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Exploring the Intersection between Participation in Community Gardens and Consumption Behaviour

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Abstract

The environmental, social and ecological impact of consumption are a recognised global challenge and further work is needed to understand how we can respond to this challenge. Some authors have explored the importance of embedding ethical consumption behaviours through social learning and norms (Hargreaves, 2011; Moraes et al., 2012) while others have considered the role of bodily experiences in triggering ethical consumption transformations (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011). Nonetheless, much of previous research focuses on those who self-identify as ethical consumers in isolated contexts like residential consumption communities or Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). Community gardens are often positioned as places of sustainability, community and bodily learning (Litt et al., 2015). To further explore the potential for social context and bodily experiences to trigger ethical consumption concerns, the aim of this thesis is twofold. Firstly, this study aims to understand the experiences of participation among those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers in community gardens. Secondly, this study explores whether participation in these communities intersects with individuals' wider consumption lifestyles. This thesis uses a modes of identification framework in a small-scale longitudinal study to address the aims above. Data was collected using phenomenological and narrative interviews, diaries and observations with 13 participants.

This study reveals that individuals do not develop ethical consumption concerns following their embodied and collective engagement in community gardens. Embodied participation, however, is shown to be an essential part of identification with the community. Moreover, community gardens have an important role in introducing individuals to new meanings and competencies of food which put into question their existing consumption behaviours. Individuals also acquire food growing competencies which can transfer beyond the community boundaries when access to facilities is available. Crucially, this study shows that individuals incorporate a range ethical consumption discourses and behaviours into their existing consumption narratives of health and wellbeing. This finding makes a significant contribution to ethical consumption research by uncovering a complementary identification between the consumption concerns of those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers and ethical consumption discourses. This indicates that there is an opportunity to encourage certain consumption behaviours that challenge mass consumption by harnessing the intersection between ethical consumption and consumption concerns for personal wellbeing.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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Signature:

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Introduction

As the environmental and ecological crisis deepens, much more work is needed to understand how we can adapt to and mitigate the impact of the anthropocene. This research is positioned within a rich ethical consumption tradition and draws upon a qualitative longitudinal approach to develop an in-depth understanding of how participation in communities driven by ethical consumption and production principles intersects with consumers' lifestyles, if at all. It aims to develop a nuanced understanding of how those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers learn about ethical consumption and production in a community gardens context. This thesis makes several novel contributions to ethical consumption research. It advances our understanding of how individuals make sense of ethical consumption norms in community gardens; it explores how consumers reimagine and question their relationship with food and how behaviours like food growing transfer beyond community boundaries. This study introduces complementary identification as a significant and distinct dimension which captures the overlap between ethical consumption concerns and individuals' consumption lifestyles. This finding has potential implications for understanding how we can encourage ethical consumption behaviours. This chapter introduces the research and outlines the structure of the thesis. It then provides a background to the key themes of the study, as well as introducing the research questions and methodological approach, before going on to outline the relevance of this research. Finally, the chapter will provide an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Context of the study

Food is a fundamental part of everyday life in terms of time, effort and energy dedicated to producing it and time, energy and effort expended to consume it. Food consumption constitutes on average about twenty percent of household spending in the UK per week (ONS, 2018) - it is a pervasive area of life but also has a substantial negative impact on the environment (Henry et al., 2019). Agriculture and food consumption are identified as one of the most important drivers of environmental pressures, especially habitat change, climate change, water use and toxic emissions (Hertwich, 2010). As scientific evidence of the impact of human activity on climate and ecosystem is increasing, everyday food consumption activities are being scrutinised (Henry et al, 2019; Paddock, 2015; Reisch et al., 2013).

Changing current consumption patterns is seen as an essential part of the complex solution to the current sustainability and environmental crisis (Carrington et al., 2016). Explorations of how ethical consumption can be encouraged are now centre stage in academic and policy debates as it is becoming unquestionable that significant environmental and social challenges—such as climate change and exploitative forms of employment are directly related to human consumption activities (Carrington et al., 2016). For example, in 2018 the IPCC report on tackling global warming encouraged "dietary change towards healthy diets […] a shift from over-consumption of animal-related to plant-related diets and food waste reduction […] a lower consumption of animal products and reduced losses and waste throughout the food system" (Roy et al., 2018, p. 362).

At the same time, McEachern & Warnaby (2010) illustrate how a succession of crises in the agricultural sector, such as BSE and Foot and Mouth Disease, the 2013 horse meat scandal (Abbots & Coles, 2015), and more recently the impact of droughts on food crops in the UK (BBC, 2018) and increasing links between meat consumption and severe illnesses (NHS, 2018) have increased consumer fears relating to food quality, health and food ethics. These events have led to reduced confidence in the food system (McEachern & Warnaby, 2010) and scepticism about the quality of food.

This development is mirrored by broader consumer trends. For example, in the UK, the market for meat-free foods was reportedly worth £740m in 2018, according to market researchers Mintel, up from £539m only three years ago (Jones, 2020). Moreover, 53% of the UK population are choosing to avoid buying products and services over concerns about unethical reputation according to a report by the Ethical Consumer (Denyer, 2016). Additionally, local shopping for ethical reasons has grown significantly, and according to recent surveys, 68% of consumers globally and 58% in the UK are now more likely to buy products that are grown locally (IPSOS, 2018).

Nonetheless, at the time of writing, the organic market share makes up only 1.5% UK food and drinks market (Soil Association, 2017). Although consumption of ethical products has grown substantially in recent years (Reisch, 2013) and meat consumption is decreasing in developed economies (Santeramo et al., 2018) this is balanced by an increase in meat consumption and processed food in developing economies due to population increase (The Guardian, 2018; EEA, 2005; OECD and FAO, 2011; Santeramo et al., 2018). This is particularly worrying as within the EU-28, food consumption is responsible for 20-30% of the environmental burdens of total consumption and meat and meat products have the

highest ecological burden, with the second most relevant food products being milk, cheese, and all types of dairy products (Notarnicola et al., 2017). Also increasing is the demand for highly processed meals (fast and convenience food), a trend attributed to the fact that time spent on food purchasing and cooking, as well as on eating, has decreased significantly over the past few years (Stranieri et al., 2017).

Although consumers are increasingly buying products marketed as ethical, there are still significant barriers to mainstream uptake of ethical consumer behaviours such as convenience (Halkier, 2017) availability in supermarkets and price (Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004; Bray et al., 2010) which make it challenging to extend ethical consumption more widely. So far changing consumer behaviour beyond a niche group of concerned consumers and on a wide scale has proven challenging (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006; Jackson, 2005; Carrington et al., 2016).

Previous research has shown that ethical consumption collectives like residential communities (Moraes et al., 2010), community initiatives (Middlemiss, 2011b) and workplaces (Hargreaves, 2011) can lead to more ethical consumption behaviours and identity transformations (Hargreaves, 2011; Carolan, 2007). Previous studies also foreground concepts like 'embodied connections' (Turner et al., 2011) and 'tactile spaces' (Carolan, 2007) as ways to develop individuals' sensibilities towards ethical consumption concerns. These studies argue that the intersection between the body and the material world holds possibilities for encouraging ethical consumption (DeLind, 2006; Carolan, 2007; Hayes- Conroy & Martin, 2010).

Turner (2011), for example, argues that community gardens in urban areas can restore our ecological connection with food and the environment by giving us access to a range of activities and embodied experiences of food we could not access otherwise. Firstly, community gardens are widely seen as linked with local sustainability initiatives and underpinned by ethical consumption principles (Saldivar-Tanaka, 2004). Secondly, community gardens are also sites of ethical production as they often commit to sustainable practices of food growing that aim to protect the environment and animals (Meyerricks, 2015; Hoelscher, 2017). Thirdly, community gardens are places where individuals develop new experiences of food as a result of embodied participation (Hale et al., 2011; Turner, 2011). They are places where individuals can bridge the distance between production and consumption and experience the challenges of food production first-hand (Dowler et al, 2009). Due to this, this thesis considers community gardens to be communities where

individuals can learn about forms of ethical consumption and production in collective wats and where individuals can connect with food and the natural environment (Turner, 2011).

Previous research, however, has focused on consumers who displayed pre-existing long-term ethical concerns (Moraes et al., 2012; Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011). So far, we do not know if collective environments and embodied connections with food and nature lead to transformations among consumers who are not already ethically concerned. Moreover, research fails to consider how involvement in collective environments and embodied connections intersect with consumers' lifestyles once they leave certain contexts.

To examine how participation in community gardens (seen here as driven by an ethical consumption and production ethos) shapes individuals' identities and their consumption activities, this study takes a community of practice perspective (Wenger, 1998, 2000). Building on a community of practice theory, this study employs the modes of identification framework which relates to the process of identity development through participation in a community. This framework weaves together several of the important themes discussed in the chapters below: identity, social learning and the role of norms. This framework allows us to understand how identities develop in a collective context through engagement with others, how norms are made sense of in the process of identification and how processes of imagination allow individuals to see images of possibilities - possible identities and alternative forms of consumption. In this way, we extend knowledge of how membership in a community of practice intersects with individuals' consumption behaviours.

Experiences of participation in community gardens across Glasgow constitute the empirical basis of this thesis. According to Cumbers et al. (2018, p. 137), Glasgow is a particularly compelling case for exploring community gardens, as it is one of the leading cities outside London in terms of the number of community gardens that have developed over the last decade. These gardens are organised to address local issues such as the regeneration of derelict and under-used spaces, but also broader issues such as concern for environmental sustainability (Crossan et al., 2016). Community gardens in Glasgow are thus seen as places of ethical consumption and production where participants engage with food and the natural environment in embodied ways,

1.3 Research aim, research questions and methodological approach

This thesis aims to explore the intersection between participation in community gardens and broader consumption behaviours among those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers. The matter of identification as an ethical consumer could suggest that individuals are judged as unethical. To clarify, this term was chosen as a compromise point which acknowledges that individuals might have isolated ethical consumption concerns but these concerns are not central to their sense of self.

In response to the gaps identified in the literature, this study answered the following research questions:

1. How do individuals make sense of the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens?
2. What is the dynamic between embodiment and participation in communities of practice?
3. How are participants' identities developed in communities of practice negotiated alongside other identities?
4. How does participation in community gardens intersect with consumers' lifestyle beyond these sites?

A constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology guided the research process and informed the research methods. A longitudinal small-scale study which included phenomenological and narrative interviews, diaries and observations are used as a means of investigating experiences of consumption and participation in community gardens. These were selected in order to fulfil the aim of this research.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 examines several perspectives on how ethical consumption can be encouraged. This chapter begins by considering the definitions of ethical consumption. Collective environments are theorised to encourage engagement in ethical consumption behaviours. Social learning can also help embed norms and create consistent ethical consumption commitments (Moraes et al., 2012). This chapter discusses this perspective, highlighting its main assumptions and limitations. It then analyses the role of identity and reflexivity as essential dimensions of how individuals engage with ethical consumption (Shaw & Shiu,

2002). Some studies (Carolan, 2007; Hayes – Conroy & Martin, 2010; DeLind, 2010) advocate for embodied connections with the natural environment as triggers for ethical consumption lifestyles and behaviours. These studies are identified, and their main limitations are brought forward. This literature review concludes with the need to explore further the potential for collective and embodied engagement with forms of ethical consumption to encourage ethical consumption behaviours.

Chapter 3 builds on the concepts of collective contexts and embodiment explored in chapter 2 to examine the relationship between community gardens and ethical consumption (Turner, 2011; Hale et al., 2011; Krasny & Tidball, 2009). It discusses how ethical consumption and production intertwine in community gardens, it explores the collective nature of community gardens and the potential for shared experiences of participation to shape individual identities.

Chapter 4 proposes a theoretical framework for understanding how participants engage with ethical consumption in community gardens. This chapter explores the modes of identification framework which foregrounds processes of identity development in a community (Wenger, 1998, 2000). This is an analytical framework that allows us to understand how consumers make sense of their engagement in the gardens, how they align with the gardens' purposes and principles, and how they imagine themselves in the community.

Chapter 5 presents the methodological approach as a means for answering the research questions. Significantly, the ontological and epistemological positions of constructivism and interpretivism are proposed. Following, data collection methods and analytical procedures are identified. This includes in-depth phenomenological interviews, narrative interviews, observations and diaries. A profile of the six gardens chosen for the study and the participants recruited is also included. Sampling, data collection context, limitations and research ethics are also discussed.

Chapter 6 reports the findings of this study. There are two main sections to this chapter. Section 6.2. investigates research question 1 and explores the ways in which participants in community gardens made sense of the ethical consumption and production goals of these places. This study finds that participants negotiated their encounters with ethical norms in complex ways. Some comply (Wenger, 1998) with the norms without engaging with the meanings and rationales behind them. Others take ownership of ethical consumption and production norms, linking them with their own experiences. These participants see

themselves as having an active role in upholding these norms. When this happens, participants experience a stronger sense of identification with the community of practice. This study also finds that some participants experienced the ethical norms in a conflicted way which lead to distance themselves or disengage from the community. These findings offer a valuable insight into how those who do not identify as ethical consumers interpret ethical consumption and production norms as a way of connecting to a community but also as alienating.

Section 6.3 examines research question 2 and explores the dynamic between embodiment and participation in community gardens. This section reveals a series of novel findings about how those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers make sense of their embodied experiences. This section finds that, similar to existing literature, participants experienced embodied connections with food, the natural environment and a sense of place (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011). These were derived from their embodied participation. Nonetheless, contrary to previous studies, these connections are not linked to ethical consumption and production concerns. Instead, this study finds that participants use their embodied experiences to link their participation with their sense of self – they experience an embodied intensification that is linked to enjoyment and a sense of unity between their action and their sense of self. This furthers our understanding of embodied participation in community gardens greatly as it highlights the new connections that individuals are developing to food and their surrounding environment.

Chapter 7 addresses the remaining two research questions. Section 7.2 addresses research question 3 and explores how identities developed in the community of practice are negotiated and integrated as part of individuals' sense of self. The findings in this section build on the concept of life themes and project identities (Carrington et al., 2015). This study finds that participants use their community garden involvement to develop their existing life themes. This study also finds that ethical consumption and production discourses are a source of complementary identification used to enhance participants existing concerns for health, wellbeing and self-sustainability. This discussion challenges our understanding of how ethical consumption and consumption ethics intersect to suggest that the two are often overlapped and conflated in individuals' subjective experiences. The findings also suggest that concerns for health and wellbeing, rather than being egoistic, are interspersed with assumptions about personal responsibility and choice in similar ways to ethical consumption lifestyles.

Section 7.3 explores research question 4 and considers the intersection between community garden participation and consumption lifestyles. This discussion reveals that participation led individuals to question their existing consumption habits, it introduces them to new edible foods and expands their competencies around food production and consumption. Moreover, this study finds that participants learned to grow food at home, echoing Shaw et al.'s (2016) writing on how community gardens can encourage productive consumption behaviour. This section highlights that the ability to grow food is structurally restricted and is linked instead with a symbolic sense of empowerment rather than having a significant impact on consumption activities. The study, nonetheless, argues that learning in a community of practice can be unbound and transfer beyond its boundaries when community members have the support to recreate similar learning and engagement experiences. This finding provides a useful development to the modes of identification framework by showing how trajectories of learning can be supported beyond community boundaries.

Finally, chapter 8 offers a conclusion to this thesis focusing on the key themes of the analysis chapter. This chapter sets out the theoretical and empirical contribution of the thesis and identifies some avenues of future inquiry that this thesis did not fully engage with due to time and space constraints. It also offers some recommendations for practice and policy.

Chapter 2 – Understanding ethical consumption

2.1 Introduction

The recognition that we should consume more ethically has produced a proliferation of ethical consumption research over the years (Shaw et al., 2016; Chatzidakis et al., 2012; Black, 2010; Cherrier et al., 2012; Harrison et al., 2005) and has led more recently to the founding of the Journal of Consumer Ethics (2018). Nonetheless, as suggested in chapter 1, ethical consumption remains on the margins, amongst small groups of people. To understand how ethical consumption can spread amongst a greater population, this literature chapter examines a range of consumer research on how ethical consumption is aided by certain factors and in specific contexts.

Section 2.2 begins by outlining the definitions of ethical consumption and considers the debate on the attitude -behaviour gap.

Section 2.3 explores the role of knowledge in ethical consumption and how collective environments are theorised to encourage engagement in ethical consumption behaviours. The potential for social learning to embed norms and create consistent ethical consumption commitments is further highlighted.

Section 2.4 explores the role of identity as an essential dimension of how individuals engage with ethical consumption.

Section 2.5 considers the dynamic between identity, embodiment and learning. The potential for embodied connections with the natural environment as triggers for ethical consumption lifestyles and behaviours are further explored.

This review concludes with the need to further consider the potential for collective and embodied engagement with forms of ethical consumption to encourage ethical consumption behaviours.

2.2 Scoping the field of ethical consumption

In consumption and marketing studies notably, ethical consumption emerged as a research field in the 1970s to early 1990s. Starting with the 1970s, researchers began to study consumers' concerns related to consequences of air pollution (Kassarjian, 1971), ecological damage (Kinnear et al., 1974; Kinnear et al., 1973) and recycling materials (Anderson & Cunningham, 1972). To be noted, however, that consumers' espousal of similar kinds of consumption behaviours is not new to this time, for example, Newholm et al. (2015) uncover a long historical engagement with ethical consumption.

Ethical consumption research defines a variety of individual issues as "ethical", including environmental sustainability (Straughan & Roberts, 1999), health and safety risks (DuPuis, 2000), animal welfare (McEachern et al., 2007), fair trade (Low & Davenport, 2007), labour conditions, and human rights (Adams & Raisborough, 2008). Concern for ethical issues can manifest in various forms of activities, including shopping, investment decisions, and personal banking and pensions (Barnett et al., 2005b). This wealth of research has produced different ways of describing consumers who were engaging with knowledge of ethical issues in their consumption decisions. Table 2.1 adapted from Connolly and Shaw (2006) illustrates the plurality of terms that researchers have used to conceptualise various forms of ethical consumption behaviours. In their interdisciplinary book on ethical consumption, Shaw et al. (2016) conclude that "consumer ethics", "consumer citizenship", "anti-consumption", "responsible", "conscious", "ethical", "political", "pro-social", "radical", "green" and "sustainable" consumption (or consumerism) are terms that are often used interchangeably to describe the various ways in which consumers engage with environmental and social issues.

These behaviours and concerns are reflected in definitions of ethical consumption as purchasing and consumption that takes into consideration societal and animal welfare as well as ecological concerns, including corporate responsibility, development and Fairtrade issues, labour issues, WTO policies and globalisation (Harrison et al., 2005). It includes positive choice behaviours "such as the purchase of fairly traded or environmentally friendly products and can involve avoidance and boycott of certain goods or companies and may even affect the choice of activities or pastimes one engages in" (Szmigin et al., 2009, p. 224).

Table 2.1 Conceptualising ethical consumption behaviour

Range of engagement	Concepts	Authors	Definitions
Consumers who incorporate ethical consumption principles in their lifestyles	Care ethics	Heath et al., 2016; Shaw et al., 2016; Thompson, 1996	"A way of living one's life and resolving personal conflicts that is driven by feelings of responsibility for enhancing the wellbeing of others and a sensitivity to the interpersonal consequences of one's actions and choices'' (Thompson, 1996, p. 401).
	Voluntary simplifier or ethical simplifiers	Andrews & Holst, 1998; Etzioni, 1998; Craig-Lees & Hill, 2002	"The choice out of free will to limit expenditures on consumer goods and services and to cultivate nonmaterialistic sources of satisfaction and meaning (Craig Lees & Hill, 2002, p. 190)
Consumers who incorporate specific ethical consumption	Environmentally/ecologically conscious consumers	Keesling and Kaynama, 2003; Straughan and Roberts, 1999	"By definition, the ecologically conscious consumer's attitude must exhibit concern for ecology [...] and as a determinant of more

behaviours			specific behaviours such as recycling, purchasing, energy conservation, and joining environmental groups" (Keesling & Kaynama, 2003, p. 54).
	Green consumers	Roberts, 1996; Shrum, et al., 1995; Prothero, 1990;	"Consumers care whether products were environmentally safe, […] sought products and packaging made from recycled materials, and […] boycotted a company that was careless toward the environment" (Roberts, 1996, p. 217).
	Responsible consumption	Fisk, 1973	"Responsible consumption refers to the rational and efficient use of resources with respect to the global human population." (Fisk, 1973, p. 24).
	Sustainable consumer	Paavola, 2001; Middlemiss 2008; Dalpian et al., 2015	"Sustainable consumption is based on minimising the environmental impacts of consumption and considering the needs of future generations" (Dalpian et al., 2015, p. 100).

Consumers who are aware of ethical consumption issues	Conscious consumers	McEachern et al., 2007; Weatherell et al., 2003	"Demonstrate higher levels of concern about industrialised forms of food provisioning and knowledge of the 'socio-economic benefits in buying local" (Weatherell et al., 2003, p. 234).
	Reflexive consumer	DuPuis, 2000; Johnston & Szabo, 2011; Adams & Raisborough, 2008.	"The reflexive consumer listens to and evaluates claims made by groups organised around a particular food issue, (such as GE foods), and evaluates his or her own activities based on what he or she feels is the legitimacy of these claims" (DuPuis, 2000, p. 289).

2.2.1 Ethical consumption – a continuum of consumption behaviours

Harrison et al. (2005) have attempted to clarify the forms in which these consumer choices and responsibilities might manifest themselves, and what qualifies as ethical consumer behaviours and activities. They propose a typology of different ethical consumer activities like boycotting and participation in anti-consumption events where consumers avoid specific activities or do not purchase a product from companies which may have an unethical record. This can be company-oriented boycotting or product-oriented boycotting (Harrison et al., 2005). An alternative to that is 'buycotting', which is the act of choosing and buying certain products and services over others due to specific ethical considerations like fair-trade, animal welfare, or environmental (Ozcaglar-Toulouse et al., 2006; Shaw & Clarke, 1999; Shaw & Shiu, 2002, 2003). Other activities include: using consumer guides and ratings to make choices, relationship purchasing in an attempt to change the behaviour of suppliers, anti-consumerism (avoiding unsustainable products such as cars) and pursuing DIY and alternatives such as growing your own food or mending rather than replacing clothes, often referred to as 'voluntary simplicity' (Harrison et al., 2005).

The variation in terminology is reflective on one side of the interdisciplinary nature of ethical consumption research (Hiller, 2016). On the other hand, McDonald et al. (2006) note that ethical consumption encompasses a continuum of behaviours. The conceptualisations in table 2.1 support this and illustrate how forms of ethical consumption behaviours constitute a continuum of engagement and behaviours, from actions that are wide reaching in individuals lives to isolated acts. On one end of the continuum are conceptualisations like voluntary simplicity (Etzioni, 1998) or Thompson's (1996) care ethics which represent underlying lifestyles that permeate all aspects of behaviour, e.g., running a home, raising a child, managing finances (Huneke, 2005). Consumers who adopt these lifestyles limit their expenditures on consumer goods and services and cultivate non-materialistic sources of satisfaction and meaning (Huneke, 2005). On the continuum are also concerned consumers, (Kinnear et al., 1974; Roberts, 1996), green consumers (Prothero, 1990) and those consumers who are focused on specific considerations like social issues (Osterhus, 1997) or sustainability (Middlemiss, 2008). McEachern et al. (2007) categorise conscious consumers as demonstrating a higher level of concern for 'industrialised forms of food provisioning' and knowledge of the socio-economic benefits in buying local but are less stringent in their espousal of ethical issues as more committed

'ethical' consumers. Similarly, reflexive consumers show an awareness of the ethical issues involved in consumption activities (Johnston & Szabo, 2011).

The conceptualisation of ethical consumption as a continuum is further supported by Middlemiss's (2011a, 2011b) work where she describes ethical consumption behaviours as ranging from those who are unengaged and deliberately distance themselves from ethical issues to those who are historically engaged in ethical lifestyles and have a long-standing interest in sustainability which they connected with the broader narrative of their lives. The continuum includes those who are recently engaged in ethical lifestyles and have made changes in their behaviours in the last few years in reaction to either changes in their lives or changes in service provision; those with an ethos with complementary behaviours which involves practising various ethical actions motivated by other considerations like a passion or a hobby (conservation or gardening) or around a long-standing ethos that connected with sustainability (Middlemiss, 2011b). These arguments inform the current thesis which considers ethical consumption on a continuum of behaviours and activities. This perspective is favoured as it highlights that consumers engagement with ethical consumption manifests in complex and subjective ways (Harrison et al., 2005). This understanding allows us to explore how consumers might engage in some forms of ethical consumption while distancing themselves from the lifestyle aspect of ethical consumption. By acknowledging the varied way in which individuals engage with ethical consumption behaviour, it becomes clear that ethical consumption needs to be relevant to a range of individuals' consumption experiences.

2.2.2 Ethical consumption – inconsistencies and complexities

This thesis considers ethical consumption to be displayed in plural and dynamic ways (Newholm et al., 2005; Barnett et al., 2005b). Consumers negotiate their ethical consumption concerns alongside competing aspects of life, which has led researchers to identify contradictory and inconsistent consumption choices (Shaw and Shiu, 2002; Connoly and Prothero, 2008; Shaw & Riach, 2013; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). Inconsistencies happen, moreover, because individuals are faced with the ever-increasing complexities of consumption and production processes (Carrington et al., 2016). These complexities make it difficult for consumers to follow through on their ethical concerns (Bray et al., 2010). It is unsurprising then, that researchers have reported a gap in terms of what consumers say, and what they do (Burke et al., 1993; Roberts, 1996; Boulstridge and Carrigan, 2000). Many of the studies in ethical consumption, have concerned themselves

with untangling these contradictions known as the ethical consumption 'gap', often called an intention-behaviour (IB) or an attitude-behaviour gap (AB) (Shaw and Shiu, 2002, 2003; Rohit et al., 2015; Miniero, 2014; Hassan et al., 2016; Chatzidakis et al., 2007). Recent reports like Peake's (2020) support this finding and indicate for example, that while consumers are increasingly concerned about plastic packaging, not many are following through with their concerns.

Theorists have explained the 'gap' from various perspectives. Some research has uncovered the range of factors which affect consumer behaviour (Shaw & Shiu, 2002; Hassan et al., 2016). Cherrier's (2012) study into barriers to reducing one's carbon footprint show that variably committed and devoted consumers reflect on similar difficulties to reduce carbon emissions such as financial constraints (purchase of more expensive or rarer products) and time restraints (finding alternatives, culinary preparations and others). For example, previous research shows that 52% of consumers were interested in purchasing ethical foods but did not purchase those foods owing to barriers like inconvenience and price (Robinson & Smith, 2002). Moreover, Johnstone & Tan (2015) suggest that, at an individual level, being an ethical consumer can be perceived as something unattainable (regardless of access or availability) as some consumers may feel a sense of powerlessness.

Other research on the attitude-behaviour gap has highlighted issues with the methodologies of researching ethical consumption (Chatzidakis et al., 2006). For example, Ogden (2003) argues that sampling issues emerge when researching different groups in a population. These groups may have different motivations for behaving in similar ways, which may lead to an overall discrepancy in results (see also, Chatzidakis et al., 2006); Castle et al. (1999) suggest that often studies on the attitude behaviour gap are not always optimal in terms of adequately wording the research instruments which can lead to further inconsistencies in recorded behaviours (Hassan et al., 2016; Sutton, 1998).

Szmigin et al. (2009, p. 225), however, propose that inconsistencies are inextricable from consumption and argue that:

> "Rationales for purchasing may be in transition or flux; underlying tensions and competing values may not always be resolved consistently; consumption behaviour can be unpredictable and heavily context-dependent".

The gap between consumers attitudes or intentions and their behaviours remains a contested area of research that has been criticised for its narrow focus on the individual consumer. Several authors (Luzar & Cosse, 1998; Ogden, 2003; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006) highlight that often the focus of much of this research is on isolated behaviours and that research has ignored the broader context in which consumers make consumption choices.

The emphasis on the consumer in isolation is predominant across ethical consumption research, and according to Cherrier (2012), is distinguished by three main approaches. First, some theorists adopt a voluntarist perspective that sees consumers as actively and voluntarily making choices to enact the moral concerns discussed above. Under this lens, promoting ethical consumption is a matter of informing individuals about the impact of their consumption and promoting individual choice. For example, campaigns like A Million Acts of Blue (Greenpeace International, 2019), Love Food Hate Waste (WRAP, 2019), and apps like Olio (Smith, 2019) urge consumers to act against plastic pollution and food waste. In support of this approach are studies that explore the potential for consumption to have a political significance and see the consumer as an ethical voter who uses their market choice of ethical actions and purchases to send market signals (Shaw, 2007; Connolly & Prothero, 2003).

Other ethical consumption research, however, argues that structural forces inherently constrain the consumer (Carrington et al., 2016). Cherrier et al. (2012, p. 248) for example, highlight how "our cultural emphasis on physical mobility, cleanliness, or comfort constitute structural constraints to the neoliberal conception of freedom of choice". Section 2.4. further discusses how social context can shape consumption activities. This perspective views ethical consumption as shaped by broader structural forces and by the structural and normative ideology of the marketplace and policymakers. By focusing on the constraining factors to ethical consumption, this approach highlights the need to articulate certain ethical norms of conduct that dictate the way we should live and consume (Seyfang, 2005).

Thirdly, research sees the consumer in a balancing act between individual responsibility at one end and structural forces at the other. For example, Cherrier and Murray (2007) argue that adopting ethical lifestyles like voluntary simplicity results from individual preferences and values and is shaped by a complex structural social system. Both a proactive process of self-inquiry (further detailed in section 2.4) pursued within enabling and constraining

forces imposed by the material situation (e.g., global warming, waste, pollution) and structural forces (Shove, 2010) determine ethical consumption. As consumption choices represent constant navigation between the individual and the fragmented nature of society, consumers often experience this negotiation as individually challenging and even contradictory (Chatzidakis et al., 2006; Connolly & Prothero, 2008; Cherrier & Murray, 2007). Recognising the plurality and complexity of how consumers engage with ethical consumption, this perspective informs how this thesis views consumers' engagement with ethical behaviours, at the intersection of individual responsibility and structural forces.

From this section, we have learned that ethical consumption is broadly conceptualised as motivated by various concerns which refer to the implications and consequences of one's actions (Schwartz, 2010; Harrison et al., 2005). These implications often extend to a range of concerns, including environmental issues, social issues, sustainability, animal welfare and others (Szmigin et al., 2009). The section above also explored how consumers are often seen to 'say one thing and do another' which has led to a widely researched attitude-behaviour gap (Shaw and Shiu, 2002, 2003; Rohit et al., 2015; Miniero et al., 2014; Hassan et al., 2016; Chatzidakis et al., 2007). The attitude- behaviour gap has sparked a fruitful debate across research, and some argue that the gap is inherent in the structural foundations of consumers' lives in terms of access and availability of ethical products (Bray et al., 2010) and the patterns and expectations of everyday life (Shove, 2003). Others have highlighted the challenges of consistency in language and in capturing behaviour (Hassan et al., 2016).

Thus, consumers' engagement with ethical consumption varies from lifestyle changes like voluntary simplicity to isolated behaviours and activities like buycotting, boycotting and others and is often characterised by contradictions. This seemingly unstable phenomenon poses challenges for exploring and researching ethical consumption. A potential solution is Middlemiss' (2011b) proposal that we look at engagement with ethical consumption from a continuum perspective - on an axis of engagement with ethical consumption considerations at various levels. By understanding individuals' engagement with ethical issues as changing and fluid and not as a matter of ethical vs unethical, we acknowledge the subjective nature of individuals' consumption experiences and the complexity of ethics in consumption. Nonetheless, much of the perspectives on ethical consumption discussed above overlook the plurality of ethics in consumption and how ethics take several forms: at an individual level, in a social context, at different points in time, and in and between

different spaces (Barnett et al., 2005). This indicates the need to consider ethics in the context of everyday consumption.

2.2.3 Consumption ethics

Wilk (2001, p. 246) considers that "consumption is, in essence, a moral matter, since it always and inevitably raises issues of fairness, self vs group interests, and immediate vs delayed gratification." Hall (2011) further argues that moral concepts such as justice and power, and fundamental ethical principles of right vs wrong and good vs evil - are manifested through consumption activities. There are complex moral negotiations involved in everyday consumption activities.

Ethical consumption considerations, rather than being a separate kind of consumption, are added to an already complicated and ethically complex decision-making process, in which consumers also have to consider factors such as affordability, health, quality, preference and convenience (Barnett et al., 2010; Bray, 2010). Nonetheless, we know very little about everyday ethical dilemmas of everyday consumption and the moral tensions of everyday consumption decision-making. Hall (2011; 2015) advocates instead for the ethics of consumption. The ethics of consumption cannot be reduced to particular ethical products or specific ways of consuming like the tables above suggest, but connect to a wide range of everyday activities and routines (Hall, 2011).

Increasingly, authors are foregrounding the everyday ethics of consumption (see Adams and Raisborough, 2010; Barnett et al., 2005b; Hall, 2011; Jackson et al., 2009) and recognising that 'ethical dimensions of consumption are enacted and produced through everyday practices' (Lewis and Potter 2011, p.16). This body of work collectively agrees that all consumption has a 'moral reading' (Hall, 2011). Crucially considering the 'ethics of consumption' rather than 'ethical consumption' makes room for recognising the plurality of ethics in everyday life (Barnett et al., 2005b; Hall, 2011).

This perspective of ethics opens up new ways of thinking about how morals and ethics are negotiated in everyday consumption activities and highlights a range of ethical dimensions to consumption, such as financial considerations, health concerns and caring responsibilities (Hall, 2011). For example, previous research on everyday ethics of consumption has foregrounded the complexity of money and ethics, and how prioritising issues like affordability, thrift, and frugality is not the opposite of ethical consumption but

actually involves much moral negotiation (Carrigan and Pelsmaker, 2009; Evans, 2011; Hall, 2011).

This perspective also seeks to shift the focus away from the presumption that "ethical consumers are knowledge-grounded subjects who make rational choices to maximise their interests" (Cherrier, 2007, p.322) and instead acknowledges that there is a certain amount of irrationality and contradiction within the ethics of consumption, which is central to everyday life. By acknowledging the contradiction of consumption practices (Evans, 2011), we can understand how some individuals incorporate ethical consumer practices but also engage in consumption practices directly opposing these ethical values. This perspective allows us to understand consumption and ethics as a complex and dynamic phenomenon that is negotiated over time. Consumption is seen as a way for people to assert responsibility and ethics through everyday decision-making (see Barnett et al., 2005b). Nonetheless, by considering ethics as inherent in consumption, discourses of personal responsibility with regards to the broader and collective implications on consumption are overlooked. The matter of concern for the impact of one's consumption in relation to environmental and social challenges becomes one of the many equally different facets of consumption ethics. The question still remains of how how do ethical consumption concerns and consumption ethics overlap in individuals' consumption experiences. Are they at odds? Is there scope for intersections?

The discussion above illustrates that everyday consumption encompasses matters of ethics and morality which cannot be ignored. It remains crucial, however, in order to challenge the current consumerist logic to understand how more individuals come to engage with social, ecological and environmental consumption considerations. To understand this, the following section explores the role of knowledge and learning in shaping ethical consumption behaviour.

2.3 Knowledge, collectivity and ethical consumption

"In so many situations in which the choice of what to do is ours and ours alone, we look in vain for the firm and trusty rules which may reassure us that once we followed them, we could be sure to be in the right" (Bauman, 1993, p. 20)

2.3.1 Knowledge and ethical consumption

Much of ethical consumption research refers to ethical consumption as the development of a moral connection between the act of consuming and degrees of culpability and responsibility (Schwartz, 2010). This moral connection can be broadly defined according to three kinds of ethical theories: virtue ethics, theories of what is 'right', and theories of what is 'good'. Virtue ethics are representative of early theories of ethics (particularly those of the classical Greeks), where assumptions of what kind of person one should aspire to be, shape moral judgements (Hiller, 2016). Assumptions of virtue are relevant for understanding how ethical consumption can become an assumed identity) (Section 2.4 further discusses ethical consumption identity). According to Barnett et al. (2005a), assumptions of what is 'right' refer to the things we ought to do according to certain moral and ethical imperatives. In consumption, this relates to arguments of duty and responsibility. For example, a current focus in ethical consumption discourses is on humanity's obligation to the planet and its future generations to preserve resources (Guterres, 2019).

Definitions of what is 'good', on the other hand, refer to the outcomes or results of our actions. Theories of 'the good' are often referred to as consequentialist, and they define ethical conduct based on the consequences or outcomes of our actions (Barnett et al., 2005a). These approaches are sometimes called teleological because they start by specifying an end (or 'telos') that is not conditioned by moral obligations. This perspective implies there is a right course of action to maximise 'the good'. In consumption, this puts the focus on the consequences of consumption acts. For example, researchers often describe current consumption as having negative consequences on sustainability, as producing environmental damage and as a source of climate change (Henry et al., 2019). Thus, theories of 'the good' focus on what outcomes to promote - reducing consumption to minimise negative consequences, whereas theories of 'the right' focus upon what principles to honour, or on questions of duty - for example, promoting a principle of duty towards the planet, animals and other individuals (Barnett et al., 2005a).

Knowledge is considered a critical factor in our understanding of ethical consumption (Arubthnot & Lingg, 1973; Ajzen et al., 2011). Historically, research has looked at knowledge as an indicator and predictor of ethical consumption behaviour. Granzin and Olsen's (1991) study, for example, argued that those who recycled had more knowledge about the environment and dedicated more time to learn about ethical behaviours than

those who did not recycle. Subsequently, Laroche et al. (2001) concluded that environmental knowledge provides the individual with the necessary action strategies to protect the environment.

Epistemologically, according to Zagzebski (2017, p. 92): "Knowledge is a highly valued state in which a person is in cognitive contact with reality. It is, therefore, a relation. On one side of the relation is a conscious subject, and on the other side is a portion of reality to which the knower is directly or indirectly related." Based on this understanding of knowledge, from an ethical consumption perspective, consumers are conscious subjects who are in 'contact' with the 'reality' of the moral implications of their consumption.

Consumers who commit to ethical consumption behaviour are seen to possess knowledge about the impact of their consumption, knowledge about what forms of consumption are categorised as ethical and knowledge of how to make informed decisions to enact ethical consumption commitments (Barnett, 2005). In many of the studies exploring the role of knowledge in ethical consumption, knowledge is understood as familiarity and expertise (or lack of it) of ethical issues and how information is acted upon (Longo et al., 2017). Knowledge is also inextricably linked with information, and some perspectives assume that as individuals acquire or are exposed information about ethical issues, they then integrate that as knowledge (Hargreaves, 2008; Hobson, 2003). This perspective of knowledge implies that information about ethical consumption leads to implicit learning on the part of the consumer and that knowledge accumulation is linked to actual consumer behaviour.

These assumptions, however, have been criticised for proposing a simplistic understanding of ethical consumption, where consumers are fully informed rational actors who are aware of the implications of their actions, they can assess the implications of their consumption and their adherence to various ethical principles (Barnett et al., 2005; Hiller, 2015). From a consequentialist perspective on ethical consumption, it is assumed that it is possible to know and calculate the chains of causality before, or even after, consumption behaviours (Barnett et al., 2005a). Similarly, a deontological understanding of ethical consumption proposes the implausible idea of consumers as rational actors who can know the degree to which each of their actions complies to a very abstract ethical principle (Carrington et al., 2016).

Barnett (2005) argues that by privileging a specific understanding of knowledge as the critical factor that 'sparks' ethical behaviour, a range of other dimensions that might play a

role in shaping people's dispositions towards others and the world around them are ignored. Considering then how individuals make sense of specific knowledge about ethical food, for example, it is apparent that consumers often have limited direct knowledge of agriculture and its production processes and lack insight into the implications of their food purchase decisions on the food supply chain (Dickson, 2001; Verbeke, 2005). Vermeir & Verbeke (2006) suggest that the benefits of ethical products are often poorly communicated to consumers so that they are unable to make informed purchasing decisions by their budget and conscience. Consequently, individuals also claim to be overwhelmed when too much information is available (Shaw & Clarke, 1999) and tend to question the credibility of the information sources (Uusitalo & Oksanen, 2004). Indeed, in the modern production system, the significant distance between the producer and the final consumer means, "a fully informed consumer is unattainable" (Newholm & Shaw 2007, p. 258).

According to Carolan (2007: p. 1265), the reason why this might be is because we are structurally constrained in our ability to 'know' the implications of our actions and make informed decisions by an increasing 'epistemic distance'. This distance is characterised by 1. spatial and temporal extensions as " food commodity chains and environmental flows are rendered abstract and largely invisible from the perspective of the consumer", 2. increasing complexity and uncertainty, as the various "systems involved in environmental debates – from, for example, the social, ecological, and economic realms – often results in an emergent complexity far greater than the sum of its parts", 3. practices as 'socio-material arrangements give shape to how and what we know and thus what we ''see;'' and knowledge is always situated and 4. relationality (or lack of it) "between loops between events in the natural world and human behaviour".

The above indicate that individuals cannot neither fully know the ramification of their consumption actions nor apprehend the complex processes of production. Nonetheless, knowledge plays an important role in helping consumers make ethical consumption decisions. This sparks several key questions: how do individuals make sense of abstract knowledge versus practical knowledge, or knowledge learned socially? How do these relate to ethics and consumption in everyday life?

When thinking about the relationship between knowledge and understandings of morality and ethics, Schweder's (1982) conceptualisation of moral knowledge presents some clarity. Schweder (1982) argues that understandings of ethics and morality are ultimately derived

from two kinds of knowledge: self-constructed knowledge and socially constructed knowledge. Self-constructed knowledge is knowledge that someone has figured out for himself. Individuals construct moral codes out of shared experiences in social interaction. Arguably, they recognise the unfortunate and unpleasant consequences of attacks on persons (or other beings like animals) property, and promises, for example, and these perceived consequences stimulate the construction of a moral code. Thus, according to Schweder (1982), moral codes stem from interpretations of directly experienced events rather than from the social transmission of rules, values, concepts, or instructions about how one ought to behave. Hobson (2003) supports this as she concludes that consumption behaviours change not through exposure to scientific knowledge per se but through individuals making connections between forms of knowledge that link their own, every day and experiential environments to broader environmental concerns (Strauss & Quinn, 1997; Bickerstaff & Walker, 2001), thus enabling them to see old practices in new ways that make intuitive 'common sense'.

The opposite of self-constructed knowledge is socially constructed knowledge (Schweder, 1982). Socially-constructed knowledge is acquired from pre-established collective representations. For example, social understandings of what is normal and appropriate is illustrative of how collective representations form socially constructed knowledge. As Schweder (1982) notes, much that we know is acquired from other people. When it comes to ethical consumption knowledge, the social environment and real-life experiences are considered to play an essential role (Potter 2002). Ethical behaviour is rooted in understandings of duty and social understandings of morality (Hall, 2011). The family, for example, according to Kay (1975, p. 183), is an 'agent of moral education'. Halstead (1999) also indicates that the family is usually the first and primary influence on a person's moral development, implying that they are likely to have more significant moral 'imprint' on the child. Section 2.3.2 explores this in more depth.

Understandings of ethical issues and morality then develop from self-constructed and social knowledge (which are often tacit forms of knowledge) resulting from having lived in a unique cultural environment which is packed with implicit messages about what is of importance, what is of value. This knowledge is mainly implicit and historically and culturally specific (Reckwitz, 2002). Nonetheless, how do other collective contexts apart from the family shape understandings of ethics and morality in consumption? How is knowledge transferred across different collective contexts? Are there potential

intersections and tensions between different contexts? The discussion above highlighted that ethical consumption knowledge is contextual and socially constructed but does not distinguish between different kinds of knowledge like abstract or embodied and practical knowledge. This distinction is crucial for understanding how different kinds of knowledge are made sense of in relation to ethical consumption. Crucial questions emerge from thinking about the dynamic between different kinds of ethical consumption knowledge: How does embodied knowledge relate to self-constructed and socially constructed knowledge? How does embodied knowledge relate to one's self-identity and how do embodied experiences mediate between the self and the collective? Exploring these questions could be crucial for understanding how more individuals can engage with ethical consumption. The following sections, thus, consider how learning in different collective environments shapes engagement with ethical consumption, the role of identity, and the role of embodied and experiential learning in more depth.

2.3.2 Collectivity and ethical consumption

As considered above, social norms are seen as an essential dimension of understanding ethical consumption behaviour. For example, research claims that consumers might derive a sense of positive reinforcement from those closest to them when purchasing ethically (Andorfer & Liebe, 2013). Recently Richter et al. (2018) found that social norms interventions -recently often perceived as "the Holy Grail" for behaviour change - are not as universally applicable as suggested in the literature. In their study, messages encouraging ethical consumption by appealing to social norms can produce adverse effects and lead to consumers rejecting these behaviours (Richter et al., 2018). Less is known, however, about the extended role of a collective environment in developing consumers' engagement with ethical behaviours. Some literature indeed suggests that when ethical consumption behaviours are socially learned, embedded in social understandings and negotiated with others, individuals report newfound ethical concerns, experience identity transformations and can enact their concerns more consistently (Middlemiss, 2011a; 2011b; Hargreaves, 2011; Moraes et al., 2012). The following section considers in more depth how social contexts can develop consumers engagement with ethical consumption.

2.3.2.1 Learning ethical consumption in collective environments

Saljo (1979) describes learning as a multifaceted phenomenon which includes (but is not limited to) (1) acquiring information and increasing knowledge; as well as (2) memorising; (3) acquiring facts, skills and methods; (4) making sense or abstracting meaning; and (5)

interpreting and understanding reality in a different way by reinterpreting knowledge. Each of these routes is important to ethical consumption behaviour as individuals are expected to acquire knowledge about what constitutes ethical behaviours, to reinterpret their own behaviour from this awareness of ethical issues and to develop the necessary skills to carry these out, e.g. buying in accordance to these ethical principles (Barnett et al., 2005a). Illeris (2004) further argues that all learning includes two fundamentally different types of process: the internal psychological process of elaboration and acquisition mentioned above in which new impulses are connected with the results of prior learning and also an external interaction process between the learner and his or her social, cultural, and material environment.

Bandura (1980) and Jackson (2005) note that much of what we know is learned from other people. As mentioned above, the family (Kay 1975), is the site of moral education. Grønhøj & Thøgersen's (2012) study shows that adolescents' pro-environmental behaviour is heavily influenced by the dominating norms within the family and, in particular, by how strongly they are manifested in their parents' behaviour. In that case, how we learn to be ethical from those around us becomes essential for understanding how we can encourage ethical consumption (Hall, 2010). Some research has also shown that social contexts can lead to (maintained) behaviour change (Staats et al., 2004) and spill over to other behaviours (Maiteny, 2002).

Nevertheless, in Staats et al.'s (2004) study initial interest and understanding of ethical issues seem both a prerequisite for consumers' involvement in ethical consumption initiatives but also an outcome of consumers' involvement in these initiatives aimed at encouraging ethical consumption. This presents us with a circular argument. It remains to be explored how those who are not ethically concerned respond to social contexts that are geared towards promoting ethical consumption.

Middlemiss' (2011a) study explored this and considered the role of community initiatives in "stimulating" (p. 265) ethical consumption. Her findings offer a useful insight into how consumers can develop ethical consumption concerns, starting from no engagement with ethical consumption at all to a sense of commitment (Middlemiss, 2011a). In her study, two participants (out of forty-four) reported newfound engagement in ethical consumption behaviours - the only participants in the study involved in community food growing and conservation projects which aimed to "improve health, environmental understanding and community cohesion" (Middlemiss, 2011a, p. 268). To be noted that many other

participants experienced incremental changes that build on their existing ethical concerns. Other community settings involved EcoTeams, a commuter scheme, a church ecology project and a carbon reduction project.

