be easy to be multiplied easily?

IR: Yeah. And scaled. And for the kids, I think they need somewhere to show off. They want to be able to share their experiences somewhere as well. But *that* target group is one of the main things we need to work with going forward.

JN: To facilitate.

IR: To facilitate that they can actually, you know, share their own recipes. Or pictures of them with their own gigantic pumpkin.

JN: Because their parents would have their standard social media to share it?

IR: The mothers will have Instagram.

JN: Mm. Are there hashtags that you know of?

IR: Yes: #mitkokkeri and #mavertilhave and that is also one of those I am really trying to get them to use it and use it across all the platforms. And also, just a small thing, out in the gardens just put a little sign with the hashtag and inspire people to use it and upload pictures and...

JN: How do people react though? Because if we talk about being authentic, or 'back to basics' kind of thing. How do people react to it when it is driven by a private company? Because then it already...

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IR: But it is not. Because the two initiatives are funded by Nordea. So it has nothing to do with Aarstiderne. It is the idea and the whole vision that is coming from the CEO. But they have nothing to do with each other.

JN: Do you think that could influence it?

IR: Yes, and they are very careful not trying to mix commercial interests at all.

JN: Also from a theoretical point of view: there are lots of articles looking at urban agriculture as - part of - a countermovement. So, you know, published in journals of politics and stuff like that. So much more an anti- consumers, anti-multinationals. That is how I came up with this question. Wouldn't it push that all away as soon as there is a little sign saying 'sponsored by'...

IR: Oh, no, no, it should never say 'sponsored by'. Because it so happens to be the headquarters of Aarstiderne where this garden is as well, because they have the space. But it *is* a very fine line, and also one of the obvious things, is to obviously use Søren Ejlersen from Aarstiderne. But there are very few posts that he has been on for Haver til Maver. They explode compared to the others. We follow him, and if he could spill a little of that 'Google juice' that could be nice. But they are very sort of strict about not mixing those interests. Which of course they should be.

JN: Yeah, that's interesting. Because it sounds like you *do* need this kind of role model to drive it and...

IR: But it cannot be commercial. And also, what they are trying to do, their ideal scenario, is to put it on the financial agenda. You know...

JN: Of the government?

IR: So getting it government funded.

JN: Yeah, and then you cannot have any private...

IR: [Shakes head]

JN: Yes, of course, makes sense. Do you think that will happen?

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IR: I hope so. But that is a long haul, in many ways. A fourth target group for them is doing a lot of lobbyism for a political push.

JN: Do people in politics have ears for that?

IR: Yes, I think so, I think so. And it is actually Sondags commiteen [49 min] who are maintaining the Mit Kokkeri platform, a lot of it at least. And then the Mit Kokkeri people are providing content for it. So it is a weird: we own the platform but we don't, really. It is a mess.

JN: Must be interesting for you?

IR: It is very complicated. It is taking a while to sort of just get... yeah, mapping it.

JN: One of the things I look into is trust. And trusting each other within this community. Which is hard to frame a question around. Because what does that mean? Does it mean that you trusts each other to look after each other's crops. Maybe in this context it could mean, whether you trust your kids to be fed by outsiders or to be taught how to use tools, or...

IR: Use a knife, how to cut the...

JN: Or be involved in this, like... Maybe as a parent you don't really care?

IR: Ow yeah! We do. No, but especially this particular 'spelt mom', because like we are very over-protective and cotton-rolling our kids. And just in general very scared to anything ever happening to them. I guess all moms are of course. But yeah, of course... I don't know... it's taking a... it's going a little bit over-the-top sometimes. But I *think*, because it is a good cause, and that is the same as with a lot of other brands in a way that has that dream, value somewhere, CSR. If you have that, you sort of automatically trust it to a different level. If it is a good cause and you want to support it. Even if they are putting a knife in the hand of my 5-year-old.

JN: Yeah [laughs], exactly, so you... it's easier to endorse something as soon as you perceive it as a positive...

IR: A positive vision; a good value that they introduce; yeah!

JN: I guess that makes sense. Do you think people in this scene promote their practices to the outside?

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IR: Yes.

JN: And we have... [laughs].

IR: [Laughs], yes!

JN: That is a clear 'yes'!

IR: Yeah. It's half of it.

JN: Ah, that's how you see it?

IR: Yeah, it's half of it. It is Facebook-bragging.

JN: Yeah, I mean that is the follow-up question: What would the goal be of this kind of story-telling? What is the final... why are they doing it?

IR: I think there are two points to that, really. And it is of course the whole... it is not fake, *all* of it. It's not like a pretend. People *do* genuinely care about making a better world and improving it for our kids, and what have you. So the whole vision of 'from the earth' and 'getting back to your roots', it is fair enough. But half of it is also 'look at me', self-promotion. 'This is who I am; these are my values; aren't I great?' 'Look at her, she's got the surplus everything going'. It is a lot like all these families with three kids: it's very... the more kids you have now, the cooler you are. It's a very... for me, that's where I step out [laughs]. Two is more than sufficient.

JN: Yeah [Laughs].

IR: But if you can have three or even four, I mean... the more resources families have, the more kids they can have. Not as in the older days where the rule was that the more kids you have; a few will die but you will still have a few left so that you can have... so they can support you when you are old. Now it is very much about 'Look at me, I can have four kids and still look amazing. So, I have two au pairs at home, but...'.

JN: So in relation to the gardening: besides the lifestyle and the green aspect of it; does it have anything to do with time? Because growing produce takes time and time is money?

IR: Yes. Good point. For sure. The whole trend of the slow living and slow cooking; taking things slow...

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JN: So if you as a mom, upload a picture of you cooking your self-grown tomatoes, would that be a sign of having an organized life; having the time to grow tomatoes with your kids and show them how to do it?

IR: Yes. 'With my four kids': Yeah.

JN: [Laughs].

IR: But definitely, you know, the whole, taking the time to grow. And I think it is also... you see it also in different trades. I mean, you see a lot of young people being interested in becoming carpenters or furniture designs, working with natural materials. You know, taking the time to carve out.. doing stuff properly and from scratch and not just, you know? It is a little bit the same; it is coming from the same trend right?

JN: It is kind of being authentic, taking is slow, back-to-basics, craftsmanship.

IR: And then being *so* stressed about taking it slow [laughs].

JN: Do you think it stresses people out to follow this lifestyle?

IR: Yeah!! Big time! Big time. Because only very few can actually live up to it. So, having a life-style that will fit into this and that will enable you to grow your own tomatoes and preparing everything. Knitting your whatever. So trying to *pretend to* follow that trend, whilst having two full-time jobs and four kids [laughs]: you're just fucked. You know?

JN: [Laughs].

IR: But that is what micro-trends are all about, that at some point people will, you know there will be a revolution and we won't have a forty-hour workweek, we will only work four days and... reverse it a little bit. Because if people feel like it is out of control, life is moving so fast that we can't keep up.

JN: So, do you think it is here to stay?

IR: Yes, for sure. You will see more and more of it. And you will also see people moving away from the cities. So not just trying to bring rural life into the cities, but also actually making that move.

JN: And will that then be the step of doing it for your identity to *actually, sincerely* wanting something else?

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IR: Yes. That's a major step, right? That life-changing [laughs]... moving your family to Lolland.

JN: If you would then turn it around, you could say that 'As long as you live in the city, it is really only a trend thing?' Or is that taking it too far?

IR: So?

JN: So, I mean: if people would move outside of the city and say: 'hey, I am not just doing this for the *likes* on Instagram'.

IR: Yeah.

JN: I actually want to change my life here. Then everyone who is left in the city, is doing it for the *likes*. Is that true? I am playing devil's advocate now.

IR: Well, 50/50. I think they are still doing it because it is still seen as the right way of thinking. You know, the whole shift in less consumption and back to basic. But of course, you want to tell everyone else. So it is a two-faced process. But taking the big step, taking the big chance and actually quitting your day-job... I know a lot of people know, from the last five year, who have actually changed their lived dramatically, because it just got too much. And they were too busy and it was too crazy and they didn't pay much attention to their kids and family and to...

JN: But it sounds like there are a lot of push-factors pushing them out of the city instead of lots of *pull*-factors from the country side, pulling them to the country side?

IR: Yeah... uhh, yes. I think you are right. If you consider it a push-factor that you can live of one third in the country side, you can cash-in. You can sell your house here and you can live for the rest of your life in Lolland pretty much. Growing your own veggies.

JN: Having more time.

IR: Having more time.

JN: Not spending it, posting stuff but actually growing stuff.

IR: Yeah.

JN: Let's see. Last question. And that is kind of the big question. How do you think that urban agriculture and the whole scene, is part of someone's identity? Or of someone that's involved in this.

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IR: I think it plays a big part of the identity. At least the perceived identity.

JN: And what do you mean with 'perceived identity'?

IR: Mmm. Who you want to be. Or who you want to be perceived as being. Who you perceive yourself as being. So I think people are genuine about it, but it's a bonus that, you know, that it is trending, or that they can tell everyone else about their projects.

JN: OK, yeah. That was it for the questions. If you have any last input?

IR: No but I think it is really interesting. I think it is super interesting. Because it is sort of not only, the, you know, urban agriculture, but it... I think that is sort of the epiphany of the trend going on, right. You know it's the whole... it sort of summarizes a lot of yeah... of a paradigm shift, really, in how we consume. So it's super interesting. And as a fact, I know there are people who are wanting to sell their shops and they are changing their lives and they are dedicating their whole work-lives to cleaning up the lakes and feeding the worms. And also this guy he told me about this eco system, where they take the left-over coffee and grow mushrooms from it. And that is an amazing story. You can see how that sort of spreads in the right community right. And then you really, really want those mushrooms. I mean, they must be... I am pretty sure they are like any other mushroom, right, but it is the idea and the whole story behind it that you are buying into.

Because also... I am also thinking; why on earth am I spending so much money on... because every year it is the same. Because we have this little greenhouse. And thinking of it, it is very much about teaching the kids. And we would say 'Look, these things are coming up' and they don't give a shit, you know. They would say: 'yeah, yeah, fine whatever. Peas. Great'. But it *is*; it is so nice to sit in the greenhouse and see these little sprouts come out of the ground. But I pay twice, three times as much for these peas as I would if I would just buy them frozen from Irma.

JN: If only in time, right? If you spend three hours growing those things?

IR: Yes, it's crazy. I think it... the whole nostalgia aspect of it is very real.

JN: And apparently nostalgia is a big business.

IR: And also it is this prime feeling of whroahhh [makes roaring sound], 'I master nature', you know!?

JN: [Laughs]. Thank you for all the insights.

10.9 Transcribed interview: Signe Voltelen, Urban farmer and agri-consultant

Interviewee: Signe Voltelen, Professional Urban farmer and urban agriculture consultant

Interviewer: Judith Neijzen

Date: January 4, 2018

SV: But I don't sectorize or divide. I am also acting sometimes as an NGO, sometimes as a consumer; mostly private of course. But sometimes the company's role is that my mission or vision or anything like that. So I think companies today are... I think the way of thinking in the... when you talk...I just... It's just difficult to say you are only a company, because we are doing so many things, so. It's also you know, this [referring to the sorting and packaging of seeds she is doing during the interview] is very company-ish: doing like a production of seed packages. But it comes out of a vision to make different exchange in the whole world when it comes to seed-policy and so on. So it's founded in an idealistic way, but we are *of course* as a company we are making, we are capitalizing on it. So when we talk to NGOs they say we are capitalists. And when we talk to companies they say that we are an NGO. That's why I think that the dividing in... it's a mix. And when it comes to customers, maybe it's not... maybe it's just me who's really bad at the phenomena defined as very divided roles.

JN: That's also interesting for me to hear if you think there is a big divide. Sometimes it might maybe also be better to run things as a company, to scale it up?

SV: In my opinion you should not be allowed to have a company if you only have one bottom-line, or one outcome of it. So it doesn't have any meaning on Earth if you... that's just my opinion. It's not to be like... of course we are also in the middle of a time where there is a big transition. It is not to say that 'you are out and you are in'. It is not to point fingers at anybody, it is just: you have to think like as company as well as a consumer as well as just a human being and think about what kind of link are you in the whole chain.

JN: Can you maybe tell me how you got involved in this?

SV: I got involved by reading Jonathan Safran Foer about eating meat. And that led me to read other literature and books about food and farming. And that led me also to think about how I could do something and also at the same time try to live of it. I got into this by reading books

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and via-via. Of course that is... that book linked to phenomena or to other writers and books that were related to that topic 'the farming and the food thing'. And that led me to urban agriculture because the UN report said at that time, and still, people are going to live in cities and so on. So it started there and then I joined a new urban garden here in Copenhagen at the time where I also started developing some workshops and it turned out that... it was not because I wanted to be a company, but also because I just had my second child and I couldn't think of her, or them, being in daycare from nine to four. So yeah, it was just happening at the same time I think.

JN: And so you taught yourself from books?

SV: Yeah. I am an architect, a regular building architect. You know you don't read a lot as an architect, or I didn't. It's like a practice-based job. Here in Denmark it is an art education. But anyways, I think I have read more books in a very short time, more than I ever did before and that was because I found something that I *had* to be looking more into. So yeah, books, articles, research. And then the Seeds came out of that. I think for gardeners it is a very common experience after one or two years you recognize that there are also seeds in the garden, which you can also collect and use them. And you find out that there is a whole thing there going on, also in the industry. So the Seeds [referring to the name of her company] was the gift that I got from the garden.

JN: That sounds nice. So how long ago is this, that you made this step?

SV: Into the urban farming? It was in 2011 and 2012.

JN: So six years ago?

SV: Yeah.

JN: If you look at Copenhagen, have you seen any developments? Or how would you describe the development of this scene, if we can call it that?

SV: Yeah, as for many other institutions, or people, or people who work with related areas to urban gardening, for example the city development department, the social department, the children and school department in cities, it was a quite new thing. And also when you talk to companies, they were often... I called several companies, because I had some ideas and I wanted to test it and talk to them about it, but it was too early at that time. And when you talk

to companies, the people that were maybe in charge of communications, or involved with product development, they didn't even know what urban farming, the phenomenon or the word, meant. And that was in the Danish context, or maybe even a European context. Because at that time it was only in the States and of course also other parts of the world. Because urban farming is not a new thing. So therefore when they... then after talking to me on the phone, for example, they would Google the word 'urban farming' and say 'wow this is a think we are going to look into, because the hashtags where so overwhelming... and you count the hashtags. And that is of course, that is because Detroit and New York and maybe also Shanghai when it comes to, or Asia, when it comes to vertical farming and also the projects that were maybe not developed and built, but visualized in one or the other way, was... you could find it and you could find stories about Berlin. And you could also find, if you looked a little bit deeper into it, stories that went back in time and so on. So this thing is that has been uh... the movement for example, the move has been from not knowing anything, to everybody knows what it is. Or maybe also when I talk to farmers on the countryside, the ones that you usually think produce your food, they didn't know anything, or if they *did* hear about it, they would just ask 'why?' they couldn't find any meaning to the word or the movement. But then again they learned about it and now everybody knows, or has a little knowledge about what it is about. So they change has been from knowing nothing in the different layers of society and the city departments, they now know what it is. The fact is also that a lot of projects have found place and they have been making space for it. Although regulations and barriers have been difficult to handle. But it has been a good kind of difficult, I think. Because they could see that so many consumers and citizens wanted to dig into this. Do it...

JN: And where do you think that comes from? When people go from knowing nothing to hearing about it. Do you know?

SV: What I hear when I do the workshops and meet people, and also when I talk to project initiators like for example here in Copenhagen, but also the place for example in Amsterdam where young women took the initiative for making a backyard into a green garden. That project is called 'You can change the world with your two hands' and that is actually the line of thinking that results in many people wanting to take part in this one way or another. It is not the only reason, but it is part of it. It is different from person to person. When I talk to people who have been volunteering, or part of a community garden, it is because they want to be part of a community and you want to use your hands, because it is a way of handling the overwhelming agendas that for example climate change and so on and pollution and so on; we have a chance to...to heal a little bit, enjoy our children that we can actually also live a good life in the city and

that we can also be a part of the change. So that is a *why*. And when it comes to... and related to that is actually also that... I think we still have the instinct... in our body lie layers, in our genes and our minds, of growing and foraging in nature and making things better and also learning from nature. So even though this is cultivated in nature and cities are constructions made by men, it is a way to go out and take the first steps and learn again from nature and see the positive things come out of it in your every day life. Be closer to nature. We do our food. Food is our daily contact with nature, especially in the city, because we don't have a garden. Maybe we don't have a garden. We have a park and that is also construction, but it is our contact to nature every day. That is what we get on our plates. So if we can have a little bit more contact to nature it is maybe at the raised beds in the backyards and so on. So I think it lies *deeply* in the human being and it is a necessity, or what do you call it in English? I think it is and it is not because we have to live in nature or in the forest or... again, it is just a re-... yeah, we have been fascinated through industrialization, that is the last 120 years by the machine and comparing the men and the machine, and now, I think, we're going into a time where we maybe want to be a little closer. I don't know, but I see and I hear that.

JN: That is good enough [laughs]. Would you say there is a community in Copenhagen specifically?

SV: Community gardens/

JN: No a community of, sorry, people who all are involved within this scene. So maybe there is a group of people that you know, that kind of do similar projects, that you keep on running into or...

SV: It has been like that. It is an unformal network. We just know each other. But I know projects and more projects and more small gardens are coming all the time. And I think it is... yeah, yeah, you run into difficulties with the city or so. But the city is also a learning both ways. And that is how the city.. I think they have been very open-minded actually.

JN: So would you say that the city is part of that community?

SV: Yeah, the city is open-minded to how to practice regulations when it comes to, for example having bees in the cities, in an open park, or, if it done by a group of volunteers, or by a small community, they are very open-minded and it is it... yeah. That is my experience.

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But you see also another place in Rotterdam, it is not just because you are from the area, but there is a lot of learning going on... through time we have been inspired a lot by Dutch people coming here to start up... in Amager.

JN: Ah, yes, the Dutch colony in Amager.

SV: Yeah, the story about there were Dutch people in Amager, learning the king how to grow a garden. And, actually, the gardens out here [the location of the interview is a greenhouse in Frederiksberg park] were filled with vegetables. Because a friend of the king asked the king if some of the people that he knew from Amager could come and make the gardens.

JN: Interesting.

SV: But also when it comes to modern schools, how to structure that and how to develop the city, we look... I know that there is a lot of inspiration coming from Holland. But that is not the point. [...] Also, Copenhagen is involved in a new development of the city in Valby where they have the vision and the planning is made so that they have the greenhouses on top of the houses and if not on top, on the roof, they have it in the backyard and sometimes there are just beds. So that is in the back yard and greenhouses on the roof. And they give it to the people who are living there and say they can grow whatever they like here. That is really an urban farming development, new area in the city. In the middle of the whole city, or area, which is scheduled to host 2000 new apartments, 8000 new citizens. In the middle of that will be a park which will be an apple orchard with communities that can produce stuff out of the apples. And there is a bee yard planned and so on. Urban farming and they brand themselves on urban farming. And Maria and I are involved there in guiding and teaching how to grow. And a few of the families there told me they actually moved there *because* there was this possibility. So it is really something that has been going from, as we talked about before, knowing nothing about what it is to something that people are really interested in and are..

JN: They want to build their lives around it?

SV: Yeah, the gardening and maybe we will not all be self-sufficient and we are not going to be self-sufficient in Copenhagen, as in Havana or that which was build on the crisis they had. But we will know and will have the possibility to take, to chose and make a qualified decision to chose the *good* vegetables. The *good* things that we buy in the supermarket because super markets are our link to food in our days: it is a laboratory of cities like Copenhagen. Because there are many shops of course and many different things that you can get, but in medium-size cities,

it is in the periphery that you have the supermarkets. And it is still our link to food, so if we don't know what food is, and also where it comes from, we are not going to be a part of anything anymore. And other institutions or sectors will make that choice for us.

It has been more and more... people are not making food at home anymore, so the question is who is feeding us now. The industry or who? So, if it is the industry, we want to say [inaudible] and adjust to that modern world, we also have to know about what we are eating so we can make a choice there. That is also a way that as a consumer to have a little garden, not that you would know any varieties of thyme or potatoes, but you know what good quality looks like also. And that is also a benefit.

JN: So a reason for people to participate in urban agriculture is to be independent? Is that what you are saying?

SV: Nahhh... independent in that way so that you have to possibility to buy the right stuff in the supermarket. And also if we talk about organic stuff here, or buy organic stuff in the city and raise the interest and the market shares here in the city, we can actually make it, be a part of making the connection between the city and the rural much more fun for the farmer maybe, because she can actually grow things that are not monocultural. And maybe get also a little higher prices for the yield, because the markets in the city are maybe more diverse and you can start up niche product where the big farmland is... so that is also, I see a link there which is very important when I talk to farmers. Because it is not only about being self-sufficient or making your own food in the city, it is not only about teaching the children what a tomato looks like. It is also to talk about what kind of lush and abundance there is and varieties of potatoes. Now we can get the big ones and maybe the small washed...uhhh..

JN: That's the choice we have.

SV: Yeah, that is what we can choose from, maybe the only variety is between organic and conventional, but that's how it is. But there are 6000 varieties of tomatoes. Not all of them would grow well in Denmark. But some of them grow well here, some of them grow well in the southern part of America and so on. And if we want to have the same joy and pleasure and maybe also the farmer wants to grow another niche product or to have better chances of getting higher prices. It is our job also to talk about what else there is than these two types of potatoes. And when it comes to the tomato industry: tomato growing is a very big industry in Europe and it is... there is a lot of power build in within these structures.

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JN: So it is kind of educational knowledge?