Both participants who reported newfound pro-ethical values, and an increased understanding of sustainability issues referred to their commitments to more ethical lifestyles. For example, the study reports that consumers developed preferences towards organic and free-range food, took up gardening "for nature", were fervently opposed to invasive non-native species and reported a new understanding of the fragility of surrounding ecosystems (Middlemiss, 2011a, p. 274). These behaviour changes according to Middlemiss (2011a) are likely to be connected to the cohesiveness of these communities – in this context cohesiveness was linked with individuals developing strong bonds in the group and socialising outside of this community. This finding further indicates that social connection can have a significant impact on changing consumer behaviour.

Middlemiss's (2011a, p. 274) findings also show how participants learning experiences brings their current behaviours into their discursive awareness as they begin to question their existing consumption activities: "I had no idea about organic gardening, I thought it was for people who were tree-huggers! [laughs] I didn't think it was for me. But now, I'm totally, totally on board with it all." These findings confirm Hobson (2003) theory on how knowledge is mobilised when individuals rethink their routine behaviours. Hobson (2003) argues that new consumption knowledge is not merely added to existing knowledge, but it interacts with participants experiences in a way that is meaningful to them. As things are seen in new ways, pre-existing habits are questioned (Hobson, 2003). This questioning, however, depends on the forms of knowledge used, e.g. practical or abstract knowledge. In Middlemiss's (2011a) study, the focus was on practical knowledge. In order for new knowledge to challenge one's existing habits, this knowledge must be relevant to their own consumption experiences.

It is evident in Middlemiss's (2011a) study that by learning and connecting with others, consumers can engage with forms of ethical consumption in ways that are meaningful to them. While participants reported newfound ethical concerns, it needs to be futher explored whether these translated into everyday consumption behaviours. Middlemiss' (2011a) findings did not adequately explore how these ethical concerns intersect with consumers' lifestyles beyond the community space. To understand the potential for collective contexts to stimulate ethical consumption behaviours, we need to explore further how collective

environments can guide individual behaviour by embedding ethical consumption norms in everyday activities. The section above considered the potential for collective contexts to encourage learning ethical consumption behaviour and highlighted the role of cohesiveness in leading to behaviour changes (Middlemiss, 2011a). Building on this knowledge, the following section considers how collective context help to embed ethical consumption in everyday consumption activities.

2.3.2.2 Embedding ethical consumption norms in collective environments

Some studies indicate that collective environments can embed ethical consumption knowledge in everyday activities, change habits and override the need for pro-active efforts (Moraes et al., 2012). For example, Hargreaves (2011) study on workplace consumption illustrates how, as individuals learn to consume more ethically, previous workplace actions like the use of electricity now had new ethical consumption implications. This transformation led some individuals to develop ethical consumption identities (Hargreaves, 2011). Moreover, these new meanings were then embedded and practised in the everyday working life by some individuals, which, in turn, affected the ways others acted as well. Hargreaves's (2011) finding challenges the assumptions that we must change beliefs and attitudes to change behaviour and illustrates how change and knowledge need to be socially embedded. What his analysis suggests, is that shifts in meanings and identities and in how they are experienced by individuals are central to transformations towards more ethical consumption behaviours (Hargreaves, 2011).

Furthermore, Moraes et al.'s (2012) study into consumption communities foregrounds the importance of social norms and the potential for reframing behaviours through ethical spaces of community. Papaoikonomou et al. (2010) also argue that the process of belonging to an ethical consumption community was a starting point for individuals to develop new ethical consumption habits. This argument suggests that communities that promote and embed ethical consumption in their shared meanings and values help to establish and maintain increased consistency in participants' ethical consumption commitments. In Moraes et al.'s (2012) study, this happens because forms of ethical consumption were embedded as a default in the fabric of everyday life. For many participants, this embeddedness removed the need for individual action and the reflexivity discussed in section 2.5.3. Moreover, Moraes et al. (2012) show that through embedding ethical consumption in the fabric of mundane activities, it is possible to counteract the structural forces that usually inhibit consumers from fully enacting their ethical concerns.

Seemingly, collective environments can help reduce the inherent tension between individual and collective action discussed in section 2.2.2. As a result, the authors argue that inconsistencies in ethical consumption behaviour can potentially be reduced through involvement in localised community groups that adhere to principles of ethical consumption (Moraes et al., 2012).

Moreover, according to Moraes et al. (2012), community ties and relationships were essential to the development and maintenance of consistent forms of ethical consumption. These findings echo Middlemiss's (2011a) argument on cohesion and also Dalpian's (2012) argument that groups reinforce and communicate values that serve as guidelines for participants. The role of community becomes crucial in addressing consumers' anxiety and isolation when they must negotiate trade-offs between their ethical commitments and social context as discussed above (Johnstone & Tan, 2015).

Moraes et al.'s (2012) study also conclude that key to influencing individual consumer choice is a greater understanding of the shared learning that occurs through peer groups and social networks, whereby behaviours spread through conversations, social learning, and the personal contacts of everyday life. Gronhoj & Thogerson's (2011) study on the role of feedback on family energy consumption shows a similar finding. They found that interactions between family members not only seem to have stimulated individual learning but also allowed household members to control each other's behaviour and to compete about saving electricity (Gronhoj & Thogersen, 2011).

These findings highlight on one side the importance of belonging to a community in supporting those who might otherwise feel isolated in their attempts to consume ethically (Johnstone & Tan, 2015). Nonetheless, Moraes's et al.'s (2012) report that as ethical consumption concerns were embedded in the social norms of these communities, this leads to members of these communities feeling criticised by other community participants for not fully abiding by these norms. These experiences illustrate how the consumption choices of individuals are constrained by ideas of what most people do or 'what is normal' or expected behaviour (Rettie et al., 2014; Shove, 2003) in any given social context.

While the studies above highlighted the potential for collective environments to embed ethical behaviour and lead to identity transformation, several issues remain unexplored. The main question arising from Middlemiss's (2011), Hargreaves's (2011) and Moraes et al.'s (2012) exploration of collective environments relates to how engagement with ethical

consumption is negotiated outside of these contexts. Middlemiss (2011)'s study was limited to learning about ethical consumption in a community context with no indication if this learning shaped consumption behaviours. Moraes et al. (2012) draw on residential communities and on participants who already self-identify as ethical. This case constitutes a minority as not many consumers can access residential ethical communities. This limitation indicates the need to consider how ethical consumption intersects with individuals' lifestyle outside of these community and also to explore other kinds of communities that embed ethical consumption principles in their norms.

Hargreaves also (2011) argues that identities changed as individuals assumed new workplace roles such as Environmental Champions, yet he does not fully explore this conclusion and the complexities of identity transformation. How do these environmental identities affect consumer behaviour outside of the workplace? How was this negotiated alongside existing identities? Moreover, were individuals volunteering for these roles motivated by existing ethical concerns? These questions reinforce the need to explore further how collective contexts can encourage ethical consumption in consumers' lifestyles beyond the boundaries of these environments.

The section above considered the potential for collective contexts to lead to ethical consumption learning (Middlemiss, 2011a), to embed ethical consumption norms (Moraes et al., 2012) and develop identification (Hargreaves, 2011) with ethical consumption concerns. Middlemiss (2011a) highlights that experiential learning is an essential element of collective learning as it equips individuals with the practical knowledge to consume more ethically, e.g. knowing how to grow food, or how to consume seasonally (Turner, 2011). Nonetheless, questions remain about how collective contexts of ethical consumption like CSAs and workplaces environments actually shape the consumption identities of those who are not already ethically concerned.

The following section considers in more depth how ethical consumption concerns become salient in individuals' consumption lifestyles by exploring the role of identity. The section explores current debates on ethical consumption identity and the nature of transformations in identity. This exploration will illustrate how consumers engage with a sense of individual responsibility and come to identify with ethical concerns.

2.4 Ethical consumption and identity

Belk's (1988) seminal work on possessions and the extended-self established consumption as an individualised and creative activity that contributes to our sense of personal identity. Research has repeatedly demonstrated that how we integrate issues of morality in consumption is strongly determined by individuals' identities and sense of self (Sparks & Shepherd, 1992; Shaw & Shiu, 2002; Carrington et al., 2015). Chatzidakis et al. (2006), Shaw & Shiu (2002) and many others have shown that those who self-identify as ethical consumers engage with forms of ethical consumption in a more sustained way, take on lifestyle changes and demonstrate extensive self-scrutiny. Their research highlights that identity is a central construct for understanding ethical consumer behaviour. The term self-identity in this study is used to signal the label used to describe oneself, (Gardner & Stern, 2008; Sen, 2002) and is shaped both by internal motivations (for self-esteem, self-enhancement, and self- understanding) as well as social context in the form of demands and expectations of others and the various roles we perform (Ellemers et al., 2002; Stryker, 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). The literature agrees that consumers experience identity transformations as their ethical concerns deepen (Carrington et al., 2015; Cherrier & Murray, 2007).

2.4.1 Identity transformations in ethical consumption

Murray (2002) observes that studies on consumption and identity often focus on individual agency and the pro-active role of the consumer in identity transformations. So far, consumer behaviour researchers have focused on how consumption influences, and is influenced by individuals' life changes and the identity transformation that accompanies such changes (Burningham & Venn, 2017; Cherrier & Murray, 2007). Holt and Thompson (2004) and Cherrier (2012) as discussed in the section above, remind us, however, that consumption and identity quests are shaped by structural forces like norms, language, and practices which are institutionalised in everyday culture.

McCracken (2008), then proposes that individuals respond to these forces in creative ways. Writing on how individuals experience life changes in their consumption identities, he proposes 'transformational routines' (p. xxii) which include a "point of departure, destination and the path in-between". Cherrier and Murray's (2007) 'processual theory of identity' has been one of the few transformational routines that include the notion of the individual as being self-reflexive. In the context of 'voluntary simplifiers,' these authors

describe the individual's continuous process of identity negotiation in the modern world. They propose a four-stage self-transformation routine (sensitisation, separation, socialisation and striving) that symbolises evolving positions of the self in the society.

In Cherrier & Murray's (2007) study, consumers began the process of downshifting by carefully examining their own lives. This process of reflection was triggered by an event that occurred at a turning point in their narrative. These events ranged from experiences like 'having an empty nest', going to university or watching a video which disrupted consumers' existing narratives. The triggering event emerged when the informant would use it to discuss contrasting images of "before" and "after." Informants would describe their lives before the event in ways which were interpreted as pre-reflective or non-critical. These transformations are seen as mechanisms of identity by which the individual takes on various selves. From this perspective, an individual's self-transformation is triggered by a change in her societal roles and involves a modification in the behavioural patterns associated with a person's role in a particular social framework (Ashforth, 2001). Life-course transitions like attending university or retiring nest have since been considered as opportunities for disrupting unsustainable consumption behaviours (Burningham & Venn, 2017). Arguably this is because disruptive changes in social roles might provide opportunities for introducing new behaviours and individuals are also seen as more receptive to new ways of doing.

This perspective suggests that role transformation could be a route into consumers' developing ethical consumption concerns and ethical consumer identities. For example, Hargreaves' (2011) study indicates that those who were assigned a workplace role of environmental champions experienced identity transformations and developed ethical considerations. Nonetheless, as individuals leave the workplace and presumably move between roles, it has not been explored how different roles transfer outside of specific contexts, how this impacts an individual's broader sense of self and the way they consume in order to enact this sense of self. Ultimately, it is should be further explored if this role transformation extends to consumers consumption behaviour in everyday life. Role theory has indeed been criticised for its assumption of stable social structures based on a traditional understanding of social roles (Barrios et al., 2012). This criticism indicates that we need an updated understanding of how consumers make sense of their various consumption roles.

In more recent times, a postmodern understanding of identity has argued that although individuals continue to identify with specific roles, their sense of self is defined by their own efforts to perform the role (Giddens, 1991). Giddens (1991) argues that individuals acquire a self-reflexive characteristic by thinking of themselves not as members of a traditionally defined group with established social roles, but as beings with the capacity to choose the norms that are needed to perform these social roles. In ethical consumption research, for example, Johnstone & Szabo (2011) propose that a reflexive[1] consumer is aware of the tension between one's needs and desires and is critical of knowledge claims of key actors in the food system. Carrington et al. (2015) further illustrate that the process of embedding ethical issues into daily life involves extensive self-reflexion, it is gradual and challenging and involves becoming informed about the ethical issue, negotiating internal and external objectives, and persisting until the new behaviour becomes habitual.

The studies discussed above and others' (Cherrier, 2012; Papaoikonomou et al., 2011) highlight the need to consider ethical consumption identities as a self-reflexive process that is negotiated over time. An ethical consumer is not someone that is developed and then finished but is instead always under construction. For example, Cherrier (2012) explains the progress of one of her informants over three years from someone who did not know could have an impact and contribute to protecting the environment to a self-identified ethical consumer, emphasising the temporal and changing nature of the process of becoming an ethical consumer.

Carrington et al. (2015) apply a life project and life theme approach to understand how consumers reconcile their ethical identities with the complexity of everyday life. Carrington et al. (2015) argue consumers who became 'awakened' to ethical concerns sought to reconcile the tensions they experienced in their sense of self when their consumption choices did not align with their ethical concerns. For the ethical consumers in their study "once integrated into the self, the moral life theme becomes an irresistible magnet, drawing all life projects towards it in a process of moral self-re-unification" (p. 1318). A life project builds on the reflexive identity that Giddens (1991) favours. Life projects require deliberate choices and purposeful actions, they are oriented towards an end

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[1] Interestingly, some consumer research like Price & Gould (2000) see reflexivity more about the absence of authenticity, a break in the "unity between thought and action" (p. 158) and a role rehearsal rather than genuine participation.

goal of an idealised self and ideal lifestyle (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Schau et al., 2009; Schouten, 1991). A life project is intrinsically processual, and its goal, the construction of a life, is realised not with a single operation, or a series of operations, but through the act itself. It is also continually changing as individuals' lives are changing (McKracken, 1987).

Consumers can maintain a selection of multiple life projects simultaneously (Thompson, 1996) which correspond to different aspects and roles in their life: relationships, aspirations and others. A life project invokes a narrative consistency where themes are carried across one's lifetime not in a linear way but in a way that helps individuals make sense of their experiences. Schau & Wolfinbarger (2009) propose that the 'life project' is a narrative understanding of self, where people create life stories that reconstruct the past and anticipate the future in order to provide their lives with meaning, unity and purposes. These projects integrate abstract life themes into a cohesive, expository narrative that often includes aspects of consumption.

2.4.2 Identity and plurality

Bauman (2000, 2007), however, has suggested that society has reached a liquid era, in which the boundaries of the social structures, where the individual moves, are blurred. In this liquid phase of modernity, the 'social forms (structures that limit individual choices, institutions that guard repetitions of routines, patterns of acceptable behaviour) can no longer (and are not expected) to keep their shape for long' (Bauman, 2007, p. 1). Therefore, in the current liquid society, individuals' identities are in constant change, moving freely back and forth across once-strict social boundaries. These elements challenge the way we live, resulting in more considerable uncertainty surrounding the transformations we may experience in life (McCracken, 2008). The concept of self-identity in ethical consumption has been problematised in terms of how consumers engage with ethical consumption consistently (Connolly & Prothero, 2008).

Identity is not uni-dimensional, and individuals acquire multiple identities: as a social role, in a group context and as personal characteristics (Burke and Stets, 2009). Not only do individuals have multidimensional identities, but Bauman (2007) further argues that identities (themselves processes of socialisation) are in a lifelong process of 'renegotiation'; at no stage are they final. Firat and Venkatesh (1995) also note that consumer identities are continually redefined through diverse consumption experiences. Connolly and Prothero

(2008), for example, found that an ethical consumption identity is only one of many dimensions of the individual's overall sense of self. Carrington et al. (2015) and Goulding et al. (2009) also argue that consumers celebrate plurality and multiplicity as "restorative and escapist pleasures" as one identity can offer restorative time out from the other.

Identity multiplicity is also framed from a reflexive modernisation perspective in which tensions can result from multiple identities, which leads to distress (Bauman, 2007). Consumers then use coping strategies to maintain consistency of the self (Ahuvia, 2005). This tension suggests that maintaining various identities can be experienced as negotiation, concession, and compromise of moral beliefs in consumption (Heath et al., 2016). For example, consumers often feel their ethical consumer identities are at odds with their social context (Johnstone & Tan, 2015; Shaw & Riach, 2011) and experience alienation and isolation. Heath's (2016) study on motherhood suggests that individuals experience tensions and continuously negotiate between their identities as ethical consumers and parents and often trade-off their ethical consumption concerns alongside their parenting commitments.

This section highlighted the central role of identity in understanding how individuals internalise ethical consumption knowledge and norms in behaviour changing ways. Cherrier (2005a) argues, however, that part of why we have failed to challenge current consumption patterns is due to the Western fascination with the individual and the individual's decision-making process in certain contexts. To be an ethical consumer often implies a change in behaviour (Hobson, 2003), motivated by knowledge of production practices and of the effect of consumption choices (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2001; Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000). Much of our understanding of ethical consumption then is made up of snapshot perspectives of consumer's engagement with ethics in consumption. The narrow focus on the individual and her behaviour has obscured our understanding of how individuals learn about ethical consumption and make decisions about their behaviours not in isolation but dynamically, across different contexts, between the body and the collective.

While the social context has been explored in recent years by Cherrier (2005) and Moraes et al. (2012), the context in which consumers interact goes beyond social and individual dimensions and includes elements like place and space (Chatzidakis et al., 2012; Carolan, 2007) and embodiment (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011; DeLind, 2009). These contextual dimensions, both independently and as intertwining, remain largely ignored. Engagement

with ethical consumption needs to be contextualised in relationships with other people, things and ideas that inhabit the social, physical and embodied space of consumers. Thus, the following section explores the dynamic between embodiment, identity, learning and place.

2.5 The body in consumption: embodied experience, identity and place

To talk about identity, we must consider the 'body' in which it dwells. The concern for how we experience the world in an embodied way draws specifically from phenomenology. This is the study of phenomena as they appear in human experience; particularly the experientially realised meanings that things have (Küpers, 2013). The very term phenomenology itself derives from the two Greek words, phenomenon (appearance) and logos (reason or word) (Smith, 2013). Accordingly, classical phenomenology, as advocated by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), approaches phenomena by studying conscious experience from the subjective or first-person point of view (Küpers, 2008). From a phenomenological perspective, individuals are first and foremost embodied beings (Küpers, 2008). This perspective implies that we can never experience things or encounters independently of our lived experiences as bodily engaged beings.

Hayes-Conroy & Martin's (2010) argue that the concept of 'identity' describes the relationship between consumption and class, ethnicity, culture, or nation. In that sense, identities become manifestations of both embodied experiences and embodied social norms. For example, Dupuis (2000) and Goodman & DuPuis's (2002) findings indicate that ethical issues like GMO or animal welfare are experienced in embodied ways that are reflective of individuals' identities: eating GMO products can be linked with ones' sense of wellbeing and a feeling of risk while eating meat for some is seen as an intrusive bodily experience (Jansen, 2016).

Research inspired by the lived body and lived experience has been significant in demonstrating the intimate and necessary connections between body, experience, and identity. Larson et al.'s (2014) study on food illustrates the inherent connection between embodiment and sense-making and vice versa. Alternatively, Hayes–Conroy & Martin (2010) use the term 'visceral' (p. 272) to describe how embodied experiences are: 1. created at the intersection of the body and social structures (biosocial), 2. they are negotiated between matter and discourse, 3. they are developing in relation to past bodily

experiences and they are 4. heterogeneous and constantly redefined based on new experiences. Food consumption as an embodied experience becomes 'meaning' at the crossover between the social and the physical world.

Goodman and Sage (2016) emphasise that the act of eating food forms intimate relationships between feelings and affects in the body, such as visceral aspects of taste, appearance, smell and touch, as well as pleasure, disgust, authenticity, place, production and power. The body is seen as a central element of consumption that is active in the construction of consumers' habits (Warde, 2014), such as, knowledge of food health risks (DuPuis, 2000) and the performance of energy-reducing actions (Wallenborn & Wilhite, 2014). Our senses, for example, immediately mediate our relationship with food and lived experience, and we can see in the marketing literature (Hwan et al., 2014; Peng, 2018) that consumer behaviour is intimately linked with how we respond to physical stimuli when it comes to food – portions size, auditory, smell. They establish that immediate sensory simulations are an essential mechanism for feeling full and provide evidence that simple evaluations can produce sensory-specific feelings (Larson et al., 2014). Similarly, Peng (2018) proposes that touching an object can result in a concrete mental product construal by decreasing the perceived psychological distance of products; consequently, touch interfaces can shift consumers' attentions to product feasibility considerations, whereas non-touch interfaces shift consumers' attentions to product desirability considerations.

Embodiment is also seen as a way of learning and acting through lived situations (Joy & Sherry, 2003). The living body mediates between internal and external, subjective and objective as well as individual and collective experiences and meanings of learning. This body-mediated process coordinates the relations between individual behaviour, social relations and artefacts, and institutions, including, through language and communication as expressive media of inter-relation (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 197).

Alaimo (2010, p. 2) thus suggests that: "Potential ethical and political possibilities emerge from the literal contact zone between human corporeality and more-than-human nature". This indicates that the interaction between our bodies and our world can be a source of new sensibilities towards the environment and of ethical possibilities. Some authors have indeed argued that the key to encouraging ethical consumption behaviour is through facilitating embodied and experiential learning (Carolan, 2007) and through embodied connections with food and nature (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011; DeLind, 2009). Maiteny's (2002) study highlights that those who identified as ethical consumers felt more

emotionally connected and interrelated with their human or natural contexts. Intuitively, this resonates with a range of perspectives that centre on the experiential nature of learning and consumption.

Moreover, Hayes-Conroy & Martin (2010) suggest that political ideas, beliefs and self-definitions demand an embodied resonance in order to activate various kinds of ethical considerations. They refer to this bodily resonance as a 'visceral process of identification' and, through an investigation into the Slow Food (SF) movement, they reveal specific instances of how consumers experienced their engagement with slow food in an embodied way and as an alignment between their beliefs and their bodily actions. Hayes-Conroy & Martin (2010, p. 275) argue that "a visceral engagement with food (in all of its biological and social aspects) helps to form a basis for commitment to Slow Food as a means to foster similar future food engagement." This argument supports both DeLind's (2006) and Carolan's (2007) argument that bodily connections with food could form a basis for commitment to ethical forms of consumption.

2.5.1 Non-representational knowledge and ethical consumption

Wenger (1998) argues, that without actual behaviour, the build-up of knowledge is likely to be impaired and for the acquisition of practical skills, actual doing is essential. Knowledge in relation to ethical consumption further includes the process by which ethics come to intersect with everyday consumption activities – either by learning from others or from experience.

The relationship between embodiment and learning has often been described as a non-conceptual form of knowledge, different in kind from other types of knowledge (Boucekkine et al., 2003; Thrift, 2008). Non-representational knowledge is derived from non-representational theory, a branch of cultural geography that criticise assumptions that knowledge can be adequately represented through shared language and abstractions (Thrift, 2008). Non-representational knowledge thus focuses our attention on the automatic bodily knowledge through which our lives are mediated (Carolan, 2007; Canniford et al., 2018). Actions are understood less as a discursive process of identity work and more as an on-flow of interaction between environments and individuals – an embodied connectivity with others and the environment. Carolan (2007) illustrates how non-representational knowledge and an embodied understanding of nature and the environment is linked with

ethical consumption commitments. This suggests that non-representational knowledge can develop new sensitivities towards the natural environment.

Carolan (2007) proposes the concept of 'tactile space' as a way to capture the process and context of developing sensibilities towards the natural environment through sensory encounters with food and nature:

> "Tactile space offers a spatially sensuous supplement to the limited representational knowledge we have of the world by its ability to nurture non-representational knowledge" (p. 1265)."

Carolan (2007, p. 1267) describes tactile spaces as "not about creating a space for seeing and touching, as a literal interpretation of the term 'tactile' might suggest. Instead, they imply both embeddedness and embodiedness." Thus, tactile space involves interconnections among people (i.e., social embeddedness) and physical negotiations with environmental surroundings (i.e., physical embodiedness). In tactile spaces, individuals "see, taste, touch, smell and hear for themselves the phenomena around which knowledge claims are being made" (Carolan, 2007, p. 346, emphasis original). Carolan (2007) argues that tactile space helps to bridge the epistemic distance we experience in much of our consumption discussed in section 2.3.1, by restoring a feedback process between our actions and the natural environment and by situating knowledge about food production in practical experiences. As a result, individuals involved in tactile spaces develop ethical consumption commitments (Carolan, 2007).

DeLind (2006, p. 127) similarly makes a case for the interdependence of the cultural and the biological, the sensual experience of food and the scientific nature of it. She argues for re-situating food within the realm of meaning derived from the physical experiences of the body. She writes on consumers engagement with "local food" movements, and she warns that local food is in danger of being reduced to yet another consumption choice as opposed to one derived from broader ethical considerations. As DeLind (2006, p.126) argues, connections to food and the environment are useful for overcoming the 'abstract thingness' of food and the narrow self-interest that often drives individuals to consume locally or organically.

> "Without an emotional, a spiritual, and a physical glue to create loyalty, not to a product, but to layered sets of embodied relationships, local will have no holding power. It will be reconfigured by market rationality into new consumable products,

entertainments, and exchangeable and interchangeable attributes (e.g., historic villages, theme parks, green franchises, eco-tourism)".

Turner (2011) similarly argues that those who experience embodied connections to food and nature embrace embodied forms of sustainable urban living like seasonal eating and organic growing.

2.5.2 Ethical consumption and sense of place

How ethical consumption is perceived, interpreted, experienced and appropriated by different individuals is situated in a micro - one's kitchen or in a shopping situation and macro context - in relation to the food system as a whole, extending from local level constructions - to global level food politics (Shove et al., 2012; Warde, 2014). Chatzidakis et al. (2012) demonstrate that how we relate to our surrounding physical context is essential to questions of ethical consumption. Place and space in consumption have been researched extensively in Geography (Hall, 2011, 2015) and Marketing and their role in shaping consumer actions are widely agreed upon (Anguelovski, 2013; Burgh-Woodman & King, 2013; Chatzidakis et al., 2012).

Ethical consumption and space are linked both through experiences of connections and disconnections from space. Anguelovksi (2013) illustrates that ethical consumption behaviours can emerge out of a feeling of being decontextualised and a sense of grief at the loss of community, fears of erasure, emotional connection and feelings of responsibility towards a place. In distinguishing between space and place, this study agrees with Creswell (2004) and views space as a representational dimension that exists in-between places, where, in contrast, places are made through human meanings. Similarly, DeLind (2006) sees place as both geographic space and also as a "living force" (p.128) that holds living things in close relationships and evokes a sense of belonging. DeLind (2006) argues for "bodies in place" (p. 127) where place, instead of being an abstract notion, needs to be made meaningful for individuals in their everyday life. This can then enable new ways of thinking and feeling about food and local food. Place then is constituted through social connections and shared meanings, whereas space is seen as devoid of such intimately shared meanings. A 'sense of place' (p. 308) is a psychological construct referring to the meanings, feelings, and a sense of relationship that people attribute to a particular place (Rogers & Bragg, 2012). This distinction is visible in existing research exploring the relationship between ethical consumption and place.

Chatzidakis et al. (2012) found that those living in the Exarcheia neighbourhood in Athens had a strong place identity which had an intuitive, corporeal impact on the residents and acted as a supportive environment that allowed for a range of anti-consumption and anti-commodification actions. Chatzidakis's (2012) research shows how a sense of place facilitated socially shared understandings where anti-consumption ideas are normalised and enacted. This finding highlights the role of both the social and situated physical context in facilitating ethical consumption behaviour. However, Chatzidakis's (2012) findings are specific to permanent residential spaces, much like Moraes et al. (2012)'s study. As not many individuals have access to similar residential communities, other connections between places and ethical consumption need to be explored.

Rogers and Bragg (2012) and Maiteny (2004) further extend the role of place in ethical consumption and argue that those who adopt ethical lifestyles describe a sense of place beyond specific geographical location and also refers to a strong connection with nature and the planet as a whole. Dutcher et al. (2007) and Franz & Meyer (2014), Davis et al. (2009), Looy (2015), Schultz et al. (2004) also show that consumers reported a high level of connectivity with nature in relation to environmental concern and ethical behaviour. Their findings indicate that ethical consumption behaviours are anchored in our relationship with and sense of place, which can include nature, the planet as well as our specific geographical locations.

The above conceptualisations of embodiment (DeLind, 2006; Turner, 2011), tactile space (Carolan, 2007) and sense of place (Rogers & Bragg, 2012) have helped anchor the relationship between embodiment and ethical consumption. Their foregrounding of embodied experiences, however, does not reveal how embodiment and forms of ethical consumption intersect beyond specific spaces or places (Carolan, 2007) or beyond mere abstract notions (DeLind, 2006). Carolan's (2007) and DeLind's (2010) studies, for example, both look at consumers involved in CSAs, and although they reflect and report an embodiment dimension of involvement in food growing (Carolan, 2007), these transformations or connections do not necessarily reflect in consumers' lifestyles. It remains unexplored in the studies above (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011) whether embodied connections with food and nature have any long-term significance for consumers or if they translate into meanings beyond the boundaries of these contexts. Moreover, an individual's involvement to some of these experiences like CSAs is already a form of consumer action which indicates consumers may already align with ethical consumption principles. These

aspects further support the need to investigate whether individuals are who are not already ethically concerned foster similar embodied connections with food and nature.

2.5.3 Self-identification and reflexivity among ethical consumers

The studies considered above highlighted the range of factors that embed ethical consumption consideration in everyday consumption behaviour like knowledge and learning, collective norms, identity and embodied experiences. Marshall (2005, p. 69) notes however that "much of our engagement with food is unspectacular and inconspicuous, undertaken in private, and regulated by a series of unspoken rules regarding eating". In fact, Halkier (2001) contends that most everyday consumption practices are as often, if not more frequently, characterized by habits and routine as by intentional reflection and choice' (p26). This is widely visible in consumption practices, and Bray (2010) notes that even when price considerations were removed participants still seemed to behave habitually in their choices. In daily life, the tendency to act on habits is compounded by everyday demands, including time pressures, distraction, and self-control depletion.

This means that everyday consumption behaviour is shaped by habits. Habit has been widely researched in consumer studies and denotes those acts that once learned; they become automatic responses to situations, which can be functional in obtaining specific goals or end-states (Hull, 1943; James, 1890; Triandis, 1977). Habits are often unreflexive and unconscious (Verplannken, 2006).

Nonetheless, habits are not immune to new knowledge and deliberative processes. Ultimately, habits are mainly learned as people pursue goals in daily life, and they are broken through the strategic deployment of effortful self-control (Wood et al., 2005). Carrington et al. (2014) illustrate how the infrastructure underlying ethical consumption habits is complex, negotiated and challenging to construct. They discuss the process of developing ethical habits as a laborious task: "Desiring to consume ethically, informants often seek consumption choices outside the mainstream market offering. [...] alternatives must be found, such as finding new stores and negotiating transport options" (Carrington et al., 2014, p 2763). This suggests then that breaking old habits and forming new ethical shopping habits requires the redefinition of entire behavioural patterns, processes, and dimensions (Carrington et al., 2014) and is a process of deliberate action on consumers' part.

Hobson (2003) also argues that habits can be changed through a discursive knowledge approach. By becoming pro-active in their actions consumers critically analyse their personal ethical concerns and self-concepts, which initiates customized perceptions and personalized practices of ethical consumption (Cherrier, 2007).

Giddens (1991), however, argues that much of the knowledge embedded in everyday life is a 'hidden' kind of knowledge called practical consciousness. This practical consciousness characterises routine activities that create the recursive nature of social life. It enables consumers to get on in everyday life without having to engage in self-inquiry at every moment, e.g. how do I walk work or school? How do brush I my teeth? These are things we 'just' know. Giddens (1991) argues that this knowledge is embodied and experienced in the flow of daily practices and not a cognitive form of knowledge. Alongside this practical consciousness is the awareness with which individuals think and talk called a discursive consciousness. The challenge is then to bring knowledge that is hidden into consumers' awareness and discursive consciousness.

As is evident from the literature reviewed above, many studies (Cherrier & Murray, 2007; Carrington et al., 2015; Burningham & Venn, 2017) focus on the deliberate efforts of those who already self-identify as ethical consumers to change their consumption. These consumers reflexively and consciously enact their ethical consumption identities. They are reflexive of their consumer roles; they distinguish between wants and needs and make deliberate choices.

Reflexivity, however, does not manifest in a social vacuum but reflects the gender, race, and class stratification of the broader social context (Barnett et al. 2005b; Guthman, 2003). So far, the focus on reflexivity and self-identified ethical consumers has led to a privileging of certain socio-economic groups in ethical consumption research (Adams & Raisborough, 2008). Johnston & Szabo (2011) warn that such findings can serve to elevate the moral and intellectual superiority of economically privileged consumers while positioning other consumers as "slovenly and uncritical" (p. 306). Lynch & Giles (2013) and many others (Sassateli & Davolio, 2015) draw attention to the limited critical examination of the underlying relations of power and inequality that shape discourses of ethical consumption. For example, Hall (2015) and Sassateli & Davolio (2010) argue that ethical consumption behaviours are often specific to a niche set of consumers identified according to their social class and position, education, age, and profession: middle-class, educated and female.

Wealthy and highly educated consumers may have more exposure to information about the food system through their formal education than less affluent consumers and may thus have more information (and financial resources) with which to be reflexive (Johnston & Szabo, 2011). Johnston et al. (2011), for example, illustrate how socio-economic characteristics shape individuals' understanding of ethical consumption issues. In their study, those with higher levels of education (but not necessarily higher income) were more familiar with ethical issues and incorporated them significantly into their food consumption (Johnston et al., 2011). Adams & Raisborough (2008) also illustrate that higher education can indicate a better understanding of ethical issues which further aids engagement with ethical behaviour. External barriers like access to education and opportunities for participation in ethical consumption activities segregate ethical consumption activities into a different set of consumption activities and isolate them from those for whom access is limited (Harrison et al., 2005; Seyfang, 2007). Ethical consumption, according to Adam's (2010), rather than being a manifestation of altruistic ethics, becomes a way to display belonging to the middle classes and a form of virtue signalling.

The focus on self-identified (and affluent consumers) has led to an obscured understanding of how consumers from a range of socio-economic backgrounds – not just affluent ones engage with ethical consumption. Moreover, while we know much about how self-identified ethical consumers engage with ethical consumption in everyday life – their negotiations and contradictions, little is known about how other kinds of consumers make sense of ethical consumption knowledge and norms. This indicates that more work is needed to uncover the experiences of those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers when they learn about ethical consumption issues, behaviours and norms.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined a range of ethical consumption research that contributes to our understanding of how individuals incorporate ethical consumption concerns in everyday activities. This study considers ethical consumption to be motivated by a range of concerns: environmental, ecological and others which relate to the implications of one's actions (Harrison et al., 2006). This study also acknowledges that consumers engage with ethical consumption in complex ways (Barnett et al., 2005b). While these advances in ethical consumption research have furthered our understanding of how consumers engage with certain ethical issues, it is evident that consumers' adoption of ethical behaviours

remains isolated to specific groups (Thøgersen & Crompton, 2009; Prothero et al., 2010). This section highlights several theoretical gaps in the existing literature.

Firstly, this review explored the role of knowledge and collectivity in relation to ethical consumption. Knowledge and learning are seen as essential in shaping ethical consumption behaviour (Longo et al, 2017). Research suggests that collective environments serve to embed norms and guide individual action (Moraes et al., 2012; Shove, 2003). Nonetheless, much of this research is focused on residential ethical consumption communities and workplace environment. It needs to be further explored if learning ethical consumption and ethical consumption norms continue to guide individual action across different contexts. This thesis aims to understand how learning and participating in collective environments overlaps with consumers lifestyles outside of these contexts and to explore other kinds of collective environments beyond residential and workplace contexts.

Furthermore, this chapter considered how embodied connections with food and the environment could develop ethical consumption behaviours (Carolan, 2007; DeLind, 2006, 2010). Some research has argued that embodied connections to the environment can lead to ethical consumption commitments (Carolan, 2007) and identification with ethical consumption (Hayes – Conroy & Martin, 2010). Some of these explorations, however, acknowledged that individuals might already be ethically concerned (Carolan, 2007), which challenges the claim of transformations in behaviours and identities. Moreover, the capacity for embodied connections to food and nature to affect consumers' lifestyles beyond specific contexts such as community supported agriculture (Carolan, 2007) and community gardens (Turner, 2011) has not been explored. Thus, this thesis aims to consider how embodied engagement with food and the environment is made sense of by consumers who are not already ethically concerned beyond the studied context.

Lastly, this review found that much of the literature in ethical consumption research is focused on those who self-identify as ethical consumers and often belong to a specific demographic group (Johnston & Szabo, 2011). This study seeks to respond to this limitation and examine how individuals from a range of socio-economic contexts relate to the process of learning ethical consumption behaviours.

Overall, the themes explored in this review highlight the importance of detangling the links between knowledge, embodiment and identity so we can understand how individuals make sense of ethical consumption knowledge in relation to their wider consumption ethics.

Moreover, the role of practical and experiential knowledge remains hidden in much of the literature – the focus is on abstract knowledge. By exploring the dynamic between ethical consumption and embodied and practical knowledge, this study contributes to a core problem in ethical consumption research, which is to understand better how aspects of ethical consumption can become salient and incorporated into one's lifestyle.

Community gardens are often positioned as places of ethical consumption (Turner, 2011), as sites of experiential knowledge and collective learning (Glover, 2004; Glover et al., 2005), and places of embodied connections with food and nature (Hale et al., 2011). They are also used by a range of participants across socio-economic contexts and for various reasons other than ethical consumption concerns (Guitart et al., 2012). Because of this, community gardens are used in this study as sites for investigating how engagement with ethical consumption behaviours intersects with the lifestyles of those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers. The following chapter examines the nature of community gardens as places of ethical consumption that cater to a broad range of participants.

Chapter 3 - Exploring ethical consumption in community gardens

3.1. Introduction

For much of our known history, most humans have traditionally lived and grown food on land for subsistence and some still believe that there is such a thing as a "primaeval" need to connect with the earth and its soils, plants, and animals (DeLind, 2010; Turner, 2011; Turner et al., 2011). Since the urbanisation that followed the Industrial Revolution, this connection has slowly eroded (Turner et al., 2011). DeLind (2006) and others (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011; Dowler et al., 2009) believe that rekindling our connection with food in cities has become an issue of paramount importance in our efforts to challenge overconsumption. To that effect, Turner (2011) argues that community gardens in urban areas can restore our ecological connection with food and the environment by giving us access to activities and experiences of food we could not access otherwise. This chapter follows this argument and builds on the concepts of collective contexts and embodiment explored in chapter 2 to examine the relationship between community gardens and ethical consumption. Section 3.2 discusses motivations for involvement in community gardens. Section 3.3 discusses the dynamic between ethical consumption and production in community gardens. Section 3.4 considers the collective nature of learning in community gardens and the potential for shared experiences of engaging with ethical consumption to shape individual identities. Section 3.5 concludes this chapter.

3.2 Community gardens and motivations for engagement

Over the last decades, the topic of community gardens has been the focus of studies across different disciplines within social sciences, ranging from sociology (Martinez, 2002), anthropology (Von Hassell, 2002; Landman, 1993), political science (Nettle, 2010; Gröning, 1996) to cultural geography and environmental studies (Saldivar-Tanaka & Krasny 2004). Glover (2003, p. 264) defines community gardens as:

> "Organised initiative(s) whereby sections of land are used to produce food or flowers in an urban environment for the personal or collective benefit of their members who, by virtue of their participation, share certain resources, such as, space, tools and water".

This definition informs this study as it foregrounds the collective and shared nature of experiences in these contexts. This perspective complements the discussion in chapter 2, section 2.3 on collective contexts of ethical consumption. Moreover, the definition above allows for a wide range of motivations for involvement and can include multiple organisational forms. This study recognises that community gardens serve a variety of purposes for the local community (Crossan et al., 2015), and individuals engage with them for various reasons. Guitart et al.'s (2012) review of community garden research found that the most frequent motivations reported were:

> "To consume fresh foods, social development or cohesion such as community building and culture exchange, to improve health among members and to make or save money by eating from the garden or selling the produce" (Guitart et al., 2012, p. 367).

Other less common, but still essential motivations included learning, enjoying nature, environmental sustainability and enhancing spiritual practice (Alaimo et al., 2008; Baker, 2004; Kurtz, 2001). Litt et al. (2015) argue that the primary motivation of those who garden is the aesthetic enjoyment of gardening: being outside in nature, helping grow things, getting their hands dirty, the smells, the sights and stress relief. This plurality of motivations for engagement further indicates that we should pause and reflect on what constitutes our understanding of consumption. This study agrees with Warde (2005) in that consumption is not limited to the appropriation of goods but includes services, performances, information and ambience. The cumulative experience of community garden participation includes goods in terms of produce and products, but also knowledge and learning about food and food growing (Levkoe, 2006), the ambience of being in the garden and includes elements of service consumption through the gardens' provision of social and educational services (Krasny & Tidball, 2009).

Turner (2011) further argues that individuals' motivations for involvement in community gardens can also derive from ethical consumption concerns. Her study of community gardens in Australia reveals that participants' most common motivations for participating in the gardens were: a desire for independence "as an assertion of social values and ethical ideals" (p. 514), a rejection of the control supermarkets have over the type of food many urban consumers have access to and as a way of connecting to the broader world (Turner, 2011). Consumers involvement in community gardens as a form of resistance resonates with McEarchen & Wilcock's (2004) argument that there is increasing consumer

disillusionment with the current system of food provision. Moreover, Evers and Hodgson's (2011) further found that community gardeners in their study of gardening in Australia were concerned about contemporary food systems and actively engaged with urban food production and local food systems. As discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2 ethical consumption is defined in this study as purchasing and consumption that takes into consideration societal and animal welfare as well as ecological concerns, including corporate responsibility, development and Fairtrade issues, labour issues, WTO policies and globalisation (Harrison et al., 2005). Turner's (2011) and Evers & Hodgson's (2011) findings show that community gardens allow individuals to manifest their ethical consumption concerns and are valid ethical consumption contexts. Nonetheless, it is not adequately explored in both Turner's (2011) and Evers and Hodgson's (2011) studies how involvement in community food growing intersects with broader consumption behaviour. The following section brings into focus the dynamic between production and consumption in community gardens and the relevance this has to ethical consumption.

3.3 Community gardens and ethical consumption: the production-consumption dynamic

Community garden activities are often centred around food production (Stocker & Barnett, 2008). This brings into question the dynamic between production and consumption in these sites. Holloway et al. (2007) argue that production-consumption should be considered as a relational set of practices rather than as separate conceptual domains. This perspective resonates with the concept of prosumption. Toffler (1981) referred to prosumption as activities where individuals 'produce' goods and services for their own consumption rather than purchasing them from the marketplace e.g. like growing their food (Hartmann, 2016). Hartmann (2016, p. 16) argues that prosumption can be conceptualised as ''the middle point in a continuum of consumption and production''. Kotler (1986, p. 510) defined prosumers as people who prefer producing the goods and services they consume as opposed to purchasing them. Previous literature has focused on the overlap between consumption with production in the context of value creation between firms and consumers (Cova & Cova, 2012). Studies of prosumption have had a strong commercial emphasis and focused on digital forms of prosumption and the nature of 'unpaid' consumer work (Ritzer, 2014). These perspectives often indicate that all consumption carries elements of value production – thus all consumption is arguably prosumption. As a result, prosumption masks the subtleties of the underlying relationship between production and consumption.

Hartmann (2016) argues instead for the exploration of productive moments in consumption to understand those activities that concern the making and shaping of certain objects – like food growing, DIY activities. This conceptualisation informs this study which considers the production activities in the gardens in terms of productive forms of consumption.

Community gardens could be considered as sites of productive consumption where ethical considerations are embedded in these productive activities. Meyerricks (2015) describes community gardens as sites that facilitate the rehearsing of ethical practices - like food growing, composting or food preparation. She argues that community gardens promote ethical consumption principles and visions through their day-to-day food growing activities (Meyerricks, 2015). Her finding indicates that we should consider a conceptualisation of ethical production. Following Hoelscher's (2017, p. 20) definition, this study views ethical production as "consisting of sustainable practices of growing or manufacturing carried out by businesses, groups or individuals that aim not to harm the environment, animals, employees or consumers in the process". This extends the scope of ethical consumption activities in community gardens to include both consumption and production.

Shaw et al. (2016) build on the production elements of community gardens to highlight that participation in community gardens serves to re-establish the relations between producers, nature and community, often missing in established neoliberal market choices. Through their nature as spaces of production, community gardens are seen to subvert the current consumerist society. 'Shopping skills' in community gardens are counteracted by food growing skills, building skills, and organising skills which are challenging the 'good consumer' identity and developing individuals' competency to advance ethical production-consumption lifestyles (Shaw at al., 2016; Sassatelli, 2015). Shaw et al. (2016) argue that community gardens represent places where dominant mass consumption relations are being contested as part of a broader movement around ethical consumption.

It is clear that much of the research on community gardens (e.g. Chitov, 2006; Eizenberg, 2012a) often frames its analysis of community gardens as local solutions to the globalisation problem (Dupuis & Goodman, 2005) struggling for legitimacy against a neoliberal agenda of private development or capital interests. Studies from this strand of research focus on the importance of gardens as alternative public spaces where participants can organise, reconnect with nature, access fresh food and exercise citizenship (Crossan et al., 2016; Henderson & Hartsfield, 2009). There is an assumption in this position that gardens are "good", ethical spaces of expression and democracy.

Multiple studies, for example, examined community gardens from a social action perspective (Chitov, 2006; Clough, 2014; Eizenberg, 2012a). Some of these studies illustrate the potential of communities in driving change in land rights issues (Eizenberg, 2012b; Chitov, 2006; Clough, 2014). The evolution of New York City's community garden program is an excellent example of how social activism has resulted in the creation of city-run community gardens (Smith & Kurts, 2003). The sites are often described as unique spaces of citizenship and empowerment (Baker, 2004; Crossan et al., 2016). These studies focus extensively on the potential for collective action and collective empowerment in community gardens, and they illustrate the potential for collective action to encourage more extensive changes (Smith & Kurts, 2003; Saldivar-Tanaka, 2004).

Lynch & Giles (2013) are critical of these claims and argue that community garden initiatives often reproduce and rely on several dominant discourses: that sustainable food initiatives are empowering for those involved in them; that people engage in unsustainable eating behaviours because they are uneducated; that recipients of sustainable food initiatives are passive, and that sustainable eating is affordable for all. Pudup (2008), moreover, believes that the recent proliferation of community gardens represents a further example of rollout neoliberalism instead. Furthermore, previous research does not fully support the assertion that community food gardens can ensure locals with access to local foods and improve food security (Lynch & Giles, 2013; Kirkpatrick & Tarasuk, 2009).

McClintock (2010) argues that although community gardens can be radical spaces, a lot of them focus on individuals' reconnecting to where food comes from and on individual consumer choices, e.g. eating locally and vote with your fork. McClintock (2014) is critical of these assumptions which are based on the broader neoliberal idea that citizenship achieves its most perfect expression through consumer choices in the marketplace. The citizen consumer lens further enforces the perspective that responsibility and power lie solely with the consumer who should strive to consume in ethical ways. This perspective has been discussed extensively in the broader debate on structure vs agency (Clarke, 2008; Carrington et al., 2016).

Although ethical principles often drive community gardens and they cater to a wide range of participants, issues of inequality remain prevalent in terms of the time and effort participants can give to these spaces (McIntyre & Rondeau, 2011). These issues include labour requirements to engage in the acquisition, preservation, and preparation of local

foods which are critical factors influencing consumer food choice and local food provisioning (Lynch & Giles, 2013).

Lynch and Giles (2013) argue that we should be critical of community gardens being portrayed as sites of local sustainability in an unquestioned manner and argue that, often, these discourses reaffirm unequal social relations of power and promote exclusivist solutions based on individual choices. They argue that in local food initiates, specific individuals determine that other adults should be educated on sustainable food issues, these knowledgeable individuals identify problems that need fixing, they develop programs, and when recipients of these initiatives do not participate, they are blamed (Lynch & Giles, 2013). Glover (2004), for example, supports this and uncovers tensions between those controlling what happens in the gardens, e.g. what gets planted, who gets to access it and those on the periphery. This imbalance, in turn, perpetuates economic privilege and encourage feelings of moral superiority in those able to participate in these initiatives. Ward et al. (2004) also encourage a critical examining of the self-perceived honesty of participants in response to questions about the gardens, as well looking at the ages of volunteers to determine who is included and who excluded from participation. Wakefield et al. (2007) also found that participants in a community garden program in Toronto felt increased stress in their lives due to fears over vandalism, litter and lack of appreciation and some expressed concerns over the safety of participants—especially as the majority were women.

The findings above indicate that participation in community gardens intertwines with issues of inequality and access; however, these repeatedly receive less attention than the value and meaning that local governments or communities as a whole attribute to these sites either compared to environmental or community goals (Eizenberg, 2012a). L'annunziata (2010) also argues that there is a trend towards universalising the characteristics and outcomes of garden spaces, which often leads to experiences within the garden space being overlooked by the literature. These studies evidence the need to critically examine overly positive discourses of sustainable food initiatives as inherently leading to participants' empowerment—discourses that could be counterproductive by creating unrealistic expectations and blinding people to the intense challenges involved (Lynch & Giles, 2013). Instead, the focus should be on understanding the lived experiences of garden participants, which can help us uncover how consumers engage with the ethical consumption and production activities in the garden.

Moreover, the use of community gardens by individuals from varied socio-economic backgrounds and with a range of motivations for participation presents an opportunity to explore the dynamics of how those consumers who are not ethically concerned respond to the ethical consumption and production goals of these sites. One avenue to explore this dynamic is to consider how individuals engage with the collective dimensions of community gardens. Milbourne (2012), sees community gardens as spaces that are environmental not just in their purposes but also in terms of the behaviours involved in the gardens and also social in terms of the areas and members involved. The following section explores in more depth how individuals engage with the learning, embodied and collective nature of the gardens.

3.4. Community gardens as places of learning ethical consumption

Krasny & Tidball (2009) argue that community gardening integrates multiple activities and skills and, thus, presents unique opportunities for multiple types of learning. Current research on community gardens has extensively described the different kinds of learning taking place in community gardens, ranging from community education and building social capital (Glover, 2004) to learning about food (Middlemiss, 2011) as well as learning about the environment (Krasny & Tidball, 2009; Looy, 2015). Krasny & Tidball (2009) have found that participants in community gardens acquire both knowledge about ecological issues and knowledge of ecological practices. Green & Duhn (2015) propose that interactions with the material elements of a garden are a vital dimension of the gardening activities as they help individuals learn the use of the food and the garden. Their study further argues that community gardens are sites of ethical learning, as they enable environmental learning to go beyond just learning about food production (Green & Duhn, 2015). This might happen because participation in community gardens is often accompanied by formalised education, including academic instruction and nutritional education programs (Krasny & Tidball, 2009; Parmer et al., 2009). Evers & Hodgson (2011) further believe that as the gardens facilitate autonomy, information sharing and involvement in decision-making, they are spaces of environmental learning that goes beyond practical environmental knowledge. Their argument brings forward the collective dimension of learning in community gardens. As has been demonstrated in chapter 2, sections 2.3 and 2.5, social learning can be an essential dimension of understanding ethical consumption commitments.

3.4.1 Collectivity in community gardens

The term 'community' in community gardening refers to the shared nature of the activities in the garden (Glover, 2004). Community gardens are characterised by the convergence of multiple individuals, joining together in diverse settings (e.g., schools, neighbourhoods, city blocks, faith communities, prisons, nursing homes and hospitals), to grow, among other things, food (Milbourne, 2012; Glover, 2004). Ferris et al. (2001, p. 560) argue that "What distinguishes a community garden from a private garden is the fact that it is in some sense a public garden in terms of ownership, access, and degree of democratic control". The social nature of community gardens has been central to the way these sites have been researched in a range of studies (Glover et al., 2005; Guitart et al., 2012; Hale et al., 2011).

Glover (2004), Nettle (2010) and Walters (2013) among others argue that community gardens are places which 1. allow individuals to identify together as a collective: neighbourhood or place, 2. they allow the build-up of shared knowledge and 3. they contain shared ways of living and working through their organisational activities, decision-making processes, the information they share and the ways that they share it and the spaces they create. Litt et al. (2015) also illustrate that as gardeners watch each other, ask questions, work together, make decisions, experiment and share results, they are continually learning from each other and creating a shared history of the garden space.

Glover (2004) further argues that the community ties that developed in the garden extended beyond the garden boundaries and led to interactions beyond the confined garden space (see also Middlemiss, 2011a). Nonetheless, Glover (2004) argues that for these relationships to extend beyond the community garden resources in these communities need to be appropriable to the garden participants. For example, in his study, different socio-demographic groups of participants had different levels of access and control over a community garden which created an imbalance of power. The question of resources and access resonates with Lynch and Giles's (2013) argument that a power imbalance in community garden participation deters individuals from fully benefiting in these sites, which includes the social connections that participants can develop in these communities. Moreover, while Glover (2004) indicates that interactions and experiences in the garden can move beyond the space, the issue remains of whether these connections interact with individuals' consumption lifestyles in any way.

A potential avenue for exploring this interaction is to consider how community garden participation relates to individuals' identities. Oswald (2007) highlights the link between the collective experiences in the garden and individuals' sense of self and argue that informal social networks in the garden, such as clubs and organisations, aid identity formation. Walter (2013) further argues that participation in community garden initiatives resonates for many participants as a collective identity within the food movement; community gardens are sites of cultural identities in their foods and design, in their ceremonies, rituals and shared beliefs about plants. Moreover, Kiesling and Manning (2010) have found that community gardens are ways for gardeners to express their relationship with the environment and his/her ecological identity for example, through the use of organic gardening techniques or the use of chemical-free fertilisers and pesticides. These findings indicate that community gardens are used by participants to enact their identities, whether cultural, collective or ethical. It needs to be futher explored then how individuals negotiate these identities alongside a plural sense of self and how they intersect with their consumption lifestyles outside of these contexts. To understand the dynamic between community garden engagement and individuals' sense of self, the following section explores the role of embodiment in this dynamic.

3.4.2 Embodied connections and place identification in community gardens

> "Engagement in embodied practices is shown to contribute to the development of an embodied form of sustainability whereby participants, through individual engagement and re-creations of place are able to reconnect to the food system and engage with the urban landscape in new, productive, and more sustainable ways" (Turner, 2011, p. 510).

 In Turner's (2011) study, embodied connections to food and place constitute an antidote to the disconnection that we experience from food consumption and food production. Moreover, the experience of seeing where food comes from, of expanding understanding of the variety of plant species available to eat, of learning how plants develop and grow and are eaten, may also be a revelation to community gardeners, in itself an 'environmental act' which raises environmental consciousness towards a more eco-centric worldview (Mayer-Smith et al., 2007).

Looy (2015) further argues that community gardens provide a potential source for exposure to nature, which could lead to place attachment. Participation in the garden is seen to facilitate this connection with nature as participants develop a tacit aesthetic understanding of the processes and rhythms of nature (Hale et al., 2011). Hale et al. (2011) further argue that gardeners enjoy the way vegetables taste and form emotional connections with the garden. Through their aesthetic experiences, community gardeners learn about composting materials to improve the soil, how to identify, nurture and harvest specific plants, and disease and pest control (Hale et al., 2011). Some studies argue that gardeners compared experiences such as taste in the garden with those encountered elsewhere and related their sense of 'being in the garden' to an alternative, and often more holistic, sense of well-being (Hanna & Oh, 2000; Looy, 2015).

The gardens as presented in the above section provide opportunities for individuals to learn ethical consumption behaviours and experience connections with nature (Litt et al., 2015), and in a sense, they provide the opportunity for individuals to become 'more' ethical in this process. For example, Evers and Hodgson (2011) contend that community gardens can act as sites of education and empowerment, encouraging food production and changes in food consumption habits in urban gardens. Krasny & Tidball (2009), however, questioned the potential of the learning that takes place in community gardens to transcend the physical boundaries of the garden. There was no evidence that acts of cooperation and knowledge sharing between garden participants were extended beyond the minor daily exchanges associated with routine tasks such as watering and seed sharing (Looy, 2015). These findings indicate that engagement with ethical consumption might remain confined to the garden space.

3.5. Conclusion

The community gardens literature examined in this chapter reveals that gardens are widely seen as linked with local sustainability initiatives and underpinned by ethical consumption and production principles. Community gardens, thus, are sites where participants can develop shared understandings of ethical consumption behaviours (Guitart et al., 2012). Due to this, this thesis considers gardens to be communities where individuals learn about forms of ethical consumption and production that are socially embedded and where individuals can connect with food and the natural environment (Turner, 2011). This review also revealed several gaps in our understanding.

First of all, research has shown that participation in community gardens stems from a range of considerations (Guitart et al., 2012). The literature often positions gardens against the current food and political systems (Eizenberg, 2012a; Glover et al., 2005) as providing access to food and opportunities for community development for participants from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. Moreover, community gardens are often seen as ethical through practising ethical consumption principles in their activities (Meyerricks, 2015). Nonetheless, it needs to be further explored how individuals align and comply with the ethical consumption principles and purposes of community gardens in the place itself.

Secondly, community gardens are further portrayed as sites where individuals develop collective understandings about food and the environment (L'Annunziata, 2012; Looy, 2015), where they experience embodied connections to place and a sense of community (Nettle, 2010). Glover's (2004) study further found that community ties led to interactions beyond the community garden, yet the dynamic between the activities in community garden spaces and other consumption spaces remains unexplored. This study aims to bridge that gap by examining how engagement in community gardens intersects with consumers' lifestyles.

Chapter four proposes an analytical framework that allows us to examine in-depth the intersection between individuals' experiences of ethical consumption and production, their experiences of collective and embodied learning and their consumption lifestyles. This framework focuses on how individuals come to make sense of their collective and embodied experiences in community gardens through ongoing engagement with others, through aligning with the community garden principles, and by seeing themselves as part of these communities.

Chapter 4 - Communities of practice and ethical consumption

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 considered how community gardens qualify as communities of ethical consumption and production. If ethical consumption and production are embedded in collective activities in community gardens, then they are negotiated through social interactions in the garden, and they are present in the shared histories of learning in the garden. Moreover, as participants come to learn about forms of ethical consumption like grow-your-own or eating seasonally this allows them to imagine new possibilities of consumption (Middlemiss, 2011a).

This study takes a practice learning perspective (Wenger, 1998, 2000) to explore the interplay between learning, identity and collective environments which are seen as central to how individuals engage with ethical consumption. Building on a community of practice theory, this study employs the modes of identification framework which relates to the process of identity development through participation in a community. This framework weaves together several of the important themes discussed in the previous chapters: identity, social learning and the role of norms. This study employs this framework because it allows us to understand how identities develop in a collective context through engagement with others, how norms are made sense of in the process of identification and how processes of imagination allow individuals to see images of possibilities - possible identities and alternative forms of consumption. In this way, we extend knowledge of how membership in a community intersects with individuals' consumption behaviours. This chapter's structure is as follows: section 4.2 will give an overview of practice learning, highlighting its definitions, dimensions and the concept of communities of practice as contexts of practice learning. Section 4.3 will consider the three modes of identification and discuss their role in understanding how community garden participation relates to ethical consumption behaviours. Section 4.4 concludes this chapter.

4.2. Understanding practice learning and communities of practice

> "Learning is essentially the process of socialisation into a community. Over time, the knowledge that is acquired in these communities begins to constitute both a sense of identity of oneself (as a member of that community) and becomes part of one's identity in the eyes of the others." (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 35)

This chapter starts by considering the first part of the quote above, that" learning is essentially the process of socialisation into a community" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p35). Lave and Wenger's (1991) initial concept of practice learning developed from researching apprenticeships and from trying to make sense of the informal learning involved in the process of transitioning from novice apprentice to full practitioner. Brown and Duguid (2000) equally focus on learning that happens informally in an organisation - what happens as opposed to what 'should' happen as dictated by formal structures. Practice learning draws on previous debates on the concept of situated learning, which come from a long tradition of philosophical concern about the character of the education process and role of learning in our lives and development (Hughes et al., 2013). Wenger (1998) also draws on a range of theoretical foundations for this theory and prominently on practice theory. These foundations include theories of social structure, theories of situated experience, practice theory and theories of identity. By practice, Wenger (1998, p. 5) refers to "specific ways of engaging with the world, everyday activities and real-life settings with an emphasis on the social systems of shared resources". It is important to stress that practice learning as a concept does not refer to a theory of social learning in that it does not try to explain learning or provide a theory of learning, instead, it is a broad conceptualisation of the process of learning in a social environment (Aljuwaiber, 2016).

Practice learning draws many of its theoretical underpinnings from practice theory. Practice theory, at its core, is a social theory preoccupied with routinised everyday life and its units of activities - practices. Practice theory attempts to reconcile the dichotomy between the individual (rationality or agency) and the collective (structure) discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2 (Bourdieu, 1977). It does so by arguing that individual everyday actions reproduce social structures (Gidden, 1984). Practice theory grounds phenomena like knowledge, values, feelings, emotions, and affectivities within everyday encounters (Shove et al., 2012). The research value of examining what people do in routinised

everyday life might seem obvious now but according to Reckwitz (2002), in a move away from the deterministic view of human behaviour, it was the interpretative turn of the 1970s which provided academics at the time with a conceptual alternative that was attractive to an audience dissatisfied with classical types of social theory.

While previously Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984) articulated the foundations of a theory of practice – Bourdieu to explain the concept of habitus and Giddens to reconcile the dichotomy between structure and agency, it was Schatzki's (1996) writings which set the foundation for a coherent understanding and a point of reference for the theory of practice. He identified the linking between doings and sayings as the components of practice. They are linked in three different ways: through understandings of what to say and do, through explicit rules, principles, precepts and instructions and through what he calls teleo-affective structures: embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, values, emotions and moods (Schatzki, 1996). A practice implies the simultaneous existence of the knowledge to carry out an activity and the values to drive the action.

Shove et al. (2012) further streamlines a conceptualisation of practice and describes practice at the interplay of meanings, materials and competencies. In her view, 'meanings' represent the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment (ibid). The addition of 'materials' extends the realm of practice theory beyond the individual to include things and their uses (Reckwitz, 2002). Competencies signal the know-how's and understandings surrounding what we do and how we do it – Schatzki's (1996) knowledge. Shove is expanding on Giddens' (1984) premise that the duality between agency and structure is circular as one reproduces the other in the social world. For an extensive review of practice as a theory, see Warde (2005), Reckwitz (2001) and Shove et al. (2012).

Practice theory and practice learning developed in parallel over the past decades, and there are numerous overlaps between the theories in their understanding of meanings, knowledge and materials. Shove et al. (2012) more recently, in a nod to Wenger's (1998, 2000) work, acknowledges that communities of practice are ways for practices to "recruit practitioners" and places where practices can spread. Practice as an analytical framework has been applied in researching ethical consumption by studies like Hargreaves's (2011), Halkier's (2001), Carolan's (2009), Hobson's (2010), Shove's (2010), Shove & Warde (2002) and Røpke's (2009). Practice theory has furthered our understanding of the limited uptake of ethical consumption behaviours. Martin et al. (2005), for example, draws attention to the habitual nature of everyday practices like showering, which makes water-reducing

behaviour difficult to encourage. Hobson (2003) also argues that ethical consumption practices can be encouraged when knowledge interventions are relevant to individuals' everyday consumption practices and their environments.

Røpke (2009), however, notes that there are several challenges when using a practice theory approach. Firstly, a practice theory approach often places the analysis of the history and development of practices at the focus of research which leads to agency, and particularly structure, to be relegated to more subordinate roles. Moreover, as the philosophical roots of practice theory are often abstract, this makes the application in empirical studies challenging, for instance, it is not so obvious how to delimit a practice (Røpke, 2009). There is frequent ambiguity in the boundaries of a practice – for example, are eating and cooking different practices or are they part of the same practice? What are the boundaries of each practice? Is ethical consumption, in itself, a practice? Practice theory is also at odds with any causal explanation of individuals' tendency to consume more and more, whether this is based on optimisation of utility, social status or as an extension of consumption identities. While this is beneficial on one side as practice theory forces us to consider consumption actions and behaviours as structurally situated in a historical time and space, it also leaves little room for exploring individuals' own meanings and narratives of consumption.

Practice learning and communities of practice as a subfield in practice theory are explicitly focused on the meanings that are created through collective participation and the interplay between collectivity and identity, concepts which are also central to this study. Practice learning foregrounds ways in which the learning of practices is linked with developing identities, and it allows us to explore how individuals experience these changes. Identity emerges through the layering of events and participation by which our experience and its social interpretation inform each other (Wenger, 1998; Goulding et al., 2013). Communities of practice as a framework will allow us to understand how identities develop in community gardens through a complex interweaving of participative experiences and layers of interactions which involve ethical consumption activities.

Practice learning is inherently collective, and it manifests itself through communities of practice. Communities of practice are groups of individuals 'who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis' (Wenger et al., 2002, p. 4). They occur when a community is coherent enough to store knowledge about ways of doing and understanding

that are specific to that community and exist in the social memory of its individuals (Connerton, 1989; Misztal, 2003). As members engage with each other, the knowledge becomes accessible to new members or visitors and allows community participants to develop their identity as they shape the existing knowledge and are shaped by it (Cox, 2005).

The relationship between meaning, participation and identity in communities of practice is moulded through mutual engagement, shared repertoires and joint enterprise, as illustrated in fig.4.1. These are recognised as distinct characteristics of communities of practice (Wenger, 1998, 2010) and refer to the process of engaging through participation, which creates shared understandings about the community in order to carry out shared tasks. As illustrated in Fig 4.1, the three dimensions are in constant interplay and are all critical aspects of understanding communities of practice.
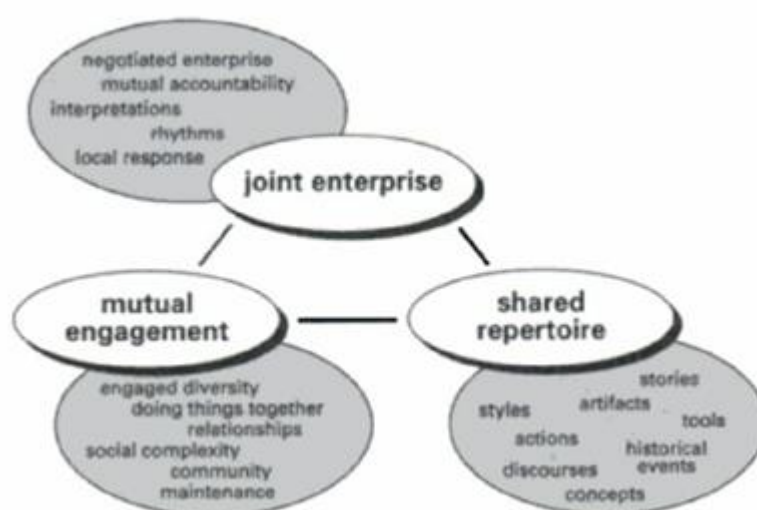
Fig 4.1 Dimensions of practice in a community (Wenger 1998, p. 73)

The first characteristic of practice as a source of community coherence is the mutual engagement of participants. Mutual engagement in communities of practice refers to ongoing interactions: doing things together, developing relationships, building a sense of community and ways of maintaining that community (Goodnough, 2009). Being included in what matters socially is a requirement for engaging in a community of practice. Engagement goes beyond just taking part in specific activities and also refers to the sense of togetherness in a community. In his study of insurance claims processing, Wenger (1998) gives the example of one employee providing snacks as a way of fostering community. Bringing snacks, while it might seem like a banal act, is a way for individuals to create shared ways of doing and being together.

The ongoing engagement in the garden helps individuals develop a shared repertoire of meaning-making about the community garden and their participation. Over time, the pursuit of an enterprise creates resources for negotiating those meanings shared in a community (Wenger, 1998). Shared repertoires are the second characteristic of a community of practice. The repertoire of a community of practice includes routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence which became part of its practice (Goodnough, 2009). These serve to create shared understandings about the community and the activities undertaken in that community.

The full complexity of mutual engagement is reflected in the joint enterprise, which is a result of a collective process of negotiation (Wenger, 1998). The participants define the new enterprise, but it is not just a stated goal, it represents the tacit understandings about what the required courses of actions are; it creates relations of accountability (fig 4.1). Joint enterprise refers to rhythms of work in communities and to how individuals interpret and make sense of both their role in the community and the community itself.

Previous literature has already established community gardens are communities of practice which display all the characteristics of a community of practice: a mutual engagement through interactions between participants, a shared repertoire of understandings of food growing, planting, tools and materials, and a joint enterprise in the form of collective participation in the garden activities (Bendt et al., 2013; Krasny & Tidball, 2009). As discussed in chapter 3 section 3.4, community gardens are places of social learning: participants learn from one another the skills necessary to carry on the community garden activities such as planting, maintaining and organising (Walter, 2013). Litt et al. (2015) also illustrate that as individuals engage with each other over time, they are creating a shared history of the community garden. Community gardens are places where individual take on coordinated joint enterprises, for example, like helping to improve the neighbourhood or taking responsibility for the maintenance of the place (Glover, 2004). This study considers community gardens to be communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production goals.

It is worth noting that community gardens can constitute different communities of practice depending on the nature of the activities observed. For example, the community garden might have staff members which constitute a separate community of practice to the volunteers and members who attend the garden activities. The various groups engage in

different activities with different purposes and develop different repertoires. The staff might have the coordinated enterprise of running the community garden, securing funding and liaising with other institutions (Meyerricks, 2015). These enterprises shape the nature of engagement, the shared language and artefacts used by the community – for example, the staff might use certain kinds of organisational tools or work towards specific organisational goals. The garden participants' leading enterprise might be focused on tending to the physical space and the food growing activities. This would shape the nature of engagement, the repertoire of understandings and the interactions in the garden.

To some extend community gardens could also be considered as consumption communities. The concept of 'community' has spurred a plethora of research in consumption research– subcultures, brand communities or tribes (Schouten & Alexander, 1995; Cova & Cova, 2002). These studies often focus on the consumption element at the centre of these communities and on the relationships between consumers, producers and resources (Chalmers Thomas et al., 2013). There is some overlapping work between consumption communities and communities of practice as seen in Goulding's et al., (2013) work on consumption tribes and in Gannon and Prothero's (2018) writings on beauty communities of practice and Maciel and Wallendorf's (2017) work on consumer competence. The term community of practice, however, is deemed a more adequate concept as it encompasses the fundamental role of learning in these communities which includes the ongoing process of participation, the meanings that are created in this participation and how these meanings are turned into shared histories of learning.

Practice learning, as manifested through communities of practice, has been researched extensively in education and organisational research (Boud & Middleton, 2003; Edwards, 2005; Hodkinson & Hodkinson, 2004). The literature shows a wide variety of structures of communities of practice, which range from voluntary informal networks (Duguid, 2005) to work-supported formal education sessions (Ardichvili et al., 2003), and from apprentice training (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to multidisciplinary multi-site project teams (Zhang & Watts, 2008). Li et al.'s (2009) review of the research on practice learning identified themes like social interaction, knowledge sharing, knowledge creation, and identity-building as the common foci of research. Practice learning as a theory has been criticised for its ambiguity at times (Boud & Middleton, 2003; Edwards, 2005) but Cox (2005) argues that the ambiguity of the theory itself has allowed for its wide-ranging applications.

While communities of practice studies initially focused on individuals' process of personal growth (Lave & Wenger, 1991; DuGuid, 2005) and the situated social construction of meaning, over the years, however, the concept became appropriated by management research in order to improve on organisations' performance. Communities of practice were used for managing the knowledge flow within organisations with the primary purpose of improving competitiveness (Li et al., 2009; Gabbay et al., 2003; Davenport & Hall, 2005). Some studies on communities of practice are concerned with the integrity and sustainability of these communities and focus on ways to improve or manage their success (Gray, 2004; Fontaine & Millen, 2004; Hildreth et al., 2000). Lave and Wenger (1991) argue, however, that there is a danger in using communities of practice as an institutionally imposed tool as they cannot be artificially created, but they can be cultivated - by creating circumstances and opportunities for individuals to engage and create shared understandings in the community. Eraut (2004) further challenges Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of a community of practice and offers examples of situations in which the environment, nature of the work, or social structure prevents or disrupts the functioning of a community of practice.

Moreover, most studies on communities of practice focus on relationships of learning in organisations rather than individuals' meaning-making. This makes it difficult to understand how exactly members of a community make sense of the learning that takes place (Boud & Middleton, 2003; Hughes et al., 2013). While studies are focused on improving knowledge sharing and organisational performance, overall there is a lack of empirical research on whether the presence of communities of practice improved the uptake of certain practices (Li et al., 2009). For example, Li et al. (2009) considered whether communities of practice could improve medical practitioners' performance through knowledge sharing and uptake of specific practices, but their findings were inconclusive. These observations indicate that there is a gap in our understanding of how participation in a community of practice impacts individual members' behaviour and activities in the community and beyond.

4.3 Modes of identification in communities of practice

Essential to our understanding of practice learning is identity development. A community of practice is "a forum where learning, meaning and identity are negotiated" (Wenger, 1998, p 47) through ongoing participation. By 'identity', Wenger (1998) means a way of

talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of communities. As individuals become members of a community of practice, they embark on a learning trajectory. Practice learning involves the process of identity building through negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in social communities. Identity is a pivot between the social and the individual. Wenger (2000) distinguishes between identity and sense of self and argues that identity in practice is a way of being in the world that is "not equivalent to one's self-image" (p.151). Goulding et al. (2013) in their study on raving consumption communities apply the framework of identification in communities of practice. Their study illustrates how layers of engagement with the world and with others build upon each other to produce one's identity (Goulding et al., 2013). This involves taking on the knowledge of how to act in that community and appropriating certain activities, understandings and beliefs.
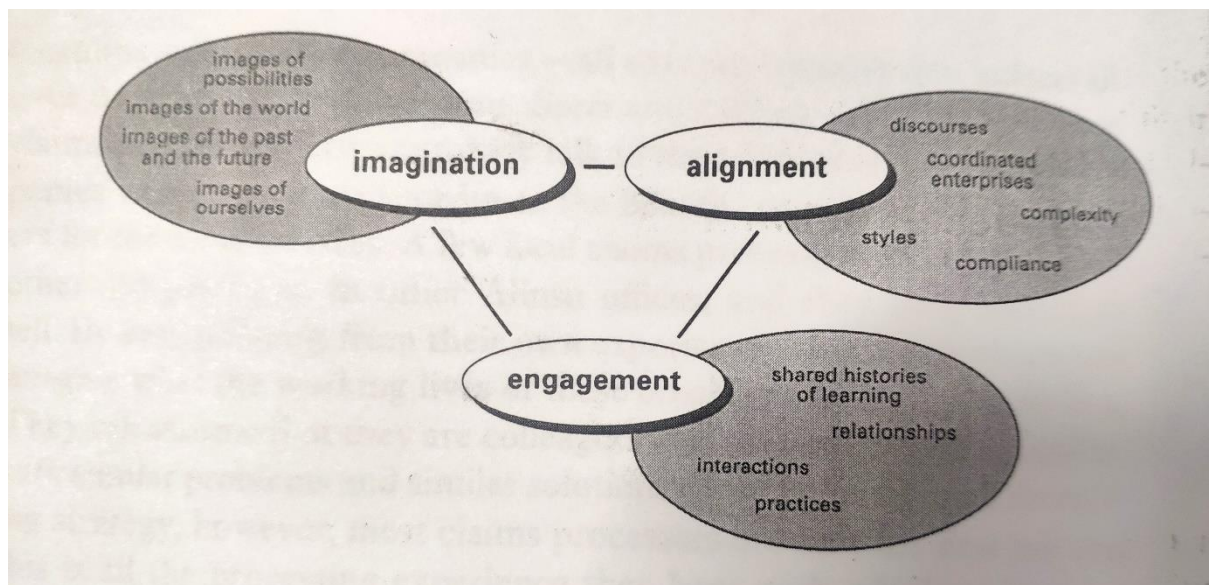
Fig 4.2 Modes of Identification in a community (Wenger, 1998/2010, p. 174)

The modes of identification framework (Wenger, 2010) (Fig. 4.2.), named modes of belonging initially, (Wenger, 1998) refers to processes of engagement, imagination and alignment and explores how individuals develop their identity in communities of practice through ongoing participation. Although the framework in fig. 4.2 has only been applied by Goulding et al. (2013) in consumer research, the relationship between identity and community has been documented extensively in consumption studies (Moraes et al., 2012; Belk, 1988; Schouten, 1991). The following section will draw on these to strengthen the coherence of the three modes of identification in relation to ethical consumption and communities.

4.3.1 Engagement

Engagement is an essential part of the process of identification. This process includes the ongoing negotiation of meaning, the formation of trajectories – how participants progress from novices to experts within a community and the unfolding of histories of practice – the shared understandings and ways of doing stored in the social memory of the garden (fig.4.2) (Wenger, 2000). Chapter 3 section 3.3 suggested that community gardens are places where people can gather, network, and identify together as residents of a neighbourhood. Yotti & Townsend (2006), for example, argue that community gardens are often more about the community than they are about gardening.

Community gardens are also places of developing relationships and ongoing interactions (fig 4.2). For example, one of the participants from Glover et al.'s study (2004, p. 150), pointed out, "you're not working in silence." Ivan, a core group member, shared the same sentiment: "When you know them, find out something special about them, or maybe they shared something with you, you come together" (Glover et al., 2004, p. 150). The quotes indicate that community gardens are places where shared trajectories of learning can unfold. Alaimo (2016) also argues that interactions between individuals within and surrounding community gardens leads to increased neighbourhood social interaction, support, and involvement and has been shown to generate mutual trust and shared expectations to intervene for the common good of the neighbourhood. The garden, in other words, encouraged people to grow closer by providing a collective initiative, as well as a physical context, in which they could socialise together, yet also achieve other aims. Middlemiss's (2011a) findings also indicate how participants experience shared trajectories of learning in relation to ethical consumption knowledge: "because in the community garden, we work on the compost, I now know hands-on how to manage a compost" (p. 274).

Engagement as a form of identification is also useful when talking about ethics in consumption; for example, Moraes et al. (2012) highlights that social engagement in ethical consumption activities is an essential element of guiding individual action. Hargreave's (2011) study on workplace environmental champions suggests that colleagues who shared the same working room began jointly to remind one another to switch appliances off. His findings illustrate how continuous engagement in the workplace serves to reinforce individuals' identity as ethical consumers (Hargreaves, 2011). This

reinforcement also further illustrates the role of social context and alignment to social norms in constructing ethical identities, as discussed in chapter 2, section 2.4.

A pressing question in the practice learning literature is how collective engagement in a community of practice extends beyond the boundaries of the community (Handley et al., 2006). Bendt et al. (2013) claim that community garden experiences allow for incorporating nature into everyday practices, but there is no exploration of this beyond the boundaries of these communities. Krasny and Tidball's (2009) study also focuses on environmental education in community gardens as communities of practice, and although they discuss engagement in social learning outside of the garden, they do not consider how experiences in the gardens intersect with other activities, if at all. Both Krasny and Tidball (2009) and Bendt et al. (2013) discuss the potential for gardens to change behaviour; however, their research does not follow on that potential.

Wenger's (1998) writings show, on the one hand, that the knowledge that is socially created in a community of practice is confined to the boundaries of the community. On the other hand, the initial framework (Wenger, 1998) proposes that community boundaries can be broken through objects in the community which carry various meanings and understandings across communities of practices. For example, in the garden, materials, tools and food are used by volunteers, participants and staff. These objects might carry different meanings for the different groups.

Moreover, while the modes of identification framework should account for engagement with the physical world, the broadness and ambiguity of the theory mean this engagement is not fully articulated. When Wenger asks "What if we were to adopt a perspective that places learning in the context of our lived experience of participation in the world? "(1998, p. 3) he means a specific lived experience–a social one. He refers to "embodied experience" (Wenger, 1998, p. 68) without qualifying what he means by embodied. McGregor (2004) further criticises the assumptions in practice learning that space is only created through collective engagement. Meaning-making in communities of practice is derived not only from collective participation but also through interactions with space (McGregor, 2004), embodied actions and experiential process (Küpers, 2013). Hindmarsh and Pilnick's (2007) study on embodied ways of 'doing' among anaesthetists highlights the essential role of the body as a resource for real-time coordination in individuals' experience of known routines in a community of practice. Their study is valuable in furthering our understanding of how embodiment aids collective activities. The focus of

their study, however, is on the activities and materials used, rather than on an understanding of how individuals make sense of the learning experience. This perspective is essential because, as discussed in chapter 2 section 2.5, how consumers come to make sense of their embodied experiences of food can have implications for their future consumer behaviours. As discussed in chapter 3 section 3.3.2 and chapter 2 section 2.5 embodiment is an essential dimension of both the experiences in community gardens but also of how we can encourage ethical consumption.

4.3.2 Alignment

Alignment refers to the process through which participants comply with the expectations and discourses of the community (fig 4.2). It involves coordinated activities that are performed in order to fit within broader structures and contribute to the broader community enterprise (fig 4.2). Through alignment, we become part of something big because we do what it takes to play our part (Wenger, 2000).

In ethical consumption studies, norm and compliance play an essential role. Andorfer (2013) illustrates how individuals buy Fair Trade products because of the perceived behavioural expectations that are bound to the image of ethical consumers. Norms can be defined as '[....] cultural phenomena that prescribe and proscribe behaviour in specific circumstances' (Hechter & Opp, 2001, p. xi). As argued in chapter 2.3, individuals adhere to these rules because they expect negative or positive social sanctioning (social norm) or personal cognitive dissonance (personal norm) if they do not comply. Alignment thus refers to internalising cultural and social norms and what is deemed appropriate at any given time (Autio et al., 2009).

In community garden research, Hale et al. (2011) for example, argue that participants invest time and effort into their plots to make them look a certain way, reflecting their desire to share their aesthetic impressions with other community garden participants. The emphasis on expression suggests that there is a shared expectation among the community garden participants about the aesthetics of their plots (Hale et al., 2011). In community gardens, alignment might also refer to how participants comply with organic growing and waste reduction norms (Turner, 2011; Walter, 2013).

Wenger (1998) however, argues that 'following the law of the land' and complying with reified institutional requirements – formal rules or guidelines, does not require involvement

with the source of these standards or definitions of competence. For example, when talking about claims processors, he considers that their professional identity does not congeal into any global or political activism beyond their local engagement in work (Wenger, 1998). In that sense, alignment as compliance and coordinated enterprises seems unreflexive. Turner's (2011) study similarly illustrates how this kind alignment is present in community gardens. Participants in community gardens in Australia were negotiating the increasing normative pressure in the community gardens to reduce their water consumption. Some individuals responded to this pressure by complying with the new expectations while others, however, rejected them.

From a consumer research perspective, Schouten and McAlexander (1995) further argue that membership to consumer groups is defined by the adherence to the group norms and values and through maintenance of the group ideology. Ideology in this context is built upon a set of core values that are reflected in the meanings attributed to specific consumption objects and their usage. In community gardens, previous research hints that participants experience an ideological alignment with the values existent in the gardens. For example, Glover et al.'s (2004, p. 150) study indicates how participants coordinate their enterprise in the community garden in a thoughtful and deliberate way: "that's really how the garden kind of evolved, because of the tight neighbourhood network and people all pulling together to try to improve the situation". Their quote displays both the coordinated activities - people "pulling together" and a shared understanding of the broader enterprise that they were participating in - "to improve the situation."

This kind of alignment which involves both compliance with the expectations of a community but also an ideological alignment is at odds with Wenger's (1998) conceptualisation which does not consider the need for an ideological alignment. This discrepancy suggests there is scope for developing a more nuanced understanding of how identities develop in communities of practice when there is an ideological alignment with the community values. Notably, this discrepancy indicates that we should explore the overlap between identity as ways of doing and self-identity – how individuals see themselves in the community. As discussed in section 2.3 and 3.3.3, social norms – when internalised, help embed and normalise ethical consumption behaviours (Moraes et al., 2012) and help individuals develop collective identities (Oswald, 2007). This is crucial for encouraging engagement in ethical consumption behaviours. How consumers come to align or mis-align with the ethical principles that underpin many of the garden activities in

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a reflexive is vital for understanding whether these principles intersect with individuals' broader consumption lifestyles.

4.3.3 Imagination

Imagination is an essential component of our experience of the world and our sense of place in it (Wenger, 1998). Scott (1993) lamented that as consumer researchers, we have closed off what is an essential aspect of the human mental experience: the work of imagination. Wenger (1998, fig 4.2) refers to imagination in communities of practice as creating new images of the world and ourselves and generating new relations that becomes constitutive of the self.

Imagination as a concept can be traced back to Aristotle's notion of 'Phantasia', and its Latin translation has historically had an essential role in all forms of thinking (Martin, 2004). Joy and Sherry (2003) assert that the use of imagination is an essential activity of consumption. Belk and Costa's (1998) study on the mountain men - a re-enactment community, illustrates how powerful imagination can be in consumption and community and uncovers the symbolic potential of objects to act as non-verbal signifiers of a shared community identity. In that sense, shared material symbols mark out boundaries for a particular consumption community that differs from the outside world. Imagination in communities helps to establish a sense of shared identity as participants develop an image of themselves in the community in relation to past and possible selves.

Anderson (1983) suggests that all communities larger than small villages are virtually imagined. To date, however, a lot of the research in consumer studies (Ilouz, 2009; Martin, 2004; Spears & Yazdanparast, 2014) is concerned with a particular perspective on imagination; that of consumer escapism. In ethical consumption research, arguably imagination serves to allow individuals to connect their role as consumers with the impact of their consumption. Furthermore, Shaw (2007) argues that ethical consumers can constitute themselves as part of imagined communities. The implications of ethical consumption are often "unseen" in terms of individual impact and short-term outcomes, which often leads ethical consumers to imagine themselves as part of a broader ethical consumption community and find reassurance (Shaw, 2007). Shaw and Riach (2011) also found that identifying as part of a community is particularly crucial for ethical consumers as the identification of "fellow members" of the ethical consumption movement could help to modify or reproduce ethical practices.

Although the sense of community felt by ethical consumers may be considered real, their connection is based on imagined relationships (Anderson, 1983). Arguably, imagination in ethical consumption is what Johnston and Szabo (2011) describe as part of our reflexivity - the ability to see yourself and your impact as part of the world. As Wenger (1998) argues, knowing that the Earth is round is not a fantasy, but it does require an act of imagination.

Wenger also (1998) concedes that identity is plural and often experienced as compartmentalised in communities of practice. This is in line with chapter 2, section 2.4's discussion on how consumers negotiated their ethical identities alongside other identities (Bauman, 2001). Handley (2015), however, claims this compartmentalisation remains unexplored and inadequately conceptualised. Handley et al. (2006) hypothesise that pre-existing identities should have a role in shaping how identities develop in the process of becoming a member of a community of practice but do not expand on this proposition. On one side, a compartmentalisation of one's involvement in a community of practice might be understandable in places like work environments or communities that specialise in specific activities like Goulding et al.'s (2013) study into rave communities or Gannon and Prothero's (2018) study into online beauty communities. Nonetheless, it needs to be further explored how developing identities and imagining oneself as a member of a community is negotiated alongside individuals' broader or plural identity.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored practice learning and the modes of identification framework. It argued that community gardens are sites of practice learning. It also showed how individuals develop their identities in communities of practice through engagement, alignment and imagination. Nonetheless, several gaps remain.

The review above showed that when individuals identify with a community, they contribute to the community's enterprise and align with the rules of conduct in a specific community. Wenger (1998) conceptualisation proposes alignment as compliance and does not consider the role of ideological alignment in the process of identification. In ethical consumption research, an ideological alignment with the values of ethical consumption is essential for guiding individual action consistently. Hargreaves' (2011) study, for example, illustrates how individuals come to align with ethical consumption principles reflexively as it becomes part of their work identity. It is not considered in Hargreaves (2011)'s study, however, whether individuals were already ethically concerned. This study aims to bridge

this gap by exploring the intersection between compliance with ethical consumption norms and alignment in community gardens. This corresponds to the first research question of this thesis.

The review above highlighted that the embodied nature of participation in community gardens as communities of practice remains obscured by the focus on participation. Nonetheless, the previous chapter has shown that embodied connections with the natural environment are an essential dimension of participation in community gardens. If community gardens are communities of practices which allow for identity development and embodied is essential to participation in community garden, embodiment could have relevance to our understanding of how identities develop in a community of practice. This study aims to bridge this gap by examining embodied forms of identification with ethical consumption in a community of practice. This corresponds to the second research question of this thesis. As a result, the scope of the modes of identification framework can extend to include how meaning is constructed from interactions and engagement with the physical world.

The literature discussed above does not consider how one's developing identity in a community of practice intersects with individuals' existing sense of self and the plurality of identities we experience. For example, Wenger argues that imagination cannot be separated from past experiences (Wenger, 1998). In food growing and ethical consumption, this means that to understand how individuals imagine themselves in regard to the garden, food and their consumption, we need to consider their current and past experiences of food and consumption. This study aims to bridge this gap in understanding by exploring how consumers imagine themselves in these communities concerning their existing personal history and sense of self. This corresponds to the third research question of this thesis. This matter is crucial towards understanding how engagement with ethical consumption intersects with consumer's identities in everyday life.

The modes of identification framework allow us to conceptualise how individuals engage and align with the ethical consumption principles and activities in community gardens through developing relationships with others, through trajectories of learning and by contributing to the community's broader enterprise. Nonetheless, this framework does not reveal whether the activities learned can extend beyond community boundaries. On one side, a compartmentalisation of one's involvement in a community of practice might be understandable in work environments or specialised communities. Nonetheless, the nature

of involvement in community gardens overlaps with activities that extend beyond these communities, like food consumption. Nevertheless, how individuals negotiated the learning developed in the gardens as communities centred around food activities alongside other consumption activities needs further exploration. Are the new meanings and understandings of food held in tension or conflict, or do they serve to reinterpret current consumption activities? This study will bridge this gap by conceptualising how learning ethical consumption behaviours intersects with individuals' consumption activities. This corresponds to the fourth research question of this thesis.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology of this thesis. This chapter begins by situating this study in the context of researching the consumer and ethical consumption specifically. This is followed by an exploration of the ontology and epistemology of this thesis, which informs the methodological approach of the study. The underpinning research philosophy is discussed and justified, and the qualitative approach within the interpretive framework is explored. Furthermore, the chapter describes the data collection and sampling process. This study uses unstructured in-depth interviews, observations and participant diaries that capture both day-to-day food consumption activities and community garden participation. Methods for analysing and evaluating data are described and explored in regard to their application in this study. Finally, the role of the researcher and emerging ethical issues are addressed.

5.2 Research aim

This study aims to examine 1. the experiences of participating in communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production principles among those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers and 2. whether participation in these communities intersects with those individuals' broader consumption activities. These aims are informed by the following questions:

5.2.1 Research questions

1. How do individuals make sense of the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens?
2. What is the dynamic between embodiment and participation in communities of practice?
3. How are participants' identities developed in communities of practice negotiated alongside other identities?
4. How does participation in community gardens intersect with consumers' lifestyle beyond these sites?

In order to address these questions, the following sections will explain the chosen research philosophy and methodology.

5.2.2 Researching consumption

Consumption is a vast area of research, and numerous methodological approaches exist within the field (Belk, 2012). Overall, studies regarding consumption have involved a range of methods including surveys, experiments, interview and focus groups, participant observation, case studies and product analysis, which are often triangulated to produce multi-method approaches. There is some agreement that studies predominantly rely on survey methods and often assume a positivistic approach to understanding consumer behaviour (Hiller, 2015). These approaches have often been criticised for failing to capture actual behaviour due to issues like social desirability or inadequate scale development (Carrington et al., 2016).

Writing on ethical consumption, Hall (2010) concludes that there is no standardised way of researching consumption and ethical consumption. Papaikonoumu et al. (2011) argue that there are different types of methodologies and research techniques used in researching ethical consumption. These are distinguished alongside the behavioural model of decision-making vs the interpretive approach to understanding consumer behaviour. For example, modelling studies that view behaviour as a rational process of decision making are underpinned by a pragmatic or positivist approach to research and rely extensively on surveys and mixed methods (Hassan et al., 2016). Survey methods have been widely criticised for their vulnerability when it comes to social bias and their inability to measure both changing consumer behaviour as well as the complex structural factors that affect ethical consumption practices (Papaoikonomou et al., 2011; Carrington et al., 2016). Qualitative methods can address some of these issues. Over the last thirty years, there has been a burgeoning of interpretive consumer research (Arnould & Thompson, 2005). Interpretive approaches to researching consumption recognise as significant the "experiential and meaningful aspects which underpin consumption" (Goulding, 1999, p. 860) and places value in understanding the social, complex, irrational and unpredictable aspects of consumption experiences.

 The most commonly employed qualitative methods in researching ethical consumption are in-depth interviews (Shaw et al., 2016; Carrington et al., 2015) –phenomenological interviews (Cherrier, 2012; Conolly & Prothero, 2003), ethnography – (Moraes et al.,

2012; Hall, 2011) and more unique ones as well such as Autio's (2009) consumer essays and netnography (Hoelscher, 2017). These studies tend to focus on smaller purposive samples to get a depth of consumer's experiences. Alternatively, qualitative methods bear criticism in terms of lack of generalizability and limited samples of consumers.

Nonetheless, what seems to be missing in many approaches is a critical examination of consumption as context-dependent, negotiated and in process, using methods that are sensitive to the moral negotiations taking place on a day-to-day basis (Papaikonoumu et al., 2011). Rather than researching consumption as a moment in time that can be observed by the researcher, a conversation that is recorded or categorised this research aims to explore consumption as a complex and ever-changing process and to reflect this complexity through an appropriate research philosophy and design.

5.3 Research philosophy and research design

This section will consider the research philosophy underpinning this study. This relates to questions of ontology and epistemology – how reality is constructed and how we can understand or research that reality.

5.3.1 Ontology

This study is underpinned by a constructivist ontology (Bryman, 2000). Ontology refers to the nature of reality (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This approach is consistent with similar studies on ethical consumption discussed in previous chapters such as Middlemiss's (2011a), Moraes et al.'s (2012) Carolan's (2007) and others. Ontologically, this study regards reality as subjectively experienced (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1986) and made meaningful by" people's knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences and interactions" (Mason, 1996, p39). A constructivist understanding of reality assumes that we are continuously selecting, creating, challenging, and revisiting meanings in relation to everyday situations, and those meanings are derived from our lived experiences and social interactions. On this basis, this study is premised on the assumption that consumption is a subjective experience that has a complex set of meanings, motivations and consequences on individuals.

5.3.2 Epistemology

This thesis is underpinned by an interpretivist epistemology. Epistemology refers to the philosophical grounding for deciding what kind of knowledge is possible and how we ensure it is adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994). This perspective builds on the ontology discussed above, where reality is subjective and shaped by individuals' experiences and social interactions. This thesis is premised on the assumption that knowledge is to be gained from understanding the different subjective experiences we have as individuals and also from the way we construct meaning out of these experiences. Within an interpretivist approach Bryman (2012) distinguishes between 1. the concept of Werstehern which derives from the writings of Weber (1947) and it relates to an interpretive perspective of social actions through which we can understand the causality and effect of these actions (Tucker, 1965) and 2. a phenomenological tradition (Schutz, 1962) concerned with how individuals make sense and interpret the world around them through their experiences of the world (Thompson, 1989).