SV: Yes, you can change the world if you feed good food. If you want no poison, no pesticides being spread on the countryside, you should maybe think of varieties that grow...good organic varieties that grow very well here, so they don't have to spray them. It is not only lifestyle thing, like it is also developing markets and so on. I think urban farming can be used as a tool for many things.

JN: So why do you think...I am just very fascinated by this contradiction of people living in the city, wanting to get involved that historically happens outside of the city. How do you see this contradiction; why don't people that are involved with urban agriculture move to the countryside? What is it?

SV: I don't see it as a contradiction.

JN: OK.

SV: Because there are a lot of things that are very good in the cities. I don't know... you can say in some ways it is a contradiction. But it is also a wish of... a way of living *the whole live, all your live*, in the city. And anyways, who decided that farmland and city-land is different? It is just a way of thinking, it is consumption. It is different when you see it as grey, and stone and the materials and so on. And it different when you look at administration. But it is not people are maybe not so different, they like to join communities, be a part of something in a bigger group... and also the nature of cities is food production. We build cities on food, that is how cities are build. You know Caroline Steel?

JN: Yes! I read the 'How food shapes uhh...'

SV: 'our lives', yeah. And also the text from the ancient cities where you start up growing cereals and you know that growing cereals take a lot of time and effort to produce. Then people found out it is smart to go together, work together. So, it is part of the nature of the city. And I think still, that the idea and the logic of the cities is that there is more to it than just an apartment.

JN: But then you can say, OK, if you want the community, if you want to get more to life than these four walls, you can also move to the country side.

SV: Yeah, but we have been through a fast-growing, fast-changing period. The late-modernity I think. And if you move to the country-side now, I don't know if you would... I actually moved

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to the country side because I wanted to have more land. And that definitely came out of my interest for urban farming, or maybe because I am from the country side. But who is not?

JN: [Laughs].

SV: And yeah, I don't know. But it is just that the city has so many good things to offer.

JN: To be very provocative, one could say that you can never *really* farm, or really reach what you're aiming for as long as you are in the city. Like you indicated by telling that you moved out of the city because you wanted more land...

SV: But then I think that the urban farming phenomenon stretches out over different typologies. And we can say that there is a heavy production landscape, which is more like the farming landscape, farm-scape. But it could also be a vertical farm in the city, which is very highly productive. And then there is the other which is the social, or the community-based, which gives you one or two tomatoes every time. But in between there is a lot of other... and in between there is also the mind-farming thing – the educational thing – the changing transitional, being a part of the transition, wanting to make a change and so... yeah, you can say but, but... uhhhh. Yeah, I have moved to a little town in another part of the country, but people from other parts of the country would say I still live in Copenhagen, because I still live out in Roskilde. Because it is Denmark, it is quite small.

And I know that many people that I started with, five years ago, they also moved out. They bought an orchard. People are taking a new... there is something new happening there, but the sum of it is that people are moving *to* the city and not from the city or away from the city.

JN: It sounds like, space, the place where it happens is quite important to everyone involved? I mean, whether it is scale, you move out to have more space, or...

SV: Mm-mm.

JN: Where would you say urban farming happens in Copenhagen? Would you for example consider a balcony to be urban farming?

SV: Yeah yeah.

JN: And then you have gardens like Byhavn 2200.

SV: Yeah yeah, for example.

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JN: Community gardens?

SV: There is an area where they make like recreational gardens in a part of the hospitalet. And then there are the school gardens, but it has its own like...

JN: separate garden?

SV: And it is not a new thing either. And the balcony gardening is also a thing and if you take it all under the umbrella, it's all urban agriculture in a way. Especially in a modern context, because twenty years ago you would just say it is limited to raised beds. It is not a movement or something. But now, in this context I would say... and when I meet people that have been doing it for all their lives... but in this modern context it is urban agriculture, or you can say it is urban farming, because so many are doing it now.

JN: So, is it a lifestyle?

SV: For some people it is. Sometimes it is just... it is very often that people indicate that they don't know anything about it, but want to do it. And those kinds of questions are so positive in my opinion. Because when people ask: 'when you say 'sowing', do you mean I should take the seed and put it like this in the soil [gesturing with hands]?' this is so basically and this should be made... they know it deep inside maybe. But I think these questions are coming and they are not afraid of asking basic questions. Because that is the level it is on. But people are so curious. And they know they don't know anything because their grandmother is dead and they were not taught by their mother or father or so on. So it is very positive and it is a sign that tells me that this is a very curious curiosity that can lead to many good things in peoples lives. And maybe it stops or goes on... or they stop with the window-farming and indicate they want to do something that does not need their maintenance every day. And they want to go out in the backyard and start a community garden. There are many different ways to start.

JN: If you would have to characterize the people that are involved within the scene. It sounds from your description that they have some ideals? That they want to change something?

SV: Yeah. *Some* people. There are many ways into it. But one of the things is that people are using their hands because that is maybe when you cannot answer the topics that are coming... that you should bear on your shoulders. You can loose some of that or you can actually start something new. But it is also just to be together. Just a community, making food together.

JN: Is there a specific age group? Are there specific neighborhoods more involved?

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SV: No, maybe it's... that how it is with many things, but no... I even see people at the country side making urban farms. So it is also a way... it's a concept in a way also. I see a lot of young people, of course, because you have maybe more flexible time. But I also see families and I see... when you see people and their age and gender who are visiting the botanical gardens, they are often women, fifty, sixty years old, *bringing* their families. But they take the initiative and that is an analysis, so it is not just me saying that. But when you see urban agriculture, it is families, it is young guys, students...

JN: Teenagers?

SV: Yeah, yeah, also teenagers. And for my niece, I have three nieces that are teenagers and for them it is about fashion and so on. But they think it is great fun.

JN: And what do you mean with fashion?

SV: Yeah, the botanics fashion. The fashion prints on shirts and so on. But they also have the plants in the windows now, because it is... they got inspired.

JN: Do you think there are people that are in it because it looks good on them. Even if they would not only do it because of their looks; maybe they would do it unconsciously to broadcast some message? If you say that it is a trend that has been coming, does it have anything to do with that as well?

SV: Yeah, it has been a trend. I look at it now, and that is also what I hoped for from the beginning, that this is not going to be *just* a trend. It is going to be somethings that many people are going to take with them and continue with. So of course people get inspired and then it is not something for them to continue with. But it *has* been a trend, but it has also been a trend trying to change some regulations, for example in the city department, working closely together, seeing what the possibility. Framing a new way of seeing it, or making a new model for it and then changing regulations so that it can actually be something that the city can maintain a platform for. Copenhagen university has also been testing how it works with pollution and so on. But for some people this has been uhh... like we are going to see and have already been seeing that some changes have been made when it comes to [inaudible]. And the projects that has been and are coming in the future, I would say that there are some projects, I would say, for example Østergro that has been doing a very good job trying to find a business model on it and so on. Looking into what are the concept that is 'inspired from the world'. And that is also a thing that

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we can do here, because it is also, cities look the same, more or less. And it is not that difficult to use the concepts and get inspired from others.

JN: Some of the other people that I have interviewed would say that it is also kind of a hipster movement. Would you agree with that.

SV: No, not at all. I think it is a... no, because I think, when I talk to people and when I meet people at workshops and so on, they are not at all hipsters. But I also know that of course, creative people or something, some young people that are living in cities are open to fermented food or mushroom growing or very sour beer, or that hipster-ish culture. But then again it is just... it's ambassadors. You can call them ambassadors that are taking it in and just trying it and talking about it and spreading the word. And I don't know about hipsters, but I know about families and maybe they have been hipsters. I think in every new thing you have to have ambassadors. Either they are hipsters, or other people like groups that are taking something new in. I don't think they were hipsters in Detroit. And that is again, we have a whole other thing in Copenhagen and we have a good reason to be conservative about urban farming here at that is not my opinion. We have a good reason but we are conservative when it comes to that, because it is not a necessity here. We don't need it, we have money enough to buy food. But in Detroit they maybe need it more. I see it also as related to other movements such as when you talk about food waste. That is also like how is the modern household? Could you grow something here, could you learn about food? Put our waste in a circle again and so on. So it is not only a little like isolated thing. Oikos is the Greek name for organic and yeah... we're just learning.

JN: How important is it to be, just looking at it as a community. How important is it to be validated by outsiders?

SV: It is very important. Because it is very important, because, if you are in a public park you have to have skills and listen to others and letting them in. Because when you find out, like in nature, if you make space for others there is also space for yourself. So I think it is very... and I know that we have also been talking about... and this is... and that is also a thing in culture that you are used to gardens that are like cut lawns, straight hedges and no rotten things under the bushes and no compost that is smelling and so on. If you want to change the mindset and get people into seeing the beautiful beauty of life and also life in nature that goes in circles and not in the straight line that we are used to, you should take one step at the time. And then that means you have to get your neighbor with you when you make 'ugly' raised beds that don't have the same aesthetics when you grow vegetables and so on. So, you just have to talk positive

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about it and letting people in and letting people see that it is not only one aesthetic way, there are other ways also.

JN: How important is it to be able to correctly conduct urban farming, so to do it in the right way? I mean, in the sense that, is it more important that you are *doing* it, or *thinking* that you are doing it?

SV: I think it is different. But it is depending on in what context you do it. But I think it is important that you do it together. And when it comes to doing it together, there is this... you get a picture of social aesthetics and it is not... the goal is not to make a beautiful garden. But the goal is not to be together, but to make space to live...

JN: So how important is it then to feel like you can do it? To master it or control it?

SV: I don't think it is important'

JN: And if you are teaching children to do it right. Or if you want to get involved, as you said, because you want to know how to actually grow squash or pumpkins?

SV: It is important to have some kind of success in your garden, because that will draw you back in the garden next year. But it is also important to have a space where you can actually make failures and do it year after year and just improve and find out what you think is... there is not one way to garden. But you can have your greatest outcome of your pumpkin if you can grow it inside or outside or whatever, you know what I mean. So *for me* it is important to teach about vegetable growing at a level that can be... that is good for new urban gardeners. But it is not important to produce a garden that given high yields in the first year already. It is an ongoing process. Was that the question?

JN: Mmm

SV: it is important to understand that this is the process between nature and you. And that... you just have to be open to it and that is what people are.

JN: I think I saw it as a question of identity: so when would you feel like an urban farmer? When you do it correctly, or just when you are doing it?

SV: I felt like an urban farmer the first time I was part of the community farm in Nørrebro, but I was only doing the webpage! Because I had my own garden at home, but I was only maintaining the webpage. Because nobody else could do that. But I could do that. So I could like, be... I

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depends on where you are in your life maybe. If you are part of something it is also... I felt like an urban farmer also at that time.

JN: So it is more about being part of the scene?

SV: Yes, I have the same thought. But it is not... it's if you are part of somethings... which you are uhmmm... and you can... or truly make it happen together with the people that you are in a group... or if you are just in a group... you are as well an urban farmer as you are when are a balcony farmer.

JN: Ok. Do you think that the practitioners feel like they are creating something?

SV: Yeah. Indeed.

JN: And do you think they feel like experts?