This study builds on the phenomenological aspects of interpretivism. This is because at the core of this exploration are collective and embodied experiences of participation and consumption behaviour. On one side, actions and behaviours in a community of practice are shaped by collective understandings of 'things' in the community – what to do and how to do it, but also by individuals' interpretations of these things. Moreover, actions and behaviours are also mediated by individuals' embodied and subjective experiences and the sense-making this involves.

Considering this study's ontological and epistemological perspective, a qualitative approach to research is most appropriate. A qualitative research perspective allows us to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' perspective, it allows us to see things from their perspective, and it facilitates different points of view (Bryman, 2004).

5.4 Methodological design

The focus of this study is on understanding the dynamic between participation in a community of practice and consumption lifestyles. Participation in a community of practice is an ongoing process in terms of repeated engagements, developing shared repertoires and becoming a full member of the community (Wenger, 1998). It would be insufficient to explore the process of learning at a fixed point of time, as many of the

intricacies of participation would be lost. Thus, it is necessary to explore participation over time. Moreover, consumption activities themselves are constantly changing and in flux (Szmigin & Carrigan, 2009). A snapshot view of individuals' consumption activities would not be enough to understand how participation in community gardens relates to the complexities of behaviour change. The nature of participation in a community garden is also conditioned by seasonality and time. The temporal nature of participation needs further exploration to understand how a time dimension relates to everyday consumption activities. Thus, it is essential to use a methodological design that adequately allows for exploring these processes. Considering these crucial factors, this thesis will use a small scale longitudinal qualitative study.

5.4.1 Longitudinal consumer research

Longitudinal research is now widely recognised as a distinct methodological approach that encompasses a range of approaches and concepts (Holland et al., 2006). Although there is a tradition of longitudinal research in quantitative studies, qualitative longitudinal studies are rare, due to the financial and administrative resources they require and the challenges of finding suitable individuals (Miller, 2000). Nonetheless, all research exists in time, and a good deal of qualitative research studies have longitudinal components – re-interviewing or going back to the original site. There is a significant body of life history and biographical research where individuals may be interviewed more than once (Miller, 2000), but there are few studies that examine consumption and ethical behaviours over time. Notably, Carolan's (2016) study explores alternative eating practices among Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) members in a two-year longitudinal study. Similarly, Press (2007) interviewed CSA members over a one-year growing period.

What distinguishes longitudinal research is the deliberate way in which temporality is designed into the process, making change a central focus of analytic attention (Neale & Flowerdew, 2003). In this study, time is central to the research on different levels: time is essential for our understanding of change in consumption practices but also time manifests in consumers' experiences in the garden in terms of experiences of a change in seasons and changes in the natural environment. Due to the duration and nature of a PhD, this study takes on a small-scale longitudinal study – spanning over eighteen months. It is longitudinal in its approach because of its focus on time, everyday life and change.

Although longitudinal qualitative research (LQR) as a paradigm has not been articulated in detail, Neale and Flowerdew (2003) have highlighted time and texture as essential for understanding the interplays of temporal and cultural dimensions of social life. Time is used by individuals both to structure everyday food consumption in terms of set times for eating, shopping and making food but time is also already prestructured by institutions; for example, the gardens are only open on certain days of the week and at specific times. In consumption experiences, time constitutes a historical dimension – how individuals relate to the past or the future, personal time – individual biographies and cyclical time – seasons (Neale & Flowerdew, 2003) to create coherent understandings of themselves and their consumption.

In LQR, the focus on time allows us to explore the detailed structure of day-to-day life, subjective meanings, active development of relationships, practices, identities and pathways. Data may be produced through life histories, diaries and interviews. While retrospective designs dominate LQR, this study takes a prospective approach in its attempt to ground the data in an exploration of processes of time and change as they happen (see Fig 5.1 below).
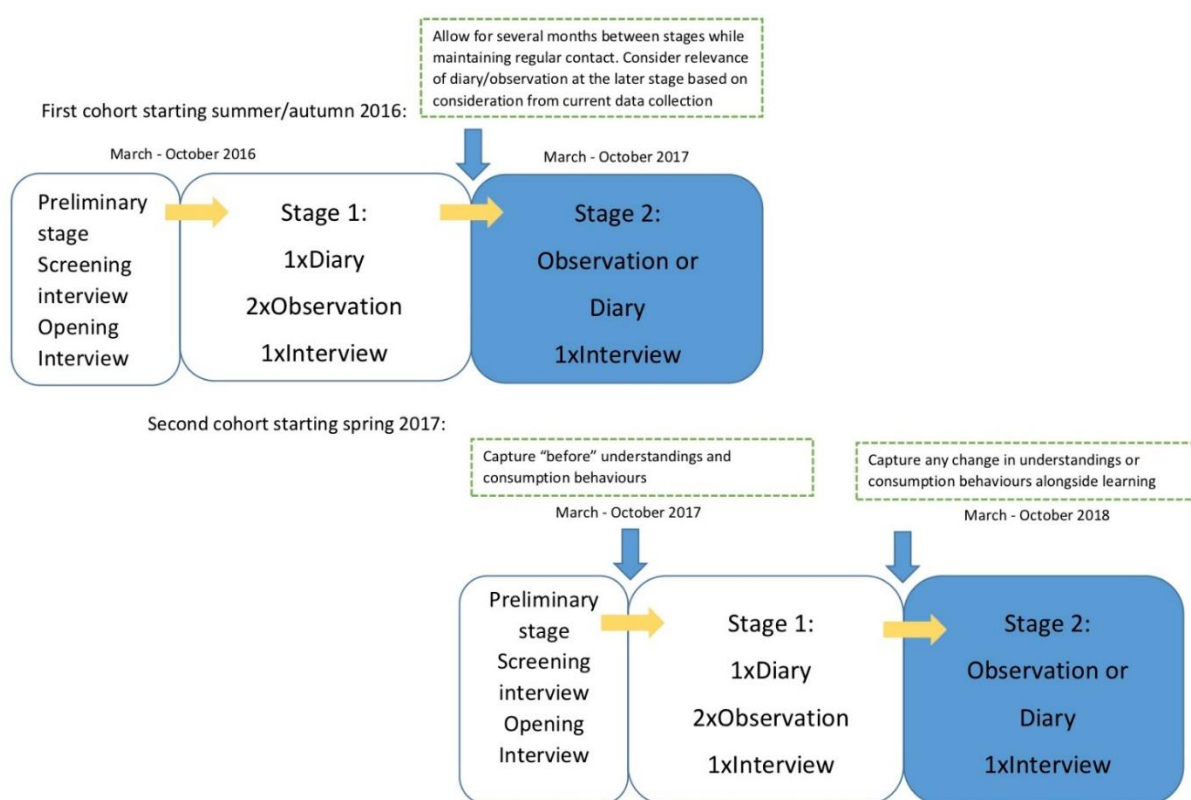
Figure 5.1 Data collection schedule

5.5 Research context

According to Cumbers et al. (2018, p. 137), Glasgow is a particularly compelling case for exploring community gardens, as it's one of the leading cities outside London in terms of the number of community gardens that have developed over the last decade. Cumbers et al. (2018) identified that as of November 2016, there were 68 community garden groups active in the city, and the gardens can be found across a diversity of neighbourhoods. From 2016 to 2018, this researcher visited over 30 community garden sites across Glasgow to recruit research participants. Participants were recruited from six garden sites across the city from a range of neighbourhood types. The following table (Table 5.1) illustrates the nature of the garden and the kind of participation they involve.

Table 5.1 Sites of inquiry		
Name	**Description**	**Nature of participant involvement in the garden**
Sunnyside Garden	The Sunnyside Garden is a private community garden situated on a repurposed car garage site. The garden is open for membership to anyone and runs weekly social gardening sessions. The garden also offers a wide range of activities alongside their garden activities like do it yourself herbal cosmetics, community meals and cooking classes. The garden is affiliated with the nearby church and is part of a wider community organisation. The organisational structure of the garden involves a volunteer	Apart from the core staff, the garden sessions are attendant by volunteers across Glasgow who are involved in day-to-day garden maintenance. Volunteers usually refer to a list of tasks for the day created by the gardeners and chose which ones they want to take on. Volunteers are also entitled to look after a garden plot if they wish to, depending on availability. The work carried out in the gardens is collaborative and flexible. There are regular events that garden volunteers can take part in and help organise such as community meals, social events, harvest

	coordinator, two gardeners, an activities coordinator and volunteer garden mentors. The garden has a dedicated core group of volunteers who are involved in the day to day running of the site. It has been operating for about 7-8 years. Two of the participants in this study were recruited from this garden.	day and community development projects.
Green garden	The Green Garden is affiliated to the local health centre and is run by the same community organisation that manages the Sunnyside Garden. The NHS partially funds the Garden, and the site was developed with the help of a local landscape architect. The garden is open 3 to 4 days a week and operates in a similar way to the Sunnyside Garden. The garden also has an area specially designed for children and runs weekly events aimed at families in the local area. The garden is closed overnight and on certain days. Two of the participants in this study were recruited from this garden.	Involvement is the same as in Sunnyside Garden. The Green garden also has a children's play area that hosts weekly session involving children in the local area. The garden is often vulnerable to vandalism.
Green Oasis	The Green Oasis is a run by a local charitable organisation working on environmental and community development issues. It operates as a private garden where plots are allocated every year. The aim is to	The members of the Green Oasis look after their plot over 6-8 months. They are given an access code, and they can access the garden at any point. There are no designated opening times as opposed to the other gardens in this study. Individuals

	help individuals learn about food growing and develop the local community. Participants apply at the start of the year and go through a selection and induction process. Unlike the previous gardens, the Green Oasis is not available to the public and participants need a code to access the premises. The garden has been operating for about 3-4 years. Four of the participants in this study were recruited from this garden.	work mostly alone on their plot and do not always get a chance to meet other plot holders. There is no communal plot or shared tasks, and there is minimal interaction with the gardener. There are set workshop dates.
Summerton	Summerton Community operates three days a week, and it is managed by several permanent staff. Volunteers regularly help with the day-to-day running of the garden. Summerton community garden also operates a soup kitchen and is affiliated to the local church. They have a vegetable barrel which offers free or honest box produce to members of the local community. The garden is closed overnight and on certain days. Three of the participants in this study were recruited from this garden.	Involvement is the same as in Sunnyside Garden. Volunteers also have the opportunity to attend specific training and workshop to help with their skill development like first aid, health and safety, cooking courses and various other. They organise events like community meals.
Urban Farm	Urban Farm community garden is situated in a relatively affluent neighbourhood. It is run by a wider community organisation in the local	The garden relies on its volunteers for day-to-day maintenance tasks. Usually, volunteers collaborate on specific tasks like DIY or planting and share in the

	area. Like other gardens, it has permanent staff such as a gardener and a volunteer coordinator. Unlike the other gardens, the Urban Farm garden is entirely open to the public due to its location. In this study, it is the only garden mostly frequented by self-identified ethical consumers. One of the participants in this study were recruited from this garden.	produce in the garden. Most of the plots in the garden are allocated to the regular volunteers. The garden is open to the public at any time and is not gated. There are two days a week when a garden staff present. There are also regular events that garden volunteers take part in, like community meals in the community centre, development projects, arts and crafts classes and community choirs.
Hope Church Garden	Hope Church garden is operated by a wider community organisation that runs various gardens in various areas of Glasgow. It is situated on the grounds of the local church and is smaller than the other gardens in this study. The garden runs gardening sessions two days a week when a member of staff is present, but the garden is open to the broader public at all times. One participant was recruited from this study.	The small size of the garden means the focus is mostly on growing; however, volunteers also take part in cleaning and improving the space. The garden is operated by an organisation that has its base in a different part of the city, and as a result, there are fewer events and activities volunteers can get involved in. As the garden is less established than other sites in Glasgow, there is also a smaller number of volunteers overall.

5.6 Sampling

This study has a sample of thirteen participants: five women and eight men who had recently joined a community garden. While twenty-one participants were recruited over two years, only thirteen participants remained involved for the whole duration of the study and met the sampling considerations below.

The sample size chosen for this study was firstly influenced by the philosophical underpinnings of this study discussed in section 5.3 (Bryman, 2012). Sampling in small-

scale qualitative studies is often a combination of convenience and snowball sampling (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Studies based on phenomenological approaches also have a much smaller sample size because of the in-depth analysis that is often involved (Thompson, 1989).

Waters and Biernacki (1989) argue that all qualitative sampling contains a certain degree of convenience, depending on an individual's willingness and ability. This is particularly the case for longitudinal studies as participants are expected to commit for an extended time. Phenomenological consumer research studies have tended to use small samples, for example, D'Astous and Deschênes (2005) conducted phenomenological interviews on consumption dreams with five participants and Christensen (2002) researched consumption visions with ten. In other phenomenological consumer research, Thompson et al. (1994) researched cultural viewpoints and consumer meaning with three women, while Holt (2002) drew from the experiences of twelve participants in his study of brand resistance. Elsewhere, Miles and Huberman (1994) acknowledge that a sample of fifteen is considered appropriate for an in-depth, qualitative study so that rich data is acquired, while Warren (2002) states that twenty-thirty interviews should be used.

There are, however, minimum requirements for sample size in qualitative studies. For example, Warren (2002) suggests that the minimum number of interviews needs to be between twenty and thirty for an interview-based qualitative study to be published (Bryman 2012, p. 425). However, Gerson and Horowitz (2002, p. 223) suggest that 'fewer than 60 interviews cannot support convincing conclusions and more than 150 produce too much material to analyse effectively and expeditiously'. Yet, it is not specified if this includes different participants, or if it allows for repeat interviews.

Another important matter for the sampling in this study was the heterogeneity of a population. Bryman (2012) argues that researchers should capture the variation among a population as it might indicate to a significant variability in experiences and world views of participants. That's why this study was interested in participants from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. The sample varied across different educational and social backgrounds, ages and experiences. Out of the thirteen participants, five participants were women, and eight were men. Two of the participants were retired, five participants were not currently employed, and six participants were either in part-time or full-time employment.

As iterated previously, this study aims to examine the process of learning ethical consumption behaviours in community gardens and how this intersects with individuals' wider consumption behaviours. The assumptions explored in the literature review suggest that embodied and practical learning in a collective environment has the potential to encourage ethical consumption behaviours and individuals' identification with ethical consumption issues. Nonetheless, much of existing research explores the perspectives of those who are already ethically concerned which deepen their identification with ethical consumption issues and engage in more consistent ethical consumption behaviours.

To escape this limitation, this author aimed to approach participants who did not seem ethically concerned or engage in ethical consumption behaviours. To ascertain individuals' relationship with ethical consumption, in the screening stage prospective participants were asked informally to describe what matters to them when it comes to food. In practice however, distinguishing between ethically concerned and unconcerned consumers proved challenging for several reasons. First of all, participants did not always reflect on their ethical consumption concerns into the screening interview. For example, Simon, at the time of our screening interview and during our first interview, mostly talked about finances as the primary consideration in his consumption activities due to his upcoming wedding. Deeper into our interview and following his wedding, his environmental ethical concerns and ethical consumption behaviours came to fore. Moreover, most participants displayed different levels of concerns and awareness of ethical issues, which made it difficult to negotiate a cut-off point, reflecting again the complexity of ethical consumption decision making discussed in table 2.1. This suggests, optimistically perhaps, that the 'unconcerned' consumer might not exist but also that how consumers choose to identify with or distance themselves from ethical concerns is complex and dynamic rather than an immovable characteristic. This further problematises the issue of how we categorise ethical consumption, as an all or nothing, self-assumed identity (Carrington, 2016).

The author thus initially spoke to a range of participants to understand the subtle dynamics of how individuals in community gardens reflected on ethical consumption considerations. This revealed that community gardens attracted both people who espoused strong ethical consumption identities as well as those who did not reflect on any ethical consumption issues during the duration of the study. During recruitment, it became evident that participants presented on a continuum of engagement with ethical consumption behaviours

– from isolated behaviours like concerns for recycling to wider lifestyle changes like reducing meat and aspiring to work in environmental and food related field.

Participants' engagement with ethical consumption behaviours was also considered in relative position to that of other participants. For example, two participants came to self-identify as environmentalists after the screening interview and developed their ethical consumption identities over the year into overarching life themes as suggested by Carrington et al. (2015): they aspired to work in the environmental field, had vegetarian and vegan diets as a direct result of their environmental concerns. Their narratives confirmed much of the writings in the literature about the link between pre-existing ethical consumption concerns, involvement in community gardens and developing commitments (Turner, 2009; Hayes-Conroy, Hayes-Conroy Martin, 2008). They were considered as consumers who self-identified as ethical and thus excluded from the final study due to the sampling considerations above. Their narratives indicated that participation in community gardens might affect ethically concerned individuals in different ways than those who were not already ethically concerned. While their data sets were not included in the final study, they served as a point of reference to understand how other participants made sense of similar learning experiences in community gardens.

Throughout the course of this study, the author developed a brief profile of each informant. These profiles are presented below, and they explain the themes and issues that are important for that particular individual as well as how each participant engages with ethical consumption. Each respondent has been assigned a pseudonym.

Table 5.2 Participant profile

Pseudonym	Profile
John, man, retired	John is a retired gentleman, living in the north of Glasgow by himself following his wife's death. He is a member of the Green Garden. John found out about the garden from the church and soup kitchen where he volunteers. This church is also affiliated with one of the gardens. His main considerations when it comes to food are health due to his ongoing health issues. John also cares about having fresh ingredients.

	He believes we should protect the environment and local wildlife, and he cares especially about the local environment in his neighbourhood and his local community. John could be considered to have ecological concerns (Table 2.1) but does not reflect on these concerns in his own consumption activities.
Laura, woman, IT professional	Laura is a professional woman who recently moved back to Glasgow and lives by herself. Laura joined the Green Oasis garden in order to be more self-reliant in her food. Her primary food considerations are having fresh ingredients and avoiding processed foods as she feels they make her unwell. Laura is aware and knowledgeable of various consumption issues like air miles and the negative results of intensive agriculture, e.g. desertification. She reflects on her own shopping behaviour with some degree of guilt but feels she cannot do anything. She tries to consider local produce when shopping. In relation to table 2.1 Laura could be considered a conscious consumer as she reflects on issues like localism and the negative effects of intensive agriculture.
Michael, man, retired	Michael is a retired gentleman who lives in a social housing facility by himself following his divorce. He attends the Sunnyside Garden. Michael was referred to the garden by his local mental health community organisation as a way to "get out" of the house. Michael has ongoing physical and mental health considerations. He used to practise bonsai gardening before his divorce but now lacks the space. His first food consideration is freshness. He also felt anxious and insecure about his knowledge of food and felt he did not know how to use some garden produce. Michael did not reflect on any ethical consumption issues during our interviews.
Louis, man, a nurse in training/ filmmaker	Louis is a professional filmmaker and a nursing student who was interested in the garden as an opportunity to meet people for filmmaking projects. He attends the Urban Farm Garden. He is primarily concerned about health when it comes to food and has some awareness of ethical consumption issues. Louis attempts to distance

	himself from identities such as "hippies" which he associates with those who self-identify as ethical consumers. Louis is also less interested in the food growing experience in the garden and prioritises talking to people and DIY activities. Louis could be considered a reflexive consumer as he reflects on wider claims about certain consumption issues like health and he evaluates his consumption activities based on what he feels is the legitimacy of these claims (DuPuis, 2000).
Simon, man, third sector professional	Simon is a young professional who has two young children. He attends the Urban Oasis Garden. Food is essential for him, and he spends a lot of his time preparing things for his family. He wanted to learn more about food growing and is thoughtful about his food consumption, incorporating some ethical considerations like buying locally, not wasting and not eating too much meat. Although cost was his most significant consideration at the start of this study, Simon furthered his ethical commitments a year later by subscribing to a local veg box. Simon could be considered a sustainable consumer based on Table 2.1 as he reflects on a range of considerations and reflects a sense of responsibility in his consumption.
Mark, man, journalist	Mark is a middle-aged professional who joined the Urban Oasis garden with his partner Jenny to learn more about food growing. Mark considered getting an allotment but felt overwhelmed by the potential size of it. Mark and Lucy enjoy sharing and making food together. Health is their primary consideration in food and also cost. Mark reflects on some ethical consumption concerns like plastic packaging but feels constrained by the lack of access to more ethical alternatives. Based on his concerns, Mark could be considered a reflexive consumer (Table 2.1).
Jenny, woman, unemployed	Lucy is a young woman and Mark's partner. Lucy attends the Urban Oasis garden. Lucy sometimes buys organic because it tastes better, and she feels strongly about avoiding unhealthy foods like fat or

	processed sugar. Her main considerations when it comes to food is health. She enjoys cooking and she and Mark value the shared nature of food. Lucy did not reflect on any ethical consumption issues.
Dan, man, unemployed	Dan lives alone in the South of Glasgow in social housing and was referred to the garden by his local mental health services. He attends Hope Church garden. He finds the garden a good place to be out in the community. His main considerations with regard to food are cost and convenience of preparation, so he prefers pre-made and frozen meals. Dan dislikes wasting food. Dan did not reflect on any ethical consumption concerns.
Diana, woman, student	Fiona is a young professional who lives with her partner and their friends in the north of Glasgow. She attends the Green Garden. She got involved with the garden when she was looking for a job in the field. Fiona is environmentally knowledgeable about various consumption issues like methane emissions and air miles but reflects on her own lack of action in her everyday consumption. Her primary considerations in food consumption are cost and whether her flatmates would enjoy it. Sometimes she avoids extensive packaging but reflects on her own inconsistencies in considering this. Fiona and her flatmates attempt to grow food in their back garden during this study. Diana could be considered a reflexive consumer and at times a responsible consumer (Table 2.1) showing concern for the planet's resources and for the environmental damage of consumption.
Sarah, woman, unemployed	Sarah is a middle-aged woman who lives alone in the north west of Glasgow. She is a member of the Sunnyside Garden. She found out about the garden from her local mental health community group. Sarah has a wide range of health issues that are her primary consideration when it comes to food. Sarah is concerned with leading a more 'natural' life and avoiding processed foods, which she feels exacerbate her health issues. Sarah wants to be more self-reliant and sustainable and less dependent on social welfare provision as she finds the experience

	disempowering. She takes pleasure in cooking and DIY activities as a way for her to manage her conditions and feel more independent. Sarah could be considered a reflexive consumer (Table 2.1) who is sceptical of mainstream food sources and at times reflects on the negative effects of consumerism.
Nick, man, unemployed	Nick is a middle-aged man living in the north of Glasgow in a social housing facility. He and his wife joined the Summerton garden following their involvement with the garden on their social housing premises. Nick is a regular volunteer at several of the gardens in the north of Glasgow. Nick used to be a landscape gardener and is hoping to develop his experience through his community garden volunteering. Nick and Eve rely on their welfare provision payments for their food purchases which is something that dictates their consumption choices in terms of cost and nature of purchases – they reflect on buying bulk frozen items that last for extended periods. By the end of this study, Nick and Eve have obtained an allotment. Nick does not reflect on any ethical consumption considerations.
Eve, woman, unemployed	Eve is Nick's wife. She attends the Summerton garden. Eve has taken on several of the skills and development courses in the gardens in the hope of getting better employment prospects. She is concerned about how her weight is affecting her health following a series of medical exams. She describes feeling insecure about her cooking competencies. Eve also considers her parents as a source of support for sourcing and preparing food. Eve and Nick's main concerns when it comes to their consumption are food and cost. Eve does not reflect on any consumption concerns.
Gerald, man, retired	Gerald is a retired art teacher living in the north of Glasgow with his wife. He joined the Summerton garden as he was looking for somewhere to volunteer and give back to the community. Gerald grew up in the area next to the Good Food Garden and talked about the neighbourhood changing throughout his interviews. Health and cost are

	some of his primary concerns in food. He regularly shops with his wife and reflects on making small changes in his consumption, such as avoiding plastics as a result of the increased media coverage of the issue. Gerald plans to grow food in his own garden. Gerald displays some reflexive consumer traits (Table 2.1) as he reflects on the need to reduce his plastic waste.

5.7 Methods of research

This study uses three data collection tools: interviews, participant diaries and participant observation. Denzin argues that saturation can also be attained by using triangulation (2009, 2012). He (Denzin, 2009) noted that triangulation means using multiple methods to collect data and to analyse the data. To ensure rigour in a qualitative study, Denzin (2009) distinguishes between four types of triangulation. Denzin (2009) suggested data triangulation for correlating people, time, and space; investigator triangulation for correlating the findings from multiple researchers in a study; theory triangulation for using and correlating multiple theoretical strategies; and methodological triangulation for correlating data from multiple data collection methods. Multiple analysis methods concerning the same events and the validity of the process may be enhanced by multiple sources of data (Fusch, 2008, 2013; Holloway et al., 2010). Given the constraints of having a single researcher, this study uses within-methods triangulation (Salkind, 2010) by using a range of qualitative instruments like interviews, observations and participant diaries. This study does not employ investigator triangulation or theoretical triangulation due to time considerations.

Thus, the data in this study was obtained through phenomenological interviews focused on experiences of consumption, narrative interviews, diaries and observations. These were collected between the spring of 2016 and the summer of 2018. The table below details the kinds of data collected. The recorded interview data amounts to 31.3 hours of recording and 473 pages of transcripts.

Table 5.3 Types of data	
Collection tool	Data collected
Phenomenological in-depth interview	21 (+ 1 telephone interview)
Narrative interviews	11
Observation sessions	39
Participant diaries	11

5.7.1 Screening stage

The first stage of this research involved visiting community gardens and liaising with community "gatekeepers" to gain access to potential informants. The garden staff were always supportive of the research project and were eager to introduce the author to potential participants. They allowed the author to take part in all the activities and treated her like a regular garden volunteer. This was invaluable in creating the necessary rapport to approach prospective participants. The purpose of the screening interview was to identify participants who did not self-identify as ethical consumers and who were new to food growing. Data for this study were collected in three following stages over the course of a year to a year and a half.

5.7.2 Interviews

5.7.2.1 Phenomenological interviews

According to Cherrier (2005), the central aspect behind phenomenology is an understanding of the structure of, and interpretation of experience. Phenomenology on one side is regarded as a philosophy – developed from the works of Merleau-Ponty (1962), Husserl (1962) and Heidegger (1962), and on the other side it is considered as a method for research, for those who adopt the position put forward by Schutz (1967). While Husserl's

(1962), Heidegger (1962) and Ponty's (1962) were looking to validate, describe and classify subjective experiences, Schutz (1967) developed the approach as a method which incorporated details of experience often at the level of mundane everyday life. As described above in section 5.3.2 this study takes a broader interpretivist philosophical approach and uses phenomenology as a method for research rather than as an underlying philosophy.

Phenomenological interviewing as a method is a way to attain a description of everyday experiences as lived and described by an individual in specific situations (Cherrier, 2012). This methodological tool has become increasingly used in consumer research, and Thompson first popularised it in the form of existential-phenomenological interviews (Thompson, 1989; Thompson & Coskuner-Balli, 2007, Belk et al., 2012). McEachern and Cheetham (2013) showed that phenomenological interviews are most suitable for eliciting in depth information from a small range of participants. Phenomenological interviews do so by focusing on very detailed and specific insights on a certain topic. This method puts the focus on the individual's lived experiences (Thompson et al. 1989). It embraces the complexity and ambiguity of human experiences by recognising that different individuals might "be talking about similar experiences using different words or different experiences using similar words" (Cherrier, 2006, p. 127). This author chose a phenomenological approach to interviews because they allow researchers to bring forth lived experiences, meaning making and sense-making of particular issues of interest (Thompson, 1997).

Conducting a phenomenological interview involves adhering to a set of factors, but the focus is on individual experiences and meaning-making - avoiding abstract questions and drawing the participants to the narratives of their consumption (Thompson et al., 1989). As a method, phenomenological interviewing emphasises that narratives reflect individuals' lived experience and that each narrative story intertwines with a specific context (Reiners, 2012). The focus on narratives of experiences also makes phenomenological interviews suitable for longitudinal research as they allow the researcher to situate consumption experiences in informants' narratives of self-identities and their personal histories. This is essential when thinking about how to research processes of change over time in a prospective rather than a retrospective way.

Following these principles of phenomenological interviewing, the interview opened with a broad question by asking informants to reflect on those things that matter most to them in their food consumption (see appendix 4.1 for a detailed outline of the interview).

Informants were then gradually urged to describe their consumption activities in detail and create an in-depth tableau of their consumption considerations. The researcher had certain themes to explore, but the interviews were led by the participants, their experiences and consumption narratives.

5.7.2.2 Narrative interview

The second stage was a narrative interview. The choice to take a narrative approach was informed by the preliminary stages of research. The researcher observed that a phenomenological focus was not enough to generate rich descriptions of individuals participation that spanned over time – they were restricted by the surfacing of immediate experiences. This limitation suggested a potential challenge to understand any processes of change and uncover how participation in community gardens and consumption behaviour would intersect over time. Dyson and Genishi (1994) contend that we all have a basic need for story, for organising our experiences into tales of important happenings. The researcher's goal was to use this story-telling approach to draw out the experiences of participation and the intersection between participation in community gardens and consumption over time in a way that was meaningful for participants themselves – as opposed to probing on certain themes that were deemed relevant by the researcher.

Narrative inquiry was first popularised by Connelly and Clandinin (1990) in their research on personal stories. This approach was selected because in narratives, our voices echo those of others in the sociocultural world, and we evidence community belonging both through our ways of crafting stories and through the very content of these stories. This is essential when exploring participation and belonging in a community of practice. Narratives then are not separate from real life, but they form meaningful connections to that life (Atkinson, 2007) and constitute representations and interpretations of the world (Cresswell, 2012). Narrative interviews are characterised as in depth and rely on unstructured accounts but usually follow a similar structure in terms of exploring the field and using visual aids. They aim to encourage and stimulate the interviewee to discuss important events and social context. Narrative interviewing relies on everyday communication of telling and listening to stories (Muylaert, 2014). The focus is on the language of everyday life and based on the assumption that the perspective of the informant is best revealed when using his or her language (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000).

The language used is indicative of a particular worldview and therefore is indicative of what is essential for the participant, rather than what actually happened. What is important is at the point of narration as individuals reframe and project the past and their future to make sense of their experiences. Special events become central parts of life because they provide some meaningful information about who we are, and the narrative forms for representing and recounting these events provide a particular structure for understanding and conveying this meaning (Neisser & Fivush, 1994).

This second stage of interviewing took place when participants had been in the garden for a whole growing season. This interview aimed to understand individuals' sense-making surrounding their involvement in the garden and foreground narratives of learning. The researcher asked participants to reflect on their experiences in community gardens from the beginning of their involvement until now and describe their involvement (see appendix 4.2 for a detailed interview guide). The focus of this interview was on the experience of learning to grow food in community gardens and how this was interpreted and represented in participants' wider experiences. Participants were encouraged to reflect on their experiences over the year using a visual aid of an arrow representing a trajectory "from then to now". The interview ended with further probing into consumer consumption experiences to allow the researcher to contextualise narratives of consumption alongside narratives of community garden involvement.

5.7.2.3 Third interview stage

The researcher approached the third stage of interviews as an opportunity to further supplement her understanding of participants' narratives and experiences of consumption. Data components like diaries and observations were used as reference points for further elaboration. This allowed the author to reach 'saturation' for each informant, ensuring that participants had elaborated on all the major themes that emerged in their narratives over the year.

Although interviews allow us to understand how participants make sense of their experiences, they are limited in their scope to bring texture to everyday experiences as they rely solely on the version of the experience that individuals either deliberately or involuntarily present (Howe, 1985). This implies that a retrospective account could hold inaccuracies in the details present, specific details being missed or the whole account being presented from a specific light or bias determined by the research dynamic. Another

limitation comes from the interviewee's desire to appear in a favourable light, which is described as the social desirability of responses (Fisher, 1993). Howe (1988) also discusses how the interviewer's presence can influence the way information is provided and what kind of information is offered. For example, if the interviewee perceives a significant age gap, they might choose to respond more conservatively. Alternatively, the interviewee might respond differently to an interviewee of a different gender. The interviewee might also have reasons for presenting the information in a certain way, which could also affect the authenticity of the account (Howe, 1985). This is embraced in longitudinal research as choices of how we present narratives is an essential part of how individuals construct their sense of self. This study wanted to further contextualise informant's consumption experiences and experiences of participation in community gardens.

5.7.3 Observations

To add further texture to participants' experiences, this study uses participant observation. The author conducted 39 observation sessions – two sets of observations in the garden, at the beginning and the end of the study and two sets of observations on a shopping trip.

Observation has its roots in social anthropology and was developed as a key ethnographic method in the Chicago school of research that encouraged its students to study by observation social phenomenon (Saunders, 2009). Participant observation is different from other forms of observation as the researcher attempts to fully engage in the activities that are the focus of research and become a member of the community (Spradley, 1980). Participation was a vital element of this study as rapport and being seen as a member of the food growing community gave the author the legitimacy to approach individuals and provided common ground for discussion. Spradley (1980) argues that observation involves a high level of immersion in order to understand the delicate nuances of meaning-making that individuals engage in.

While recruiting participants and also when conducting observations, the author joined in whatever was happening – cooking lunch, turning compost, filling membership forms, attending working group meetings and chatting over raised beds. The researcher was not just a distant intruder but also a community gardener. This immersive participation meant the author had her own plot and often took part in community activities. This added value to the study as the author was able to share in the experiences of the participants and not

merely observe what is happening. Delbridge and Kirkpatrick (1994) indicate that this is about attempting to learn the respondents' own symbolic world.

Reflecting on the role of observations in consumer researcher, often they are present for triangulation purpose and to overcome the limitations of self-reported data and provide context and depth to individuals' consumption activities (Wilson, 2006). Yet the nature of consumption observations is often limited to descriptive recordings which are short and fleeting. For example, many of the shopping observations recorded by the author are descriptive accounts of participants' actions:

> "On this shopping trip, Fiona was buying items that she did not 'have in the house'. She was guided by her memory of her current provisions. She expressed concern for trying to cook to include her flatmates who was on a diet. As a result, she bought a lot of fruit like mangos, kiwis and bananas. She also bough vegetables and some diary and meats. She clarified she never shops with a list and relies on her memory" [Fiona, 1st shopping trip].

While the nature of this observational data creates a fuller picture of individuals' consumption lives, the data in itself does not lend itself well to qualitative interpretation due to the descriptive content.

Upon further reflection, the researcher herself had internalised an expectation of observations as a slow process, with rich details of the shopping experience when in reality participants were often in a hurry, transiting through supermarket aisles and worrying about whether they were judged on their food choices. Interestingly, almost all informants in this study expressed a combination of embarrassment and guilt around being "observed" during their shopping behaviour which indicates that informants also had internalised expectation about what is 'good' shopping behaviour or what would be good behaviour for this study. Eventually, the author came to see the observations not as textured accounts of consumption behaviours, but as fleeting and frequent experiences of convenience and negotiating constraints. They also reflect how we use and interact with consumption spaces in current times.

5.7.4 Participant diaries

Zimmerman and Wieder (1977) consider how direct observation might influence the behaviours of those participating in the research and suggests an alternative technique in

order to capture individuals' thoughts and internal dialogue, that of participants diaries. The term 'diary' used by Zimmerman and Wieder (1977) refers to a chronological record or log produced by the research participant. Diaries have the advantage of recording events as they happen rather than retrospectively (Woll, 2013). Diaries can also help to "approximate the classic pattern of observational research where the investigator is unable to make first-hand observations or wishes to supplement those already collected" (Zimmerman, 1977, p. 481). Using a diary also fulfils a practical solution to gathering more detail about day-to-day food activities and records the process of meaning-making and reflection on those activities as well as the activities taking place in community gardens. Diaries can supplement consumption narratives with details that might not emerge in the interviews and reveal insights into how individuals negotiate their consumption activities on a day-to-day basis.

Yet, a central issue of using diaries is the problem of gaining useful qualitative data from them. Sjobolm (1994) found that the collected diaries contained very little information about the thoughts and experiences of their participants. This was also the case for some participants in this study. For example, Michael is very descriptive in his diary input:

"22/09/2016

Food growing activities:

I was in the croft for 3 hours. I watched the chicken. Took two onions from my plot. Weeded and watered. Harvested my other plot; and took beetroot home also some lettuce and carrot.

13/10

I watched the chickens. Took ½ dozen eggs and some tomatoes and some sugar snap peas home for salad" [Michael, Diary]

On the other hand, research has shown that it is possible to gain 'good' data from diaries (Corti, 1993; Häggström & Nilsson, 2009; Roghmann & Haggerty, 1972; Seibold, 2000; Therkleson, 2010). Woll (2013) suggests that the instructions researchers give to informants about diary use may be crucial. Other participants took a more reflective and detailed approach to their diary. Sarah (Fig 5.2), for example, used her own personalised

template which included pictures of her food and food growing and accompanying reflections:

Food Growing

What I Did
Watered my plants, took part in the garden and helped Janice get seeds from the Borages and we cut back the Nosturtiums we had previously planted some months back. Helped Katie break off salad leaves. Also did a Tesco shop for pizza, muesli, milk and some other grocery items, receipt attached.

How I felt
Two of my plants have grown slightly bigger but nothing compared to the garden growth. Enjoyed the day, came home with a variety of salad leaves, nosturtiums, tomatoes, a couple spring onions, turnips, and beets and potatoes. Had the pizza, cleaned all the

vegetables that I had brought back from the garden and placed them in the fridge for consumption.

Activities:
I stuck to my meal plan for breakfast, muesli and milk. For lunch I had some bread and peanut butter. And for dinner I had the pizza from Tesco's. Also did a Tesco shop for pizza, muesli, milk and some other grocery items.

Reflections:
I was very tired as we did quite a today, and I was too lazy to put any salad pieces together. For the pizza I just pop it into my convection oven and let it do it's thing for 12 minutes and then the pizza is ready. Nothing beats a home-made pizza, but when you are single, convenience is a lot easier at times.

Fig 5.2 Sarah's Diary

Woll (2013) suggests the process diary as a possible solution designed to provide space for individuals' reflections on the changes taking place in their lives. These are also written over a longer time frame – more than a few days and focus on specific themes. This insight was used by the researcher when collecting participant diaries (Fig 5.3). Individuals were required by the researcher to maintain such a record over some specified period according to a set of instructions. Appendix 5 contains the diary instructions in detail and a template for informants to use. For some participants the process diary was a way for them to reflect on their consumption and activities in relation to their emotions and thoughts.

What I did today:	Reflections on my experiences of each food growing activity today:
Helping points: *Describe your experience in the croft/garden today: how long where you there for, what did you do, what happened when you were there and who did you interact with.*	*(E.g. how did you feel? What or who influenced this? What did this mean to you? and so on.)*
Spent a little longer at the Croft today, tidying some things up which were dying. Dropped off some compost waste, picked the last of the beetroot, as I don't think they're going to get any bigger, and picked a few beans again. Also uprooted the pak choi plant which I had let flower and go to seed, and collected the seed pods. Nobody there again, as usual.	Feel that time is running away to get the most out of my crops. Not sure why they are so slow, but my runner beans are still flowering away and emerging, and my harlequin squash plant are about the size of small conkers. Hopefully they will grow to a good size before I have to hand the plot back. Was surprised by the pak choi plant when it started to sprout pods – I'd never seen a plant do that, and amazed at how some of my seeds have grown into full sized pak chois, others have been used as baby salad leaves, and this last one turned into an attractive yellow flower and then these strange looking pods. Still have them in my wallet, but writing this up will remind me to actually remove the seeds from the pods to use next year.

Fig 5.3 Simon's diary

Sinha and Back (2014) consider diaries as a collaborative way of creating research. Diaries can be seen as a semi-participatory tool of data collection in that the researcher gives some control to participants over how they want to "create" the data. This study acknowledges the tension that exists between theories of methods and reality of methods, especially when a portion of control over the method is relinquished. As individuals make sense of their experiences in different ways, they also reflect on them in different ways. For example, not all participants adhered to the instructions on how to fill in the diary. Some informant accounts were very detailed and descriptive, while others were less reflective. Some informants were creative with the way they chose to present their diaries and included pictures and recipes, and some informants recorded their reflections over a more extended period than the researcher recommended. Nonetheless, diaries were also limited in the number of themes they explored. Overall, diaries mostly focused either on participants' descriptive experiences both in the garden and in their consumption – with little crossover between the two. This made the diaries less favoured during the analysis process when looking for relationship and intersections between the two domains.

5.8 Analysis and interpretation

Given that the nature and focus of the data collection in this study are on phenomenological and narrative interviews, this study follows Cherrier (2012) recommendation for a hermeneutical approach to analysing data that has a narrative quality. Hermeneutics, as an approach to analysis, relates to the meanings that individuals' stories have in relation to the broader narrative of consumption behaviours (Cherrier, 2012). Thomson and Holland (2003) argue that a longitudinal approach to qualitative analysis demands that we look analytically in two directions: cross-sectionally in order to identify discourses through which identities are constructed and longitudinally at the development of a particular narrative over time (Kirkman, 2001). This follows Thompson's (1997) recommendation in his analysis of consumer experiences as he advocates for a part to whole analysis of participant accounts by proceeding through an interactive process. He proposes a hermeneutic model of meaning construction (see Fig 5.2) that uses consumers' life histories as texts in which life events are contextualised within a narrative of self-identity (previously identified as being key in understanding ethical consumption). This is in turn shaped by a complex series of cultural meanings and belief systems which provide the interpretive frames from which personalised meanings and self-identity are constructed. This perspective is also suitable to the modes of identification framework which puts processes of identity at the centre of examination.
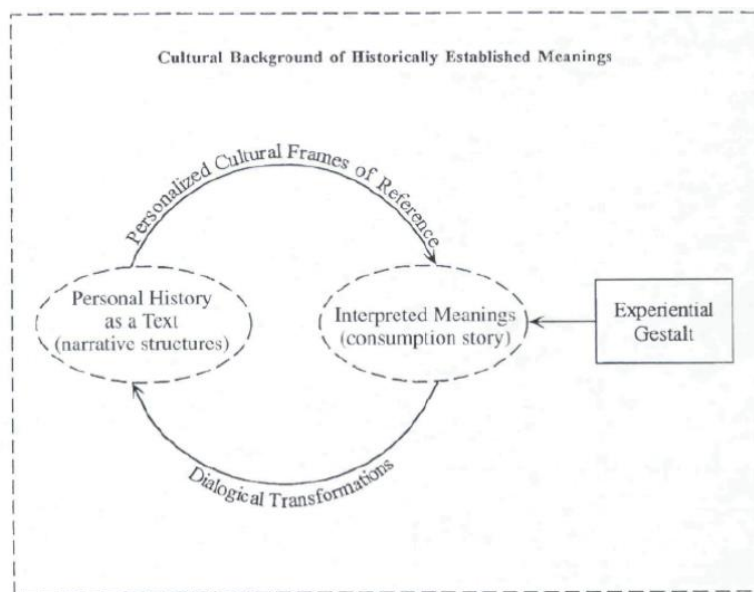
Fig 5.4 A hermeneutic model of meaning construction (Thompson, 1997: 440)

Applying Thompson's (1997, p. 440-441) model of consumer meaning construction as a hermeneutic device allowed the researcher to analyse and contextualise individual narratives as follows. The model (see Figure 5.2) consists of six structural elements:

1. *Personal history as a text*. The initial coding process revealed self-identity to be a central theme across participants' narratives (as did the literature explored in Chapter 2), giving weight to this element of the model. Connected to this, experiences of upbringing and transitions were also essential themes resulting from the first stage. A cohesive narrative of self-identity was central across the qualitative data in this study and informants used these narratives to give meaning to life events, contextualise and explicate their consumption practices.

2. *A cultural background of historically established meanings* provided the context for how informants made sense of their personal narratives. This is visible in how participants describe folk knowledge and how they reflect on wider consumption discourses. These constitute the interpretive frames of reference through which informants construct their narrative self-identities.

3. *Personalised cultural frames of reference* include the dynamic process through which an informants' cultural background and the personal meanings they give rise to are constructed. These frameworks allow for numerous interpretive positions that are constituted as personalised interpretations of established cultural meanings (Hiller, 2015).

4. *Interpreted meanings (consumption stories)* express a dialectical relationship between the frames of reference mentioned above and those issues salient to the consumer. These are played out through the consumption stories described in the interviews and the diary reflections.

5. *Experiential Gestalt* directly influences the interpreted meanings above; with the consumers' perceptions of their lived experiences of consumption and in the garden framing their sense-making.

6. *Dialogical transformations* highlight how consumers as self-narrators selectively foreground particular consumption events they experience. These stories serve to impose a meaningful historical order on their life events. Thus: "… the reciprocal movement in this hermeneutic model occurs when a specific consumer narrative or story is derived from a consumption experience and then is incorporated into the interpreting consumer's broader life narrative" (Thompson, 1997 p. 441). This is where the concept of consumption ethics comes into play; the notion of ethics for informants is about how ethical principles are

derived from frames of references and then integrated as guiding principles in their narratives in an experiential way.

The process of contextualising consumer narratives in participants' personal histories involved reading interview transcripts in full, in order to first gain a sense of the whole picture. After several readings of the text, the next stage was finding patterns and differences across transcripts. Keeping in line with the phenomenological proposition that we cannot separate our biases, there must also be a recognition that the final explanation represents a mix of perspectives between the interpreter's frame of reference and the texts being interpreted (Thompson, 1997). Thomspon (1989) considers three distinct stages of hermeneutical analysis: the intra-case analysis, the inter-case analysis, and the contextualisation of the conceptual framework. The intra-text analysis is about considering each case separately. In this study, each participant constitutes a case study; this includes all the interview stages and the additional data sets from observations, notes, and participant diary. Each interview was considered as a story and it was read and reread until the author was able to make sense of these stories and how they relate to individuals' sense of self and the temporal sequencing of the process of learning over time. The stories consumers tell about their personal everyday experiences of consumption represent a constellation of past-present-future relations. The temporal ordering emphasises the relationship between the construction of stories and shared/normative understandings of consumption.

The interviews were then analysed through a narrative framing. Framing refers to the meanings through which food consumption is understood (thematic and symbolic parallels). This involves analysing patterns of meaning and concerns that support the consumer's experience. The task is to say something meaningful that is not to be reduced to just describing participant's accounts. Rather it summarises descriptive interpretations noting prominent meanings relations and themes present in the interview. The second level of inter-case analysis involves looking across the interviews and considering the diverse set of food consumption experiences. This meant looking for similar storylines between consumers' narratives. These storylines eventually became overarching themes. Each theme reflects similarities between consumers and is related to a wider cultural context of consumption.

5.8.1 Preunderstandings and reflexivity

Arnold and Fischer (1994) note that the emphasis on pre-understanding in hermeneutics recognises that both the interpreter and the interpreted are linked by a context of tradition that precedes any interpretation or analysis of a text. This provides a starting point (or 'prejudice') for analysis and comparison. This 'prejudice' enables the interpreter to make sense of the narratives or objects observed.

Further reflecting on the researcher's pre-understandings, as the focus of this research is on ethical consumption, this implies assumptions about evaluations of right or wrong. There is a danger that informants could feel judged as seen in the shopping observations. For example, participants would ask the authors opinion on their shopping purchases or whether she had any preferences for certain items. This author self-identifies as an ethical consumer in some aspect which caused her to feel cautious around how she responded to these questions as not to impose any judgement on informants' behaviour. During the interviews, she relied on a question-and-answer approach and, depending on the interview, interpolated the odd comments or stories, which suggested agreement and understanding.

This was done to help rapport and to honour the year-long relationship that had developed with participants by creating a more equal footing of 'vulnerability' rather than the impression of "mining" participants for their data. Whenever this was the case, there were times when the author questioned her own objectivity only to be reassured when listening back to the interview that a conversational quality added to the depth of the interviews. Rather than a relationship of exploitation, the author tried to make this one-sided delivery closer to a conversation. The researcher had several themes of interest, but let the conversation progress naturally, following through histories, biographies and ideas. She was overall deeply curious about participant lives, and their experiences and while several of the interviewees did comment that it was unusual to have the space to talk about themselves, they all agreed that it had been a pleasant experience. In this, the author concurs with Bedford (1999) that interviews can have a therapeutic quality. Moreover, the longitudinal nature of the study produced a high level of reflexivity on the part of both the researcher and the researched, drawing analytical attention to the effects of the study on both. The author's aim was not to intervene in the participants' lives and produce change, but she cannot deny that she might well be doing so. Participants often reflected that being part of the study made them think more about and through their food habits, and some reflected that this helped them be more consistent in their actions. The research

relationship also became part of the pre-understandings that informed the author in her analysis.

When it comes to researching low-income individuals, the author was aware that often the research process has a power imbalance. Briggs (2001) for example argues that data collection in itself has an implicit power dynamic: "Interviews create and sustain power relations of modern society in a variety of ways, by producing representations of social life that are deeply and invisibly informed by class relations" (p. 914). This was often visible in the research relationship where informants deferred to the researcher as an expert in a position of authority. For example, one low-income participant inquired whether the researcher could recommend him any job development opportunities. Another participant felt very self-conscious about saying the right thing. This makes the relationship doubly unequal, alongside the researcher-researched dynamic. It was important for the author to be aware and reflect on these imbalances during the process of this study.

At times, however, participants saw the author less as an independent researcher and more as a staff member of the garden. While it made participants more willing to take part in this study, it also meant that social desirability bias (Fisher, 1993) could be higher as they were eager to give positive feedback about their garden involvement. The author was aware and often reflected on this dynamic in her interview notes.

The author grappled with the notion of researching embodiment. Previous research like Carolan (2007), Turner (2011) consider participant's verbal account of how sensory experiences and non-representational learning are linked with feelings, thoughts and emotions in the interviewed individuals. Latour (2004), however, considers that attempts to capture embodiment are limited by "body talk" as bodily experiences are broken into categories of physiology and phenomenology. He argues instead for understanding the body – and embodiment- as a process of learning to be affected by others (Latour, 2004). He proposes 'articulation' as the process of being affected by others (Latour, 2004). One's body becomes more articulate the more it learns to sense difference and subtlety such as learning to become a beer tasting expert (Maciel & Wallendorf, 2017).

Hayes-Conroy (2013) uses articulation as a tool to explore how embodied experiences of the slow-food movement 'activate' feelings and emotions in her participants. Through this process, environmental activists become more and more articulate in expressing their embodied experiences in relation to food and the environment. This author similarly builds

on this notion of 'bodies learning to be affected' and draws on participants reflections of moments of importance in their bodily learning. Recognising that qualitative meanings are lost in the process of translating bodily experiences into body-talk, this study is equally interested in individuals' narratives of embodiment and in how the body is used as a sense-making tool. Thus, the data in this study explores feelings - self-described feelings engendered through embodied encounters with others, food and the environment. The quotes represent verbal ways through which participants found to express what the food and garden felt like to them, they are more than just talking about feelings, they are used to convey what it was about their participation that moved them. Through their encounters seeing, sensing, sharing, the described feelings are brought into motion and integrated into narratives of consumption and identity.

5.9 Ethical considerations

In terms of ethical considerations, the researcher adhered to The University of Glasgow's Ethics Policy and Procedures for researchers (2016). She sought and obtained Ethical Approval from the College in April 2016 (see Appendix 1). This covered the different tools of data collection: interviews, diaries and observations. Of note were issues about informed consent; participants' knowledge of the study's purpose, recording of interviews, diaries and observations and use of these as the basis of the study, and invasion of privacy regarding participant confidentiality and anonymity. To address these, the nature and purpose of the study were carefully explained to participants, and they were encouraged to seek further clarification during the process. Informed consent was obtained from all the participants at the beginning of their involvement in the study regarding the different data collection methods, and they were assured of anonymity. Although the nature of food consumption is part of individuals' private and personal lives and may evoke emotional responses and memories, there were no instances of harm to the participants.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter set out the methodological approach that was selected to address the central aim of this research and provided a reflective account of the process. A constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology guided the research process and informed the research methods selected based on the research questions set out at the beginning. A longitudinal small-scale study which included phenomenological and narrative interviews,

diaries and observations was used as a means of investigating experiences of consumption and of participation in community gardens. These were selected in order to fulfil the aim of this research, which is to explore the experiences of participation in communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production principles among those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers and to understand whether participation in these communities intersects with those individuals' broader consumption activities. Using this methodological framework, the following chapters set out an empirical analysis in synthesis with the conceptual framework set out in chapter 4 and the key literature as outlined in chapter 2 and 3.

Introduction to the findings chapters

The findings chapters draw together the data sources in this study to develop an in-depth understanding of consumers' participation in communities driven by ethical consumption and production principles through the context of community gardens. Participants' verbal accounts are given primacy to allow their perspectives and experiences to come forward in the interpretations. Diaries and observation notes are used to develop a contextual understanding of these experiences. The following chapters address the research questions identified in the literature review:

1. How do individuals make sense of the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens?
2. What is the dynamic between embodiment and participation in communities of practice?
3. How are participants' identities developed in communities of practice negotiated alongside other identities?
4. How does participation in community gardens intersect with consumers' lifestyle beyond these sites?

Chapter 6 answers RQ1 and RQ2 to distinguish the experiences of individuals while in the community gardens- how they engage with the norms and how they make sense of the embodied learning elements. Chapter 7 relates to the RQ3 and RQ4 which explores the links between participation in community gardens and individuals' identities and wider consumption behaviour.

Chapter 6 - Understanding participation in community gardens

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 concerns itself with the dynamic processes taking places in the community gardens – how participants interact with the norms and how they make sense of the embodied learning experiences. Section 6.2 addresses the first research question and explores how participants make sense of ethical consumption and production norms by considering how these norms are embedded in collective production activities and how these norms shape consumption in these contexts. This section further explores how participants experience these norms as a source of tension. Section 6.3 corresponds to the second research question and examines the embodied nature of participation in communities of practice through unpacking concepts such as non-representational learning, embodied shared repertoires, embodied connections to place and embodied intensification.

6.2 Communities of practice and ethical consumption and production norms

Addressing the first research question of this study, the following section explores how participants engaged with the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens and what this signifies within their wider consumption lifestyles. To understand how individuals made sense of these norms, participants' narratives and accounts are framed and interpreted through the alignment dimension of identification in a community of practice. The findings below propose that there are three distinct kinds alignment happening in a community of practice: passive, active and conflicted. These three kinds of alignment show the plurality of individuals' engagement with the norms and shared repertoires in a community of practice, adding further depth to our understanding of practice learning. It emerges that alignment is not just a matter of subscribing to the communities' codes of conduct but also relates to individuals' own internal narratives and the things that matter to them.

All the gardens in this study practised organic growing, promoted waste reduction and wildlife conservation. Chapter 3, section 3.3 considered how community gardens are both

places of ethical production and of ethical consumption. Goals like tackling climate change, preserving local environments and reducing carbon footprint were seen as complementary to developing the local community. For example, Summerton Garden state their mission is: "to promote food growing, healthy eating and to serve as a hub for sustainability education in [location]". This indicates that concern for sustainability and sustainable consumption are at the front of this garden's activities. Below are captions of some of the gardens websites which illustrate how social, ecological and environmental ethics are embedded in the community garden's purpose.

Fig 6.1 Urban Oasis Statement

Urban Oasis, for example, have goals like tackling climate change at the forefront of their activities.

COMMUNITY LED ENVIRONMENTAL PROJECTS IN THE

HOME   WHAT WE DO   PROJECTS   GET INVOLVED   WHAT'S ON   COURSES   MAP- FOODBANKS & COMMUNITY MEALS

COMMUNITY GARDENING

search this site   GO

Every week, teams of volunteers work together around ▇▇▇▇ maintaining and developing local community gardens.

We also have groups who meet and work weekly in

The groups also help out with school grounds and nursery gardens, building raised beds and keeping spaces tidy.

We only use organic methods in the gardens. One of the aims of the project is to grow as much food as possible and what isn't taken home by volunteers is redistributed back into the community.

We are part of the Glasgow Local Food Network which is an informal network of organisations and individuals across Glasgow who are passionate about producing and eating local food. Glasgow Local Food Network Map

Fig 6.2 Hope Church Garden Information page

Hope Church's parent organisation explicitly describe their commitment to organic food growing in all their community gardens and considers itself an environmental project.

Fig 6.3 Urban Farm Mission Statement

Urban Farm's Mission Statement also reflects the community garden's commitment to community, environmental protection and carbon footprint reduction. This confirms this study's assumption that community gardens are driven by ethical consumption and production principles.

These images illustrate how the community gardens considered in this study have ethical consumption and production principles at the core of the shared knowledge that is being created and circulated in the gardens. Most of participants of this study were aware of and reflected on the community gardens' commitment to organic growing, environmental stewardship and animal welfare. These principles were fundamental to garden activities and were made visible in everyday interactions. This is evident in participants' narratives below as they reflected on their own alignment with the gardens' commitment to ethical consumption and production principles. Below is an exploration of how participants aligned with these norms through passive alignment and compliance, by taking ownership of ethical consumption and production meanings through active alignment but also through negotiating tensions. This interweaves with individuals' wider involvement in the gardens and their consumption behaviour beyond these communities.

6.2.1 Passive alignment

Most participants responded to the ethical consumption and production norms they encountered in community gardens by accepting these rules as a fixture of their involvement in these places. In communities of practice, this is considered as a form of compliant alignment (Wenger, 1998). Chapter 4 section 4.3.2, for example, highlighted how Wenger (1998) considers alignment as following 'the law of the land' which happens without one's engagement with the practices that generate these laws or rules. Goulding et al. (2013) illustrate how consumers in the raving community displayed an "unquestioning acceptance" of certain norms. This is reflective of the discussion in chapter 2 section 2.3.2 on how communities of ethical consumption embedded ethical consumption in everyday activities and override the need for reflexivity (Hargreaves, 2011; Moraes et al., 2012). As Louis exemplifies, the community's norms are collectively accepted and enforced by the garden volunteers: "We were painting beds using organic conservation paint. All we are using in the garden is organic [Louis, Diary]. Participants thus embed these principles in their own activities in the gardens:

> "Well, we put in chicken pellets because everything is organic, so before you put, you dig the trenches and you put in the chicken pellets and you sit the potatoes at the top then you cover them over" [Gerald, Interview 2].

In the quote above, Gerald is describing the process of planting potatoes. He refers both to collective practices of organic growing but also to specific individual actions. In his description, "everything" in the garden is organic, which indicates the garden's principles of ethical food growing permeate all practices of the site. Gerald's remark also shows the procedural nature of food production where organic practices are normalised and embedded in the instructions that individual gardeners learn. This is indicative of the habitual reframing (Moraes et al., 2012) of ethical consumption principles in community gardens' activities. His use of "we" illustrates first his identification with the garden community: he is one of the garden members. It also suggests the collective and pervasive alignment with organic practices. Alignment involves the coordination of individual activities in such a way as to work for the benefit of the community (Goulding et al., 2013). As with any community of practice, members define and adhere to a set of moral codes that act for the greater good of that community (Wenger, 2000). His narrative exemplifies how adhering to ethical consumption and production considerations are part of individuals' process of aligning with the community.

Some participants' accounts showed that apart from production considerations, ethical consumption itself was also visible in the collective activities in the garden. Gerald, for example, describes in his diary how the food in the community garden is often vegetarian.

"Worked with staff and volunteers arrived 10.am left about 2.30. Enjoyed vegetarian lunch with other worker. […]

Food was being prepared for the next day AGM and I had a vegetable curry and naan at lunchtime". [Gerald, diary]

His quotes are illustrative of how ethical consumption considerations are integrated and visible to community members across most activities in community gardens. Michael further shows how ethical consumption is embedded in consumption learning activities at another garden:

"I go to Mission Club just now and they're running a cookery class and everything that's cooked from what they grow in the garden... more vegetarian obviously, they don't have the meat and things […] It was like beef burgers except that they were veggies burgers, they were totally vegetarian. No meat in them obviously. They were very nice. But it's actually making me look more in the way of cooking myself and once everything is a stage further on and once things are starting to grow, I'll pick them up" [Michael, Interview 1].

Michael describes how the garden produce is turned into vegetarian meals: "totally vegetarian". He accepts this as being implicit in the organisation's activities, similarly to how Gerald accepts the organic nature of the food growing. His quote further indicates how community gardens and adjacent organisations embed ethical consumption principles in their everyday practices and in their educational capacity. Their accounts, however, are indicative of how alignment with principles does not require engagement with the sources of these principles (Wenger, 1998). Neither Gerald nor Michael consider why the gardens practice ethical consumption on site or reflect on their own personal perspectives of these principles.

Wenger (1998) argues that compliance is a key way through which alignment happens. Nonetheless, looking at compliance alone does not provide us with insight into how participants themselves relate to the ethical consumption and production norms. Compliance can be enacted in passive ways and does not require individuals to engage

with the reasoning behind these norms - why is the food made in the gardens vegetarian and why are organic growing principles important? It is not explored whether these participants internalised these consumption norms which is seen as essential for developing ethical consumption commitments (Hargreaves, 2011). Compliance, while a useful way of reproducing ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens, alludes to a superficial engagement with these norms, one that does not have any strong links with individuals' wider consumption behaviour.

6.2.2 Active alignment - ownership and ideological buy-in

A more proactive way through which participants made sense of ethical consumption and production norms was through negotiating and taking ownership of these norms - another form of alignment (Wenger, 1998). This is a more reflexive form of alignment which requires individuals to ponder their own motives and attitudes towards certain activities in the community gardens. In this study especially, through active alignment, participants reflected on an ideological alignment with the ethical production goals in the garden and saw themselves as having an active role in upholding them. In this instance, ideological alignment refers to individuals' sense of identification with the shared community goals of ethical consumption and production.

A proactive kind of alignment can be created by persuading and inspiring (Wenger, 1998). In community gardens, alignment, for example is further aided by the garden staff and the behaviours they inspire:

> "What I like about Anna, there is no, she's taught me one thing, there is no such thing as waste. No such thing as waste. See when we trim the leaves and all that of various plants, that's going into the compost so all that gets used. I says when I'm cooking things in the house, if I've got any leftovers, that's going into another dish, maybe for my grandson and myself" [John, Interview 1].

John's account illustrates how the gardener herself can be a source of active alignment as her example serves to reinforce John's own sense of compliance. John further describes the parallel between the gardener's own principles of waste reduction and his own approach to reducing waste at home. There is an indication here of a complementary relationship between the garden's ethos of waste reduction and John's own consideration for waste - an active alignment. From his quote, we glean that some participants make sense of the ethical

consumption norms in the garden through their everyday consumption experiences (Hobson, 2003). Moreover, John's quote shows the possible ways in which the norms and principles of ethical consumption in the garden intersect with individuals' consumption behaviours. In this case, the gardener's commitment to waste reduction is reflected in John's everyday food consumption behaviour as well.

When participants reflected on the ethical consumption and production norms and what these meant to them, they often felt these norms were meaningful to their everyday life. This is the case for John, who reflects on the community garden's commitment to wildlife preservation in relation to his own experiences with wildlife.

> "... They're gonna spray seeds and scatter them about, let the flowers grow so the bees and the butterflies can come back, trying to get the population back cause when we were kids we were seeing hunners of butterflies but now you don't see any much butterflies or bees […] The idea is to help to the environment and it is doing it, I don't know if they're gonna get their beehives this year but I think it would be nice if a couple of beehives up here" [John, Interview 2].

In the quote above, John talks about the garden's plans to encourage "bees and butterflies" by scattering seeds. These plans reflect the gardens' broader commitment to wildlife preservation. This particular garden had a bee 'working group' that allowed volunteers in the garden to train and become beekeepers themselves, further educating its participants in wildlife conservation. His account indicates how experiences in the gardens provide gardeners with a unique opportunity for learning about the biophysical systems that support plants and animals (Hale et al., 2011). Nonetheless, John refers to the community as "they" and he seems unsure about their exact plans. This ambiguity and distancing indicate that participants were not involved in planning the activities in the gardens. John reflects on his memory of seeing butterflies in the past in "hunners" (hundreds) as a metaphor of abundance. He makes sense of the community gardens' commitment to wildlife conservation in relation to his own experience of seeing wildlife decline over the years. This illustrates how John is negotiating alignment with the garden's enterprises by taking ownership of these meanings (Wenger, 1998), in this case by relating to his own past experiences.

Because of the double alignment – both through compliance and through ideological alignment, participants experienced a stronger identification with the community. In the

following, John exemplifies a strong sense of identification with the garden by considering his own role in upholding the community garden's enterprises: "we gotta try and help the environment, we've got to help the bees and we've got to try and encourage the butterflies, the butterfly are dying [John, interview 1] and "as I say we've got good health in mind and we've got nature, the environment in mind as well, you know we want the butterflies, the bees [John, Interview 2]. In his quote, he refers to the garden as a collective 'we' which indicates he sees himself as part of the community. His reflection of "having in mind" indicates how principles of wildlife conservation are embedded in community gardens' goals and guide individual activities. It also illustrates the strong ideological alignment between his own considerations and the garden's ethical principles. John's account indicates that when norms are negotiated in ways that are relevant to individuals' experiences, the process of alignment can lead to a stronger sense of identification with ethical consumption considerations. John's account also indicates how environmental concerns are linked with individuals' own experiences of the natural environment – in this case the absence of fauna is the cause of concern for John.

Below Fiona further reflects on her active role in enforcing the community's commitment to organic practices:

> "Last time we used nematodes, we put them in, it's like very tiny organisms, like very very small ones you cannot see them, you just put them in water and they are, what they do, they are pretty mean, they go in the slugs and they make it not eat and it's like eventually dies, that's really bad but they've been eating our lettuces and we don't want them to, we don't want to spray cause it's not organic, so just for the sake of getting rid of the slugs because we have birds coming as well and we don't want to poison them" [Fiona , Interview 2].

Fiona reflects on how the ethos of practising organic agriculture to protect the wildlife that comes in the garden impacts how slugs are handled. In Fiona 's quote alignment involves an ongoing negotiation between compliance with and ownership (Wenger, 1998) of the community gardens' commitment to organic agriculture. She describes the process of disposing of slugs which can be "pretty mean" but she reaffirms the garden's commitment to organic which justifies why she doesn't spray the produce because it would poison the birds that come into the garden. Her quote illustrates her collective identification with the garden community: "we used", "our lettuce", "we don't want to poison them". Fiona 's

quote indicates how participants take ownership of the activities and the garden space through accepting joint responsibility.

Fiona's strong sense of alignment is further carried into her activities beyond the community gardens as she feels the urge to use organic growing at home:

> "Today we also spoke about ways to provide plant feed, and still adhere to the principles of organic gardening. Felt a bit ashamed that I actually bought some plant feed two weeks ago, and did not care if it is organic or not. I have not used it yet, but I am going to use another methods, which I was shown at the evening class today – feed from plants, such as comfrey" [Fiona, Diary].

Her account illustrates the way in which the norms embedded in community garden activities – in this case organic growing, can spill over into individuals' behaviours beyond the gardens – using organic plant feed at home. Fiona feels guilty and ashamed for not caring about the organic feed. This illustrates how norms can trigger new considerations (Hargreaves, 2011) but also suggests that ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens around find reciprocity in specific corresponding activities. In other words, Fiona's new considerations are focused specifically on the process of organic growing as opposed to leading to wider ethical consumption concerns.

Both John and Fiona's accounts offer some indication as to how those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers make sense of their involvement in community gardens by taking ownership of ethical consumption and production principles through an ideological alignment with the community values. Nonetheless, this was only the case for several participants. Other participants experienced their alignment with the community as fraught with tensions and conflict.

6.2.3 Conflicted alignment

Although compliance and ideological buy-in were dominant among participants, the norms and rules of community gardens were also a source of conflict and tension. Some participants struggled to reconcile and accept the ethical consumption and production principles for various reasons. In these situations, individuals sought to negotiate and make sense of the ethical consumption and production norms through the language and meanings shared in the community gardens.

Although most participants accepted and were in favour of the organic growing principles, some also experienced the garden's commitment to organic growing as challenging, as it affected their efforts of food growing. Dan 's account shows how participants negotiate the challenges of organic growing in their alignment with the community.

> "A bit tough because you canny spray them but you've got to bring other things, like the bees, the butterflies, you've got bring all this back into the plots and stuff like that to germinate flowers […] so you can't use the chemicals for that and so it's pretty hard work, cause if you've had a chemical you could spray it, it would make it look ..but you've just got to rely on the elements and a bit of luck so that's the way I look at it and that's the way you do it but it's all right, it's a new experience" [Dan, Interview 2].

In the quote above, Dan reflects on how the gardens' commitment to growing organically can be a challenge to growing successfully. Throughout his involvement in the study, Dan was frustrated at his plot being vulnerable to pests. Dan accepts, however, that organic growing is the established practice in the garden and makes sense of this in relation to the garden's focus on wildlife preservation and "bringing back" bees and butterflies. His quote indicates how alignment can be fraught with tensions and has to be negotiated (Wenger, 1998). His view is reflective of how the gardens promote and develop an awareness of how actions in the garden - like spraying can impact the wider wildlife population. This awareness than embeds a sense of collective accountability. Dan concedes by accepting the unpredictability of food growing - "a bit of luck", indicating that food growing can reconnect individuals with the challenges of food production (Dowler et al., 2009).

Below Nick and Eve reflect on the challenges they experienced with some of the activities in the garden that were driven by environmental and ethical purposes: the compost toilet and the compost machine. These two elements were associated with garden smells as unpleasant and physically repulsive.

> Nick: the only one I don't like is that toilet [...] it's terrible, Sam has gotta change it over cause you got told last week, I didn't realise how he does it. He actually goes in it...
>
> Eve: how does he get in it?
>
> Nick: down a hatch.

Eve: what hatch?

Nick: do you know when he's inside, I didn't realise until last week you got shown didn't you [to me]. He moves the bin and then they change the toilet, put the toilet unto that one and put the bin onto that one but Sam has to go down.

Eve: oh shut up.

Nick: I just hope he's got a good gas mask when he goes down in there cause soon as you start turning that I don't know if they actually get that emptied professionally, I don't know if that gets done once a year or whenever.

Eve: Cause it does smell especially in the hot summer […] oh and the compost.

Nick: yeah, the compost [...] when it's hot you can see the steam coming out and it's a bit, it makes you heave a bit, doesn't it?

Eve: Yeah that's why I don't do it. I don't like it, makes me sick. You put a couple of bits in there didn't you, as soon as you lifted the top, Nick do that please, quick [laughs].

Eve: I can't stand the smell.

Nick: I put up with it [...] it's all the food waste that goes in it coming out of the old people's houses where they've got all the breakfast dinner and stuff they're all in one bag and it's all mashed up and everything and there she comes now she's gonna start doing the composting so you might get a strong whiff of it coming over in a minute" [Nick and Eve, Interview 1].

Nick and Eve describe the toilet and composter in the garden. This particular garden had a compost toilet which was unique to this site and it also had a different composting system than the other community gardens. This was in an in-vessel composter (WRAP UK, 2016), a sealed container which accommodates large volumes and collects food waste from the neighbouring care home. Nick and Eve describe the smells of compost in the garden with an image of disgust - "it makes you heave". As this composting method is becoming more common, Defoer and Langenhove (2002) also indicate that odour concerns are increasing. Nonetheless, Nick and Eve's account illustrates that although they experience the smells in negative ways, they accept its role as part of the garden ethos of collecting waste from the

neighbourhood. Their narrative reflects how tensions in alignment are negotiated as participants make sense of these tensions and come to terms with the community's enterprise (Wenger, 1998). Chalmers Thomas et al. (2013) found that tensions in diverse communities are negotiated through language, structural and role alignment practices. These practices are aimed at addressing tension and ensuring continuity in the community. This is visible in Nick and Eve's account.

Both Nick and Eve and Dan eventually stop going to the gardens. This could be partly due to the conflict in alignment they experience during their time in the garden. This is further explored in section 6.4.3 which considers the link between identity and alignment in more depth.

This section explored how individuals relate to ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens (RQ1), building on themes developed in previous chapters. This section found that individuals align with ethical consumption norms either through passive engagement with ethical consumption and production norms, by taking active ownership of these norms but also by experiencing tensions and conflict with the norms. Chapter 2 section 2.3.2 explored how communities help embed ethical consumption behaviours in everyday activities through normative and habitual reframing (Moraes et al., 2012; Hargreaves, 2011) ensuring consistent commitments over time. The findings above illustrate firstly that while this can be true in community gardens as participants accept the norms in the community, their personal engagement with these norms both in the place and beyond its boundaries can vary widely. Crucially, the norms themselves cannot embed ethical consumption behaviour without an ideological buy in from participants in these places. This indicates that norms are not enough to lead to habitual reframing without any deeper changes in participants' relationship with consumption. To explore whether such deeper changes are happening in community gardens more widely, the following section considers in depth how participants make sense of their embodied experiences of learning.

6.3 Embodiment and identification in community gardens

This section addresses the second research question and explores how participants who did not identify as ethical consumers make sense of their embodied experiences of participation in community gardens. Previous research has demonstrated that those who are ethically concerned experienced a strong sense of connection to the natural environment (Roger & Bragg, 2012; Maiteny, 2002). Others suggest that embodied and experiential

learning and a sense of connection with the natural environment can cause individuals to develop ethical consumption considerations (DeLind, 2006, 2010; Carolan, 2007; Dowler et al., 2009). Nonetheless, it has not been explored whether these connections extend to those who are not already ethically concerned. This section expands on previous explorations of how bodily experiences impact ethical consumption behaviour as theorised by Carolan (2007) through tactile space and non-representational knowledge, Turner (2011) through embodied connection, DeLind (2006; 2010) through bodies in place and Hayes - Conroy and Martin (2010) through visceral identification.

The findings suggest that participants develop strong connections with food and the natural environment, as previously implied by the literature (Delind, 2009; Hayden & Buck, 2012). Participants also acquired non-representational knowledge about food production as Carolan (2007) had previously suggested. The present study, however, finds that embodied participation in community gardens did not lead to ethical consumption commitments among those who are not ethically concerned. This study further demonstrates that embodiment is an important dimension of identification in a community of practice where the body is essential to the process of learning. In this study embodied identification with a community of practice derive from to 1. shared histories of learning through non-representational knowledge, 2. shared embodied repertoires of meanings derived from sensory experiences of sight, taste and smell 3. Shared connections with place.

Embodied identification is thus a way for participants to connect their involvement in a community of practice with their broader identity. Embodied experiences in a community of practice also lead participants to develop an embodied intensification between their consumption identity and their community participation. This perspective illustrates the blurred boundaries between participants' identities in and beyond a community of practice. These findings strongly indicate that embodiment is a form of identification in communities of practice alongside engagement, alignment and imagination.

6.3.1 Non-representational learning: relationality and wonderment

When exploring how participants made sense of their embodied participation, this study finds that non-representational learning is an important part of participants' trajectories of learning and of identification in a community of practice. The body and embodiment are central to non-representational learning as knowledge is intertwined with the experience itself (Thrift, 2008). This study finds that non-representational learning was a relational

process negotiated between embodied interactions with the material and social world and transformative through a sense of wonderment.

In the quote below, Michael reflects on the embodied and relational nature of learning in community gardens:

[...] "What I've recently learned is that the planting of potatoes you, I don't feel I can describe it, but what I've learned is how to plant potatoes and you plant them in a trough and every time you see the potato roots appearing you cover them with soil, so that's the thing" [Michael, Interview 3].

His quote includes references to the non-representational knowledge of how to do grow potatoes and the steps he would take. Non-representational knowledge is made sense of in the garden as something that cannot always be fully attained or articulated (Carolan, 2011) but stored in the embodied memories and experiences of the community of practice. Moreover, Michael was taught how to plant potatoes by someone in the garden which indicates the entanglement of embodied and social learning. Embodied interactions allow participants to learn from each other and to learn by doing (Krasny & Tidball, 2009), but as Michael indicates, often the knowledge exchanged could not always be articulated. DuGuid (2005) similarly highlights that within a community of practice, knowledge is instantiated dynamically in the things that individuals know tacitly about how to "go on" in the context of social life without being able to give them direct discursive expression.

Embodiment and social context are relational - they are mutually constituted and cannot be separated (Hayes – Conroy & Martin, 2008). Nick's account below presents further evidence of how non-representational and social experiences of learning were also relational – non-representational learning experiences are informed by social understandings and vice versa:

"We planted some radishes, and we had one like that, I pulled out it was massive, I've never seen a radish, it must have been like that size [gestures] of a baseball ball, I asked what is that and they turned around and said it's a radish I said that is not a radish and they cut it out and we tasted it, and it was a radish, it was perfectly round, it had the little stalk at the bottom and the leaves on top it was like a flower, and it was so strong, and I pulled the rest of them up, it was only tiny things like that before Christmas" [Nick, Interview 2].

At first, there is a sense of bewilderment in Nick's reflection at the size of the radish and distrust in his senses for "never" having seen a radish. Nick is then reassured by other garden members of the nature of the radish. There is a tension in his quote between his scepticism of the radish - for never having seen one, and the debate over the nature of the produce. His narrative illustrates how he establishes the nature of the radish by relying on his existing embodied knowledge of taste. As Carolan (2007) contends, sites of sensory engagement with the natural environment are places of non-representational learning. Here we see the interplay between different ways of knowing and how Nick's sense of sight is informed by the socially created knowledge and then verified by his sense of taste. His account illustrates how non-representational knowledge rests upon an attached way of knowing, where the subject of learning and the object being learned cannot be separated, and knowledge cannot be separated from the experience itself (Thrift, 2008). Nick makes sense of the radish through sensing and embodied experiences by which possibilities for unfolding new knowledge, learning and meaning emerge. Interactions are an integral part of how one acquires 'membership' into a community (Wenger, 1998). In this study, interactions were present in social forms, but, as Nick indicates, an essential part of becoming a garden member was through ongoing embodied interactions with food and the natural environment.

Moreover, his narrative indicates that learning depends on a set of relationships to other learning in continuous, dynamic exchanges and transformation (Mezirow, 1997). In this case, his previous experience of knowing what a radish tastes like, which is something that cannot be articulated. His account indicates the subjective experience of knowing something with your body (Press & Minta, 2000). This knowing is a building block in the process of how participants develop their identities in the garden, as they accumulate new meanings and understandings of food and food growing.

This study also finds a link between non-representational learning and processes of imagination characterised by a sense of wonderment. Embodied interactions with the natural environment expanded participants images of possibilities and were often accompanied by a sense of the unexpected. Louis reflects on the experience of seeing the growing process with a sense of surprise:

> "I never expected to see you know, different things. I put a lot of stuff in my bed
> also, not being sure what actually grows, what not, you know so... so when you're
> seeing something growing which you totally did not expect it's surprising, and also

you know on the package you always see how it should like but when you grow it's always ... you see that in real…"[Louis, Interview 2].

Louis's quote illustrates how community gardens allow for new spatial and temporal intelligibility toward the natural and social world to be imagined (Thrift, 2007). He alludes to a sense of the 'unexpected' and of 'surprise' at seeing things grow, which is commonly reported among the participants. Louis also reflects on the difference between the abstract representation of the plant on the packet and the actual "real" experience of seeing things grow. In her study on carrots as edible foodstuff, Roe (2006) notes that there is little practice of 'wonderment' around most foodstuff in everyday life. She argues that most interactions with food and plant things are non-reflexive. In the present study, it became apparent that 'wonderment' was an essential dimension of interacting with food in the gardens. This was because food and plants were seen in a novel way which brought both the body and its senses, and plants into participants' awareness. Louis's comparison alludes to the textural differences between abstract and non-representational knowledge and the signifying and meaningful experience of seeing something grow from seed. Knowledge in the garden does not necessarily fit neatly into categories of reason but is encapsulated in non-cognitive embodiment through bodily experiences (Carolan, 2007). These sensory experiences evoke powerful meanings which become embedded in participants process of identification in a community of practice:

> "From the food perspective I learned well I learned quite a lot just from planting, like how to plant seedlings which can vary quite a bit from one plant to another and I was involved I enjoyed doing the harvesting cause you just get the awesome smells of the soil and herbs, you just get all those smells coming up, and I just remember cause I have been harvesting the berries and apples" [Sarah, Interview 1].

Observation in the garden:

> "Anna brought some Tupperware containers, and we began picking gooseberries together around the same bushes that were planted in a barrel at the back of the garden. The bush seemed loaded with berries. We picked white and red gooseberries. I remember the berries were surprisingly sweet, and we both commented on how nice they were [...] I was surprised because I thought gooseberries were usually sour" [Researcher notes from observation in the garden with Sarah].

Sarah's quote illustrates how food growing is experienced as meaningful in an embodied way–from the physical planting and knowing how to plant seeds to the sensory experience of harvesting. This is further illustrated in the researcher's observations. The researcher notes also indicate a sense of 'wonderment' (Roe, 2006b) in interactions with edible things in the garden. These accounts indicate the shared embodied understandings that are developed through engagement in the community of practice. In her narrative, Sarah experiences the harvest as a sensory reward through the "awesome smells". As discussed earlier, smells can help create a sense of place and connect one with a particular physical location (Canniford et al., 2018). In Sarah's narrative, the scope for smell to constitute meanings extends to her process of identification with the community garden.

Some participants experienced an embodied resonance of their developing competencies where their sensory experiences served to reinforce their developing skills:

> Gerald: it turned out being very simple [planting potatoes], very straightforward, much more straightforward than I thought it was. I was quite surprised when it worked, [laughs] when I pulled up at first all of the potatoes, 'oh god, look at the potatoes, there they are, there look! and Anna took a photograph of me [laugh] so we've been eating the potatoes at home so we've eaten them all, all the potatoes I've taken out of that raised bed we've only got a little bit left in the house" [Gerald, Interview, 2].

Gerald reflects on his astonishment at seeing the potatoes grow, reflecting the wonderment element mentioned above (Roe, 2006b). This wonderment highlights the impact of embodied experiences on participants' learning and the powerful meanings that non-representational knowledge evokes. Gerald, for example, feels doubtful about the success of his potato planting and is only reassured through sensory knowing: "seeing" the potatoes grow himself. Similarly, to other participants, Gerald's encounter with food growing has a revelatory experience and implicates a sense of excitement. The moment was marked with a photograph, given the occasion a celebratory dimension which is further elaborated in section 6.3.4. Gerald then intends to grow at home which shows how community garden participation can spill-over beyond the community boundaries, arguably altering participants' consumption behaviour as considered in chapter 7 section 7.3.2.

This section explored how participants' experiences of non-representational learning were an important part of the process of becoming a member of the community. Participants

made sense of their embodied experiences as negotiated between social and non-representational learning but also as in a relational state as the two dimensions are interdependent. Participants also experienced a sense of wonderment derived from their embodied experiences of learning to grow food. This is a useful finding as it indicates that participation in community gardens leads to transformative learning experiences around food and the natural environment. This reflects previous findings like Carolan's (2007), Hayden and Buck's (2012), Turner's (2011) and Middlemiss's (2011a). Nonetheless, there is limited scope to suggest these learning experiences connect with wider ethical considerations as previously suggested (Carolan, 2007; Hayden & Buck, 2012). This contributes to the research question by revealing how embodiment and collective participation intertwine and constitute each other in community gardens. Nonetheless, these findings are focused on experiences in the community gardens themselves. The following section explores how participants connect their embodied learning experiences with shared understandings of broader consumption.

6.3.2 Shared embodied repertoires: recontextualising food

"If we are what we eat and we don't know what we eat, how can we know who we are?" (Fischler, 1988, quoted in Raoult-Wack & Bricas, 2002, page 332)

In communities of practice, shared repertoires are made of the stories, discourses and actions that over time create shared histories of learning (Wenger, 1998). This study finds that embodied experiences play an important role in creating those repertoires in a community of practices where the body is central to the process of learning. In this study, participants reflected on shared discourses of food and the natural environment that arose from sensory encounters. Much of these shared discourses focused on the role of community gardens in bridging the distance from food consumption and production and making food trustworthy again.

Fischler's (1988) quote attempts to capture the relationship between our removal from food production and how food is central to our sense of self. Similar to some of Turner's (2011) findings, in this study participants reflected on how involvement in community food growing gave them a sense of control over what goes into their bodies. As considered in chapter 1 section 1.2, contemporary food scares have intensified fears around the safety of food, particularly around the products of biotechnology (Roe, 2006a). In many participants' accounts, images of possibilities of food carried negative implications and

food was a source of anxiety for some. Through shared and embodied engagement with food, community gardens were collectively seen as places where participants could address their anxieties around food:

"I cannot guarantee that the one without pesticides is really without pesticides. I don't believe the labels of the food too much but I don't believe that something if it's called organic, if it has the label organic it really is organic the only time I will believe it is organic is when my neighbours have given food to me or if I grow it myself or if I visit the place where the food is growing the last is a little bit too because I don't think I would visit, I would like to visit costa Rica, but I wouldn't just because I like to eat bananas and I know that bananas are produced mostly in costa Rica I wouldn't be like hmm I want to go to costa Rica and see and make sure it's organic that's a bit too much probably I would like but at the moment that's not my priority [...] [about the food in the garden] I would say they are organic yeah, they are not really sprayed with anything and sometimes we use slug killer but that's usually called organic and at the same time I don't know if it really is organic but when it comes to slugs we just have to get rid of them so yeah I do believe the stuff from the garden is organic cause I know I've planted and I know I didn't apply anything apart from manure or compost" [Fiona, Interview 3].

Fiona describes her mistrust of food labels and organic product claims. She argues that she would only trust the food was organic if someone known to her gave her the food, if she had grown it herself or if she can see where the food was grown. Her justification resonates with Fischler (1988) and more recently Carolan (2007)'s description of the epistemic distance resulting from temporal and spatial extensions – things are both far in terms of distance but also time. In everyday life, we are removed from the process of food production and Carolan (2007) argues that this might lead to a sense of apathy. The findings in this study further this knowledge and show that epistemic distance also leads to a sense of anxiety. For Fiona, her mistrust comes from a physical distance from the process of production. Fiona describes her belief that the food in the garden is organic as she was involved in the process herself, and she 'knows' nothing else was applied to the food. This resembles Roe's (2006a) discussion on how participants perceive pesticide or GM foods as interferences to the edibility of food. Nonetheless, Fiona further questions the organic nature of the slug killer but is resigned that the slugs need getting rid of. This negotiated acceptance indicates her alignment with the garden's ways of doing things as previously

considered in section 6.2. In the dynamic of trust and mistrust, embodied interactions with the material world allows Fiona to know first-hand whether or not something is organic. The act of seeing and sensing then becomes one of believing as it dispels our fear (Dewsberry, 2016).

A similar view is illustrated by Sarah's account:

> "There are so many pesticides and things that are used in our foods and there's so many hormones and things that are used in supermarket foods and by growing your own food you know what's going in there and you know what's going into your food. Those things that are going into our bodies are probably also affecting our health so when you're part of a garden like that, a garden community it's just really good to know what's involved, to know where you're getting your food from, and what's going in it how plants are being looked after" [Sarah, Interview 2].

In Sarah's account, there is a sense of anxiety and of being overwhelmed by the amount of potentially harmful interferences with the edibility of food in the form of pesticides and hormones. Her account illustrates how food becomes more or less edible the more you know how it was grown - 'good' to eat as you can "know what's going into" your body. Sarah feels that by growing your own food you can control what goes into your body, echoing Goodman's and Dupuis (2002) findings of how consumers attempt to negotiate what goes into their bodies through food. Sarah's reflections also bring to life how the complexity of the food system and our distance from it are a source of uncertainty and stress. She feels that there is a link between the things we eat - that go into our bodies and our health. Being part of a community garden and having access to food you trust is a way for her to look after her health. Sarah's and Fiona's account indicate the shared understandings that emerge from embodied experiences in community gardens. In this context, the community garden is collectively represented as a place of connecting with and trusting food.

This study finds that embodied and shared experiences of food helped food items to transition from a nondescript edible item to having meaning again. For some, food had become an unidentified edible object (Fischler, 1988) and sensory encounters with freshly harvested food developed their understanding of where and how food originated.

> "About three months ago when Anna gave me the Brussels sprouts, people, I got stopped in the street, three people, no one knew what they were, adults, not kids, no

one knew what they, they only know them if they're in a tin or if they're in a packet" [John, Interview 2].

John's narrative indicates how food can appear unfamiliar when presented in a certain way. Some argue that processes of industrialisation like canning and packaging have constrained our experience of food, separating food as a product of nature from food as a consumption good (Raoult - Wack & Bricas, 2002). The knowledge that is created in the garden allows participants to contextualise food beyond the boundaries of current provision processes which have decontextualised our knowledge of food from its source. John also reflects on how embodied experiences of food in the community garden impacted his broader consumption experiences. Building on his sense of trust in the origins of the food, he considered the produce in the gardens as being inherently healthy:

"When you're going to harvest something, you knew it was healthy, you're not going to take a bad thing out of the bad garden, any vegetable or crop or a thingme. Eh, you know you're going to make a good meal. You know you're going to make a good positive meal. When I say positive, it's gonna be nutritious and it will be healthy for you" [John, Interview 1].

[…]

"I feel content having personally grown food from friend and myself. It sets my mind on self-reliance. When I have fresh food I do not get hunger pangs. Plus there is no bloated stomach" [John, Diary].

John's quote above reflects Turner's (2011) perspective of how participants in community gardens argued home-grown produce was good for the body. In John's account, his cumulative experience in the garden lends the food positive qualities derived from the community gardens' commitment to organic growing. This indicates how alignment with the principles of ethical consumption reverberates in connections we have with food and how it shapes experiences of the food itself. John's quote shows how intangible characteristics of the garden produce affect ways in which the food is made edible. For John, eating "healthy" food leads to a bodily feeling of content. Roe (2006a) talks about how participants reflect on the intangible components of food and she contemplates that these elements could be seen as processes of imagination, as representations, that are not 'seen' nor 'sensed' by consumers in the act of eating; instead they are pieces of information passed that circulate in food discourse. She argues that perhaps trace elements

have material properties and, although the activity of trace elements is not clearly identifiable perhaps there are bodily responses to them at the immaterial level (Roe, 2006a).

This study also finds that participants developed shared understandings of the challenges of food production:

> "Learning about food, when you're growing it, you find out how difficult it is, what you've put into it do you know, like food, they've got big warehouses and big greenhouse and all fields but when you're planting them, it's very difficult to maintain. Slugs, bugs they eat them, you get the birds, you put your seeds in the birds come down and have the seeds so ... something you look and say where's my carrots, it's just nature so I find it difficult, a wee bit of a frustration, when you come back expecting carrots and you don't see carrots, cause the birds have got your seeds, you're like that cursing and swearing in a nice way ... it just shows when you're growing it's just amazing, getting your hands dirty and getting a bit of advice of somebody, oh it never worked the last year you know cause of the slugs, the birds they nicked my carrots" [Dan , Interview 2].

In the quote above, Dan describes how learning to grow is accompanied by the realisation of the difficulties it involves like being able to maintain the plants and the pests they are vulnerable to. This reflects Dowler's et al. (2009) findings of consumers' increasing awareness of the wider food system because of learning to grow food. Dan compares growing in the garden alongside large-scale industrial processes. Although frustrated at losing his produce, Dan accepts the difficulties of growing as an essential part of nature. Here, Dan feels rewarded with a sense of amazement at having grown something and the embodied satisfaction of "getting your hands dirty" while also engaging with others in the garden through "getting advice". As Raoult-Wack and Bricas (2002) argue, industrialisation and urbanisation have put a growing distance between man and nature, which has fundamentally altered our relationship with food. Dan experiences the risk and challenges of growing first-hand and feels frustrated at the predation on his carrots, and so he develops a new appreciation for food and the effort that goes behind growing it.

Other participants reflected on how embodied experiences of time and place re-contextualised food and food production as a complex and meaningful process. Mark, for

example, reflects on connecting with a sense of time that is often invisible in an urban environment: the cyclical time of nature.

> "I like the kind of social aspect of it as well the fact that it's it is a focal point for people and I like the idea that there's a harvest festival so even within the city we get a chance to think about you know the cycle of growing and that we have harvest even in the city so yeah, I think that's a really nice idea, we're, we've become so removed from food production and the cycle of the seasons and what is, you know what it's good to grow at a certain time of the year" [Mark, Interview 1].

This new perspective of time extends Mark's understanding of food and seasonality. An expanded understanding of time constitutes an antidote to the epistemic distance (Carolan, 2007) that Mark experiences from food production. For Mark, the garden is a central social point–a "focal point" in the city. This reinforces the shared repertoire of the garden as a place of embodied reconnection with nature and food. He values the role of the garden in bringing forward the harvest festival within a city as this allows him to reflect on the cycle of growing. Turner (2011) argues that bodies are implicated in environmental issues as consumers make sense of these issues by arguing that eating seasonally is good for the body. Mark' account show his increasing awareness of seasonality although this does not reflect how this relates to his broader consumption activities.

The findings above show that embodied participation in community gardens contributes to the creation of shared understandings and assumptions of food in these places as "healthy" and "organic". Moreover, embodied experiences in community garden allow participants to face the challenges of food production and develop lived experiences of seasonality. These finding potentially indicates that where the gardens have transformative potential is not in encouraging ethical consumption principles, but in retraining experiences of taste (Roe, 2006a) through changing participants' relationship with food. In this study, participants reimagined new taste norms and behaviours through embodied experiences of food in the garden. These experiences of food helped them develop their sense of taste and re-assess the edibility of foods. Possibilities of food were re-imagined, from negative food images into positive ones that assuaged participants anxieties and worries of food.

6.3.3 Embodied interactions: connections to place

This section illustrates that participants made sense of their embodied participation in community gardens by developing a sense of connection to place and the wider environment. DeLind (2006), Carolan (2007) and Turner (2011) argue that experiences of being in nature can bring the environment - and environmental issues into our awareness and foster connections with place and nature. Carolan (2007) and Bragg and Rogers (2012) further argue that these connections are an essential indicator of consumers engagement in ethical consumption behaviours. The findings in this study support the first assertions and illustrate how participants often described the gardens as places where they could connect with nature and the environment in sensory ways. This study also finds that community gardens became places of meaning and identification through sensory encounters with nature and with non-human elements, as the barriers between the body, place and objects are blurred. John's narrative indicates how a sense of connections to place is mediated by a feeling of togetherness with non-human elements.

> "When you're going up to the garden, you're in a different environment, you're there with the plants, the herbs, the flowers and the other thing that I like to watch and I take notice all the time they had a big influx of bees this year, the bees were dying off, they didn't know what was killing them but from the beginning of May the bees are there swarming about all the time" [John, Interview 1].

John describes the experiences of being in the garden as being together with plants, herbs and flowers. This perspective alludes to a sense of connection and identification with nature (Rogers & Bragg, 2008; Carolan, 2007). His account also illustrates how the boundaries between the body and surrounding objects are blurred into a sense of togetherness. The garden is constituted as a "different" environment where these sorts of connections are possible. Carolan (2007) argued previously that 'tactile space' fosters a sense of being in place and feeling connected with others. In John's case, the gardens are an environment where sensory connections with the non-human world are brought into his conscious awareness. An important detail in his account is how the community garden presents an opportunity for John to become conscious of the wildlife around him as he describes being more aware of the bees, their declining numbers but also their increasing presence in the gardens. His account indicates the invaluable potential of community gardens to develop participants sensibilities towards the environment. Below, Sarah similarly reflects on a sense of unison with the wildlife in the garden.

"[...] some plants are self-pollinating but not all plants are self-pollinating which is why bees are so important to have the pollination process, and that was quite nice as well just walking alongside the plants, and I love animals, and not being afraid of bees and just working really closely to them and just watching them the little workers in their little flowers going from flower to flower it was really nice to see them working on their little jobs and it just made me see the importance of that" [Sarah, Interview 2].