SV: Yeah, they grow as... not at the first and maybe not the second season, but... But you know, people who did it five years ago, they are now experts in urban farming in some way, because they have been dealing with the city and changing things. And looking into very... things they didn't know. And 'experts'? I don't know, but...

JN: But it sounds as if you talk about people who have to deal with the city it is the people leading some sort of groups. It is not people who just volunteer maybe once a month. Or?

SV: Yeah it is also them?

JN: Also? Ok.

SV: It depend on what kind of structure you have in the group.

JN: So how exclusive is then this knowledge both about urban agriculture and about the scene to this group? Does it feel like 'we know this, and the outsiders don't'? I mean, as soon as you come, do you also know all of this, or?

SV: The thing with the garden as a space or a room, is that it is quite informal. You just get together in a public park or a backyard, or in your garden next to your house. But you are not inviting people into your house of your private space. It is a semi-private or semi-public space. So, you have different kinds of caudexes when you meet around the table and have some food. But the garden is for many people a quite unknown... there are no codexes because they don't know what the protocol is. But you can meet people there that haven't been meeting, or you

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wouldn't have met from your neighbourhood, because you were maybe not in that circle. Or it is maybe a middle aged women or man and you are maybe a teenager. But then you can learn from each other and when you have been in a garden for one or two seasons, you know how to weed and you know how to sow, and you have been specializing in some sort of crop or you have this specific interest, or the composting system you took the initiative for and you are showing other people how to do that. So, it is a space to meet where you know, if you for example, make food together and you know what the food is and then you can also explore what you don't know together.

JN: So it sounds like there is a difference between the... being part of the group sounds like that is quite easy. If you can maintain the website and you can call yourself an urban farmer. But to feel knowledgeable about it or to kind of feel like you have some expertise that...

SV: Yes, you have to dig into the soil.

JN: Alright. And then, this knowledge how is it spread?

SV: Some gardens are very good at making structures for, for example when a garden is established, and it is all knew and everybody is happy and there is a lot of energy. But when the autumn comes, and the garden is put through winter, it is also about maintaining a community. Some places are very good at what I call 'gardening the whole year around', because there is actually... there are different kinds of tasks that should be done, like cleaning seeds [shakes box she is holding] and in the autumn harvesting seeds. And you can also study growing principles or improve parts of the garden and prepare for peas and stuff like that, but it is also about maintaining the group and the social thing about being together not just not seeing each other.

JN: Does this context and knowledge exchange happen face-to-face? Or do you see online communities.

SV: Face to face I think. More or less. But no... yeah, I see online communities, but is it... That is also... yeah Facebook groups and so on. And NGOs have also been making space for urban farming projects.

JN: Do you think that people in this group trust each other?

SV: Yeah! Trust in the sense?

JN: Trust each other with their knowledge, with their crops, with their, maybe...

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SV: Yeah, yeah! I think so. And it is also about sharing knowledge. And when it comes to seeds there is also this swapping seeds and that is also a good habit, that you can give seeds to your neighbor or your friend. And when the seeds are not good, your friend will not have the good things out of it. And when it comes to seeds. There is also this growing experience about how you did get the seeds yourself and how you hand it on now, and why you hand it on now, and what is the best. And all these small... or both knowledge and experiences, is a trust you give. You hand over the trust to be given on further.

JN: Do you see a lot of promotion? Among the professionals, the volunteers, the community builders etcetera, to promote it? Is there a lot of promotion in this urban agriculture environment? Do people talk about it to convince other to also do it. Or is it a thing that you mainly do to yourself?

SV: People are talking about it because they are curious and they are so excited about what it is. And what can I do? And if I wanted to do this or that, what could we do together and so on. So I think there is a lot of excitement in it. And that is what is keeping people up to the discussion and the talk about urban farming and not so much... of course I would say to my neighbor, and I *did* when I lived in Copenhagen, we agreed on sharing a kitchen garden a little outside Copenhagen and we shared chickens... so we inspired each other and that's how people do it.

JN: And from a company perspective. With all your initiatives; how does that work?

SV: That's uh... I do it like... I make content on my platforms and it is content-based and yeah... I don't have like a strategy. The only thing is that it should be actual content. I should share something... but if it is a Christmas market, I make an event on Facebook and so on. And that is also, how do you call that promotion? That also gets promoted by people talking about it, but it is... And shops use it also as a commercial thing. That urban farming is fashionable or... being something and plants and so on but yeah... But when it comes to gardening, you find out that it is green in summer and then what?

JN: [Laughs].

SV: So there is a lot of hope in it when you see a little sprout bigger and bigger. There are a lot of things that you, deep inside, relate to. Also when you see death in the backyard and worms and so on, that whole dark side so.

JN: If you say...

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SV: Curiosity and excitement...

JN: When you say that it is also a fashion and the restaurants use it to promote themselves...

SV: It is because chefs cannot get any fresh, or how... they are used to buying it in plastic also like we are as consumers. So they are just tired of monoculture.

JN: Who is their audience then? Who do they attract?

SV: Ja.

JN: Or who do they want to attract?

SV: Yeah, I don't think they have... I think they are doing it... I don't know. But I think they are doing it because they say to themselves, like 'if I think this is the right thing, I am probably not alone'. And then there is talkings. And then they can start a conversation. It is not so much about promoting, but it is about content. Or like, not content making as we talked... as it talked.. ass

JN: Not marketing, but...

SV: Yeah! Not marketing, but if you see the results, it *is* a good way of marketing. Your kitchen is the garden! But it is also related... I think it is of course about texture, it is about life it is about seeing something growing in the garden and to bring all the small textures all the thousands and thousands of different leaves and different tastes and bitter and sweet and all that to keep inspiration flow into the kitchen and also to nourish your customers on their plate.

JN: So do you think there is a big group of people who, for example, go to a restaurant or who would buy things because they are related to urban agriculture that don't actually do urban agriculture themselves?

SV: Yeahhh! It is expensive to go to a restaurant. I myself would rather spend money on a good meal in that kind of restaurant then ten meals at a so-so restaurant. Because of the message. I think also that chefs are tired of... You know, if you go to Netto or Fakta or that kind of shop, you don't get inspired. You should be a very skilled chef to, not to make food out of it, because there is good stuff also. But to continue the inspiration and the flow of creativity, you cannot go to Imco and buy those things. You have to go to the farmer and see and smell and feel. It is also because they are just tired of all the talk, they want to do something, the people in the cities. You can actually do something, even though it is a little bit, but you can actually do something and although it is a little bit, you can be part of it anyways.

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JN: I have two more questions. One is based on the concept of storytelling... when I asked one of the other interviewers this question he said 'there is a lot of storytelling going on. Both around the urban farming topic, because people actually believed that that's the way to go and that is what we are doing and that is important. But he said 'there also people who spend 80% of their time talking about it and 20% of their time doing it'.

SV: Yeah, I am sure. That is how it is sometimes with... and also people spending a little more and then talking even more about it and it uhhh... I don't know. What was the question?

JN: Maybe promotion of yourself among your peers?

SV: Yeah, yeah, yeah, Mm. But you know, that's how... when it comes to... that's how we live. We live also in a dream. And some... I think uhm. That could be also Denmark: it's half time winter, so there is a lot of time to talk if you don't have a garden to be in.

JN: [Laughs].

SV: And here you can see me, making packages out of seed. I don't know if that is urban farming. I have the computer besides me and now we talk about it. And I am sure, because that was my idea, to spend less time behind a computer, spend more time being practical and in the garden. And then I shouldn't have started a company, because in a company you have to maintain every other stuff... and also the garden. But it is not a stupid thing, it is just how it is. And when you have a.. but then... yeah...

JN: Do you ever see any initiatives where you think to yourself 'come on, that is not urban farming, you are not really into it'.

SV: No, because I can talk a lot. I think there are a lot of gardens starting and then people find out it is difficult to maintain a social environment also and also to maintain the garden and keep it on and so on. But then maybe there is a curve on to that news and excitement about news. And then the garden and the group in the garden finds a level.

JN: Right, it kind of stabilizes?

SV: Yeah, maybe you have a little talking, but... in a group of one hundred there will be ten that will actually show up and say now we have to constitute a little board who will be responsible for a little part of the garden. And then ten people show up. Seventy people show up when it is

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new, but.. And then if the ten people let in the others again and not excluding anyone. It can be a very large group. And then a little smaller and then it finds a level.

JN: Is it a luxury to urban farm?

SV: Yeah, in this country it is. And that is maybe also why some people are like saying that this is a hipster thing.

JN: So, last question: how do you think urban agriculture is part of the identity of people that are involved?

SV: I think that urban agriculture is definitely... will be a part of *some* people's identity, because I think that when you first... and I see that... once again I just think... I can only speak for myself, I think it is a big part of my identity. Because I am interested in how cities develop and what we... and I see, I recognize urban farming as a tool for many things. Health, education and so on and just lifestyle and so on. So I think it links to so many different things that you can grab one of these if you are more here in the health-topic than in others. And I think it is.. I don't think you can tell people you can tell people what to do in this scene, because gardening is also hard work sometimes. Out in the cold. You should also go out and maintain your garden in the winter and you have to look for not so much in the urban area... you have to look for animals that are eating your crops, that is a rural thing...

JN: So do you think there is a...

SV: You have to.. I don't know. I think in Valby, the example I gave, where it is integrated in the development of the buildings and the whole areas it will be a thing that they will see at their identity, when you live there. And gardening has been families identities, farming and gardening have been for years been... it's when you have a yard and you share it with your neighbors... or a farmer does not leave his animals to go on a holiday to go to Mallorca or something. It is a very I could not see myself without a garden in the future. And I didn't have anything to do with gardening before 2009, when I moved to a little house outside of Copenhagen.

JN: So how would it be for volunteers or for people maintaining the website?

SV: I think being a part of a community garden is also showing others and your children that you can actually do something with the land in the city. So maybe we are feeling a little more free also.

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JN: So would it be one part of their identity, whereas for you it is kind of the basis for your identity? Can I say that?

SV: You know, I think...it is a very difficult answer because I don't... we are so specialized today that when we work with something we are very educated and specialized in what we are doing. And I don't know if I did urban farming in my spare time, or after work, like you would play tennis, I wouldn't say that... Maybe tennis would be part my identity as part of what I do to work out or something. Maybe, but...

JN: So maybe urban farming would be the same part of those people's identity if they were playing tennis.

SV: Yeah, maybe. And I am sure that other would look at one and say 'she is the one with urban farming', because you would come with the seeds for your neighbor and share it and do it where other would look at you as a gardener, one way or another.

JN: So that is the perceived identity. Like, how others look at you?

SV: Yeah yeah. I think because that would be a natural... when seeds saving, if it was ten years ago, when the organization Danish Seed Saving was founded, which is a small NGO, it was just a nerdy thing. Maybe two hundred in the organization were paying a small contribution and then from 2012 or something like that, it has been growing to close to two thousand or something like that. But it is around two-thousand members and that is for a very small and nerdy organization, that is also related to the interest in farming, gardening, urban agriculture.