Sarah reflects on how working near the bees evokes a bodily resonance and how she experiences a sense of togetherness and solidarity with the bees by "working close to them". Sarah then explains how her involvement in the garden makes her more aware of the importance of bees in pollinating food. Her sense of solidarity points to an "ecological common sense, all-encompassing inclusiveness, a refusal to designate the world as a reality apart from the self or beyond the self's care or concern" (Tacey, 2000, p 163). Sarah's account also resonates with Hayes Conroy and Martin's (2010) writings on how one's body, by "working" with the bees and one's sense of self: "I love animals" can align in potent visceral ways. Moreover, this process of identification aids participants' sense of belonging to the garden and anchors their identities in the garden. A sense of resonance in Sarah's account indicates a joint enterprise of working 'together' with the natural environment. Braggs and Rogers (2008) and others would argue that this connection with elements of the natural environment are ways in which more ethical forms of consumption can emerge. Moreover, her account suggests that experiences of embodied connections in the gardens are extended to include interactions with other participants– implicating a collective element of the sensory experiences.

The quotes above showed how the garden spaces become a place of belonging through embodied connections with non-human elements - plants and wildlife. Moreover, community gardens are made into places through embodied connections with other garden members:

[...] "Working in the environment, growing your own plants and seeing other people's plants and seeing their flowers and seeing the herbs and one of the wee customs that we have got into, I'll go down to the mint, smell it. You know the herbs, and you see them, what they're selling in the shop, but people are out of contact with reality. You've got the mint, you've got the thyme, coriander, all these marvellous herbs and that's you away from the humdrum of the outside, just nature on its own

and it is very refreshing it helps your thinking [...] takes all the tension away, that's why I enjoy it" [John, Interview 2].

In the quote above, John describes his experience of being the garden. His reflection is a melange of embodied resonance with others and the natural environment. Being in the garden involves a range of senses: visual: "seeing" the plants, olfactory: "smelling" the mint, and auditory: being away from the "humdrum". These experiences help to constitute the garden as a place and also position John in it. There is a shared, synergistic experience of working in and alongside nature and other gardeners. Like Sarah, John reflects on the smells in the garden - the herbs. He describes smelling the mint as one of his customs in the garden. His "custom" carries notions of an embodied reconnection with nature. This suggests an ongoing togetherness of being, things, and people–in other words, a dwelling (Carolan, 2007). Dwelling is about the rich, intimate ongoing togetherness of beings and things which make up landscapes and places, and which bind nature and culture over time (Cloke & Jones, 2001).

The narrative above indicate that embodied experiences constitute key moments of identification for most participants. John reflects on a sense of being 'out of touch with reality'. John's perspective alludes to the feeling that we are disconnected from food and alienated from nature as the source of food (Carolan, 2007; Hayes–Conroy & Hayes–Conroy, 2008). For him, the embodied experience of being able to smell the herbs at the source constitutes a point of contact with this 'reality'. The community gardens are places where you can escape the "humdrum" of the outside world and experience nature on its own.

Embodied experiences in community gardens also helped participants to develop new sensibilities towards nature overall. According to Canniford et al. (2013), consumers' experiences of sacred nature are characterised by an alternative "metaphorical world" in which nature is understood as a divine entity. This theme was evident in several participants' narratives, and it invoked assumptions about the garden as a place that allowed participants to reconnect with the physical environment:

"Considering that it's part of the city, as soon as you set foot in the croft it felt like a little rural escape, you know it felt like you were off the beaten track and surrounded by greenery and although you got a busy road just next to you, you felt like you were tucked away in a very pleasant little spot and not you know, not like a park which is

manicured, it had a kind of wilderness to it as well which was really nice and yeah just a nice space to go and even if you weren't particularly busy with planting anything just a nice place to go and chill out" [Mark, Interview 1].

In the narrative above, Mark describes the garden as a site of idyllic nature - "a rural escape" to evade the city–in opposition to the urban environment. Similarly, Hale et al. (2011) have found that gardens are perceived as places of retreat. Mark's account intersperses visual metaphors of greenery, wilderness and quietness. This perspective indicates a broader assumption about nature as a place of safety juxtaposed with the urban area, perceived as overwhelming - "busy" and manicured. The wilderness and opportunity to escape the city attributed to the garden gives the sites an inherently positive quality against the city—seen as a negative place. Mark's account supports the argument that embodied experiences in nature serve to anchor bodies in place and create new possibilities of place. For Mark, it is a possible alternative place juxtaposed with the busyness of the city. Across the participants' narratives above it is evident the garden facilitated experiences of nature that removed perceived barriers between mind, body, and environments, thereby "enhancing experiences of the interrelatedness of all things in the world" (St. James et al. 2011, p. 635).

Moreover, Sarah describes how sensory experiences are part of the process of delineating the community gardens as places of identification:

"I think the smells that you get, even the compost smells are not as bad as others because there are no bad chemicals in it it's more of a positive smell, I don't know how to explain but the air is really fresh, and it's like, and you know it's quite a joyful and also because you've got animals, they're actually gonna make an animal sanctuary" [Sarah, Interview 2].

Above Sarah describes her experiences of the smells in the garden. Sarah represents the smells as "positive" and "joyful" and free of 'bad chemicals'. For Sarah, the lack of 'bad chemicals' is essential in her everyday life and for her health issues. The link with her personal histories indicates how sensory meaning-making is part of Sarah's broader identity alignment with the garden as a positive place. Sense has been previously linked with affective responses in consumer studies, and according to Hirsch (1995), the smell is the sense most directly linked to emotions, as the centre of smell in the brain has a direct link to the brain part responsible for emotions. Sarah's account echoes Probyn's (2000)

description of the visceral as feeling and relational: smelling evokes positive memories and associations towards the garden. As Canniford et al. (2018) argue, smell forms both immediate and remembered attachments between bodies and locations, which intersects with existing conversations in consumer research.

Moreover, Gerald's account illustrates how sensory experiences in the garden also help imagine new possibilities of place and help turn space into place. These possibilties are positioned in the context of individuals' personal histories and experiences of space:

> "It's an oasis in a desert, that's what I feel, it's an oasis in a desert […] to me it seems just like a charity, but it's an oasis they've created an oasis here when you come up in the winter and everything's died back and then suddenly by this time of the year [May], look at that, [gestures at the green field] I mean it just looks… and it's so quiet, I mean it's a quiet area anyway, nothing really happens here or lots of things happens here but it just seems so quiet all the time […]" [Gerald, Interview 1].

Gerald describes the garden as an "oasis" in the desert, a visual metaphor of a source of life amidst an arid area. Gerald's sensory experiences in the garden intertwine with how he identifies both with the garden and with the local community. The 'desert' indicates what Gerald feels is an area of deprivation and inequality, and the garden is an oasis of potential transformation and an image of possibilities and regeneration for the area. His view reflects previous research on community gardens as sources of transformation and urban regeneration (Clough, 2014) and as the re-enchantment of formerly 'seedy' urban spaces Veen (2015). His account also indicates how community gardens can "transform open space into meaningful social places" (Wessener et al., 2020). Gerald encourages the interviewer to "look" at the space and take it in, implicating the researcher in the embodied consumption of place. As Everett (2008) argues, place is intimately encountered through an immersive physical engagement. The quietness and greenness of the garden are signifiers of the immersive participation in the garden which envelops multiple senses. Through his embodied experiences in the garden, Gerald's account evokes DeLind's (2006) argument of bodies in place, where physical interactions with the world lead to new connections with place. Gerald further describes the garden as a place of alternating decay and regeneration from winter to spring. One interpretation of his account could that where derelict spaces are devoid of identity and time, alternating seasons show that nature has been allowed back in the space. For Gerald, the garden presents regenerative possibilities for the community that are intuitively inferred from his embodied experience of a quiet and

green place but also from the social benefits the garden brings to the community. These experiences, however, were conjured not only from their embodied experiences of place but also from their personal histories and the ongoing engagement with others that took place in the gardens:

> "It's really wonderful to sit up here this used to be…. just over here used to be a community centre which we knocked down and it would be 19... maybe 1995 and just over here there was a school which they burned down last year, aye, it was derelict, it was lying empty […] and I was working in the school down the road there so I would walk up and I was doing work in the school here for the kids, I was painting a big mural and it was during the time of Thatcher and unemployment in this area had just... this used to be when I was a kid this was a really good area, everybody worked and then Thatcher came along and suddenly there was no work there was loads of people unemployed and I came along that street one day in the summer, Liddesdale road and it was like a scene out the Bronx or something it was just horrible, it was a summer's day the kids had burst a fire hydrant so water was shooting up into the air and they were running in and out and playing in it and there was young men in their twenties who obviously just didn't work they just worked out all the time and they were like this all standing out and because I used to teach them they waved over, 'how you doing' and I walked by a queue at the community centre, and they were handing out free cheese and tins of stew that the European commission had given to Britain to give to people that were unemployed, poor people and was queues of women and kids and prams all queuing up to be given lumps of free cheese eeh and I haven't forgotten that […]" [Gerald, Interview 1].

Gerald refers to the history of the site as land that had been "lying" there. His view of the garden as a way of actively reclaiming derelict spaces echoes those that Cumbers et al. (2016) identified in their study on community gardens in Glasgow. For Gerald, the previously derelict nature of the site signifies the absence of community and the absence of community identity. As the land goes from a derelict space to a living place (Cumbers et al., 2016) one with meaning and connections to the community, it becomes a place of community (Cresswell, 2004) and also a place of identity and identification. Gerald describes the garden through superimposed images of three moments in time. Illustrating the transformation of the place, Gerald conjures scenes from the past which depict different kinds of meanings the area has held over time. The garden transitions from a 'good area'

when he was growing up, to one of 'queues' and 'unemployment'. Gerald's story intersperses visual and dynamic images: 'I walked'; 'water was bursting' which further add an embodied dimension to his story. These encounters represent moments of bodily expression, that help to activate and understand places (Crouch, 2000). These experiences are part of how Gerald currently views the community garden as a place of opportunity and optimism:

> "I look at this wee oasis now and I think now, God they could just... every bit of waste ground that's lying derelict with nothing you can have with this all these little community gardens everywhere, they could all join up you could have a whole city like that would be quite forward thinking if you could come from Romania and go to Glasgow and everywhere you went there was this, people out growing food ...anyway that's why I do it " [Gerald, Interview 1].

He envisions the garden as extending to include all derelict areas as something that is 'forward-thinking'. The juxtaposition of the garden now as a place of regeneration and the garden then: 'I haven't forgot that' justifies Gerald's vision of a supra-extended garden as a solution to derelict areas. Gerald's quote illustrates how embodied experiences are a part of the way he identifies with the garden community. In his account, embodied experiences serve to anchor meanings and understandings of place and community and anchor bodies in place. This insight supports the findings of Carolan (2007) and DeLind (2010). Moreover, embodied experiences of nature–greenery and regeneration fuel images of possible worlds but also helped Gerald feel connected to the garden as a supra-community that could extend across the city. This account furthers previous research by illustrating the role of embodied experiences in how individuals come to identify as part of a community.

This section showed that participants did develop connections to the natural environment. Wenger (1998) describes interactions as an essential aspect of engagement in the garden. These interactions involve moments of participation, of working together and are essential to building relationships and developing a sense of belonging. These interactions, however, can extend beyond the social context of a community and include non-human elements and a corporeal engagement with a place. Nonetheless, these experiences and connections were not linked with developing ethical consumption considerations and were confined to the garden site – a limitation of the corporeal nature of these connections.

6.3.4 Embodied intensification and embodied authenticating acts

> "Activities that induce flow (the unity between thought and action), peak experience (intense joy) or peak performance (superior functioning) may be experienced as authenticating" (Price & Gould, 2000, p. 148).

This section illustrates that participants also made sense of their embodied participation in community gardens as a point of connection between identities and roles developed in the gardens and their broader sense of self. As the quote above suggests experiences of peak and flow allow individuals to become more of themselves but also to develop their identity as a garden member. Embodied participation then serves a dual role – one in giving participants a sense of authenticity with their ideal selves but also as a way of authenticating their role within the community gardens.

Wenger (1998) considers identity to be about the things that we do and while he acknowledges the role of self-identification in shaping this process, he does not consider how the two intersect or diverge in a community context. This study finds that self-identity and identity as "the things we do" intersect through embodied encounters which lead participants to experience an alignment between what they do and how they see themselves in a community of practice. This reflects Hayes-Conroy and Martin (2010) findings that there is a parallel alignment between the identities of environmental activists and their bodily experiences. In this study, embodied identification manifested in ways that linked participants' actions to their existing sense of self. Embodied moments were integrated into participants narrative of identity and contained a sense of achievement. Some participants, for example, took photographs or shared their experiences with others to extend this sense of embodied intensification as is visible below:

> "I even enjoyed, although I got home extremely muddy and I did post a picture of myself extremely muddy on the Facebook, but I even enjoyed the manual labour of putting one of the beds together, and that was a really wet miserable bloody day but it was brilliant fun and Miles is a good laugh, he's very intense, he's very enthusiastic, it was just good fun. Even when I made a little mess up and didn't tie the ends properly and actually, he laughed and then kicked out, so it did fit, so I'm, wow" [Laura, Interview 2].

In the account above, Laura reflects on her experience of learning to make a raised bed together with the gardener, Miles. Laura's account is interspersed with mentions of her embodied experiences of the event, from the weather -"miserable bloody day", the "manual labour" and being "muddy". This involves both sensory interactions with the natural environment but also an embodied collaborative effort: putting the beds together. Her account indicates to moments of flow and peak experiences–an intense joy which supports the interpretation of this experience as an authenticating act (Price & Gould, 2000). Laura expresses a sense of enjoyment from the 'manual labour' following the assembling of the beds. This reflects Husemann and Eckhardt's (2017) work on how embodied experiences of physical labour allow individuals to connect with themselves. Their work (Husemann & Eckhardt, 2017) is specifically focused on experiences of pain and Laura's narrative further highlights the rewarding experience of manual labour in connecting with one's body. The anecdote Laura retells is a positive experience of "fun", positioned against the "miserable" weather, which indicates a sense of achievement. Laura appreciates that even though she makes a mistake, the gardener can step in and "fix" it which reinforces the community as a supportive environment. This experience becomes part of Laura's narrative of self-identity which she manifests by sharing the experience on social media.

Below, Simon also reflects on a sense of achievement following his experience of food growing. Learning to grow food allows participants to untangle the complex web of the food system around them and get a first-hand experience of the entire food chain (Carolan, 2007). These revelations became new possibilities for participants to manifest their sense of self.

> "[...] just seeing everything growing, I've grown some herbs and things before from seed but I'd never really grown vegetables and plants and I think seeing everything growing and coming up, especially the beetroot, they were the best for that… seeing how, just the way it worked and I don't know... being able to use them I actually really enjoyed one my last harvests, I made a very nice lunch which I had a picture off, I don't know if you'd be keen to see [he shows me the picture of his salad and eggs]. I took [daughter] to the nursery, I dropped her off in the morning and went to harvest my carrots which I planted way too late, so I got very few and they were small carrots, but I ate them still for my lunch. I don't know, I put it on Instagram, I

don't really Instagram my lunch, but I took it because I grew the stuff myself so it's acceptable.

Interviewer: Was that part pride?

Simon: It was. Also, just such a nice day, yeah having the things that I'd grown myself and just I make my own bread so... there's some apples in there which they didn't go very well [shows me the picture]" [Simon, Interview 3].

Simon's quote alludes to the embodied difference of participating in different kinds of growing experiences. He reflects on the home-growing he has done before like herbs, which nonetheless involve a similar process but come with qualitative differences in terms of his experiences. Simon describes how seeing the vegetables grow allows him to see how "it all works". As Turner (2011) and Carolan (2007) argue, food growing does allow participants to develop a deeper understanding of food production. Simon's quote also alludes to how embodied experiences of seeing everything "growing and "coming up" are imbued with feelings of anticipation and excitement which have a lasting impact on his experience of the garden. When reflecting on using the produce, Simon describes "enjoying" his harvest and making a "nice" lunch. This illustrates how the garden produce is turned into embodied experiences of food which carry the same meanings and experiences that were experienced in the growing process: excitement, enjoyment.

Embodied experiences are negotiated between the individual and the social, matter and discourse (Alcoff, 2006). Thus, the meanings and sense-making the food carries are inextricably linked to experiences of the garden and the learning itself. That is particularly visible in his description of taking a picture of his food as acceptable because he had grown it himself. For Simon, being able to grow his own food alongside making his own bread were ways of enacting his food considerations and maintain a coherent sense of self (Price & Gould, 2000). These actions were then embedded in a narrative of identity by implicating a wider audience as he shares his experiences on social media.

The nature of the garden as a place where participants experience a sense of embodied intensification is also articulated by Jenny.

"I was so happy because first, we see all the space and it was because I think the rain is very helpful and I was away some days […] and when I came back I saw all green and I was really happy and I was taking pictures and sent the pictures to my mum

and my sister because it looked very good and also I went with my friend and she has a lot of knowledge about gardening because she used to live in a farm when she was a child and she congratulated me because she said oh you did a very good with your croft and she helped me harvest the first time "[Jenny, Interview 2].

Jenny describes the sense of excitement she experiences at seeing the changes in the garden as everything was all green. There is an embodied saturation of colour that evokes a peak experience emotion in Jenny, and one which she wanted to share with her family through pictures. Maciel and Wallendorf (2017) argue that sensations are experienced phenomenologically, interpreted culturally, and responded to socially. Jenny talks about her friend congratulating her on her croft with a sense of pride. Her friend, in this case, is signified as "knowledgeable" who has experience of growing food. Getting the approval of her friend is a badge of honour because of her expertise. This indicates that a sense of authenticity is also influenced by significant others. Price and Gould (2000) argued, for example, that the issue is not whether something is authentic but whether people experience it as such. Laura, Simon and Jenny all felt a sense of pride and achievement following their experiences in the garden, which was further validated through social connections.

Embodied experiences as authenticating acts were ways for participants to connect narratives of identity across the past and present. John reflects on his desire to be vegetarian which he sees is a way to live a more content and calming life:

"[…] Working up in the allotments, that just seemed to trigger it off [wanting to be a vegetarian], I'd forgot all about it in my life till going up there [to the garden] [...], when I was growing the vegetables, and I saw other people growing the vegetables, I said, they're been grown to be eaten and I wanted to try home-grown vegetables, and it seemed to trigger something off in me, I could taste the difference in the flavour and there is ... if I have a meal with the vegetables that's been grown in allotment that I've cooked, I mean my body's content with the thingme and my mind is content, there's no big blotted stomach, oh wee I got a rest, nothing like that, marvellous, just a nice contented stomach, a nice contented meal and attitude" [John, Interview 2].

John describes his thoughts on being a vegetarian and the triggering role of the garden in his wanting to be vegetarian. John then talks about the experience of eating homegrown food as a transformative moment: "it seemed to trigger something off in me" that brought

forward his aspirations to be vegetarian from his memories. He attributes the experience of seeing and eating homegrown vegetables as having a transformative effect. John's account indicates that embodied experiences can trigger transformations in consumption as previously indicated by Carolan's (2007) findings. However, the findings in this study indicate that these transformations were shaped by participants existing knowledge and engagement with ethical consumption, as previously indicated by Hobson (2003).

His account also indicates moments of flow and peak experience, a sense of unity with being among other food growers and with himself: "My mind is content". Hayes Conroy and Martin (2008) describe how slow food movement activists often talked about visceral identification between an individual's ethics and their bodily practices. What is interesting about John's account is the double feedback, the embodied experience of eating homegrown vegetables is an authenticating act where he feels closer to his aspiration of being vegetarian. Moreover, this authenticating act has an embodied resonance in how John feels "content" in his body. This indicates how perceived characteristics of food can have a powerful embodied feedback in participants experiences (Roe, 2006a).

The section above explored how participants made sense of their embodied experiences of learning in community gardens (RQ2). Key findings explored how participants experienced a sense of wonderment when learning to grow food. This helped participants recontextualise their relationship with food consumption in relation to the wider environment- both nature and other beings and to assert food as something that could be trusted again. Place was also experienced in embodied ways as participants interacted with their community and the local environment in new ways. Lastly, embodied experiences of learning helped participants reassert their sense of self and gave them a sense of unity between their broader sense of self and their changing identities in the garden.

6.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to address research questions 1 and 2 of this thesis and firstly explores how participants engage with the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens (RQ1) and secondly how they made sense of the embodied nature of participation in community gardens (RQ2).

The discussion above highlighted that participants are aware of and align with ethical consumption and production principles within the boundaries of the community. Participants do so through: 1. compliance – by accepting these norms as inherent in their

participation 2. negotiation and ownership – by taking ownership of ethical consumption and production meanings in the communities through an ideological alignment.

Nonetheless, this study also found that those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers can experience alignment with ethical consumption and production principles in a community as fraught with tension and conflict. These narratives revealed that norms themselves matter most to participants when they were relevant to individuals' personal experiences. Otherwise, norms themselves lead to shallow or compliant engagement.

While alignment in its various forms was present in individuals' narratives, from a wider perspective, this was mostly confined to activities in community gardens and did not often spill over beyond the community. When the norms did spill over into individuals' everyday consumption activities this happened with corresponding activities. For example, John reflected on having similar waste considerations as the gardens in his own consumption while Fiona reflected on using organic plant feed in her home growing activities. Participants who reflected on these moments of crossover also, unsurprisingly, had a stronger ideological alignment.

It becomes clear, however, that compliance – passive or active with ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens does not develop individual's ethical consumption considerations but that individuals' existing concerns (for waste reduction or wildlife) find resonance with ethical consumption and production principles. Norms themselves are not enough to translate into ethical consumption behaviour or to encourage ethical consumption ideals but instead help to either reinforce strong beliefs when present or alienate when corresponding considerations are not present. To understand the full nature of participation in community gardens alongside the norms and expectations that exist in the garden and to explore the range of consumption meanings developed, the next section explores how participants made sense of their embodied experiences.

The purpose of this chapter was also to address the second research question of this thesis which is to understand the embodied nature of participation in community gardens. As discussed in chapter 2 section 2.5, research has argued that embodied connections with others and the natural environment can lead individuals to develop ethical consumption concerns (Turner, 2011; DeLind, 2006) and ethical consumption commitments (Carolan, 2007). Building on those arguments, the findings above illustrate that alongside their

embodied connections to food and nature, participants experienced a sense of unity between their actions and their sense of self through embodied authenticating acts.

The findings in this section indicate that embodiment is a crucial part of how individuals come to develop their identities in a community of practice. Firstly, embodiment served to reinforce socially created knowledge. Embodiment was also an important way through which repertoires were created and shared in community gardens. Moreover, embodied interactions were crucial to the learning and participation in these communities. This demonstrates that embodiment should be considered as a distinct dimension of identification in communities of practice.

Nevertheless, the findings above indicate that these connections so far are not linked with developing ethical consumption concerns. The following section further considers how identities developed in the community gardens are negotiated alongside individuals' other identities. This exploration has the potential to illuminate whether community gardens can impact everyday consumption and encourage ethical consumption behaviours.

Chapter 7 - The intersection between community garden participation, identification and everyday consumption activities

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 considers the intersection between participation in the gardens and individuals' sense of self and subsequent behaviours. Section 7.2 corresponds to the third research question and explores how participants negotiate their identities in communities of practice alongside their other identities. It does so by unpacking concepts like complementary identification – a process through which participants reinterpret ethical consumption considerations to enact their personal consumption ethics. This section also considers how participants use symbolic anchors to maintain a sense of narrative coherence in their consumption identities and how individuals distance themselves from undesirable ethical consumption identities. Section 7.3 corresponds to the fourth research question and explores the intersection between individual's participation in community gardens and their consumption lifestyles. This section examines how learning in community gardens can reshape participants' relationship with food and explores how activities like food

growing are carried forward beyond the community boundaries through unpacking concepts like productive consumption.

7.2 Managing identification beyond communities of practice

This section explores how identities developed in community gardens intersect with individuals' wider identities. The identities developed in the garden were a product of (among others) how participants responded to norms and how they made sense of their embodied experiences of participation. Previous studies - Shaw and Shiu (2002), Chatzidakis et al. (2012), Carrington et al. (2012) have illustrated the importance of self-identification in consuming ethically. Hargreaves (2011), for example, suggests that participants in a workplace environmental initiative developed an ethical consumption identity/role. His study does not explore, however, whether this identity overlapped with other areas of consumption and, indeed, whether individuals had pre-existing ethical concerns. This section explores how those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers negotiated their community identity alongside their other consumption identities. It does so through the third dimension of the modes of identification framework - imagination. The use of imagination as an analytic tool develops our understanding of how images of possible selves are constructed, how desirable and undesirable imagined selves are balanced and brought forward or discarded. This study finds that individuals experienced a complementary identification where ethical consumption considerations were reinterpreted in ways relevant to their everyday consumption identities. This complementary dynamic was often built on symbolic anchors like family members or life transitions. Overall, participants were attempting to maintain a narrative self-coherence and community garden participation contributed to overarching life themes of wellbeing, empowerment and consumption ethics.

7.2.1 Complementary identification

This study finds that processes of imagination in community gardens are linked with broader consumption identities to create a sense of narrative coherence. Participants developed new images of possibilities as discussed above which were then incorporated into their narrative sense of identity. This perspective favours an understanding of identity similar to Carrington et al.'s (2015) life project identity discussed in chapter 2 section 2.4.

Life projects involve conscious choices and purposeful work. This work is directed towards an end goal of an idealised self and lifestyle (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Schau et al., 2009; Schouten, 1991).

It should be noted that while participants did not self-identify as ethical consumers at the start of this study, this does not imply that none of them displayed any ethical consumption concerns. While ethical consumption considerations were not a strong concern in their everyday consumption considerations, most participants were widely aware of ethical consumption issues and engaged in specific actions like buying locally (Simon), avoiding over-packaging (Fiona, Dan), boycotting food from areas of intensive agriculture (Laura) or changing their recycling behaviour (Gerald). Nonetheless, there were no indications to suggest these behaviours resulted from their participation in community gardens – some had been present before their involvement in the garden.

Interestingly, this study finds that participants' involvement in communities of food growing was a way for them to enact their life project identities. Participants achieved this through a 'complementary identification' with principles of ethical consumption. Middlemiss (2011a) for example, describes how participants can have a "complementary ethos which connects to sustainability and which impacts on their lifestyles" (p. 271). This kind of ethos links in her study with concerns for waste and broader moral beliefs around what is right or wrong (Middlemiss, 2011a). This study proposes that a complementary relationship extends to participants' identities through their involvement in community gardens. Where Black & Cherrier (2010)'s findings of how ethical consumers used anti-consumption for self-expression within their existing ethical identities (or desired identities), this study found that those who did not self-identify as ethical consumers similarly used (and adapted) discourses of ethical consumption to express their existing and desired identities.

Ethical consumption rather than being a separate form of consumption is integrated alongside other kinds of personal ethics. These connect to a wide range of everyday activities and routines in which consumers have to consider factors such as affordability, health, quality, preference and convenience (Evans, 2011a, 2011b). As Cherrier et al. (2012b, p. 413) argue, "[ethical consumption] practices emerge from provisional knowledge that is adapted to individuals' first-person subjectivities and situated within the social imaginary". This knowledge is the product of participants aligning with and interpreting their engagement with ethical consumption in selective and subjective ways

that complements their current concerns and is part of their life project identity. For Laura, participating in a community food growing project was a way for her to bridge a disconnect from food and production and alleviate anxieties around food shortage.

"It's not even about being self-sustaining, although that is a part of it. For me it's... I think you've got sometimes you lose a connection with the food. I don't think I could go out and hunt. I don't think I could even break the neck of a tame chicken so for me if things go badly, if I need to be able to grow stuff […]

Britain is not self-sustaining, she maybe could be if everybody in the back garden maybe grew something but at the moment Britain can't feed itself so that to me is a bit of a worry but you know, disasters don't happen but it's just nice to be able to feed yourselves […] I don't mind about being dirty and, I never have, I don't have any nails to speak of, sometimes it's just nice to be able to feed yourself and know what's gone into the ingredients cause I'm not even sure half the time you go into farm foods and you buy frozen vegetables what they've coated the vegetables in to make them freeze so quickly. You know, people say they haven't but they must've cause there's no way they would stay individual if they haven't you know so it's things like that you've just got be I think you've just got to be so careful they put all sorts of stuff in the food […]

I'm very fatalistic about it all because I don't think there's anything I can do it about it. Uhm as I say I couldn't kill a chicken so if I want chicken I have to go to the supermarket, that's just the way it is" [Laura, Interview 1].

Laura explains her desire to grow food in relation to being self-sustaining and also to address what she feels is a disconnect from food. Laura's sense of disconnection reflects Carolan's (2007) writings on the epistemic distance between production and consumption. Laura's account indicates that this distance is infused with a sense of anxiety: "if things go badly; they put all sorts of stuff in food". This is connected to a sense of risk (Cherrier, 2007; DuPuis & Goodman, 2002) and uncertainty in consumption, especially at the time of this interview in light of Brexit and concerns about food shortage (Campbell, 2018). Laura feels that being able to grow food is a way to compensate for her inability to 'hunt' and 'kill' animals and in that way provide for herself. This echoes Turner's (2011) findings of how individuals use community gardens to understand what goes into their food.

Laura imagines possibilities of the world that carry negative meanings and emotions, and which are characterised by uncertainty. Her participation in community gardens allows her to reimagine these possibilities of the world from the perspective of being able to "feed yourself". Laura's desire for self-subsistence echoes the discussion section considered in section 7.3.2 below about the dynamic between productive consumption and empowerment. Levkoe (2006) argues that community gardens help individuals realise their dependence on corporations and ultimately become empowered to break this dependence. Laura's account provides a more nuanced understanding of how empowerment and disempowerment are experienced together, as a liberating and restricting force. On one side, Laura feels it's 'nice' to able to grow food, but she also feels she ultimately can't do anything about her reliance on supermarkets. Her distancing from ethical consumption reflects Autio et al.'s (2009) writing on how consumers can also feel disempowered in their consumption and perceive ethical consumption as unattainable.

For Laura, nonetheless, there is a complementary alignment between her sense of self and her identification with the community garden, as someone who embraces "dirt". There is also a sense of continuity in her account as something she had always done. It is clear here that there is a weaving of participants existing and developing a sense of self into a continuing narrative, or life-project.

Interestingly, Laura's account suggests that teleological perspectives of ethical consumption such as scarcity of resources become conflated with personal considerations of risk to wellbeing. Her quote is illustrative of how the boundaries between ethical consumption and consumption concerns for personal wellbeing discourses are blurred in participants experiences. This illustrates there is a complementary relationship between ethical consumption and what Halls (2011) calls the consumption ethics of everyday life discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2.3.

Considerations for health in consumption are seen as derived from self-interest – egoistic and thus the opposite of ethical consumption considerations which are seen as altruistic (Michelidou & Hassan, 2008). Hall (2011) however, argues that health is an essential dimension of individuals' consumption ethics as it also reflects a moral assumption of right and wrong, the dynamic between wants, needs and responsibility, and the tension between restraint and enjoyment. Sarah's account below reflects how matters of financial independence, health and wellbeing are superimposed to create a personal blueprint for

'sustainable' living. To contextualise Sarah's experience, below is an elaborate reflection on her finances:

> "I'm in huge amount of debt myself and if you're on benefits they just look at putting you into bankruptcy which to me is ridiculous, there are other ways around it and I'm looking at other creative ways of doing that, that I have found but it takes a lot of discipline and it's very difficult, I think I will get there but it's just gonna get a long time and you don't have to be pushing people into this state of helplessness so that's the downside of the welfare system" [Sarah, Interview 2].

Her account reflects on a sense of "helplessness" from being declared bankrupt and she attempts to negotiate this experience in creative ways. In the quote below Sarah explains the creative ways in which she has been trying to address her financial situation. Her narrative overlaps with and reinterprets assumptions of 'sustainability' and 'ethical consumption' to reveal the complementary dynamic between self-interest and ethical consumption concerns:

> "I'm trying to work towards what I call sustainable living so [...] making things, well when you say making things for myself like I've made this top for myself for example so I'm trying to improve some of my skills of crochet and sewing at home so I'm not having to buy certain things and then I can fix clothing, or recycle my own clothing [...] the other issues for me is also to be able [...] to grow food [...] because things are not gonna get cheaper they are gonna get more expensive and that's just the reality that we have to face so for me that's part of the whole sourcing and also to enjoy those experiences because if you don't enjoy them, what's the point and also it just affects your health in the long run and that to me is the ultimate goal as well it's just ...my mum's always brought me up with the analogy of food as medicine and if you don't look after your health then you're grabbing things to sustain yourself which might not be the right things to sustain yourself that affect your health, it affects your pockets and then everything just goes downhill from there so that's I'm just trying to change things in my life to improve my own health and to improve my own financial situation and hopefully live a more sustained life" [Sarah, Interview 1].

As seen in Sarah's quote, her pursuit of a sustainable life is contextualised within her personal history – from her experience of bankruptcy, her bodily experiences of health to her mother's aphorism. What guides Sarah's consumption is a desire for self-reliance which

she manifests through 'moments of productive consumption' (Hartmann, 2016): "making things", "improving skills" and being able to "grow food". If the concept of 'sustainable living' initially evokes the mainstream discourses of diminishing planetary resources, Sarah uses the term "sustainable living" the term to denote a holistic approach of living, balancing between maintaining a sense of financial independence in the face of increasing uncertainty, enjoying life and being healthy.

For Sarah, enjoyment is an assumed and unchallenged marker of being able to live sustainably and healthily. This evokes Soper's (2008, p. 572) ideas of an alternative hedonism where enjoyment is derived not from mass-consumption but from the "sensual pleasures of consuming differently". Enjoyment and wellbeing are in a fragile balance that could be disrupted by not eating the right things which can cause a domino reaction of negative feedback. Health for Sarah and many participants in this study is a dominating issue when exploring consumption decision-making, in part due to the intimate relationship between food, health, and the body (Hall, 2015, 2011).

The solution to keeping a balance between enjoyment, health and money is a more sustained life. It becomes evident that individual consumption narratives of ethics are manifested as overlapping between personal histories and ethical discourses. Participants take on ethical consumption discourses in society and appropriate them in a way that is meaningful for their own everyday experience. Cost concerns for participants were intertwined with matters of wrong or right, where frugality and low cost are used as guiding principles. Previous research discusses price mostly concerning barriers to consuming more ethically (Bray et al., 2010) only in as much as it prevents consumers from enacting their consumption intentions. Nonetheless, living frugally for low-income participants in this study is part of their everyday consumption ethics. This reflects Hall's (2011) writing on how money is a central feature of many every day (ethical) consumption decisions.

Thus, participation and involvement in community gardens became ways for participants to negotiate life themes of wellbeing, enjoyment and health. Below, Sarah reflects on her garden involvement is complementary to her managing her health and her financial independence:

> "That's what's really good about it, there's just so much there, it's not just about planting harvesting and eating, it's just about learning what you can do with the

plants, they give so much life to us, all the different plants and it's appreciating them as well so learning to appreciate them you know I make, I use in my cleaning I use a lot of the aromatherapy oils well steam cleaning I was so which is also good cause it's non-toxic, it's not chemical and it's also cheaper so... if I can make my own essential oils then it's, all I'm paying for is the oil, the vinegar or any other bases that's even better " [Sarah, Interview 2].

In the quote above Sarah describes how the garden is more than just about planting and eating as she expresses her appreciation for the plants in the garden as a source of life. Her garden involvement is presented as a therapeutic experience as discussed in section 6.3.3 (Guitart et al., 2012; Alaimo et al., 2016). Sarah indicates how being in the garden transcends the focus on food and incorporates complex ways of appreciating plants, learning how they can be used and incorporated in day-to-day consumption practices such as cleaning. Sarah's account is indicative of the ways in which participants existing consumption ethics of health and frugality are complementary to their experiences in community gardens. Taking care with resources and using them frugally was considered a form of affirmative action, in terms of saving money in the long run but also a way in which participants internalised ethical discourses around poverty and excess (Hall, 2011).

Below, Sarah's narrative indicates how her garden involvement complements her life project of "living sustainably" by bringing food into her discursive consciousness.

> "It's just been quite good for me to get involved with the garden and kind of revisit what I was eating because it just makes you more aware of what you're consuming cause otherwise you're just kind of mindlessly walking around doing things and stuffing your face and not really thinking about what you're doing and the big thing around that is just, that can be really detrimental to your health" [Sarah, Interview 3].

In the quote above Sarah describes how her involvement in the garden has helped her 'revisit' what she was eating, opening up new possibilities of food. Participating in the garden, for Sarah, is the antidote to an unreflexive engagement with food. "Mindlessly walking around" and "stuffing your face" evokes a mindless body – that is devoid of agency which is characterised by excess and overeating. Sarah's reflection alludes to the duality between practical and discursive consciousness (Giddens, 1991) discussed in chapter 2 section 2.4. Much of the knowledge embedded in everyday life is a 'hidden' kind of knowledge called practical consciousness (Giddens, 1991). If practical consciousness

characterises routine activities that create the recursive nature of social life and constitutes in a sense the "mindless body", Sarah's community garden experiences serve to bring food from the practical consciousness into her discursive awareness. Through a reflexive engagement with food, Sarah is attempting to take control of her consumption. This resonates with the concept of reflexivity (Cherrier & Murray, 2007) discussed in chapter 2 section 2.5.3 with regards to how identity projects are characterised by deliberate reflection and conscious actions. In Sarah's case, it is evident that her developing reflexivity is aimed towards her health - an issue of significant importance in her life.

For some participants, participation in community gardens was linked with a process of resurfacing older ideal selves. For example, John reflects on how the garden acts as a trigger for his forgotten aspiration for being a vegetarian.

"The people I saw who have become vegetarians, you know, their attitude and everything, they don't have temper or anger issues in their lives, I'll try and control it, they seem to control their mood swings and their anger, temperament and that's why I've wanted to do that […]

I only thought about it [being vegetarian], during all my working life, I never got around to doing and I forgot all about it and then when I went up there, I saw the cabbage, the kale … and I really hadn't tasted freshly picked cabbage or kale or freshly carrot or turnip or potatoes, and the flavour, oh definitely, I think the flavour, you can tell that there's no chemicals in the food, I would say that's one of the biggest things" [John, Interview 2].

John here echoes wider held beliefs about the positive impacts of vegetarianism and health (Fox et al., 2008). John feels that people who are vegetarian are able to manage their "temper" and "anger" which he feels he would like to do as well. His account further strengthens the assertion of this study that ethical consumption discourses are adapted and interpreted by participants in ways that are meaningful to them. John projects specific characteristics to vegetarians, which is suggestive of how imagination also involves assumptions (Wenger, 2010). Wenger (2010), however, warns against the dangers of assumptions as being potentially detrimental to identification because it creates stereotypes and unquestioned knowledge. These accounts indicate how ethical consumption discourses of personal responsibility and accountability towards others and the environment overlap

with consumption ethics of personal responsibility and accountability over one's health and wellbeing.

This section contributes to the third research question by illustrating how identities are negotiated through overarching narratives of health and wellbeing, which are seen as complementary to ethical consumption issues. This section also offers an invaluable insight into how consumption ethics and ethical consumption discourses intertwine and overlap in everyday activities. Productive consumption and empowerment are central themes in this section which presents an opportunity for relating ethical consumption discourse to everyday consumption activities. Arguably, this can happen by highlighting the complementary relationship between ethical consumption behaviours and broader life themes of wellbeing, empowerment and ideal selves among those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers.

7.2.2 Symbolic anchors – images of the past and the future

Participants' attempts to maintain a coherent sense of self was aided by reference points both in the past and the future. This study proposes that this is a form of symbolic anchoring. According to Grzymala-Kazlowska (2015), anchoring refers to the process of finding significant reference: grounded points which allow individuals to restore their socio-psychological stability in life. Grzymala-Kazlowska (2015) argues that the anchors that people use, allow them to locate their place in their world and give form to their own sense of being. While Grzymala-Kazlowska (2015) was focused on how anchors are employed by individuals in moments of transition, this study found that participants use points of reference to maintain a sense of self-coherence in their consumption identity in everyday life. This study proposes that participants use symbolic anchoring through images of the past and the future to guide their sense of narrative coherence.

Halstead (1999) indicates that the family is a primary influence on a person's moral development. It became apparent that for the participants in this study, their experiences of growing up had a profound impact on their current consumption identities. In this study, individuals reflected on their experiences of learning from others - usually family members, as a point of reference for their narrative sense of self. Laura's narrative indicates that her current behaviours of avoiding processed foods and preference for fresh, green ingredients can be narratively attributed to her experience growing up:

"When I was a kid my mom and dad had a reasonable sized garden and... they always grew things I grew up loving kale before the cows got it. You know I will still buy that in the shop quite happily, dark green veg I don't know why, broccoli, that's always been my favourite thing. But I think it's because mum and dad used to grow things like that and we lived up north, but it was a sheltered part near Findhorn so it's very sheltered. I think that's where it came from" [Laura, Interview 1].

As Laura explains, her early life experience of her parents growing food has had an impact on her food behaviours to the present day in terms of the food choices she makes regularly. Subrahmanyan et al. (2015, p. 2019) similarly illustrate how "a combination of our economic means, as well as our original communities of reference, dominated our consumption patterns and associated ethics during our childhood". For example, when describing her preference for certain foods from her past experiences of home-grown vegetables, Laura's account contains several visual metaphors on greenness: 'dark green', 'green-fingered'. This gives her narrative an embodied dimension, alluding to bodily dispositions of certain consumption choices, in this case – food growing and eating fresh, "green" vegetables, reflecting the discussion above in section 6.3.

Participants developed their consumption life themes from their family experiences but also reflected on the role of family members in shaping their consumption. Below, in our second interview, Sarah further illustrates how the things that matter in her everyday consumption were shaped by her family context. Firstly, Sarah reflects on her early memories of her grandmother which are of her making everything from scratch and looking after a big family. Sarah also reflects on the importance of food in her family in terms of skills and competencies.

"My grandmother, [...] she was obviously looking after a family of five kids so I don't know where she got all her recipes I don't know if she shared them amongst other families or anything like that but then she would literally make everything from scratch and when I was born, I spent most of my childhood with her, so she would be making cakes, she made the most beautiful cakes for my birthdays...cookies... but everything she made, she made her own marmalade, she made her own jam, she made her own chutney, everything but she didn't just make, if I make I just make a jar, she would make like jars for five thousand times three, she would make so much but that was because she had quite a big family to support so they also had their own chickens, I still remember as a kid going into the chicken coup and watching the

chickens being slaughtered and then we would eat them so I still remember that so...
…. yeah food is quite a big thing in my family and my one uncle and he has always
been obese, he's a fantastic cook, he's really really good, my mum used to be quite
good at cooking, she was quite good at it... I'm okay with it, it's just cooking for
myself is not something that entirely motivates me and my sister is pretty good and
she cooks…[...] and my mum has always brought me up, you are what you eat, sort
of, and we always ate fresh fruit and vegetables, it wasn't just meat and potatoes,
there was always loads of vegetables..." [Sarah, Interview 2].

Sarah's narrative reflects the central role of her grandmother as the head of the family but
also as a source of consumption education. Sarah describes seeing her grandma make and
cook for everyone with a sense of admiration and respect for her ability to look after her
family. Sarah is on the surface a passive witness to her grandmother food consumption
activities: the making of "beautiful cakes", "watching the chickens being slaughtered". Her
witnessing, however, is also a learning experience as Sarah incorporates her memories of
seeing her grandmother do these activities in her consumption repertoire and now
reproduces similar principles in her consumption practices. This is indicative of how real-
life experiences play an essential role in learning ethics (Potter, 2002). Sarah's
grandmother is presented as someone who is self-reliant and resourceful, both
characteristics that are important for Sarah in her consumption activities as discussed
above. Cherrier (2012b) writing on experiences of personhood in ethical consumption also
evidence that deference to personal histories is a source of consumption ethics. Moreover,
the rest of Sarah's family is also described as food competent and as skilled cooks and the
central role of food in her family is emphasised. Her family members are implied to be
experts in food consumption activities, while Sarah herself is still on the periphery. Sarah
ends her quote with her mothers' aphorism of 'you are what you eat' to reflect the values
that her mother wanted to instil in her eating practices. As seen above, her mother is
presented as an expert role when it comes to food and this lends her authority to hold
guiding principles. The common saying of 'you are what you eat' is illustrative of how
consumption and food ethics are collectively seen as existing in the body itself and one's
sense self (Probyn, 2011).

For some participants, anchors were constituted around points of transition as suggested by
previous research (Burningham & Venn, 2017). For example, the birth of the first child has
been identified as a potential turning point that may encourage the increased consumption

of organic products (Burningham & Venn, 2017). This was the case for Simon who had a three-year-old daughter. Simon attributes his developing ethical consumption concerns both to his university experience, also suggested by Thompson et al. (2011) but particularly to his experience of being a parent.

> "I just become more politically aware and more aware of things and the world around you and I think I guess just growing up, really, when I was young I didn't really think about these kind of thing at all and then I think having my daughter again was probably like I feel a responsibility to be a good example to her as well especially now she's big enough you know she helps out with the shopping and... she knows a bit about recycling and things like that so yeah I think it's important to kind of set a good example cause I think lots of parents will kind of teach stuff but not necessarily do it themselves and so it's good to do that, it's good having a vegetable box and good being able to take her to the harvest co-op as well and we take our own jars and things and our own things to put things in and she takes her own little pot to get a few of the yoghurt raisins [laughs] it's an incentive, I don't normally get sweets but I like yoghurt raisins myself [laughs]" [Simon, Interview 3].

Simon's "getting into cooking" after his daughter supports the idea that particular life events represent moments of disruption in people's routines which can serve as a window of opportunity in terms of developing new routines (Burningham & Venn, 2017). Contrary to Heath et al.'s (2012) findings which suggest that experiences of parenthood can be a source of conflict in how ethics are negotiated through trade-offs, Simon's narrative illustrates that part of being a parent for Simon involves a process of seeking internal coherence and becoming a more ethical self to set an example. Rather than negotiating trade-offs between consumption ethics, Simon is incorporating them as moral education for his daughter. Simon internalises the responsibility to set an example, to not only consume in a way that he perceives is more ethical but also to instil similar ethical principles in his daughter's behaviour. Plessz (2016) argues that through parenthood, people may be more receptive to a series of prescriptions that emphasise individual and, in particular, parental responsibility. Food consumption is a sphere in which consumers may exercise these types of responsibilities more easily. Simon reflects on the importance of following through on his own teachings to allow his daughter to learn from experience and those around her by getting her to participate in the shopping experiences and incentivising her involvement. This is indicative of the role of the family, according to Kay (1975, p. 183) as an 'agent of

moral education' where practices are learned and reproduced in everyday consumption activities.

Another important theme of transition was focused around retirement. While retirement for some participants did not lead them to become reflective of their consumption, it precipitated a series of changes in their lives which, overall, impacted their consumption activities. This was similarly suggested by Burnigham and Venn (2017). For example, Gerald is a recent retiree who wanted to volunteer in the community he had grown up in, so he began to volunteer in the community garden in that area. Over the year, Gerald proceeded to begin teaching art classes in the local community centre, drawing on his experience as an art teacher.

> "I had retired from work and I had taken a rest for about six months and I was then starting to think well I really want to do something so I started up, I come from this area and I know this area I used to work in the school down the road in here which is gone and I was born and brought about a couple of miles in that direction and I was wanting to work as a volunteer in a food bank and I couldn't find any food banks [...] and I came across this by accident [the garden], and they're based in Springburn which is where I was brought up so I thought well that looks quite interesting and then I saw the various things that they did with the fruit and vegetable barrels and the garden and I thought well I'll get in touch with them" [Gerald, Interview 1].

Gerald's narrative illustrates how following his retirement he felt compelled to "do something" around the area he had been born and grew up in. This is reflective of Gerald strong sense of self-identity with the community he grew up in. Over the course of the year, this community became very important to Gerald and so did his desire to help its betterment: "that's the intention, to try and get the people that go to the art class to maybe start using this place [the garden] because they don't come here at all". Social identity theory suggests that individuals are more likely to act in ways that promote and sustain a group's shared resources when their sense of self derives from their membership in the group (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). This was actively displayed by Gerald and his ongoing efforts to share the benefits of the garden with the rest of the community. While the implication of Gerald's efforts might not immediately be reflective of his consumption ethics, his choice of place to volunteer is inherently linked with that as he wants to provide better access to food in his local community which is representative of his consumption ethics.

Transitions in consumption identities are not fixed by a moment of change but by an ongoing negotiation of personal history, discourses in society, and one's sense of self. This is visible in Gerald's narrative below as he reflects how his consumption is a way of negotiating a sense of self-coherence:

> "Being aware of what's healthy and what you should try and avoid even though it tastes great, you really need to try and limit it ... so when I was saying it wasn't night and day, it didn't happen overnight, it just happened gradually since I was young for various factors well... the garden is just another factor, just another drip of I should really maybe try and eat a bit more sensibly so I'll not have a takeaway I'll maybe see what's in the fridge, I'll maybe have something else so ...I suppose that introduces a bit of guilt, I feel guilty now, if I have something bad three nights running, I start feeling guilty so it might have induced a guilt complex, in me but I think it's really part of the drip-feed of along comes Jamie Oliver, he starts talking about the school meals and the shop opens down the road selling African food and it's just a general thing that's going on that I try to be aware off" [Gerald, Interview 2].

Gerald's narrative is entirely representative of how life projects, transitions and consumption concerns (Burningham & Venn, 2017) should be understood, not as defined by critical moments, but as characterised by drawn-out, fluid and situated (culturally and spatially) experiences of consumption. His narratives reflect how the tension between experiences of consumption and discourses of ethics and personal responsibility: "you really need to try and limit it" are negotiated continuously over time in practices like cooking at home rather than ordering food. He reflects on the sources of learning consumption behaviours, not at home, but from discourses of health as represented by Jamie Oliver and access to new foods like "African food". Gerald experiences his changing consumption identities as a developing "guilt" that both proceeds his feeling of transgression - after having something "bad" but also a guilt complex which seems to precede his consumption experiences as he anticipates future transgressions. This is reflective of Chatzidakis's (2015) argument that guilt can be a cause of ethical behaviour rather than a reaction to consumers' sense of transgression. His narrative is indicative of the slow process of how consumption ethics transition over time, how they are negotiated, internalised and experienced - as guilt for Gerald.

Participants also used anchor points in the future or in ideal possibilities. Sarah, for example, describes her ideal world as one where she would be able to make her food and clothes:

> "In an ideal world if I was in a situation I would be living in a garden type flat or house, growing my own stuff in my garden, whatever I wanted so if I was, if I had a garden big enough I would grow all the food and veg that I could grow like on a permaculture type of idea, I would grow what I could as much as I could in that garden so that I wouldn't have to buy so that would be my first thing, I would be sewing all my clothes including all my underwear which is not that difficult I think the only thing that I would buy is the odd jersey and the odd jacket and so I'd be making my clothes and I'd have a few animals on my property, I'd have three animals" [Sarah, Interview 2].

Above, Sarah describes her aspirations of being self-reliant which includes productive consumption activities like being able to grow her food and making her own clothes. In her quote, she is reproducing the consumption ethics instilled from her experience growing up and seeing her grandmother be self-reliant. For Sarah, her aspiration for being self-reliant is also a response to her current financial difficulties as she is trying to be more independent from welfare provision. Nonetheless, it should be noted that while Sarah narratively constructs her current consumption identity as shaped by her childhood experience, she also reflects that what is important to her has changed over the years and it is her recent financial difficulties that have spurred her desire to be self-sustaining. This is indicative of the contextual and changing nature of consumption identities over time, but also of how experiences and histories are used as narrative devices to help consumers maintain a sense of consistent self (Carrington et al., 2015).

The section above discussed how relationships with food were brought into participants awareness and how participants developed a complementary identification with the garden, building on the alignment between their own consumption identities and the garden's ethical principles. This was done through anchoring of participants experiences in moments of the past and of the future. This identification was not always without tensions and the section below describe how participants wanted to dis-identify from the community garden and ethical consumption identities.

7.2.3 Dis-identification and undesirable identities

When participants experienced tensions that could not be negotiated or when they could not take full ownership of the meanings in the community gardens this led to dis-identification. Wenger (2010) considers that identification can be caught in conflicting demands between different identities and communities. This leads individuals to attempt to modulate between identities across contexts and dis-identify from some communities when they experience dissonance in their identity. For Wenger (2010), communities compete for identification and push identities out, they put demands on individuals - one at the expense of another.

While there was no sense of competing demands in the findings of this study, meanings and alignment were often "lost in translation". When participants did not comply with some of the expectations and norms in the gardens there was tension and conflict in their alignment with the community. Eventually, this conflict led them to disengage from the community or to distance themselves from the community identity. Chalmers Thomas et al. (2013) argue that diversity in consumption communities can be a source of stability and continuity. This was not always the case in this study as diverging experiences and perspectives led participants to disassociate themselves from the community identity. This could be because of the range of motivations which drives participation in community gardens. In Chalmers Thomas et al.'s (2013) study communities were centred around the focal issues of running and continuity was focused on that as well, whereas gardens contain a multitude of dimensions, activities and motivations that can lead to tension and conflict. These can arise from interactions in the community itself and tensions with individuals' consumption lifestyles outside the garden. Nick, for example, considers how the gardener's vegetarian consumption in the garden often led to tensions in their interactions.

> "I'll have a McDonalds or KFC and his name is Roger is it, Roger works up there and he just brings a little flask and goes 'do you want to try some of my soup?', 'I'm like neah it's your soup.', 'no, just try a little bit of it', he only had a pot like that and he was a vegetarian so...if you had a burger you had to go and eat it somewhere else 'cause he couldn't even smell the meat" [Nick, Interview 3].

In the quote above, Nick describes his interactions with one of the gardeners at one of the gardens he volunteers in. His account is illustrative of how interactions around ethical

consumption in the garden can be a source of conflict and tension for the participants. Nick feels uncomfortable with Roger's eagerness to share his food. Moreover, Nick feels his own consumption - eating McDonalds or KFC is under scrutiny in this context and feels like he has to hide in order to eat so as not to upset Roger. This is reminiscent of Moraes et al.'s (2012) finding of how ethical consumption norms in ethical communities can make people feel alienated and judged for their transgressions. Nick's quote alludes to a misalignment between his actions and the unspoken rule in this garden which is a source of discomfort for him. Similarly, Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2013) also found in their school garden study that those participants in the study who were not vegetarians felt judged by the school garden leaders who had introduced a vegetarian school menu.

The tensions emerging from their involvement in the community garden and their feelings about some dimensions of the garden - like the compost toilet lead Nick and Eve to ultimately disengage from the garden community. For example, Nick and Eve stopped going to the community garden but, nonetheless continued working on their personal allotment.

> "You do what you want to do, you've got no people like Jenny, Anna and all that say 'don't put that there', we just plant everything, even Jenny and Anna's turned and said you're doing well, but it's gonna take a whole of a lot [...] We got toilets at the top, flushable toilets not compost toilets" [Nick, Interview 3].

In the quote above, Nick considers how their new allotment allows him and Eve to be more in control and do what they "want to do". Previously, both had felt unhappy with the garden staff telling them what to do. This indicates that compliance and negotiation can lead to disengagement when enforced in a way that is not relevant for community participants. They both also felt happier about having a flushable toilet as opposed to a compostable toilet which as described above, would release strong odours. This alludes to a further misalignment with the garden's commitment to environmental practices.

While the section above illustrates how Dan developed an understanding of the challenges of food growing from his experience in the garden, this did not intersect with his consumption behaviour. For example, below Dan talks about his reasons for not taking the produce home.

> "I just didn't fancy it, I didn't have anything in my mind to make and all that, I prefer to buy the wee packet ones you put in a microwave with the butter and that on it, get

it out of Iceland, so I prefer them, just put them in the microwave, they melt with the butter and all that so that's the kind of totties I look for, not the ones I grow so I just leave them for other people to take" [Dan, Interview 2].

In the quote above Dan reflects on why he doesn't use the produce in the garden. He describes not having anything in mind to use it for and explains his preference for potatoes that are prepacked which you can "just put them in the microwave". In this case Dan seems to favour the convenience of being able to prepare food in a certain way. His outlook towards the garden produce and food is generally different from that of many of the other participants who express distrust of supermarket food. His account touches on how experiences of taste are subjective, and they are not located in the food itself (Hayes Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008) - while most participants felt the garden produce tasted better and was more nutritious, we can see here this is not unanimous. Dan's quote indicates a misalignment with one of the core enterprises of the garden - that of encouraging the consumption of freshly grown food. Arguably this irreconcilable alignment led Dan to stop going to the garden:

"Interviewer: You mentioned last time you're not going to the garden anymore, what happened?

Rober: I just wanted to get on with my own stuff; I figured it's not for me [Dan, Interview 3]."

Dan describes how he felt the garden was not "for him". This indicates a sense of dissonance between his own identity and the community. Dan avoided further probing as to why he felt there was a dissonance. This nonetheless indicates the identity of the garden can clash with individuals' existing sense of self which leads to a disengagement from the community (Wenger, 2010). These examples indicate that in order for engagement and alignment with ethical consumption to be made sense of in meaningful ways they have to find anchors in participants existing sense of self.

This study also found some participants wanted to distance themselves from identities that were associated with ethical consumption. To make sense of this distancing, the process of identification through imagination is a useful concept. Previously, Shaw and Riach (2011) illustrate that imagination has an influential role in making ethical consumers feel part of a wider community of ethical consumers. Wenger (1998) also concedes that imagination can create a sense of connection with those in similar communities of practice. These

arguments indicate that imagination has a connecting role that can span across communities' – real and imagined boundaries. This study finds, however, that imagination can also be used for distancing. This distancing is used by participants to demarcate undesirable imagined identities. This builds on previous work like Karanika and Hogg's (2010) study on the interplay between desire and undesired identities. Wenger (1998) indeed warns of the dangers that imagination carries through assumptions and stereotypes.

Gerald for example, considers ethical consumption identities to be fraught with challenges and insurmountable difficulties. For example, below he reflects on his daughter being a vegan.

> "It's just... I don't know how anybody can do it [being vegan] because you're then, it's got to be soya milk, it's got to be this, it's got just... it's just a real nuisance cause the shops are not really geared up for it, I mean there's one wee section in Morrison's that we go to that has kind of vegan stuff and there's that Quorn eh that we get her and she makes spaghetti Bolognese with Quorn mince, Quorn lasagne so there's that kind of stuff and I think the Quorn lasagne is made with soya milk rather than dairy milk and cheese, but it's just a real nuisance" [Gerald, Interview 2]

In the quote above Gerald considers the challenges of being a vegan. He relates this to his daughter's experience of veganism and feels it's a "real nuisance". Gerald reflects on the lack of options and access in shops which echoes similarly held views by consumers (Bray et al., 2010; Johnstone & Tan, 2015). While Gerald's concerns reflect valid structural challenges to consuming more ethically, his account also indicates how ethical consumer identities are imagined as challenging and inaccessible. Gerald's beliefs and assumption about ethical consumption identities are reflected in his views of the garden as well. Below, Gerald, describes the local perceptions of the garden as a "hippie garden". This is illustrative of how the community garden's identity as a place of environmentalism is creating tensions in the local community.

> "I think the front of the place looks horrendous it just looks crap and I wouldn't want it next to my house, in fact, I would put a complaint in if it was next to my house, I wouldn't have it, 'I would say, oh you're not having that'.
>
> Interviewer: The garden?

Gerald: Not the garden, it's lovely, it's the front as you approach it you've got this hideous looking cabin this container fell off a ship somewhere and then this horrible stuck up and all these horrible colours painted, all bits of wood and I suggested why don't we just board it over, get wood eeh board it over and cut nice wooden letters saying Milton community garden and have like quite attractive, in a way that is quite, the toilet is quite attractive in a way, quite rustic looking [...] one of the guys that used to work here, he says 'why don't you come up', to somebody, one of the locals, come up and he says 'no that's the hippie garden' and I thought that must be a perception in this area what this is, it's the hippie garden, I'm not a hippie so it's not for me and I think if you tidied up how it actually looks on the outside you'd get more people coming in" [Gerald, Interview 1].

In the quote above Gerald feels strongly about some of the visual elements of the garden which he describes as 'horrendous', or 'crap', 'hideous'. He feels the appearance of the space is creating a perspective of the place that is unappealing. He reflects on how the garden is perceived by the local community as 'a hippie garden' which he feels comes from the external appearance of the garden. Gerald's quote indicates how alignment with the community can be fraught with conflict (Wenger, 1998). For Gerald, his dissatisfaction with the aesthetic of the garden is an ongoing issue in this study and one he feels is the main reason why the garden is not better used in the community. Interestingly, 'hippie' in this context is used as a negative term and as undesirable identity. This is reflective of Kilbourne et al. (1997) writing on how ethical identities are positioned as antithetical in commonly held beliefs. As the community garden is labelled as a 'hippie' place, Gerald feels this makes it an undesirable place, one that those in the local community do not want to be a part of. Gerald is thus struggling to align himself with this aspect of the garden as he feels it's at odds with his own identity.

 As a result, Gerald attempts to distance himself from some elements of the community that he felt did not relate to his consumption identity.

"I don't think the garden has terrifically influenced me in what I eat, I don't think it's been a huge influence on me from actually seeing the stuff being grown and having a go at it myself I mean the potatoes that I grew last year that I told you about, I would be eating potatoes anyway, they only difference is I grew them, I didn't buy them from the shop so it didn't alter what I ate or how often I ate it. I would buy

strawberries in the shop well I get them up there for free so I just take them home, so I don't think it's had an influence on what I eat" [Gerald, Interview 2].

In the section above Gerald reflects on how his garden involvement has not influenced what he eats. This could be interpreted as an attempt to distance himself from the community and its identity. Gerald justifies this by arguing that it doesn't affect the kind of food he consumes. Levkoe (2006) and Shaw et al. (2016) argue that participation in community gardens in itself is a way of disengaging from mass-consumption. This argument would suggest that Gerald is nonetheless disengaging from mass-consumerism by practising productive consumption behaviours and bypassing supermarkets. Interestingly, and contrary to Levkoe's (2006) suggestion that participation in community food growing would lead one to become aware of and critical of their reliance on supermarkets, Gerald does not reflect this perspective. In that sense, Gerald does not experience a strong identification with the garden community from a consumption perspective.

The observations below illustrate how over the course of the year, Gerald becomes less interested in the garden and more focused on the community:

> "Gerald told me about how he every week when he comes to the garden, he clears the pond of the algae on the top. On this occasion, he brought us both rakes to do it together. This is something Gerald's been working on since he joined the garden and he felt it looked a lot better now. […] He told me about making a step in the pond so that any appearing frogs could get in and out more easily [Gerald, 1st observation in the garden]"

> "We met in the garden, where stayed by the pond we had our previous interview. He mentioned he doesn't do so much growing at the garden anymore and instead is doing it at home. He mentions that instead he comes to the garden just to talk to the gardeners [Gerald, 2nd observation in the garden]"

The quotes above illustrates the care he puts into the garden during the first observation. Gerald's distancing from the community garden is arguably symbolic as he continues to visit the garden over the year – nonetheless, over time he participates in the community garden activities less and less and focuses especially on teaching the art classes. Gerald experiences a stronger sense of alignment with the neighbourhood community where he

grew as opposed to the community garden and that manifests in his choice to focus on the art class. This is indicative of how imagination involves processes of assumptions (Wenger, 2010) about desirable and undesirable identities. Assumptions about ethical consumption identities are reflected by Louis as well:

> "I'm not very peaceful person or something but if I cannot kill some animal and I can eat something else why do I need to do it? […] you know, I understand people who killing animals and who eating meat, it still is hard for me to resign from eating fish for example, I really like fish so it's not like I don't want to nobody to kill some animals or something you know, I'm not a hippie or something like that but generally if you can, just don't do it. I used to work in a lot of restaurants as well and when you see how much food going into bin, if you put into bin, the stuff which is green or you know which is out of date like the vegetables or fruits or stuff like that it makes soil richer it's not like total waste, waste maybe human work or something but if you put into the bin meat it's just total waste, it's waste of the work, the product and the waste of the animal who lost their life because we decide to kill it even if we don't need it" [Louis, Interview 1].

In the quote above Louis reflects on eating meat. Louis is overall attempting to eat less meat for health reasons. While he describes himself as not being a "peaceful person" and attempts to distance himself from the identity of a 'hippie', he reflects on his belief about killing animals "if you can, don't do it". His account reflects the tension between desired and undesired identities. On one side, Louis wants to avoid waste and reduce his meat consumption but on the other side he wants to distance himself from what he perceives is an undesirable identity. His approach reflects a balancing strategy (Karanika & Hogg, 2010) where Louis finds a mean between the two identities. His assumptions about peacefulness and being a 'hippie' indicate how ethical consumption identities are imagined (Wenger, 1998) as marked by certain characteristics like pacifism. His account indicates a negative attitude towards these characteristics. This would suggest that Kilbourne, McDonagh, and Prothero's (1997) findings that ethical identities are positioned as antithetical, while outdated, are still present in some commonly held beliefs. Louis's perspective indicates a tension between what could be considered as ethical consumption concerns - not wanting to eat meat and considerations for waste and his assumptions about ethical consumption as an identity - "hippies". His account reflects the complex challenges of encouraging ethical consumption behaviour alongside assumptions about what an

ethical consumer is. It shows the importance of unpacking ethical consumption identities – both as desirable but also as undesirable. For Louis, acting on his concerns for meat consumption and waste means finding ways in which these concerns are meaningful to him – past experiences and embodied consumption experiences. For example, Louis reflects on his experience of working in restaurants and the waste being produced. He expresses regret at the waste of animal products which he feels is a waste of work, product and life. This account indicates how consumers integrate forms of ethical consumption concerns in ways that are meaningful to them. Some participants were oscillating towards and ethical consumption identity but also wanted to distance themselves, negotiating a point of balance:

> "I had friends, they went a wee bit wonky with it, he became vegan you, know, and they're mind went a wee bit wonky, the doctor, they got put into hospital treatment […] but they were eating, I would have said they were more anorexic than they were vegetarians, I would have put it down to that but I don't think I'm anorexic" [John, Interview 2].

John overall is also attempting to eat less meat and considers the idea of being in vegetarian. In the quote above, John reflects on what he feels is a link between his friends' veganism or vegetarianism and mental illness. He concedes that their condition might be caused by other items, but his account indicates an imagined assumption of a causal relationship between the two (Wenger, 1998). John feels there are threats that being a vegetarian or vegan pose when it comes to his health. There is a sense in his account of these extreme identities that can be harmful to one's body and mind. For John, this story serves as a warning of extremes, as he attempts to reconcile his own changing consumption patterns towards a more vegetarian diet. He is trying to negotiate a middle ground that makes sense to him, away from what he feels is the extreme and harmful form of vegetarianism or veganism but also away from eating meat.

The quotes above offer a novel perspective of how individuals make sense of ethical consumption identities and ethical consumption behaviours as separate entities. While ethical consumption identities are perceived as undesirable, participants are still using various ethical consumption behaviours to enact their considerations for personal health and wellbeing. There is a separation between ethical consumption identities and behaviours to allow individuals to maintain a narrative self-coherence while enacting on their concerns.

The purpose of the above section was to explore the third research question of this thesis, which is to understand how participants negotiate their identities in the garden alongside other consumption identities. Previous research has emphasised the importance of self-identification in consuming ethically (Carrington et al., 2015). Overall, this section highlighted how consumers made sense of their identities developed in the gardens alongside their sense of self. This study found that participants sought to reconcile and integrate their community of practice experience into a narrative coherent sense of self. Wenger (1998) had previously argued that identities in communities of practice are compartmentalised from other identities. This study found that to be untrue in this context and instead suggests that individuals' involvement in a community of practice was a way for them to enact and negotiate overarching life themes like health, wellbeing and being self-sustaining. Neither did participants experience transformations in their sense of self and their consumption commitments as suggested by Hargeaves (2011) and partially by Carolan (2007). Ethical consumption considerations were instead overlapped with issues around health and wellbeing. These findings echo Turner's (2011) indication that often, individuals make sense of environmental and sustainable concerns in the context of personal health; these ethical concerns are reconciled in the idea that what's good for the environment is good for the body. The following section explores how identities developed in the community gardens and participation intersected with everyday consumption behaviours if at all.

7.3 Community garden participation and consumption lifestyles

This section addresses the fourth research question of how participation in community gardens intersects with individuals' consumption lifestyles. This study considers Haanpää's (2007, p.479) synthetised conceptualisation of lifestyles as "the process of consuming, individual choice and decision-making but also the social or symbolic dimensions of consumption". Haanpää (2007) considers the concept of lifestyle as a pattern of actions shaped by one's sense of self and social environment. This corresponds to this study's focus on consumption behaviour as shaped by subjective and collective forces. Chapter 2 section 2.3.2 explores how engagement in collective spaces of ethical consumption leads individuals to learn about ethical consumption issues. For example, Middlemiss (2011) found that participants who were involved in community food growing reported increased knowledge of sustainability issues that were linked to their enhanced

commitments to more ethical lifestyles. Chapter 3 section 3.3 also highlights that community gardens allow individuals to practice food production, bypass supermarkets (Shaw et al, 2016) and question their reliance on mass-consumption (Levkoe, 2006). The literature review, however, shows that research has not considered whether these outcomes extend among those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers and whether they transfer beyond community boundaries.

This section explores how those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers make sense of the ethical consumption behaviours learned in the garden and how this learning intersects wither their consumption activities. It does so through the modes of identification framework, by considering how engagement - learning and interacting with others in a community of practice intersects with wider consumption behaviour. The present study finds that ethical consumption learning in a garden did not lead to new ethical considerations as Middlemiss (2011a) would suggest. Nonetheless, participation in community food growing projects intersects with individuals' consumption behaviours in two ways: 1. it brought food into individuals' awareness leading to a questioning of existing food behaviours 2. collective learning also led individuals to develop the competence and confidence to grow food at home. The engagement element of learning was essential to this spillover as ongoing exchanges in the community of practice and the collective histories of learning expanded participants' knowledge and understanding of food and food growing.

7.3.1 Bringing food into awareness

It became evident that as a result of prolonged engagement around food - learning with others, sharing practices and interactions around food, most participants reflected on a reimagined relationship with food. Wenger (1998) warns that engagement in communities of practice - and the learning, practices and relationships it involves, is in danger of being insular and bounded within the physical and imaginary boundaries of the community. This study found instead that engagement became unbound as it reshaped participants relationships with food beyond the community of practice. This section builds on section 6.3.2 to explore how shared meanings of food developed from sensory encounters in community gardens shaped wider consumption behaviour.

Engagement with and around food in the communities of practice intersected with participants broader consumption lifestyle through a developing discursive awareness of

food. As discussed in chapter 2 section 2.5.3 Giddens (1991) and Hobson (2003) consider how most of what we do when it comes to consumption is unreflexive and shaped by a practical consciousness. In this study, engaging with food in shared ways lead participants to reflect on their existing food behaviours. This study, however, found that discursive interrogations of food consumption behaviours were not related to ethical consumption. Instead they reflected individuals' consumption ethics around health and wellbeing discussed in section 6.4.1. This is unsurprising given the complex relationships between food and health (DuPuis, 2000; Guthman & DuPuis, 2006). When describing his experience in the garden, Dan, for example, reflects on feeling his diet is healthier.

> "I just joined last... just came to know my plot and what to plant so it's not been too bad, beans have been alright the rest, nah, the carrots have been terrible, came up terrible. The guys I work with are alright and the women we work with, we have a good laugh. I quite enjoy it, I'm eating more healthier now so I'm shocked, [laughs] I've been eating bananas grapes broccoli, well, frozen veggies as well so I'm finding it alright, looking after my weight, I usually get weighed every month anyway cause of the medication I'm on so I'm doing pretty alright with the weight and the food. This year anyway has been pretty good it's an experience, doing something, doing the beds, cleaning up, tidying up, it's been pretty alright "[Dan, Interview 2].

Dan describes the process of joining the garden, getting to "know" his plot and the experience of growing itself. Although Dan is disappointed with some of the produce, he views his experience as positive overall mostly due to the social element of the garden and the ability to "have a good laugh". His account reflects the nature of engagement in the garden: doing the beds, tidying. These activities contain the shared knowledge of food growing food that is passed through shared interactions and joint enterprise (Goulding et al, 2013). Dan enjoys his engagement in the garden and reflects on eating "healthier" as something "shocking". It is unclear how his garden participation and eating healthier are linked in his account, other than by bringing food into his awareness.

This awareness also seems to translate into everyday consumption behaviours. In our first interview, Dan's self-reported purchases involved mostly: "fish, pork chops, spicy pork chops, chicken, frozen chicken" [Dan, Interview one]. From his self-reported shopping behaviour, Dan reflects on buying more fruit over the course of the year which, for him, signals a move towards a healthier diet. This is indicative of a reframing of his understanding and appreciation of food. Hobson's (2003) stresses that knowledge is

integrated alongside participants' existing frames of reference. For Dan, this existing point of reference is his personal health. Moreover, his involvement with the garden resulted from social prescribing which would explain why Dan feels his garden participation is a way for him to help his health and wellbeing. His quote articulates the plurality of benefits associated with community gardens for both mental and physical wellbeing (Alaimo et al., 2008; Hale et al., 2011).

Below, Louis similarly reflects on the role of the garden as a trigger for interrogating his own consumption.

> "I am probably paying more attention to what I'm eating as well, I'm not eating meat so much, or the people cooking some different stuff which I never had before, there were people from different countries around the world so you can learn some stuff from, about the kitchen customs in different countries now I got Christmas cards from Mexico, a girl from Mexico which I met her at the garden so even, people remember about each other, not only during the time in garden but outside as well" [Louis, Interview 2].

Above, Louis illustrates how interacting with others in the community garden plays an essential role in his developing awareness of food. His quote illustrates the nature of engagement in a community of practice - how relationships and learning experiences are negotiated around certain practices - like eating (Wenger, 1998; Goulding et al., 2013). Louis's account reflects how consumption experiences in the garden - experiencing foods he never had before intersect with his consumption knowledge. This indicates how the knowledge and engagement that is created in a specific community of practice is negotiated beyond the boundaries of that community in ways that are meaningful to individuals.

Louis's quote also indicates that relationships and interactions developed in the garden can spill over beyond the garden boundaries, similar to Glover's (2004) and Middlemiss's (2011a) findings. Louis further reflects on consuming less meat and although it is unclear how his experience in the garden relates to that, his attempt to eliminate meat from his diet is derived from his health beliefs as he believes meat consumption is not healthy.

Similarly, over the course of the year Michael's engagement in the garden had a transformative effect on his confidence and wellbeing and his quote below illustrates how

following his experience, food had become more prominent in his discursive consciousness.

> "Well, I didn't bother, I didn't even think about the importance of food before I had a plot to plant food in. It was the last thing on my mind. I used to actually do bonsai. and [….] I've got more experience now and I'm growing healthy foods, vegetables […]" [Michael, Interview 2].

Michael reflects on his developing realisation about the importance of food following his engagement in the community garden. His narrative is indicative of Hobson's (2003) findings that the boundary between practical and discursive consciousness is moveable through time and shaped by experience. Michael also describes the food in community gardens as healthy in itself, reflecting the evidence about community gardens as beneficial to health (Hale et al, 2011). His account indicates how collective learning in a community of practice and engaging around things that are relevant in individuals' everyday lives can have implications beyond the boundaries of the community. In this case, it led to a reframing of Michael's perspective of food. In our last interview Michael reflects on his food activities before his divorce from his newly developed perspective on food:

> "Another thing I never did when I was at my last house in [location] was grow my own food, we just bought it in the local supermarket and an awful lot of it as well was … microwaveable food so the only food that we cook from scratch would be potatoes and I like my salads so I had salads all the time, baked potatoes but the rest of my family, some of the foods that you just heat it up and eat it" [Michael, Interview 3].

In this quote, Michael is critical of his family's use of convenience food as juxtaposed to cooking from scratch. As his experiences and awareness of food change, his personal history is realigned through his new experiences and appreciation for food. Michael's account indicates how identification in a community of practice (Wenger, 2010) can lead to a reimagining of other practices - such as eating (Warde, 2015) through newly acquired understandings. This finding builds on Hobson (2003) findings that engagement with new consumption practices led individuals to develop new ways of thinking and talking about the purpose and impacts of their practices and suggests that participants also reframe past experiences of food through their new understandings. In that sense, identification with a community can impact behaviour - and identities by reframing past and future experiences.

This study also finds that engagement in community gardens intersects with everyday consumption activities by developing participants learning and competencies of food. Latour and Deighton (2019) found that consumers developing consumption competencies as taste experts changed their future consumption experiences. Arguably this could also apply to competencies developed in a community of practice that has a consumption element. Louis demonstrates how learning in the garden intersects with his consumption activities by expanding his knowledge of edible foods.

> "During our break, she gave me some hibiscus tea which was amazing. I thought this kind of tea must be very expensive, but she told me that is only £1.5 for a huge bag in some of the Indian shop at Great Western Rd. We had a chat about Hibiscus also, and it's some potential flower which I may plant for next year. We decide to have more chamomile in the garden also [...] I remember also that last time you told me that this nasturtium is possible to eat. Few people told me that before, but I never knew how to prepare it. So, people in the garden told me that yesterday. I collected then some of the flowers, lettuce, spinach, Jack's chive and I had a nice salad later in my flat" [Louis, Diary].

Louis's quote captures the dynamic and vibrant nature of engagement as a form of identification around food in community gardens. There is an interplay between collective identification in using "we" and "I" which suggests the mutuality of engagement and how participants recognise each other as members of the community (Wenger, 1998). Louis reflects on expanding his understanding of edible foods - realising that nasturtiums are "possible to eat". His quote indicates how consumption learning in community gardens intersects with his everyday consumption activities as food from the garden is transferred into the home along with new consumption knowledge. His account illustrates that new consumption experiences and trying new things, unsurprisingly, require the competencies (Latour & Deighton, 2019) (and resources) to transfer consumption experiences into everyday activities. Michael, for example, reflects below on how his engagement in the garden along with attending a cooking class developed his consumption repertoire and led to new food behaviours being adopted:

> "I now cook an awful lot more eggs ...I've made jam... I would've never done things like that before, now I proved that I can do it, I've made haggis and things but the cookery classes, have been a success in the respect that it made me do more cookery" [Michael, Interview 2].

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Michael's quote above reflects the kind of consumption activities learned in the garden - making jam, using potatoes and turnips with haggis. Nonetheless, many of the activities described above are confined to the garden space: 'making jam' and 'making haggis' so it would seem his newly learned consumption experiences do not necessarily translate into wider behaviours. The researcher noted, for example, that the second observation shopping was similar to the first one in terms of consumption choices: "[...] Overall he purchased products similar to the first shopping observation" [Second Shopping Observation, Michael]. Throughout this study, Michael also mentions that while the garden provides a lot of his food over the summer, for example eggs from the hens, which for him had positive financial and health implications, in the absence of the garden over winter he would revert to buying food from the local supermarket. This indicates that Michael's developing discursive awareness does not necessarily alter what he does, but it becomes part of on-going understandings and debates about lifestyles and values (Hobson, 2003).

As participants expanded their understanding of the food system (Dowler et al., 2009), this allowed them to re-evaluate their existing food practices. Some participants reflected on their experiences of freshly grown food and vegetables as having a transformative effect on their consumption. John's quote below illustrates how his experience in the garden transformed his perspective on food and lead him to change his ways of eating to include more vegetables.

> I started eating some of the crops which I had planted and some of the other ones which a friend was given us I started eating a lot of cabbage, kale and carrots and the turnip, potatoes it was all freshly grown and there was a complete difference quality or flavour than there is buying it from a shop and I found myself I would say since I've been there, seventy per cent of my diet is vegetables now, I never thought I'd do that…"[John, Interview 2].

John describes how eating the crops from the garden and experiencing a different quality or flavour than buying from a shop led him to alter his consumption and increase his vegetable intake. Similarly, Alaimo et al. (2008) have found that urban community gardeners increased their fruit and vegetable intake. West et al. (1996) consider how consumers who develop a consumption vocabulary can make sense of their preferences more consistently, for example, by developing an understanding of the features and characteristics of a product they can evaluate and understand their own preferences better. John's account reflects that perspective and indicates that learning in experiential ways has

the potential to re-order consumption experiences and shape future consumption (Latour & Deighton, 2019). His participation has a transformative effect in developing new consumption commitment which is also reflected in Carolan's (2007) work on tactile spaces. John thus attributes a fundamental change in his eating behaviour to his community garden involvement.

Following his experiences, in the garden, John begins to image the possibility of being vegetarian in more concrete ways. This is reminiscent of Clarkson et al.'s (2013) findings that experiential consumption knowledge has the potential to enhance appreciation of future consumption experiences. In our last interview, John's account also suggests that by imagining new possibilities of food, he experiences a transformation that spills over into his everyday consumption practices. The concept of transformation and collective contexts is explored by Carolan (2007). Carolan (2007) however reflects mostly on individuals developing new ethical consumption considerations like caring about where food comes from, concerns for "equity or justice" (p. 1273). While this was not the case for most participants in this study, the accounts above indicate that transformations are still possible in relation to participants consumption ethics around health. The garden is constituted in the food provision network as a facilitating point for enacting specific ways of eating and providing access to both different food options but also to expanding participants knowledge about food (Meyericks, 2015; Carney et al., 2012). As health was an essential part of John's consumption and it was a central part of his narrative, the garden was a way to further enact on his concerns.

Nick and Eve's narrative below indicates how participating in the gardens and other learning experiences challenged their beliefs about food and helped them negotiate a healthier lifestyle. The couple were financially restricted by their reliance on social care provision for their consumption purchases. This was experienced by both in a constraining way as it fundamentally shaped their consumption practices. For example, the date of receiving their support income dictated when they would purchase their food: every other Thursday. As this was their shopping day, their purchases involved products that would last well and could be frozen. Hall (2011) argues that family consumption practices and negotiations that centre on monetary concerns are an example of everyday consumption ethics. Nick and Eve were also experiencing other constraining circumstances in their lives such as addiction, finding employment with a criminal record and deteriorating health.

Considering these circumstances, their consumption practices were constituted as a way of negotiating financial pressures and health concerns:

> "Nick: What we really do is that we're healthy eaters, we eat all of our vegetables and even if we're cooking our burgers and anything like that we make sure all the fat is all dropped off, so it's not all greasy if you know what I mean and. it's just mostly been healthy eating" [Nick, Interview 1].

At the very start of their first interview, Nick and Eve describe themselves as 'healthy eaters'. This becomes an essential dimension of their narrative and their identity through this study. For them, healthy eating involves eating vegetables and avoiding "fat". This perspective reconstitutes similar discourses of healthiness and healthiness that other participants in this study subscribe to. This could be indicative of how discourses of self-regulation around health are negotiated through taste and food (Roe, 2006a). In their account below Nick and Sarah, however, are re-evaluating their perspective of their own consumption.

> "Eve: we usually will be cooking burgers, sausages, pizza, ain't that...
>
> Nick: it's mostly just fatty food, but I'm trying to make it more healthier now, do spaghetti Bolognese, I do my own sauce these days but I've done garlic and onions sauce, I'm gonna try some new ones but I'm not sure if I'm gonna like them or not but it's mostly healthy eating and that, on a Sunday it's always the Sunday roast, roast chicken, roast turkey" [Nick and Eve, Interview 1].

In the quote above, Nick is self-critical of their current consumption as "mostly just fatty food" and describes his attempt to make it healthier by making sauces. Their narrative of "healthy eaters" was being challenged when reflecting on their everyday eating practices: it's "mostly fatty food". On one hand, their account could be indicative of the attitude-behaviour gap discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2.1. As they realised there was a tension between their self-described identities as healthy eaters and their everyday consumption, Nick brought forward healthy eaters as an aspirational identity: "I'm trying to make it more healthier". Their account reflects how participants internalise what Slocum (2008, p. 850) describes as 'the neoliberal discourse of personal responsibility' (also see Barnett et al., 2010) in their food consumption. In Nick and Eve's case, one interpretation could also be that in their desire to present themselves in a certain way in the interview, they foregrounded their "healthy eaters" narrative - which reflects discourses of personal

responsibility. Social desirability bias is the tendency of individuals to deny socially undesirable actions and behaviours and to admit to socially desirable ones (Chung & Monroe, 2003). For Nick and Eve, this desirability means being seen to eat healthily. Nick's account could also be interpreted as "identity work" as he attempts to strengthen their identity as healthy eaters through verbal assertion (Snow & Anderson, 1987). Their account also indicates that we should move away from the presumption that 'consumers are knowledge-grounded subjects who make rational choices to maximise their interests' (Cherrier, 2007, p. 322) and instead acknowledges that there is a certain amount of irrationality and contradiction within the ethics of consumption, which is central to everyday life. Below, Nick describes how their understandings of health are being challenged through their learning experiences.

> "I don't know, how can I put it, even with Eve she's a bit overweight, but we're actually doing a course […] it's healthy eating, they've got like the map, healthy foods, fatty foods, and everything but we only started that last week, this week, yesterday it was so we're gonna do that every Tuesday and next week is gonna be for all the fatty foods what's healthy, what's not healthy, so last time when I said we were eating healthy food but we wasn't" [Nick, Interview 2].

In the quote above, six months after the first interview Nick reflects on how his understanding of healthy eating had been reframed by his recent experience in a course. Their account is indicative of the fragmented and provisional nature of their consumption knowledge (Cherrier et al., 2012a). According to Cherrier et al. (2012a), any action, including consumption, stands in relation to a knowledge that is fragmented and provisional. It is fragmented because there is no exhaustive theory of humanity and of history that we can grasp that can guide our actions and it is provisional because actions themselves continually gives rise to new knowledge (Cherrier et al., 2012a). This new knowledge is adapted by Nick and Eve and incorporated in their consumption over the year.

> "Nick: We're trying to make changes like as I said to you before, I'd make a nice stew or casserole but that might work out, I've got some meat indoors, cooked meats and just mostly ordinary stuff, I haven't made chips, we're not eating frozen chips and all the other stuff, the normal stuff, salad we've started to eat now cause the weather but hopefully once all of this gets up and running…"

[...]

Nick: we've actually started shopping in Tesco's as well, down in Maryhill road, the big Tesco's McDonalds. so we usually take a slow walk down there and buy some fresh veg

Eve: we buy cabbage, cauliflower, carrots

Nick: even the frozen bag stuff we don't buy now, got to be fresh. I don't know why, more tasty I suppose

Eve: my dad buys fresh, fresh veg my dad eats

Nick: we're still buying burgers, chicken, we've started eating organic sausages, not organic, Quorn ones. I've started getting a craving for them but I have to put a little spice, a little something [[Nick and Eve, Interview 3].

Between their first and last interview, Nick and Eve were negotiating a 'healthier' way of eating. In the first interview, they identified that some of their eating behaviours do not subscribe to this and were reflecting on trying to make changes. This quote comes from the last interview with Nick and Eve, conducted on their newly acquired allotment site. Nick and Eve both reflected on their desires and plans towards eating more healthily and being able to grow their food was a way for them to manifest their consumption ethics. This was driven by concerns for her weight for Eve and to save money.

Nick and Eve's interviews were an opportunity for them to negotiate their circumstances and discursively take control over some of the challenges they were experiencing. The couple's experiences of vulnerability and tribulations were reconstituted as opportunities for improvement and change. For example, their community garden involvement was linked with Nick's community service but was also presented in the interviews as an opportunity to develop their skills and find future employment. It was also an opportunity to save money and improve Eve's health. Their involvement with the community garden also went beyond everyday garden activities as they attended many of the garden's community education classes. Their narrative illustrates how their consumption lifestyle developed over the year, as their understandings of what health is were challenged and reconstituted through their involvement in the community garden and through participation in community education.

Their account indicates how participation in community gardens becomes intertwined with participants' developing awareness of food and their own wellbeing concerns. It also highlights the complexity of changing consumption behaviour time, the role of new knowledge and the trial and error it involves (Wenger, 2010) - from initiative to manifesting change. For them, "change" involves both avoiding certain foods like "frozen chips" but also a proactive process of making a "nice stew or casserole". Their ability to grow and harvest food is central to their process and negotiation of change on a day to day basis. Their account is indicative of how food behaviours are being challenged and brought into awareness as new knowledge is incorporated and adapted to correspond to individuals' overarching life themes. It also shows how community garden participation shapes individual's identities in complex and contradictory ways at times as participants negotiate ways to enact their consumption ethics.

While research has often focused on the inconsistencies of ethical consumer's behaviour and either tried to understand the causes of these inconsistencies (Carrington et al., 2010), or explored coping mechanisms (Chatzidakis et al., 2007) by considering how consumers 'say one thing and do another', this finding suggests that we consider how consumers do one thing and say another. Their account shows that often consumers distinguish between their 'saying' and 'doing; to make narrative sense of their own behaviour retrospectively and in ways that are in line with their wider life themes (Schau & Wolfinbarger, 2009).

This section showed how involvement in collective learning lead participants to question their relationship with food and led some participants to introduce new consumption activities in their everyday life -like developing Michael's cooking competencies, expanding Louis's knowledge of edible foods and transforming John's diet to be more plant based. The collective engagement was essential in some of these instances - learning how to use the produce and learning how to do things was dependent on learning from others. This study found that communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production principles do not lead to ethical consumption commitments or new ethical concerns as previously suggested – (Carolan, 2007; Middlemiss, 2011a) but, nonetheless, led participants to become more aware of their food consumption. The focus on food in the community gardens, in the interactions - and as part of this study meant that food consumption was brought from practical consciousness into participants awareness and was now being disseminated, negotiated, and reinterpreted. Nonetheless, this was confined to small scale activities and it is unknown if it translated into long term changes. Another

essential way in which engagement in collective learning in the gardens intersected with individuals' consumption lifestyles was through developing participants competence to grow food at home.

7.3.2 Beyond the community garden: moments of productive consumption

This study finds that learning collectively to produce food in community gardens led participants to grow food at home. This furthers our understanding of how engagement in communities of practice can extend beyond the boundaries of a community. Wenger (1998), previously argues that engagement in a community is 'bound' by the limits of the community –both imaginary and material. As a result, engagement - and its features: relationships and the learning developed can become insular and specialised. This section shows that participants develop ways to overcome the boundaries of a community of practice and recreate similar collective learning experiences as seen in the community gardens.

According to Wenger (2010, p.182) "gaining a competence entails becoming someone for whom the competence is a meaningful way of living in the world". As participants developed their food production competencies, they incorporated food growing as an activity that was meaningful to their everyday life. Nick reflects how learning to grow food the garden over the year equipped him with practical knowledge he can apply in his own allotment alongside his involvement in the garden.

> "Since I come up here I didn't know anything, but I know how to sow seeds, I know how to scatter them, I know how to weed up, what are weeds and what are vegetables, what's bad, what's poisonous and not to kill snails, I've been told for bugs, you have to make bug hotels for them now, but since I've been up here I got more confidence now, we got two plots up here [...] we got one up in Mearn Hill, that's been going since last year but we're growing some vegetables up there but it didn't take I think it's something to do with the soil so we got soil tester and the soil up there, it's bad so we dug all that out so we brought our own compost, got a load coming, put it all in and gave it a little of a sprinkle with something but it was organic spray or something so there's no poison going to my dirt so all the vegetable will be like organic" [Nick, Interview 1].

Nick describes in detail the kinds of activities he has learned in the garden and feels this experience has given him more "confidence" in his growing skills. His account indicates how participants learn in a collective way. This is similar to Middlemiss (2011) findings: "because in the community garden, we work on the compost, I now know hands-on how to manage a compost" (p. 274). Through ongoing engagement in the garden, certain activities like food growing come to unfold into new meanings for participants (Wenger, 1998). In Nick's case, he develops his growing confidence which is then translated into food growing activities in his independent allotment. Levkoe et al. (2006) have previously suggested that community food growing indeed developed participants sense of confidence.

Nick's account indicates that some of the principles of organic growing in the community gardens promote also transfer into food growing activities at home, further expanding our understanding of how engagement in community gardens intersects with consumption activities. Nick reflects on the compost in his allotment garden as being organic, which he feels will ensure his vegetables being free of 'poison'. Nick considers the gardens ethical production principles not to protect and encourage wildlife, but from the perspective of his own concerns for the edibility of food. This is similar to Dupuis' (2000) discussion on consumers preference for organic milk are determined by food anxieties.

Gerald further describes his experience of growing potatoes in the garden and using the harvested potatoes at home. He reflects on consuming the garden produce which led him to want to 'produce' more of his own food.

> "I'm gonna try to grow potatoes next year I'll build these things in the winter cause I know where you get the wood now to build them I know how to build them I know where you get the soil the topsoil and I have the knowledge and what to do, practical knowledge rather than reading it in a book or on a Google, I have practical knowledge of doing it so I will apply that at home so this time next year I will be eating my potatoes and I'll have my own red onions" [Gerald, Interview 1].

From the garden, Gerald now has the "practical knowledge" of growing food as opposed to "reading" about it which is illustrative of the impact of non-representational and social learning in developing participants' confidence to grow at home. In Gerald's account, the "practical" nature of the knowledge is juxtaposed with abstract knowledge that is "read". His reflection is indicative of Carolan's (2007) findings on how non-representational

knowledge helps individuals make sense of abstract knowledge in a more meaningful way. This again alludes to the invaluable nature of embodied learning in the garden in terms of embedding deep understandings about food and food growing in participants' experiences. His plans of growing also echo Thomas and Epps (2019) work on processes of developing new habits and the central role that planning has on how changes are translated into actual behaviours. Laura also exemplifies ways in which planning was an essential dimension of participants ability to grow food at home: "Already planning next year - and assuming that I have no [plot] so will have to sort out my wee plot at the back of the house. Planning, planning, planning" [Laura, diary].

Gerald's, Nick's and Laura's account illustrate that engagement and learning in the garden does intersect with consumption lifestyles by giving them the required experience to grow at home. Their accounts indicate that community gardens can potentially encourage productive consumption behaviour beyond the boundaries of the community and lead individuals to disengage from mass-consumption as previously suggested (Shaw et al, 2016).

Moreover, as participants were in the process of developing their food growing competencies, they were co-opting support from their existing social network and reproducing the kinds of engagement they had experienced in the garden.

> "In the window sill, in the bedrooms I grew tomatoes, there were a few tomatoes plants but only two really produced anything and all of the tomatoes were tiny tiny tomatoes but they were lovely and towards the end when the plants had started dying they were still producing tomatoes but obviously that was September, October time and the sun wasn't as warm, dad said that I should make a green chutney or something like that but what I did instead is I picked off the tomatoes and I left them on the windowsill and they ripened on the windowsill, by then the tomato plants were all dead so it was just time to take them... and I really enjoyed doing all of that I think I'm definitely, if mum gives me some tomato plants I think I'm definitely gonna try the tomatoes again, I think I'll definitely do potatoes in a bag and I loved doing the broad beans as well but I think I will put some mustard round them, I want to try, I want to do beetroot cause my beetroot when I was up north was really successful, and it was, it's actually really good, it's nice. I'd like to give carrots another go, some... the funny thing is in the croft you have loads of kind of tips where people were saying well you need to add sand to the soil because it gives them

more room to grow, it's more malleable for them so I'm gonna give them a go as well" [Laura, Interview 1].