JN: So maybe you don't have to feel like an urban farmer yourself, in order for others to think that you are.

SV: No maybe not. I would say ten years ago that it was mainly people of your mom's age that would grow vegetables in the garden. It was not a regular thing. Now it is not like that. It has gained some street credit. They are cool.

JN: So there is a little bit of a 'cool' identity?

SV: Yeah, yeah, ja. When a thing develops from being a trend into something that many people are still doing it is... we can talk again in five years or something and then we can see if it is still something...

JN: ...that is cool?

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SV: ...or how people are talking about it and so on.

JN: Great, that was it. Thank you so much. Do you have any last comments or things I should think about?

SV: I think... You can say that there also new businesses coming out of the interest in urban agriculture. Like the mine, but also the ones growing mushrooms from waste, leading workshops on growing principles. So there are also businesses developing out of it and also rooftop gardens, like the one in Berlin...

JN: Prinsessengarten.

SV: Yeah, which is also a social and a commercial place, you know.

JN: So do you think there will be more commercial ones?

SV: Yeah!! Yeah, I hope so, because I think that if we want a green world, we have to make jobs so it's not something that we are just continuing to talk about, but that it is really something we are doing. And green movement should not be funded by the government. It is good with a little help from the government, like in any other business, but it could be thinks that we actually life off, instead of talk about it.

JN: Great. Thank you so much! And now I will help you guys with sorting the seeds!

10.10 Transcribed interview: Anne Tange, City gardener

Interviewee: Anne Tange, City gardener

Interviewer: Judith Neijzen

Date: 23 January, 2018

JN: So there are 15 questions and it will be something like an hour.

AT: And if there is something that I don't know, because now I haven't prepared, can I then sort of write you back and say 'oh I thought about this'...

JN: Of course, yes, that would be lovely.

AT: ...'maybe it's actually this I mean'.

JN: That would be great, and also there are no *right* answers. Right? It's a very exploratory study anyways. So let's see. So I am supposed to tell you first a little bit about what I am looking into to create this idea for you. So, very short, I see this trend in Copenhagen and in other big, wealthy cities in the Global North or in Europe specifically, where people start to be interested, or *are* interested, in urban agriculture. That is kind of paradoxical, right; why would you live in a city when you want to participate in something that is a rural practice. Of course they have all their reasons for it. And my idea is that, so these reasons would be it's more green, healthy, sustainable, it's organic but through research I found that some of them are less than more true. But then I think there is actually a layer below that, and you know people won't say that out loud, but its, *I* think it might also be a symbolic thing to participate in, where people do it to create an identity and to be part of a group. And that is what I am trying to figure out.

AT: Interesting!

JN: And the idea is, because I study marketing [laughs] that if you would know about this kind of hidden layer of reasoning, as a marketer, that could be really interesting. If Tagtomat would want to get more clients, or if you want to spread the word... why do people really do this? To know that, could be very valuable information I think.

AT: Yes. I already want to say loads, so let's uhhh...

JN: [Laughs]. That's good! First, could you tell shortly about who you are and how you would describe your job or your work? And how you got into this scene?

AT: Yes. Well, I am 42 years old. When I was young I trained as a propagator, in Denmark what you call a gardener at a garden school. It's like an apprentice and it takes three years and eight months. It's a labor job. It's not a degree or anything, it's like you'd become a carpenter or so there you can also become a gardener. And I specialized in becoming a producer of fruit brushes and fruit trees and really enjoyed that. And then later on in my life I have studied landscape architecture at the university. So that is kind of my educational background and ever since finished my gardening apprenticeship I have worked with teaching and not really producing. I have one year sort of producing stuff at a sort of normal nursery that was too [inaudible] from my end. And then I moved to Copenhagen, like 15 years ago or something. Or that's the second time I moved here actually. But then I quickly became involved with this urban gardening thing. And I met this really old, nice old lady who started something called the community gardens at Inghaveplads. And she was into permaculture. And I took a permaculture certificate and got involved in stuff, so I have been working with that for like 15 years now. In various places in Copenhagen. The Copenhagen school gardens and teaching around.

You said it's a paradox that people in the city want to grow, but I think that people and plants are very closely linked and related and there are lots of people in the city, so it is natural that there should be loads of plants too. So for me it is just really common sense. Of course it is like that.

JN: Right. This 'trend' that I just described, do you recognize that? And specifically in Copenhagen, how would you say that has evolved?

AT: Oh certainly I have. Like 15 years ago we were *fighting* to make this happen and now it is like it is happening everywhere and sometimes you feel like it is not needed to work for it anymore. Now it is needed to work for find it and make people better at it. But there is lots happening now. Especially at the past 5 years it has picked up greatly. That is really nice to see. But also I sometimes feel that it *is* just a trend. It is going to go again. Because back in the eighties there was like a period in Copenhagen with lots of unemployment and lots of people started doing stuff. There was this thing called Have på Nat, garden in one night, and lots of stuff popped up and then people got jobs again and forgot about it and now it's kind of second round of people being unemployed and time to do a little urban gardening. But it seems more serious this time. It seems more sustainable, so I am hoping it is here to stay in one way or another. But people are still sort of feeling the grounds and finding out why they are doing, as you say, is it

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because we want to produce carrots, or is it because we want to know our neighbors or is it because it looks really nice in the city. There are lots of reasons.

JN: That is interesting what you say, that it seems like when the economy is down and people are unemployed, the interest goes up. Is that...?

AT: Yeah, they have time. And especially resourceful people have time to do it. I often find that this urban... I mean, I think there's a... you should look at urban farming and urban gardening as two different things. Because urban farming is producing veggies to support your household, whereas urban gardening is the bigger thing that includes all the social stuff with it. And I don't think urban farming is actually taking place in Denmark. Maybe at ØsterGro as the only place, but still...

JN: Yeah, that is why I decided to talk about urban agriculture...

AT: Yeah, I can see that...

JN: Because I think it is the most...

AT: yeah, exactly...

JN: all-encompassing thing.

AT: Although I just said that it is clearly when people are unemployed and have more time, they spend more time doing this. We haven't yet been poor enough in Denmark to do it for real. People do it for fun. People still do it for fun. We're not hungry enough to go out and grow potatoes to survive. It is still very much a lifestyle pattern.

JN: Do you think it would be feasible to grow enough food, in case...

AT: No. Not in Copenhagen. I don't think so. But that does not mean we shouldn't try and shouldn't do it. Because... I have worked a lot with school gardens and for me it is really, really important to give the kids survival skills. I mean, they should learn to read and to write and to do math's, but they should certainly also know how to grow stuff and pick herbs and flowers to eat in nature, because that is just as important.

JN: Yeah.

AT: And I try to tell that to them. If you as kids of seven, eight, nine, what they want to be when they grown up they want to be pop stars and they want a big house and whatever. And I try to

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tell them that 'if you are really good in growing stuff, then you are actually *free*. Because then you can decide for yourself, then you don't have to buy stuff'. You can be a free person. And when you are seven, you go like 'OK she is weird'. But I really try and teach them that it is really cool to vent for yourself in that way.

JN: That's really inspiring.

AT: [Laughs].

JN: If you would say, in Copenhagen, you already mentioned ØsterGro, where else do you see it taking place.

AT: All the school gardens is a really good example I think. And there are several of them and there are more to come actually. They are becoming popular again. And then there is... do at Nørrebro, who is on top of Blågårdsgadeskole, do you know of that?

JN: Yes, I have been there.

AT: That is a really nice place. That was one of the first of Copenhagen, maybe the first one actually. And then there is Byhavn 2200 and then there is Raveshave, which has been there and gone again. Botilias was there momentarily. And then there is all this private stuff going on in the backyards.

JN: Right.

AT: And on the balconies, which I think is like just as important. The little steps that each persons take in their life is more important then all the visible stuff that looks nice actually.

JN: And would you consider... I mean, you just mentioned balconies. People growing things in their own appartments, is that more a hobby thing or how do you see that in this scene? As a part of it?

AT: Yeah, people do it differently. Some do it for hobby obviously, but some are very keen on, you know, making it a kind of game. Like 'how much can I produce on my balcony and on my window seal and making a statement like that. And I think that is really nice.

JN: What reasons do you see for people to pick up agricultural practices or, slash, to use services like Tagtomat?

AT: What reasons?

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JN: Yeah, so why are they motivated to start?

AT: Well they do it... most people do it because they want to show their kids. Where veggies come from. You don't just buy them. That is a big motivator for people, that they get kids and what to go back to Earth and some people really enjoy being able to pick a few fresh herbs for their salad. Some do it for the Copenhagen's biodiversity as a wholesome thing 'we need more green'. Some people do it because they want to attract insects that attract birds. There are lots of different reasons. And some people do it because it seems fancy, it is what we do now.

JN: Ok.

AT: I do think there is a lot of... there is a lot of story telling. And I am normally saying that we don't actually sell boxes with veggies in it, we sell stories about people. They can tell themselves and other to feel better. And that is basically what we do. And I mean, we are not going to change the world growing a few herbs in a little box out there. But we might change it if we show people that they can do things differently. And that says the main thing, I think.

JN: That is really interesting. So why... following that reasoning, why do people in a *city* specifically, want to do that? I mean, going back to this thing that we already talked about: the paradox that you don't see as a paradox. Do you think that is the main reason? The argument that you gave that people want to be surrounded by green?

AT: Yes, I do actually. And they also want to be surrounded by people too. I think it is coming back now that people want to do more things with other people in communities that maybe don't want to own their own car, that want to share it. Maybe they don't want to own their own washing machine, they want to share that too. They want to share their garden, they want to share dinner with their neighbors and stuff. And I think it is a really good idea, because a few years back the sort of thing was to buy a little old farm in the countryside and become self-sufficient. But that's not sustainable *at all*. It is sustainable to build small communities where you share stuff with a lot of people. And cities could be really sustainable because it has a lot of people in a little space, which makes it easier to share stuff.

JN: Right.

AT: And to not use cars, to not use fossil fuels or anything, if people were clever about it. We are not clever enough yet. But I don't think, you know, sort of stepping out of the rat race and living out on the country side with you and your husband and your two kids. That is not sus-

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tainable. Communities can be sustainable, because you can share a lot of stuff. And I think people are more into sharing and more into some sort of they lean into the compact city concept, right? You live closely together, you might as well do a lot of stuff together.

JN: Are those also the problems, or the issues, that a city brings along? That you don't have your family living close anymore, so you need...

AT: Yeah, you need your neighbors, yeah. *Exactly*. I mean, my generation we all... our parents lived in west Jutland. I mean, they cannot just pickup their kids after school if I have a meeting or look after them at night, if I want to go to the cinema with a friend or... you need your friends close by. I live in a little garden community and we use each other a lot and have dinners together and, you know, look after each others kids and cats. And it is really nice, to share cars and tools and... I really enjoy that.

JN: I've tried to get a picture of where these communities, these groups, gather. I mean, there is physical gathering, but also online there seems to be a lot of activity.

AT: Yeah, yeah.

JN: How would you describe that kind of coming together?

AT: I am not a very online kind of person, so I don't participate in that. I hardly ever sort of write 'oh I think this or that', you know? I follow some of it, because I need to know what is going on so I can be better at my work, basically. But obviously it is great that people can meet up online from different parts of the city or country or even world, to share ideas. But I think there is... it is kind of a trap too, which is... I also think that the job I do in Tagtomat, or in other places also kind of attract a fear sometimes. That I am sort of selling a good story. That people can hitch onto. That people think 'oh I bought a seed bomb at Tagtomat I am *really* participating in the big transition now, I don't need to do any more, because the story of this seed bomb has become so great that people actually think it is making a difference, and it is not. Sometimes I feel really ashamed that I am telling these stories that make people think they are doing a lot, and they are not. You know, so on good days I am really inspiring people, I am teaching them how to do stuff, how to have a different life, how to support themselves. And sometimes I think 'oh God, I am just telling this silly story that makes people think that they are making a difference. And you know, they are not really. They are just following the race and being... liking some urban gardening page and buying a seed-bomb and still doing lots of stupid stuff that is gonna fuck up the world basically.

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JN: It is funny that you say that, because I feel like companies that I have spoken to, or people that work for enterprises in this scene have more of a, not focused... but have the same story of 'hey, what we're really doing is selling this story and is that always the right way to go?

AT: Yeah, yeah.

JN: And on the other hand it is like 'yeah, but to only have these community gardens that sometimes gather and sometimes don't. Like, if you want to kind of upscale it, we need to be professional about it.

AT: Yeah!

JN: Would you agree with that?

AT: Yes, totally. And that is what I really like about Tagtomat. Because it has been thing in Denmark, for the last 5, 10, 15 years that it was something that should be done by volunteers. Like 'oh anyone can do a garden'. It's like 'uhh! No!'. They can't really. Like, if you break a tooth and people go to the dentist, if you want to grow veggies. You need to go to someone who knows how to do that. And I think that is really nice, that it is actually picking up and people are giving it more respect than they used to. Because... I had this urban farming conference last week and there was a talk about how the sort of problems with immigrants and homeless people and, you know, mentally ill people and criminal kids. And it was like, well, if you want to solve these heavy problems you cannot have a bunch of volunteers, you know, running about. It does need to be supported by professionals from wherever. You need a profession, it is needed. And I think that is important to say ' hey you should actually... I mean, of course it needs a lot of volunteers and people can do a lot of stuff, but to make it really happen, need some sort of structure and professionalism behind it.

JN: So it has to be institutionalized?

AT: No it doesn't, actually. People in Denmark suffer from a lack of civil courage, or what you call it, greatly. And they all think 'oh but I cannot grow this patch of potatoes in that park, because I need to apply to the council and get seven different copies and different colors. It is like, so they just don't do it. And that is because they are just not very hungry. If they were like thinking 'oh how can I feed my kids next week?' they would bloody well go and dig a garden. But we don't need it in Denmark, so people think that they need to do as they are told. And they don't really. It is not the same as it is backed up professionally. It just means that... it mustn't just be this *funny* thing that you can do as a volunteer, half an hour a month because you think

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it would be a nice story. It is like... it should be taken serious in many ways. People should also take it more serious. It is not... it's nice that it is for fun, and that it is nice, but it is also... if you want to grow stuff it is serious. But it is because they see all these do-it-yourself programs. They are like 25 minutes each Wednesday and they think 'oh, I can make a garden, in 25 minutes on Wednesday evening; it is really easy. But it is really hard work. It is not... it is really tough being a farmer, even in the city. People are not always willing to actually do the work.

JN: That is a thing that I have heard repeatedly from people that are farming, like 'it is not easy'...

AT: Yeah it is really...

JN: And in the winter it does not look pretty, but still you have to maintain it and that's when people are kind of like 'OK, I will come back in the summer when it looks nice again'.

AT: Yeah, yeah. Exactly.

JN: It sounds like the welfare state system in Denmark kind of prevents for urban agriculture, let's call it that, to really grow. I mean, if people can rely on this other system, the government...

AT: Yeah, also they don't know how to do it. I mean... but it has been lost. The knowledge has been lost so quickly. Fifty years ago... and hundred years back everyone could do it, but it has sort of been un-learned in a short period of time. And really hope it is gonna come back now. Because if you knew how to do it, maybe you would also do it. That is what I hope with the school gardens; I hope that it is gonna make a little revolution in the city.

JN: Mm. I have a question about knowledge a little later on.

AT: Ja.

JN: How would you say, back to the location, how important is this location in connection with people or in forming a group? I have heard someone say 'hey, I already feel involved when I have hit 'like' on a Facebook page'...

AT: Yeah, exactly yeah.

JN: So how important do you think... or does it divide people from the core group or the...

AT: Yeah, that is very difficult because as inclusive as this gardening thing can be, it can also exclude. And I mean it is a problem is you garden at a rooftop, there is no access for disabled

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people and you have excluded them. If you only do meetings in the evenings you have excluded all single dads and moms, because they have to stay home. If you garden 20k's out of town you exclude people who cannot afford public transport or whatever. So it is... you have to.. it is not set that you should not choose any of those locations, you should just be aware of what you exclude when you choose and what you include. But I think, I mean, as centrally in the city as possible is really good. Where it is visible and people can gain easy access. Also, it is nice when it is... when there is a bench to sit on, if there is a water-tap to gain water from and if there is a shed for the tools. All these little things that makes it really nice and likable for people to participate. If you want to involve volunteers especially, it needs to be a little bit easy to... because people feel busy all the time, I don't know why.

JN: So it needs to be easy to access?

AT: Yeah. And if you want the good stories, it needs to be visible for other people to...

JN: Right. How would you characterize the people that are involved in this scene?

AT: Well, luckily it is really diverse I think. But maybe I am just fooling myself. I tend to do that, because it is kind of unavoidable to hang out with people that you just agree with and do stuff for them, because they like the same stuff as you do. And sometimes you just kind of fall out of your circle and you kind of realize that there is a whole bunch of people that do things differently and you are kind of shocked by it. But I do see that it is young people, old people, people with kids. But I am sure that there are several groups of people that could be that are not included. That are just invisible. That we haven't noticed yet.

JN: Would you have any idea who these people are. I mean, you haven't noticed them, so I guess not.

AT: [Laughs]. No... there is always a lot of talk about including minorities... integration gardens in Lersøparken. Mmm...

JN: It sounds like there are maybe more... not a minority but a majority...

AT: Yeah...

JN: It's kind of... could it have something to do with having enough time, or having money to spend time on...

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AT: Yeah! I am not quite sure about that. I think maybe the excluded people are not groups but individuals that fall through. Because they don't think they fit in a group maybe. Because it is kind of a group thing. It is all about community gardening, and let's do this together. Well, if you really just wanted your own garden and could not be arsed to socialize... Sometimes I feel like, you see all these events on Facebook 'come and find nettles and find new friends, come and cook this and get new friends'. I am like, come on! I actually have friends and I don't see them enough, so could I just learn something without meeting new people? [Laughs].

JN: [Laughs] Yeah.

AT: I feel like that sometimes. I guess it would be [inaudible].

JN: Would you say that the people are environmentally conscious?

AT: Some of them are and some of them *think* they are. People tend to rely more on local produce than organic produce. They trust that more than they trust their eco label.

JN: Okay.

AT: So I think it is sort of a more local thing than, like a growing organic thing. And then I think that people think that they save the world when they have like this pallet garden [inaudible] and you know, turn on the tap and flush the toilet and buy plastic shit and consume lots of other stuff, so... Sometimes I worry that people think they are really on to the environmentally friendly thing, but they are not.

JN: So would it just kind of be a slice of their life?

AT: Yeah, maybe. Yeah, I fool myself too, I mean, people do that all the time. This is the only way to survive [laughs]. But yeah, it is sometimes also thing... Ok, maybe I... I don't take my car too often, but I also do this little community garden project, so it can of equals out.

JN: Like a balance?

AT: I have had this stuff like that. I fly way too much. That is my sort of big black conscious that I.. and my son is twelve and we were talking about flying and how it had a big impact and he is like 'you are ruining it for me already, I have traveled so much'. And I was like [laughs] 'sorry!'. But he is right, I take my kids traveling all the time and it is terrible. We should go cycling instead.

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JN: [Laughs].

AT: But I think it is good. For some people participating in these groups, it also teaches them a lot, because they meet people that are more radical than they are. They might meet someone that, you know, never uses plastic, lives without producing waste, don't eat meat. And they pick up new ideas and get inspiration that way. So that is really good. It is a good way to inspire each other. And sometimes they are also starting this little challenge, like a game 'oh but I haven't done this in a year', 'oh maybe I should try and do that too'. So in that way it is really nice. I have a little cottage with no electricity and no water that we go for holidays and when I have spend, like three weeks there and we come back, I *hate* flushing the toilet...

JN: [Chuckles].

AT: I can barely make myself do it the first week after coming home. I go and I pee in the garden and I think 'I am gonna stop wasting water', but after a week I am back on the toilet again and flushing water several times a day. It is difficult to break habits like that.

JN: Yeah... Maybe... it is somehow too hard to combine this lifestyle that is expected from you here?

AT: It can definitely be made easier and it needs to be made easier. I mean, every time they build new housing estates or like Ørestad or Nordhavn here; they should just do it straight up. You know, collect rain water to flush toilets. Or flush toilets with the waste water from the washing machines and grow stuff on the rooftops and have... or you know, other forms of energy. And it can be done really easily. And it is really annoying they don't do it, because if all... what's easier: more [inaudible] or dirt. But we have to, you know, cycle ten k's out of town and dig a hole in the forest every time you want to do a poo, people are not gonna do it.

JN: How important do you think that these kind of values that people have, that made them participate, are validated by outsiders?

AT: Oh, heaps! Yeah, don't you think? [Asking about interviewers blanc expression].

JN: I think so, but I have to be a neutral researcher [laughs].

AT: You know, then we come back to the narrative here. How people see themselves and the stories they want to be part of and the stories they want to tell about themselves.

JN: I spoke to Gorm, from the school gardens...

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AT: Yeahhh! Ja!

JN: ...and he also said that he saw a group of people who participate in this scene, but actually spend more time talking about it at the bar...

AT: oh yeah, yeah, definitely. Gorm is a great freak. He walks around with his rabbits and... and then again. He smokes like 40 cigarettes a day. He could stop that that would help lots...

JN: [Laughs].

AT: You know, we all have stu... I mean... yeah. But I think he's right. And that's the type of people that order a seed bomb online on the Tagtomat web shop and think 'yes, yes, yes, we're on it now, we're working on this. It's going great and I am part of it' [laughs].

JN: And then have it delivered over mail probably, which takes the environmental benefit away.

AT: [Laughs] I know.

JN: How important is it for these people to feel part of a community. Kind of going back to what we were saying before about it being a *slice* of your identity. How big a part of their identity is it? Or how important is it to say 'yes! I am part of this group!'?

AT: I think for some it is part of their identity and for others it is like a little slice of freedom to step out of their normal identity. I think it can be both. If you have a really responsible, boring job. You have to wear nice clothes and sit in front of a computer all day. Then it can be a little like slice of freedom to go also out and do it.

JN: Do you think both groups would feel as much part of this community or scene?

AT: I don't know. I am actually a bit socially awkward. I don't always read that very well, because I don't necessarily feel like I fit into one group. I just sort of stomp about and I am happy about it. But I am not very intelligent when it comes to social groups. So maybe I cannot answer this question very well [Laughs loud].

JN: But would you maybe say that there is a core group?

AT: Probably yeah. And there also needs to be. I mean, it is important that some people are sort of the responsible sensor of this garden. And then they can, you know, pick people up and include people. But it is really important to try and be included and to welcome all sorts of initiatives.

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JN: I mean, it is what you were saying about this event last week, that it seems to always be the same people...

AT: yeah, exactly yeah...

JN: ...so maybe then...

AT: ...and we don't need to tell each other about this. We need to tell other people. And that is really... that is difficult.

JN: Would you say that growing food is growing love?

AT: Definitely. Certainly.

JN: That was a good, easy answer. [Laughs]. How important is it to be able to really conduct urban farming, urban agriculture, correctly, versus *doing it*?

AT: I mean, it's... It depends if you want to... it depends if you want output or outcome. If you want *output*, meaning lots of boxes and boxes of vegetables so that you can support your household so you don't have to go and buy it. It is really important to be efficient and structured and... but, if you want the outcome, which is a bigger thing, then you want to inspire people and if you want to make friends and help other people and teach other people and stuff, then it is not important. Then it is more important to make people experiment and make people find that in their own way and stuff. But I think the output/outcome view on that is really important, because that is two completely different things. Because it just depends on what your goal is.

JN: That is really interesting. So.. I am asking this question, because I am trying to figure out how important the feeling of mastery is, and control. Would you say that, maybe from your own experience... I mean, you studied it so, uhmm... but is there a point where people are like 'OK, *now* I really know what I am doing!' or 'now I am really an urban farmer'? Or...

AT: I hope so, but I am not sure. And also I hope that the more you learn, the more you realize how complex it is. But I think it is really important for people that they master and that they can grow stuff. It is really a powerful feeling, that you can actually *make food*. And I think that is really important. Lots of people lack that in their life. Many people have jobs where they don't produce something visible. And maybe their job is really long term-results that they are working on, or whatever. And then this thing that you actually work, sweat, you get sore muscles, you get dirty, you put stuff in the ground, something comes up, you can harvest it, carry it home,

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eat it and be tired. I think that is immensely important for anyone to experience that feeling. Growing stuff is extremely powerful and very important.

JN: Do you think that the participants in urban agriculture have a different relation to food..

AT: I hope so...

JN: In general and to super-market bought food?

AT: I really hope so, that was the whole idea really [laughs]. So, yes, I think they do.

JN: Do you feel like they are creating something?

AT: Oh, yes, they definitely are. And also I think that...yeah, creating the produce is important and then the... all the other stuff creating relationships and the feeling that you are doing something...

JN: Do you think that participants would describe themselves as participants or consumers, or... I mean I am looking at it from a consumer perspective and that is also because, again, this trend is growing and you said 'if we want to professionalize it...'

AT: I think they feel like participants. There is actually no available studies yet, or maybe there is, but not many... I haven't really seen any, how people would feel about buying more produce from urban farming and if they would pay even more for it, or if they feel it tastes different. Or we're not there yet, in Copenhagen at least. So, I think people feel like they are participating in something. They are not just buyers or consumers of it. I mean, consumers is a bigger thing than just eating the stuff.

JN: Yeah, that's, I mean, this is obviously a definition I have been struggling with 'how do I approach them, do I want to see them as consumers?'. It is not just about a monetary transition. You can consumer a community as well, maybe. It is not just 'here you have so many kroner and now I get this back'. It is an exchange of things, that is how I approach it.

AT: But we were talking earlier about this uh... yeah, if Østergro is really an urban farm and I could sort of tell from your expression, you thought 'well they are, and they aren't, really'. Because I mean... But they are really growing a lot of stuff. But they are definitely also growing a story and I think for now that is a part of it. And that is telling a really an important story. And inspiring lots of people.

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JN: This is the question about knowledge. Do people feel like experts? Do you feel like an expert?

AT: No [laughs], no I don't!

JN: Really!?

AT: No I am not an expert. I haven't... I mean, Livia from ØsterGro, she is more of an expert. She has been growing vegetables on that roof for several years in a row now. She knows exactly how to do it. And I mean, we do other stuff. I do so many different things that I couldn't possibly be an expert of any of it. But I think there is a *need* for experts, people really want to be helped out. Sometimes I sort of facilitate workshops where I am thinking 'Jesus Christ, why can't people just water that stuff?', I mean... but they are like 'am I doing this right? Is this enough water?' and I am like, 'yes, yes', they really just poor like that, you know. They really want to be told sometimes because they are nervous about doing it right or doing it wrong. So people want experts, I don't know.

JN: But then, to them, wouldn't you be some sort of expert?

AT: Probably, yeah, yeah, yeah. And I think my boss sees me as an expert, but I am not. But don't tell that to anyone [laughs].

JN: I mean, but at some point there has to be some change from 'hey I know how to poor the water on a plant' to 'OK I think I am kind of doing it now'.

AT: I think so too. And I don't know. I think it is gonna vary from person to person. Some people are like, 'OK. I saw her do that, I can do that to'. And some people are like 'oh I need to read more and read on the internet and take classes or get a certificate or whatever.

JN: So how exclusive do you think that the knowledge is to this group?

AT: It is not. All in all it is just available. But some people are good at teaching themselves and some people need others to teach them matters. It is different from person to person. Some will be able to actually read all the way and know exactly what to do. But the thing is, you need to practice how to grow stuff. Because although you can read how to sow this seed, and you can read about companion plants and altering and whatever. But sowing is different and location is different, and every season is different, so you really need to...

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JN: But if you say that it is really important for the children to re-gain the knowledge, then it kind of *does* sound like there is this knowledge and some people have it...

AT: There *is*.

JN: ...and then there is an external world...

AT: Yeah yeah yeah.

JN: ... were it is lacking.

AT: There *is* knowledge and most grown ups don't have it, but they have access to it, if they want it to. But the kids they... it's just a lot easier to teach the kids, they can learn much more in a shorter time than old people like myself can. So it is really nice to have the kids because they are so open, you can tell them anything, like 'Okay, yeahh!'. You can tell them 'Ok, today we're gonna make friends with a tree, you're gonna choose a tree and sit under it and then think about what secret you want to share with this tree and have a chat with the three' and they are like 'yeah, yeah, yeah, let's do that. And most grown grown-ups would be 'hippie bitch', like that. But some, I mean, I would think that myself. But the kids are so open, so I can sort of experiment and connect them to nature and growing stuff and I love that. One thing that is *really, really* funny is that, we also uhhh... grow some cereals like, weed and barley and oats so they can see what it is actually looks like. And then we harvest it in the autumn. And each kid gets a little bunch of, like what people call, like the flowers of the grass... whatever. They sit there and they pick their... it is kind of a meditation thing for these kids and they sit there and pick the little grains out of the flowers and then you blow into it and so all the little dust and shelves come off. And then we grind it to flower. And even the craziest ones of eight-year-olds would just become quiet and relaxed and tune into this and they really love it. It is so nice to see and it is great how it can sort of have this calming effect on kids.

JN: How would you say this knowledge is generally disseminated, or shared? Is it, like real life one-on-one? You just said that the internet teaches the people a lot.

AT: Yeah it does. I guess, and I know that, there is a lot of people sitting at home reading about it. And I don't do that and I won't be able to learn like that. And I could not teach people on an internet course. I like to have people out *there* and say 'Okay, now we're here this is the soil, let's try in dig in it'. I'd prefer it like that.

JN: Do people in the community trust each other? This sounds a bit weird maybe, but...

AT: I think they do. I want to think they do, and I want them to. I think we should trust each other a lot more. An example. My house in the allotment garden in Brønshøj; it has no keys. I lost the keys five years ago, so the door is always open. I haven't locked my door for five years. I don't think anything has been stolen. But I like, why would people... Also, I don't really believe in having expensive stuff either. If I were collecting jewelry or expensive phones or computers or silverware, then it would be a different thing. But I don't need that. I don't think there is anything in my house that is of any value that people can sell. And if people want to eat some food or whatever, they are welcome to. I really want people to trust each other more and get rid of stuff that can be stolen. Of course people should not steal. But don't have stuff that people want to steal, because that is kind of stupid.

JN: I mean, if you would say growing food it love, then stealing the food would kind of be like stealing love, which doesn't sound like a big problem [chuckles].

AT: Yeah, and, I mean, I have experienced that *really* rarely, I have been working in Copenhagen for 15 years and people don't do it. I have planted stuff in the most insane places and thought OK it is going to be crazy. And it is not; people look after it and people take care of it. Sometimes in the school garden communities, some years we would have a rate of some kids group and, you know, pull out all the onions and that's not sort of stealing the food, but behaving really shitty, because you are a shitty kid and that is a different story. But I think there is a... people respect the gardens to a great extend.

JN: And would you trust another person with your produce, in your garden, do you think that people will say 'ok this plot of land is now mine, I am looking over it, or is it more like 'hi neighbor, your plants are dry, it is time to harvest that kind of trust in like, maybe trust in each others' expert knowledge?

AT: Mmm, I think they do yeah. Do you know køkkenhave på grantoftegård? Grandhofte gard is the social economic company in Bellerup, just outside of Copenhagen. They have a big organic farm where they grow veggies and raise animals. And then they have people that cannot be employed in a normal job, employed there. And they also have a big patch of land layed out as a little folk gardens for people from Copenhagen, that can travel out there at weekends and grow their food and pay a certain amount of something. It started of six years ago... Claus Meyer, who you probably heard of him, he started it as Meyers Kokkehave and I taught the

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courses there. And then he stopped the project, but the people who were involved, have continued, teaching each other and teaching newcomers and continuing with it. And I think that is a really good example of... after three years of doing these courses that we provided, they actually thought 'okay, you might leave now, but we can continue this, we have learned enough. And then we have learned enough to know who to ask and where to find more knowledge about it. And it actually continued. So that is a really good example of that.

JN: I mean, I just thought of a controversial statement. If the food would be more important, like you just said, if people would be starving; would the trust feel lower? Because then it gains importance?

AT: Maybe, maybe it would be bigger, because it is more important to grow better stuff. You're not doing it for fun, you are not doing it to Instagram your carrot. You are doing it to eat food.

JN: A simple question. Do people in the community eat their food together?

AT: Yeah, they do.

JN: In the whole of Copenhagen? Is that a thing that is connected to urban agriculture?

AT: Oh no, it varies. Some people do, and some take it home. For some people it is important to also share their food, and for some people it is important to also take it home. But also when we talk urban agriculture you talk about knowledge about how to grow and how to look after it, how to harvest it. And people also need to be taught the next step. How do I actually handle a dirty potato in my kitchen? Because some people don't.

JN: Interesting.

AT: I have had kids in the school gardens, and saying 'I don't want to take my veggies home' and I would say 'why not' and he'd say 'my mom threw it out last week, it was too dirty'. And I thought 'Jesus! Because you have a bag of potatoes with soil on it. But some people are like, OK, they just 'it's too foreign man!'. And un-straight carrot and a dirty potato, they just chug it out because they don't know how to handle it. So I think we need to remember that we also need to teach people what to do with fresh produce, because some people don't know.

JN: Yeah, that is an interesting insight. So it's... the knowledge is kind of very focused on the *practice*?

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AT: Mm-mm.

JN: And not on the bigger...

AT: I think there is a lot of... some places there are workshops about how to ferment food and... but they are exclusive workshops. If you are a single mom living in a [inaudible], you just look really frightened at your son's dirty potatoes that are from the school gardens. On a master class that I was at last week, there was a professor called Hendrik Veibe, to him urban farming was only proper urban farming if the output was a produce that is replaced a produce that you would otherwise buy. So he said, if you'd grew some carrots and instead of buying carrots, it was proper urban farming. And I was like, well, I have met a lot of people who did not buy the carrots in the first place, so the carrots they grow cannot replace other carrots, because they don't know carrots. But to me that is even more urban farming, for people to produce stuff they would never even buy. But learning how to use that. So I think his definition was a bit square but I can see where he is coming from.

JN: So that is kind of coming from the output side.

AT: But if you can actually replace a loaf of white bread with some carrots it is even better man.

JN: Do you think that people, I mean, you said an Instagram carrot, promote their involvement within this scene, outside of the scene.

AT: Some do a lot, yeah. Heaps.

JN: And how would you describe this narrative?

AT: It just puzzles me. I am not quite sure why they do it. It's really weird. I think it is so strange actually. I think they want to be that person that grows their own food and they really want to show that they, maybe they... but maybe there are different reasons? Maybe they are really proud, because they have never grown a carrot before, maybe they just think it would be really nice to be seen as the person with an organic carrot. I am not quite sure about that one. I am not on Instagram myself, so I am not sure how that works really. So that is kind of strange.

JN: And from within the Tagtomat practice, how do you experience it there.

AT: Oh, Mads [the CEO] is Instagramming all the time. I have friends who are like 'ohhh you didn't wear shoes in the office today' and I am like 'what?'. And they would say 'oh I saw it on the photos'. But for him it is a business thing. He is not promoting his own lifestyle. He is doing

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it business-wise. I don't know if that is better or worse, but it is a different thing. And for some people, they are definitely building an image. But you can also... I have read an article about there are these kind of movements of women posting really terrible photos of you know, dinner tables and how dirty the fridge is, because lots of people want to have an counter-action to all this pretty Instagram thingies so...

JN: Do you think that people who participate in it for the story-telling maybe use it for that reason as well? To go 'Oh, look at my fancy job in the office, but *also* I am in nature and that is my counter...

AT: yeah, probably yeah. I am not so sure about that.

JN: So *why* do they do it? What is the goal of this story telling?

AT: To feel better. We're being bombed every day with stories and news and papers online, television. Things are going wrong, going bad and it is difficult and things are breaking, breaking down and being blown off and stuff. And I think it is really depressing. And I think it is really nice to feel that you do something to prevent that. Or to help out. Or that you are trying to stop something bad or something. And that is really nice to feel, that you are doing something. And for some people it is *real* and for some people it is more like I am heading out too, kind of, but...

JN: To me it seems like if you're putting something like that out in the world, then the people around you should have enough kind of knowledge or understanding of it, to go like 'oh that's a cool person'. Do you get what I am saying? Like [inaudible] and put yourself in the window and everyone that sees that, would be like 'I don't know what that means or how I should interpret that'?

AT: I am not sure about that?

JN: Is it cool?

AT: To grow stuff? It is *totally* cool. It is the coolest thing ever. It is the best. But I think that... It is only a part of it. It is really cool to go dumpster diving too, and it is really cool to recycle all your stuff. There are lots of things that are really cool that... that don't look as pretty as gardening. And you should remember that.

JN: This is kind of the last question and the general one; how does urban agriculture, how is it part of someone's identity. And you answered it a couple of times already. What I think I picked

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up is that for some people it is a lifestyle and for some people it is this thing that they do on the side.

AT: I think that is right. I mean, I want to teach kids about how to grow organic veggies, because I want them to grow up strong and able so they can fuck up the system and make a revolution. That is my personal goal [laughs]. And I think there's lots of people like that. They really want the difference. But the change is massive and we need to take really radical steps that I am not even prepared to do. I have friends who sort of, have decided to move to Sweden and live in a tippy and I have friends who are trying to build a new community up by Svanhom, a permaculture village out there. And that is so radical! I probably couldn't do it. But you *do* need to take big steps. I heard someone say last week at the urban farming master class that for some people the availability is the problem. But the problem is that no one is gonna eat the parsnip instead of a banana in Denmark, because people are used to things being available all the time. And they expect that to continue. It might not continue. But if you sort of... I mean, I do [inaudible], that is terrible but I shouldn't because I should eat Danish apples instead. But we're used to it being a part of our diet. And replacing stuff like that; coffee, bananas, chocolate, rice, it is really difficult. But that is what works.

JN: In the beginning of the interview you said that sometimes you're afraid it's a trend...

AT: Mm-mm.

JN: Would that mean that the trend kind of slowed down again, that people would let go of that part of their identity again, to replace it with something else?

AT: Yeah, I could feel that yeah.

JN: And would that be the majority of the group?

AT: I don't know, it will be interesting to see. I really don't know. Some people might actually discover that this is the way to go. Last year I participated in something called Fælles Beste, have you heard about that?

JN: [Shakes head].

AT: Kind of a little festival at Fælsø. And there were different workshops and talks about, you know, sustainable buildings, and growing stuff and building communities and whatever. And I met a lot of really cool, young people, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, who just wanted to live in the

countryside and grow veggies and were prepared to work. And they wore warm old clothes and they were like, we don't need cafes and we don't need universities, we don't need the city. We actually want to *work*. And I thought after that, OK, it is going to be fine. There are actually young people who want to work and who want to do this and who are prepared to miss out on stuff. And don't even feel like they are missing out, which is the important part. People are afraid of, you know, having to not be able to get what they want. But we want hot showers and chocolate and comfort and...

JN: So would a more complete conformation mean that you could have to compromise on certain things? If you were really involved in this scene?

AT: Yes, but the thing is it should not feel like a compromise. It is kind of the people who really do this for long, they do it because they really want this. They don't do it because they say no to stuff or that they compromise. They feel like they are getting the best deal really. Which is the funny part and the important part. That if you could really make people understand that this *is* the best deal, the best thing it not [inaudible] stuff. Then we could make it work.

JN: That is a good ending.

AT: I just want to say something more from the urban masterclass last week. There was a lot of talking about the bonding and bridging and linking. Which are sort of really the new buzz words, this year in the Copenhagen urban farming scene, where people look on how does it actually work and how can we include more people and how can we link it in more directions than we are doing now and how can we sort of expand the horizon of more people and expand the things where we are growing and stuff. How can we get in touch with more people and I think that is really important.

JN: It is funny how food and culture has taken... I mean, I think it is very logical, this food connection, but yeah, how this is taken as *the way* to bring people back together. I mean, I know that there are many other initiatives, but yeah that seems to be one of the main narratives. Like, we urban farm because yeah, we want to bond.

AT: It is also because urban farming and gardening provides lots of different spaces. And people also *need* lots of different spaces. Some want to be in the middle of that and mow the lawn, and some want a corner to sit in, and in that respect it provides for a lot of different activities and lots of people can find their own space when they do it. Talking to people whilst you work is just a really nice way of communicating.

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JN: Yeah. So how do you see the future of this scene in Copenhagen?

AT: Terribly bright. It's gonna be...I think it will be really great. One of the forecast now is that it is still trendy in a way that you can still apply for money to build a garden and start it up and have a little community and a little support. But it is really not sexy to provide money for the long-haul. And that is a big problem, because it is the long haul that makes the difference. So people are like 'ok, so I can have 50000 kroners to buy soil and seeds and woods for some raised beds'. Then it would be better to say 'no, you can have 10 for that' and then keep the 40 to employ someone once a week, the next three years or whatever to actually be the caretaker of it.

JN: And from the business perspective? How do you see that developing?

AT: When people start participating in growing stuff and working, they realize how hard work it is, it is making them also more willing to pay for it other places. I think. And so I can definitely see that people phone me up and say 'can you do this, can you do that?' and I say 'yeah, I will write you a mail and tell you what it costs'. And sometimes they will be 'it is just sowing some plants' and some people say 'Ok, that is cool'. They know it takes time and they know that I have spend a lot of time and effort to gain the knowledge I have and my time is as valuable as theirs. But in the past, when I started in my apprenticeship in 98 I think it was, people are almost ashamed that I wanted to become a gardener. They were like 'but you went to gymnasium and you did really well' and it's like 'well I'd probably be a really nice gardener then'. You know? But it was sort of embarrassing for my family and friends but now it is totally trendy. Everyone wants to. Just last week I had to turn down seven applicants who wanted to be an apprentice with Tagtomat because they wanted to be gardeners.

JN: [Pulls surprised face].

AT: Yeah! [Laughs] It is insane.

JN: So that is a trend.

AT: It is a trend, yeah. But it is good, because... the thing is, they always want to 'Oh we think Tagtomat is great and we want to' you know work in the city and I'd say, 'you know if you want to be good in that, then go outside in some commercial farm and learn how to grow stuff and be really good at growing stuff and then come back and spread the knowledge'. You can't start being a community gardener and... I mean, you need to know what you are doing to make the difference.

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JN: Yeah.

AT: Let me see if there is something I wrote down that I wanted to say. [...] I think that is just about it. If there is anything you want me... if you listen to it and think 'OK, that was weird'. Then just write me and I will try to answer it.

JN: Oh, thanks that would be great. Maybe just a very short comment on who the consumers are of Tagtomat?

AT: Of Tagtomat? That is andelsboligforeningen, and kommune and a few private people.

JN: OK, so mainly groups of people?

AT: Yes, definitely. Yeah. But we just put some workshops on our web-shop last week. And you can this week there was gonna be a workshop in urban greening community, whatever. And no one signed up. And then two weeks from now, there is a workshop that is one how to design your balcony and lots of people signed up for that. So it also shows that it is also still an individual thing. People are more into knowing 'what can I do on *my* balcony' than 'what can I do on my community backyard'.

JN: Right. Because the responsibility would be too big or?

AT: I am not sure. We're discussing that just the other day because it surprised us, but I don't know. What people would like us to teach people is how to get connected with your neighbors and start it together really. But I think people just think, you know, now I just wait, or the andelsforeningen is gonna take care of that, or whatever.

JN: OK, but that is good to know. Thank you so much for this interview!