In the quote above Laura details her efforts to grow food at home, especially her attempt to grow tomatoes on the windowsill. Laura also discusses her plans to grow in the future. Her account is interspersed with references to exchanges and interactions around food growing: "dad said", "mum gives me", "people were saying". This is indicative of how Laura's attempts to grow food involve knowledge and input from others, both at home and in the garden. This expands our understanding of how individuals develop a sense of confidence by relying on their social network for learning support and recreating the forms of engagement they experienced in the community of practice. Laura's attempts to draw on knowledge and experience from those around her is arguably indicative of 'scaffolding' (Maciel & Wallandorf, 2017). Scaffolding refers to the gradual expansion of competence that occurs as learners interact with qualified interlocutors (Littlefield & Ozanne, 2011). Through these interactions, participants operate in what Vygotsky (1978) calls "a zone of proximal development," the cognitive space where learners assimilate inputs that are novel but not too far removed from their current level of competence. Laura, for example, draws on learning from others in the garden in terms of getting "tips" from other garden members around how to grow food. She also builds on the knowledge and support that her parents provide in terms of advice and seeds. Her account indicates the critical role of one's existing networks of support that can develop their competency to grow food.

Other participants used their existing social support network to create a shared experience of learning. Fiona considers how learning to grow food has become an opportunity for her to strengthen her relationship with her flatmates. In that sense she is attempting to create scaffolding through a sense of togetherness.

"Planting has been incredibly rewarding for me because a little bit it taught me a little bit of patience firstly I was like 'why nothing comes up?!' and when it got a little bit warmer I found out that the stuff liked a bit of sunshine so I find it rewarding because the stuff that I planted have actually started growing and I was like Yes! Yes! Yes! very happy with that ... and also this is something that brought me and my flatmates a little bit together cause this is thing which we all agreed on that we really like to use our garden space to make a plot and to plant some stuff and we all got involved with that so I found it was also good for bringing the flatmates back, not

bring them back together, but sort of do something that we all enjoy that we all want to see the result of" [Fiona, Interview 1].

In the quote above, Fiona reflects on the satisfaction she derives from planting. Fiona describes how planting has been a gratifying experience as it developed her patience. This lends a transformative and revelatory quality to her learning experience as it leads Fiona to experience a change in herself similar to Carolan (2007) findings on consumer's transformations. Moreover, she mentions how the experience of growing food has brought her and her flatmates together to grow food at home. This constitutes an opportunity for Fiona to develop her food growing competency through collaborative scaffolding as suggested by (Maciel & Wallendorf, 2017). Collaborative scaffolding describes how individuals "at different stages of their trajectories [of learning] scaffold on one another" (Maciel & Wallendorf, 2017, p. 740). This collaborative scaffolding was negotiated throughout the year and below Fiona reflects on the parallels between her experiences of growing at home and in the garden:

> "I sowed some radishes in the community garden before my flatmates and I sowed radishes in our garden. The ones from the community garden were nice and big – almost all were harvested on time, unlike ours. I feel like I should have been more "pushy" and should have asked my flatmates to listen to me and not plant the radish seeds so close to one another. Still, 50% of what we harvested in our own garden was edible, and it was my first experience growing radishes, so I'm content with what we did" [Fiona, diary].

In the quote above, Fiona compares her harvest of radishes in the garden and her harvested radishes at home. Her quote encompasses how productive consumption manifests through food growing: growing in the garden and at home and consuming the produce from those harvests. There is a tension in her account emerging from the disagreement between how to plant the radishes. She feels that the radishes grown at home were not as good as the ones in the garden because they were planted too close together. Her quote illustrates how productive consumption is negotiated in a collective context and how tensions are made sense of. As Lave and Wenger (1991) indicate, this negotiation comes as a mixture of expertise and helplessness, success and failure. Maciel and Wallendorf (2017) focused specifically on collective interactions on how individuals reach consensus through scaffolding. Fiona's account contributes to their findings to illustrate how tensions can emerge in scaffolding and how these tensions are negotiated. For example, Fiona reasons

her frustration by considering the final product: although she regrets not being more confident in her expertise, she feels satisfied at having harvested some edible foods. For Fiona, her flatmates, and living harmoniously with them is crucial to her consumption identity. In that sense reaching a harmonious consensus is more important that establishing her expertise.

Other participants saw their own role as learning support. Following his involvement in the croft, Simon won a raised bed as part of a competition in the garden: "I think being able to share that with Emma will be really good and show her how to grow food and involve her as much as I can" [Simon, Interview 3]. His account indicates how as Simon develops his food growing competency, he sees himself as a potential source of scaffolding to help his daughter learn about food. Littlefield and Ozanne (2011) also highlight the role of family members in providing learning support and Simon's account indicates how parents themselves see their role as scaffolders. This emerges out of his sense of duty to instil specific values in his daughter. He reflects on his plans to include his daughter in the process of food growing as a way to teach her about food.

Laura's, Fiona's and Simon's account indicate that participants in communities of practice attempt to recreate the forms of engagement they experienced in the community - the knowledge exchange, shared histories of learning and relationships. This finding extends our understanding of identification in communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) to suggest that engagement can be "unbound" from the physical context of a community of practice when modalities for further engagement around similar practices exist. Engagement remains localised around the same practice of food growing, but participants are creating new shared histories of learning, interactions and relationships. While these might not necessarily constitute a new community of practice, these forms of engagement allow individuals to develop their competencies.

Nonetheless, only one participant described their intention to grow food out of a desire to reject mass consumerism. Simon reflects on his food growing specifically as a means of disengaging from mass consumption:

> "Just [to] have a supply of things just down in the garden rather than at the shop it
> would be nice for me and just being able to use fresh things" [Simon, Interview 3].

Simon emphatically evokes Levkoe's (2006) sense of empowerment derived from the realisation that he does not have to rely on the "shop" for his food. His account also

supports Levkoe's (2006, p. 94) claim that realising that they can do these activities themselves helps people take steps towards understanding their dependence on corporations". Most participants, however, did not reflect on having specific intentions to challenge mass-consumerism. Some were driven by financial considerations and some wanted to further develop their food growing competency.

Moreover, many participants experienced barriers in their desire to grow food. Simon, for example, although he wins a raised bed from his garden, he is not able to start using it as he has no space for it. In our second interview Simon reveals his plot was in storage and he is unable to use it. In fact, in our second interview, his plans to grow food appeared in the distant future as he was unsure when he would be able to use the raised bed. It is only when he moves to a new house that he can transport the raised bed in his back garden.

> He [Simon] showed me the raised bed he'd won in the [garden] workshop last year that was now in his back garden after moving to a new flat where he could store it. He had not been able to use until now. He seemed excited about being able to grow his own food but commented on time constraints and he was worried he would not be able to do it if he had to work more [Observation, Simon's home].

The researcher observation above indicates several kinds of barriers to productive consumption that Simon encounters. At first, he is not able to grow food due to access constraints, a theme previously found by (Cherrier et al., 2012). Simon also expresses concern for balancing time to grow and his work schedule. His account reflects McIntyre and Rondeau's (2011) findings that the requirement to earn a living further constrains the ability to engage in food self-provisioning activities, as these activities have a low economic return compared to needed investments (e.g., time, resources). While Simon can enact his productive consumption activities due to changes in his life circumstances-moving to a new house, not all participants had this opportunity.

Jenny reflects on how following her garden involvement she brought some seeds from her family in Chile which she plans on planting at home. Although Jenny was excited by this plan in our second interview, it was still to manifest in her activities. Below we see that Jenny's plan to plant at home had not been enacted. Both she and Mark reflect on the challenges of negotiating competing priorities on an everyday basis which is reflective of existing research (Carrington et al., 2014) on how consumption commitments are negotiated alongside a range of competing priorities.

"Interviewer: When I last saw you, you were talking about... you got some seeds from Chile and did you manage to do anything with them?

Jenny: no, I haven't done anything [laughs]

Mark: It was all talk

Jenny: [Laughs] It was an idea, no not really but because ...

Mark: it's been a funny summer, it feels like we've been on the move quite a lot, like last weekend was the first weekend we've both been home for the whole weekend, so I don't know if that's something to do with it and maybe just an excuse" [Mark & Jenny, Interview 3].

Mark reflects on the time difficulties of enacting their intentions to grow food. He is also critical of his narrative, as a potential "excuse" which is indicative of a sense of guilt about the inconsistencies between their previous commitment and a perceived failure to follow through. Their account also indicates that everyday consumption activities, including productive consumption are time constrained (McIntyre & Rondeau, 2011).

Participants had to navigate other accessibility issues like limited permanent space for food growing. John, for example, reflects on his intentions to grow food at home through creative solutions.

"I'm hoping to start it by the end of the year, you know we've got the allotments here but there's another way you can do a sort of grow your own food you know for example like, see an old bag putting your potatoes in the soil, somebody who's not got a garden, maybe at the back of their house, a big bag with holes in it, the soil and your potatoes you can grow your own potatoes, you can grow cabbage and you can grow other plants there, I would like to give it a try, another thing that I'm trying to but I'm trying to do it outside, I'd like to try and grow my own mushroom I think I can do it, I've got a wee system I wanted to try" [John, Interview 2].

John's quote alludes to access to facilities as a factor that was essential in how participants were able to engage in productive consumption activities. John describes the creative negotiations through which participants can grow food at home. This is similar to Cherrier et al.'s (2012a) findings on participants attempting to enact ethical consumption commitments in creative ways. By the end of our time together John had not made any

more plans to grow at home. His account further indicates how participants' ability to engage in food growing is fundamentally dependent on their access to either space or food growing facilities. Other constraints included the time-sensitive nature of food growing:

> "It was past tomato planting date, it was about two or three months after I should have planted them, but they still grew pretty well because they were in the window, because I'm in the high-rise I still get that solar energy so it's almost like they're in a polytunnel " [Sarah, Interview 2].

Sarah, for example, reflects on planting past the "planting date" which further alludes to the challenges of food growing. Nonetheless, Sarah describes living in a high-rise which aids her efforts as she gets a lot of sunlight, which constitutes a creative solution to her challenge. This also indicates that her only available space is indoors which limits her options. Arguably, this also constrains the amount of produce she is able to grow. Michael further illustrates how a sense of constraint is preventing him from changing his consumption: "I would plant more food than buy all of it, instead of buying all of my food, I would plant half of it which I would have never have done […] but it's not a big enough balcony" [Michael, Interview 3]. This was due to a lack of access to food growing facilities at home. This highlights the need to consider access to resources and facilities when exploring the role of places like community gardens to have a far-reaching impact on consumption.

Interestingly, this study finds that the ways in which consumption behaviours like growing food transferred from the community garden at home were not linked to individuals' identification with the community garden itself. For example, Nick and Eve and Gerald did not experience a strong sense of alignment with the community itself and at times either disengaged or distanced themselves from the community. On the other hand, participants like Fiona and John experienced a strong sense of identification with the community garden. Where consumption research previously focused on communities with a strong element of imagined identification (Chalmers Thomas, 2013; Gannon & Prothero, 2019) this study offers invaluable insight into how communities who might not have a strong hold in individuals' identities can still guide consumption behaviour. This study proposes that instead participants' desire to enact these behaviours in their everyday consumption activities was linked firstly with identity projects for Fiona, Sarah and Laura but also with access and facilities for Gerald, Nick and Eve. This indicates that encouraging ethical consumption can be encouraged through links to wider consumption ethics around health

and frugality. This can happen when individuals have access to learning these consumption behaviours and when these behaviours are relevant to their existing concerns.

7.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to address research questions 3 and 4, relating to how identities developed in communities of practice are negotiated alongside other identities (RQ3), and how individuals' participation in community gardens intersects with their consumption lifestyles (RQ4). Previous studies have shown that participation in community gardens leads to ethical consumption concerns (Middlemiss, 2011a), but research had not explored whether this extends beyond the community garden boundaries. This chapter considered how participation in community gardens intersect with consumption lifestyles. This study found that this intersection was visible in two ways: it led to a questioning of participants' habits and knowledge exchanges around food that were translated into everyday consumption activities for some i.e. Louis developing his knowledge of edible plants and using them in his food preparation. It also led to participants to take on productive consumption activities like growing food at home. This showed that engaging in collective learning can transfer beyond a community of practice.

Levkoe (2006) had argued that as participants learn to grow food, they will ultimately rely less on external sources of food like supermarkets. While participants felt motivated to engage in productive consumption, it is evident from the quotes above that many participants were not driven by a desire to disconnect from mass-consumption as suggested by Levkoe (2006). Shaw et al. (2016) would argue, nonetheless, that by allowing participants to engage in both production and consumption, participants are challenging the current consumption logic as they are bypassing food sources like supermarkets. Yet, participants opportunities to disengage in any substantial way were limited. This was also the case with regards to the garden produce as the food produced in the garden was limited. Louis for example, describes how the food produced in the garden is not enough to constitute a significant portion of his consumption. Over the course of the year, the food obtained by participants from the garden was sparse. Experiences of food growing helped more in terms of symbolic value and sense of empowerment and satisfaction rather than a reliable food source.

While participants learned to grow food, their capacity to do so was restricted. Gerald for example, while he used the potatoes at home, considering the seasonality of food, it would

be another year until he could harvest potatoes again. Moreover, apart from Nick and Eve who had an allotment, participants were also limited by the space that was available to them when it came to growing food at home. As seen above, Gerald, Simon, Fiona, Laura, Nick and Eve all had access to a back garden or an allotment for their food growing planned activities.

The potential for community gardens to empower individuals should be considered carefully alongside the challenges that food growing involves (Lynch & Giles, 2013). For example, the importance of access to resources has been previously highlighted by Glover (2009). This means that most participants were not able to disengage from mass-consumerism and indeed participants' food consumption over the course of observation showed little change.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

To conclude, this study addressed two aims. The first aim was to explore the experiences of those participating in communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production principles. The second aim was to understand whether participation in these communities intersects with individuals' broader consumption activities.

Building on the process of identification, this study found a distinct complementary identification between ethical consumption discourses of ecological and social responsibility and individuals' concerns for health, wellbeing and self-reliance. Through this complementary dynamic this study furthers the theoretical debate in ethical consumption research and brings the focus to the complex overlap between ethical consumption and consumption ethics. This dynamic indicates that attempts to encourage certain consumption behaviours that challenge mass consumption should focus on harnessing the intersection between ethical consumption considerations and consumption ethics of personal wellbeing.

This study used a modes of identification framework which uncovers processes of participation and identity development in communities of practice. Community gardens were conceptualised here as communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production goals. The following section explores the main contributions of this study, drawing on the themes developed in chapters 6 and 7. The chapter then identifies implications for practice, research and policy. Limitations of this study are explored, and areas of future inquiry are considered.

8.2 Contribution to existing theory

This thesis used a small scale longitudinal qualitative study to explore the experiences of participation in community gardens among those who did not self-identify as ethical consumers. Previous literature highlighted the role of norms (Moraes et al., 2012) and the experiential (Middlemiss, 2011b, 2011a) and embodied (Carolan, 2007; Turner, 2011) nature of learning as potential sources of ethical consumption concerns and behaviours. These were explored in chapter 2 sections 2.3 and 2.5. Similarly, the importance of identification with ethical consumption concerns as an avenue for behaviour change has

been previously discussed (Hargreaves, 2011). Nonetheless, previous studies are limited in their scope to illustrate how participation in communities driven by ethical consumption and production principles intersects with everyday consumption activities. In order to understand how these communities can, if at all, encourage ethical consumption more widely, the present study explored the process of learning about ethical consumption and production in community gardens - how encounters with ethical consumption and production were made sense of and whether they intersected with individuals' consumption lifestyles beyond these sites. The present study explored the following questions:

1. How do individuals make sense of the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens?

2. What is the dynamic between embodiment and participation in communities of practice?

3. How are participants' identities developed in communities of practice negotiated alongside other identities?

4. How does participation in community gardens intersect with consumers' lifestyles beyond these sites?

In answering question 1, on how individuals make sense of the ethical consumption and production norms in community gardens, this study explored the process of alignment (Wenger, 2010) and found that that individuals respond to the ethical and production norms they encounter in community gardens in complex and differing ways. This study suggests that engaging with the norms in these communities happened through different kinds of alignment: passive, active and conflicted alignment. These different kinds of alignment are the result of how individuals relate their own personal experiences to the norms they encounter in the gardens. Most participants displayed a passive alignment and accepted the ethical consumption and production norms as a necessary part of their participation without questioning the purposes behind them. Some participants displayed a an active form of alignment by taking ownership of the ethical consumption and production norms. This happened when the norms were meaningful to participants' own experiences of nature and consumption. Some participants, however, experienced alignment with ethical consumption and production principles as a source of conflict, for example - growing organically led some participants to lose their crops to pests. Some

participants also felt judged for their consumption choices within these sites or felt physically uncomfortable with some of the garden's activities like composting. Moraes et al. (2012) similarly identified that tensions between personal and community goals are present in ethical consumption communities. This study, however, showed that these tensions, alongside a lack of ideological alignment with the community goals, led some participants to disengage and distance themselves from the community gardens.

Contrary to previous studies which have focused on how ethical consumption communities can lead to a consistent engagement with ethical consumption behaviours (Moraes et al., 2012, 2010), this study shows that participation in communities driven by ethical consumption and production principles can also result in disengagement and distancing (four participants experienced this). This happens when the community's norms and goals are not seen as relevant to individuals' consumption experiences. Some participants felt alienated by these goals and the identities of the garden as places of environmentalism, which puts into question the language and discourses around ethical consumption and production in these sites. These findings indicate that some still view ethical consumption identities as undesirable.

To encourage ethical behaviour, ethical consumption and production norms need to be internalised by everyone in ways that are meaningful to their own experiences. For example, growing organically as a way of protecting wildlife can be linked to one's own experiences of wildlife. Even then, ethical consumption and production norms do not seem to translate into consumption behaviours beyond the community boundaries. Aligning with the principles of organic growing did not lead participants to want to consume more organically themselves and some were sceptical of organic labels. Nonetheless, some participants did reflect on their intention to practice organic growing at home which indicates that ethical consumption and production norms can encourage ethical consumption behaviours in corresponding activities i.e. growing organically in the garden and at home.

In answering question 2 on the dynamic between embodiment and participation, this thesis finds that participants experienced a sense of connection to their wider local community (DeLind, 2010), wildlife and the natural environment overall (Rogers & Bragg, 2012) (section 6.3). Some participants also reflected on developing an awareness of the challenges of food production. Crucially, the findings of this thesis indicate, however, that embodied connections to food, nature and the environment in community gardens in

themselves are not enough for developing ethical consumption concerns. This finding furthers ethical consumption research by providing a counterargument to previous claims that embodied connections to nature and food can trigger ethical consumption considerations.

While some participants reflected on a newfound sense of trust and connection to the food produced in community gardens, this did not seem to reflect in their broader consumption behaviour. For example, participants appreciated the organic nature of the food but did not feel motivated to consume organic food and, as mentioned above, some felt sceptical of organic food labelling or felt it was financially inaccessible. Arguably a similar sense of connection to food emerging from sensory experiences cannot be easily reproduced in the current food provision context i.e. supermarkets. The intersection between community garden participation and consumption behaviour should be contextualised in the wider food system as individuals' scope for recreating similar relationships with food are limited by access and availability.

This study also explicitly sought to understand the relationship between embodiment and participation in the process of identification in a community of practice. This inquiry finds that embodied participation is an important dimension of one's learning trajectory in a community of practice in several ways. Firstly, non-representational knowledge was an important source of meaning-making in itself. Moreover, embodied participation was a way for participants to develop shared repertoires of food and the environment that were derived from sensory experiences. Participants also described an embodied sense of place and community. Interestingly, this study found that participants experienced these embodied connections as authenticating acts which reinforced a sense of unity between their actions and their sense of self. Embodied participation then serves a dual role in giving participants a sense of authenticity but also as a way of validating their learning within the community gardens.

Embodied participation is a source of meaning in a community of practice and a way for people to connect to the community itself and others in it. It is also a way of connecting between individuals' sense of self and their identities developed in a community of practice. These processes interlink with alignment, engagement and imagination and bring forward the central role of the body in negotiating meaning in a community of practice. Embodiment is arguably a way for individuals to negotiate between social and experiential learning. Embodiment is potentially a form of identification in communities of practice

alongside engagement, alignment and imagination. This perspective extends our understanding of communities of practice theory, previously centred on social participation. This study proposes a revised framework of identification which includes embodiment as a crucial dimension of the framework. This dimension includes trajectories of non-representational learning, embodied repertoires, embodied interactions and embodied intensification. The figure below (Fig 7.1) proposes an adapted framework of identification (Fig 4.2 Modes of identification in a community) to include experiences of bodily interactions with the material and social world.
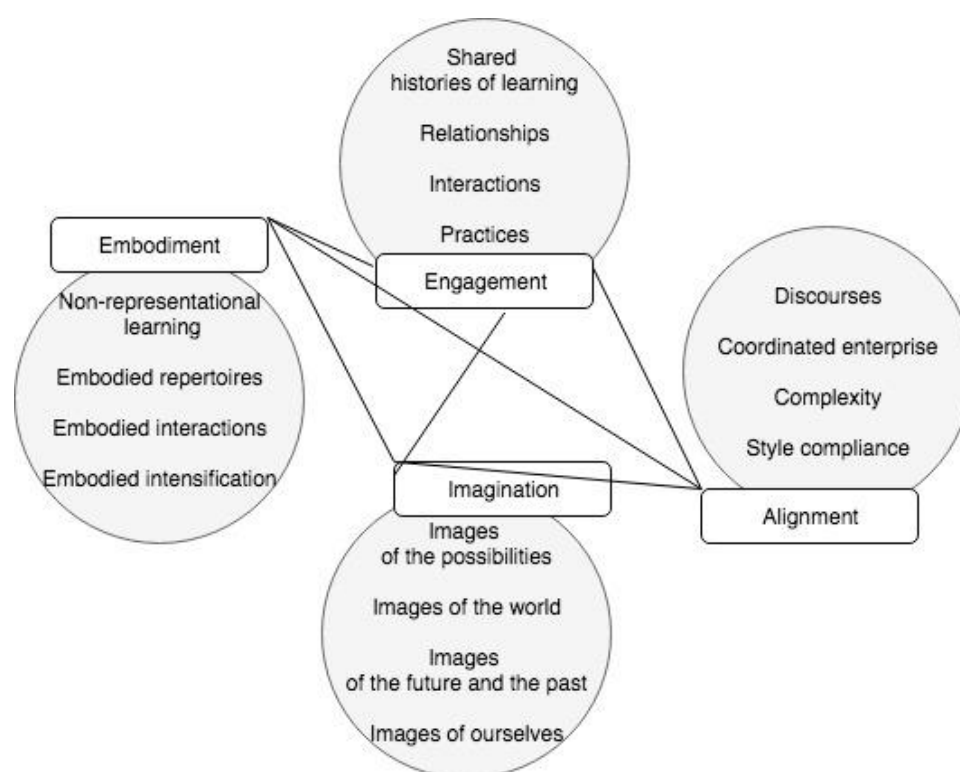
Fig 7.1 Adapted modes of identification framework

In answering question 3, this study finds that participants integrated the identities that they developed in community gardens into a coherent sense of self (section 7.1). Wenger (1998) had previously argued that identities developed in communities of practice are often compartmentalised. In contrast, this study's participants narratively constructed their identities through anchors like past consumption experiences, periods of transitions and their relationships. This highlights the importance of social context in shaping ethics and morality in consumption behaviour. Overall, this study finds that individuals' involvement in the community garden was a way for them to enact and negotiate overarching life themes like health, wellbeing, self-reliance and empowerment. The narratives show that instead of developing ethical consumption concerns, individuals appropriate ethical

consumption discourses around sustainability and reduced consumption to fit their narratives of self-identity e.g. some participants reduced their meat consumption for health reasons or chose to consume less.

Previously, authors have foregrounded the plurality of ethics in consumption (Hall, 2015, 2011; Barnett et al., 2005b). Acknowledging this plurality, however, does little to help us understand how we respond to the challenges of mass-consumerism. Moreover, this plurality also indicates that consumption ethics are different across areas of life, often contradictory or in competition. This thesis further argues that there is a complex overlap between ethical consumption and consumption ethics. Ethical consumption is considered here as consumption driven by environmental, social and ecological considerations (chapter 2 section 2.2.1) and individuals' consumption ethics are considered as the moral negotiations in everyday consumption, balancing between wants and needs, and concerns for personal wellbeing (Chapter 2 section 2.2.3). Teleological ethical considerations like the impact of biotechnologies on food and scarcity of resources are conflated with egoistic concerns for health and wellbeing. Ethics in consumption are intertwined in complex ways and the distinctions between self-interest, accountability and responsibility becomes blurred.

This finding contributes to ethical consumption debate by untangling the intersection between ethical consumption and consumption ethics. It does so by showing that individuals appropriate ethical consumption discourses to enact concerns for personal wellbeing. Ethical consumption research perspectives are often driven by the focus on specific moral concerns and considerations like environmental, social and ecological. This narrow focus does not allow for a complex understanding of overlapping moral discourses. In this study, it is evident that while individuals may not have ethical consumption concerns, their attempts to negotiate concerns for health and wellbeing might lead to similar outcomes – changed or reduced consumption. If money and finances are often described as barriers to consuming more ethically (Bray et al., 2010), this study shows that financial considerations in everyday life are also intertwined with matters of morality. Financial considerations fold within them assumptions about what sustainability means at a personal level. Health and concern for personal wellbeing are often described as egoistic (Michelidou & Hassan, 2008) but it is evident in the discussions above that these reflect wider societal debates around 'the neoliberal discourse of personal responsibility' (also see Barnett et al., 2010) (chapter 7 section 7.2).

Ethical consumption considerations are reconciled for some in the idea that what's good for the environment is good for the body, previously alluded to by Turner (2011). Middlemiss (2011) found that some individuals display concerns with a "complementary ethos which connect to sustainability and which impacts on their lifestyles" (p. 271). This study then proposes that individuals have a complementary relationship of identification with ethical consumption discourses. Participants make sense of this complementary dynamic as part of their sense of self, their everyday consumption ethics and as a way of negotiating life themes like health, self-reliance and personal responsibility.

In answering question 4 (section 7.3), this study finds that participation in community gardens intersects with wider consumption activities in several ways. Firstly, it led participants to question their food habits. Secondly, knowledge exchanges around food translated into everyday consumption activities for some e.g. participants developed their knowledge of edible plants and incorporated new foods in their consumption. Thirdly, it led participants to develop their competencies to grow food at home. This shows that learning can transfer beyond a community of practice and intersect with broader consumption activities. This adds a novel contribution to community garden literature by showing that participation in community gardens can extend beyond the community boundaries in some circumstances. Individuals' desires to carry out newly learned behaviours were aided by their existing social networks. To develop their learning, participants sought to recreate the interactions and relationships experienced in the garden beyond the garden space. This happened through scaffolding i.e. seeking expertise or collaborating in their food growing efforts with members of their social network.

While participants felt motivated to engage in food growing, they were not driven by a desire to disconnect from mass-consumption as suggested by Levkoe (2006). Shaw et al. (2016) argue, nonetheless, that engagement with productive consumption challenges the current consumption logic as participants are bypassing food sources like supermarkets. Yet this study also shows that opportunities for participants to disengage from mass consumption in any substantial way were limited. In the community gardens, for example, the capacity for food production itself is small. The produce collected was not enough to constitute a significant portion of participants' consumption. Moreover, while participants learned to grow food, their capacity to do so was also constrained. Apart from two participants who acquired a substantial private allotment over the course of this study, most participants were limited by the space that was available to them for growing food at home.

8.2.1 Contribution to practice learning and the modes of identification framework

This study takes a novel approach to practice learning and its modes of identification framework. At a micro-theory level, the findings above develop our understanding of the framework from a consumer research perspective adding to existing studies like Goulding et al.'s (2013) and Gannon and Prothero's (2017). As shown above, this study proposes an embodied dimension of identification, weaving a phenomenological perspective (Kupers, 2013) into the theoretical pastiche that is practice learning.

This thesis also explores the individual dimensions of the framework above to consider ways in which the framework extends its applicability beyond the boundaries of a community of practice (Handley, 2016). This study finds that processes of identification extend and are negotiated beyond the community. This is most likely to do with the nature of practices that are at the centre of this specific community of practice –food, food growing, eating and other consumption practices. When a community of practice includes consumption elements, these can be translated into other areas of life when significant overlap is possible e.g. growing food and recreating engagements around food growing are possible due to the central nature of food in our lives.

This thesis then explores the concept of alignment and supplements our theoretical understanding of this process of identification. The findings above suggest that identification in a community of practice needs to be considered in terms of ideological alignment with the principles and goals of the community. This indicates, unsurprisingly, that strong ideological alignment is important for a strong sense of identification with a community and prolonged engagement. Wenger (2010, 1998) did not specifically consider this among workplace communities of practice where ideological alignment is not always possible, and compliance is more formalised. The findings of this study indicate that perhaps, we need to distinguish among communities of practice on the axis of alignment. Some communities of practice like hobby communities or voluntary communities such as a community garden arguably involve a stronger ideological alignment and foster a sense of belonging. This kind of alignment might have wider implications for the process of identification. This could explain why identities developed in community gardens are not compartmentalised but integrated into individuals' broader sense of self.

8.2.2 Contribution to ethical consumption research

There are several ways in which this study contributes to ethical consumption research. This study firstly shows that norms are indeed important for embedding ethical consumption behaviours in community gardens. It then demonstrates the complex and dynamic process by which these norms are appropriated, negotiated and rejected. It highlights that while norms are important, their acceptance and enactment is dependent on individuals' personal and ideological alignment with the meanings and purposes behind the norms. Without full buy-in from individuals, the norms can lead to tension and ultimately disengagement.

Ethical consumption research is a rich and vibrant field of enquiry with some agreement around the plurality of ethics, the role of identification, norms and knowledge in ensuring consistent commitment - themes explored and grappled with in this thesis as well. This study develops our understanding of these topics by illustrating how the complicated world of everyday ethics is reinforced by and negotiated alongside ethical consumption discourses encountered in the community garden.

Hall (2010) argues that ethical consumption considerations (if at all) often come behind many other considerations. Interestingly, this study also found that ethical consumption discourses are not ignored and are instead appropriated and incorporated in complex ways. This study thus reveals a complex interweaving between ethical consumption principles as spearheaded by the gardens matched onto everyday ethics that are more about personal wellbeing, health and pre-existing moral codes. While community garden participation does not rewrite individuals' existing moral codes, ethical consumption still finds resonance in people's everyday ethics around frugality, health, waste and wellbeing. Thus, new theories and research on ethical consumption should consider the entanglement of ethics in everyday life and ethical consumption. If before studies had highlighted that individuals have to negotiate plural, competing kinds of ethics (Adams & Raisborough, 2010), the findings above indicate the murky entanglement and overlaps that exist.

The findings in this study also reinforce, crucially, the perspective that engagement with ethical consumption happens on a spectrum as most people in this study relate to aspects of ethical concerns in various ways – recycling, composting, buying locally. This moves further away from the dichotomous perspective of ethical consumption behaviour towards

a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of how people relate to ethical consumption in everyday life.

Moreover, ethical consumption research so far has not been able to fully explore the role of the body in relation to ethical consumption - how individuals relate to ethical issues from the perspective of their embodied experiences and also the role of embodied learning in learning ethical consumption behaviours. This study brings to light the central role of the body in relation to ethical consumption in several ways. Firstly, it highlights that embodied learning does lead to knowledge about certain consumption activities like food growing or cooking to become embedded and unquestioned – something that individuals now intrinsically know how to do. Secondly, this study also illustrates the way in which the body is at the centre of negotiating between wants and needs also central to everyday consumption ethics through health and wellbeing concerns. This had been previously discussed by Dupuis (2002) in her sociological work, but ethical consumption research had yet to fully consider the role of the body in mediating everyday ethics and in delineating or constructing individuals' language of ethics and morality.

Lastly, this study contributes to emerging research like Gannon and Prothero's (2018) writings on beauty communities of practice and Maciel and Wallendorf's (2017) work on consumer competence to bring together practice learning theory and consumption research. By doing this, this study provides a novel perspective on how individuals learn in a community context and whether this learning has implications and applications into everyday activities outside of the community context. This expands our understanding of consumer learning to highlight the processes at play in a community – the iterative interactions between embodied and social learning but also how norms help to strengthen but also alienate individuals from their learning.

Overall, this study contributes to our understanding of how participation in community gardens intersects with consumption activities by foregrounding a nuanced and critical understanding of the potential for community gardens to influence individuals' consumption behaviour. This study uncovers that community garden participation was linked mostly with individuals' life themes of empowerment and wellbeing. As discussed above, attempts to encourage specific consumption behaviours might be more successful if they foregrounded ways in which specific ethical consumption behaviours were complementary to these life themes. Nonetheless, most participants were not able to

disengage from mass-consumerism and indeed participants' food consumption over the course of observation showed little change.

8.3 Implications and recommendations for research and practice

"Uncertainty was always the home ground of moral choice […] what is truly new, is the enormity of the stakes" (Bauman, 1993, p. 222).

This research has several theoretical implications. From one perspective, the findings above have opened up new avenues for understanding how involvement in communities of practice driven by ethical consumption and production goals intersects with the lifestyles of those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers. This study argues that discourses of ethical consumption and production are interpreted and adapted by participants in ways that are complementary to their everyday consumption ethics. As considered above, this reveals an overlap between what could be described as egoistic concerns for personal wellbeing and teleological ethical consumption considerations like concern for the scarcity of resources or concern for the effects of biotechnologies on food. This complementary dynamic reveals new perspectives through which we can understand how individuals make sense of ethical consumption discourses. The findings above also indicate that we need to move away from researching self-identified ethical consumers as this has led to a specialist focus on the nature of ethics in consumption. Future research should move away from exploring ethical consumption concerns in isolation and instead consider individuals' wider ethics that span across various areas of life including consumption.

Based on the findings discussed previously, this study recommends that policy and practice e.g. marketing interventions to encourage consumption behaviours that challenge mass-consumerism should attempt to align with individuals' concerns for personal wellbeing. There is a need at policy level to highlight the role of embedding ethical consumption principles across different systems and not just in isolated contexts like community gardens.

This study also finds that engagement in productive consumption behaviours like food growing has the potential to redefine relationships with food over time. Nonetheless, interventions need to be considered alongside wider structural facilities and social networks.

This thesis also shows the usefulness of a longitudinal approach to studying communities of practices. This approach revealed the dynamic nature of engagement, alignment and imagination. Identification is in flux over time as participants move from identification to disengagement from a community. A longitudinal perspective of consumption activities also brought into light how individuals negotiated new consumption activities like food growing, how these were planned and enacted or abandoned. Nonetheless, more research is needed into the longitudinal nature of developing and upholding new consumption habits. Developing this methodological approach would allow for an exploration of how consumers acquire a sense of competency in food growing and how they reimagine their relationship with food over time.

This study contributes to community garden research and provides a useful insight into how learning in community gardens extends beyond the community boundaries. This suggests that community gardens can be further conceptualised as places that can reshape individuals' relationship with food from passive consumption to activities of productive consumption like food growing, provided access to external facilities is available.

The inclusion and recognition of the body as a source of meaning in communities of practice opens up possibilities for understanding identification in a community. It suggests that attempts to foster communities of practice should consider not only how bodies learn collectively but also how sensory and non-representational learning is made sense of. As embodied participation carries implications for place and community attachment, this could help researchers better understand the coherence of a community of practice.

Ethical consumption discourse - how we talk about ethics and ethical consumption also needs to be further examined. As highlighted in chapter 2, language can be exclusionary and alienating. Moreover, as seen in the findings, the language of ethical consumption is incorporated in different ways by individuals in their consumption activities- sustainability becomes a matter of self-improvement.

The findings of this study also have implications for community garden organisations. This study reaffirms the beneficial outcomes of community gardens for individual's personal wellbeing. This adds to the pool of evidence on the role and impact of community gardens in community development, community education and public wellbeing and strengthens the case for community garden to be an essential part of urban life and a crucial place for environmental and ecological learning.

Some of the norms in community gardens can alienate individuals over time if ethical consumption principles do not find reciprocity in their own personal concerns. The findings above show how tensions are negotiated in the gardens and how participants make sense of the norms existing in these places. These findings are useful for community gardens as it helps organisers understand how the gardens are perceived. Community gardens could then pre-empt some of these challenges and address some of the potential conflicts that might occur.

This study also has implications for wider ethical consumption practitioners and researchers. A singular context or place is not enough to lead to wider behavioural changes and creates isolated effects as only certain behaviours can find themselves reproduced in the home e.g. growing food. The limited capabilities for individuals to transfer their learning and experiences in community gardens in everyday consumption suggest that we should move away from focusing on specific contexts like community gardens and understand the relationship between consumption and production in the market in more depth. It is not possible for everyone to be a committed ethical consumer because of the plurality of life experiences and the different challenges people face in everyday life.

Moreover, while community gardens are incredibly beneficial in the local community, their benefits are community driven and community focused (Meyerricks, 2015) – environmental issues become secondary. We need new initiatives that target and involve individuals in ethical consumption learning that specifically target ethical issues. Relying on spillover from on isolated context into everyday consumption is not enough to encourage a wider system change.

The policy implications of this study are multifaceted. The findings above illustrate how some participants who do not self-identify as ethical consumers can align with ethical consumption norms in a collective context. When ethical consumption behaviours are linked with expectations of compliance, they are accepted without question by some. On a larger scale, this shows how policy and regulation could embed ethical consumption in the structure of everyday consumption activities in certain environments. On the other hand, in community gardens, unquestioned acceptance can also lead to tensions.

The findings above can also inform ethical consumption policy as it shows that individual can appropriate ethical consumption and environmental discourses in various ways. Policy and public communication could be focused on emphasising the overlap between

environmental and individuals' personal goals and considerations. Nonetheless, this study also showed that organic and environmental products are regarded with scepticism and seen as inaccessible. Policy should be created to enable access to these goods, emphasising localism to reassure individuals of the origins of the products.

Also relevant for community education and community empowerment policy is the longitudinal nature of the study which shows how engagement and learning happens over time. As this study illustrates, the process of engagement over time is accompanied by stronger community identification but also disengagement. This can help inform long term strategy for environmental and community education to address the challenges of retaining members and developing long term community involvement. For example, policy could explore how community organisations can better communicate their ethical consumption and production principles in ways that are relevant to individuals' experience to avoid disengagement. It can also consider the other barriers to long term engagement that can hinder those who do have a strong community involvement. For example, community gardens operate within certain opening times which makes inaccessible to large proportions of the population. More initiatives that promote environmental learning accessible to different population groups are needed.

The findings presented here have implications for wider environmental governance. At local and national level there is a need for ethical consumption norms to be embedded in a range of activities, not just in isolated contexts. Also, while some participants were able to reproduce some of the learning from the gardens at home like food growing, most people are limited in their access to facilities and resources. Local and national policy should consider ways to improve facilities in residential areas to allow individuals to practice activities like food growing. This could include embedding shared residential gardens in housing development strategies and increasing the numbers of available allotments. Overall, the findings above could have relevance for future legislation developments (Community Empowerment Act (Scotland) 2015) and inform strategies like Good Food Nation (Scottish Government, 2019).

8.4 Limitations of the research

Due to the specific nature of the methodological and theoretical approach, this research study has its strengths and limitations. Firstly, whilst this study was focused on the depth of information required to investigate the interplay between participation in community food growing and consumption, these findings have limited scope for generalisability given the small sample size. Secondly, the focus on food also means that the findings in this study relate to specific kinds of consumption which may not be applicable across other kinds of consumption behaviours. For example, food is deeply interlinked with the body and discourses of personal responsibility over health, risk and wellbeing. These were an important dimension of individuals' motivations to engage in community gardens and to grow food at home. These concerns do not necessarily extend to other consumption areas like clothing.

The methodological approach of this study relies on interviews, diaries and observations. Most of these involve self-reported and reflective data from the participants' perspective. These data sets provide a limited snapshot view of individuals' consumption lives. The author had no access to participants' homes to better understand consumption behaviours. This kind of data could have provided a useful insight into consumers wider competencies around food and the ways they use materials in their consumption activities. As shown by others (Martin et al., 2005) these can have an important role in ordering consumption behaviour.

Another limitation of this study is the terminology used – 'those who do not self-identify as ethical consumers'. This terminology could carry value judgements about the ethics of individuals. It could be interpreted that if they do not self-identify as ethical, they must be unethical. The term 'ethical consumer' as used for sampling purposes here does not consider the complexity of ethics in consumption. Instead, it focuses on environmental, social and ecological concerns. This definition is given preference because it foregrounds concerns for over-consumption and sustainability, which this author felt need to be urgently addressed. Ethical consumption can be the medium for social and political action (Barnett et al., 2005a). The ethics of consumption instead focus on the complex moral negotiations inherent in everyday life. As a result, questions around personal responsibility and wider accountability get overlooked among other moral dilemmas in consumption decisions. Overall, this study is limited in its ability to capture the longer-term intersections

between community garden participation and consumption behaviours. It remains unclear whether plans and attempts to grow at home were supported over time by the participants in this study.

8.5 Suggestions for future research

Further research into how to encourage ethical consumption behaviour could include different theoretical approaches such as a practice theory approach. This would allow future research to map food behaviours in more depth and understand the roles of tools and competencies. This might yield an in-depth insight into participants' consumption behaviours rather than relying on self-reported diaries and interviews. A participatory research approach to changing food consumption behaviours might also lead to a more engaged participation, a deeper and more reflexive commitment to new habits and behaviour change as a result of prolonged reflection on personal values (Warner, 2013).

An exploration of how community gardens as organisations take on and respond to ethical consumption discourses in society would also allow us to understand how community gardens reproduce and disseminate ethical consumption considerations. This, in turn, would allow us to understand better why some participants disengage or distance themselves from ethical consumption concerns in these communities. Moreover, as ethical consumption discourses are becoming increasingly prevalent and a part of mainstream narratives of individual responsibility, more research is needed to understand how individuals make sense of these discourses of responsibility. The role of productive consumption and DIY also need further exploration to challenge mass-consumerism.

Within ethical consumption research, there is scope to develop a broader system understanding of how consumption behaviours change over time as practices (Shove, 2014). Consumers are only one element in the food production and consumption system. By studying the consumer only, we signal subtly that the responsibility lies only there, wherein practicality, and as shown above, the consumer is often limited in her opportunities to change. Governments, producers and supermarkets should be further studied and scrutinised to understand their own engagement with the increasing pressure to address current challenges of mass-consumerism. Lastly, highlighting the overlap and alignment between individuals' sense of wellbeing and wider ecological and social wellbeing will be the challenge of our time.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical approval

University of Glasgow
College of Social Sciences

Application Approved

Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

Staff Research Ethics Application ☐   Postgraduate Student Research Ethics Application ☒

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Application Details

Application Number: 400150124

Applicant's Name: Andreea Bocioga

Project Title: Meaning Making in Community Gardens: A Transformative Learning Approach to Sustainable
Consumption

Application Status: **Approved**

Start Date of Approval: 26/4/2016

End Date of Approval of Research Project: 01/10/2018

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Please retain this notification for future reference. If you have any enquiries please email socsci-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk.

University of Glasgow
College of Social Sciences
Florentine House, 53 Hillhead Street. Glasgow G12 8QF
The University of Glasgow, charity number SC004401

E-mail: socsci-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

General Information Sheet

Andreea Bocioaga, PhD, University of Glasgow – Community Food Growing and Sustainable Consumption.

Email:

Telephone: 0141 330 2363 /

What is this study about?

This study is about food and sustainability. I want to explore how people learn about growing and consuming food in the Garden and also how they access and consume food outside of the Garden. I am looking to speak to people who have recently become involved in community food growing – one year or less. I want to understand people's experiences of growing food and how this may influence their thinking and experiences of food. If you agree to take part in this study you will be asked to participate in three main interviews lasting between 60 and 90 minutes and a small number of activities. All of the activities would take place starting April-May until after you are finished in the Garden.

INTERVIEWS

The three interviews will be focused on participants' food growing experience and on the things that matter to them when it comes to food. I will invite participants to reflect on their experience in the Garden and we will also talk about food consumption activities in general.

DIARIES

I will ask participants to fill in a diary or record some activities for one week at a time but no more than two times in total. The diaries or records should include an account of food growing activities and activities related to food: buying and preparing food and meals over one week. They should also include a reflection on these activities and experiences. These would be completed in writing, but I am also open to voice recordings or a digital format or another format.

OBSERVATION

I would also like to join participants in the Garden and either on a shopping trip or preparing a meal to understand their experiences of and relationship to food. I will record these activities after our meeting. In my records I will make a note of the place and time of the activity, the activities that took place and who was there; any specific actions or objects, any events that took place and any thoughts and feelings that were expressed.

If possible, I would like to collect food shopping receipts so I can understand what kind of food participants buy and where do they get it from. I would like to collect these during the same time as the diaries, if possible.

YOUR PRIVACY

Names will be replaced with a pseudonym to protect participants' privacy and confidentiality and the data from the activities (interviews, observations, and diaries) will be stored in a locked cabinet in my office. I want to represent individuals' views as accurately as possible. Following that, the data will be analysed and it will inform my research. The data will be archived at the end of the research study in a safe university location.

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it possible, unless during our conversations I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

If you have any complaints or wish to know more about this form please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix 3: Consent form

University *of* Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Participant Consent Form

Title of Project**: Understanding the experiences of food growing.**

Name of Researcher: Andreea Bocioaga

Contact details:

Supervisors: Prof. Deirdre Shaw and Prof. Dan McMaster

The purpose of this form is to ensure you are willing to take part in my research and to let you know what it entails. Signing this form does not mean you have to do something you may not want to do at a later date. You are free to withdraw at any time.

Please read the statements below and tick the box if you agree with the statement.

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for this study.	
I have been offered the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.	
I consent to interviews being audio-recorded.	
I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym.	
I understand that the data collected from this research will be stored securely with my personal details removed and agree for it to be held as set out in the Plain Language Statement.	
I agree to complete the diaries and take part in the interviews.	
I agree to let the researcher accompany me on a shopping trip or one meal preparation and in garden.	
I agree to submit some of my till receipts for food shopping.	

Name of Participant: Name of Researcher:

Signature: Signature

Date: Date:

Appendix 4 : Interview guides

4.1 Interview guide – stage 1

Complete interview log within half an hour of the end of each interview.

Date:

Time:

Length:

Location:

First impression:

Other notes:

INTERVIEW OPENING

This interview is about getting to know more about your views on food. I want to make it clear that this is not about imposing judgement on your food views but about understanding more about yourself.

OPENING QUESTION

Can you tell about the things that are important to you when you source and prepare food?

Other points to follow during the interview:

- *Planning food activities*
- *Acquisition – includes food growing*
- *Preparation of food*
- *Cooking*
- *Tidying up*

Ideas to consider from literature:

- *information*
- *knowledge; know-how; skills*
- *learning - learning about food, learning about growing*
- *meaning making around food*
    - *ideas*
    - *labelling*
    - *ethics*
    - *aspirations*
    - *dietary restrictions*
- *reflexivity*
- *habits*
- *role of others*
- *choice criteria*

4.2 Interview guide stage 2

During this interview we will talk about your food growing experience so far and also about your food experiences outside of the garden/croft since I last saw you.

Narrative account of food growing

Initialisation: (may use visual aid such as a timeline schematic or diary)

Take your time. We've got as much time as you need for this and start wherever you like. I'll listen first, I won't interrupt, and I may take a couple of notes that I'll ask you questions about later. Please take the time that you need and as I said I won't interrupt you. So can you tell me about your experience so far in the community garden/croft?

Narrative account of food activities

I want you to think about the last few weeks since I last saw you and describe in as much detail as you can what your food activities over the course of one week would look like. In your account I would like you to focus on things like shopping for food, cooking, planning or preparing; eating, disposing of food or sharing food; eating out or ordering food; reading or finding out about food issues or recipes as well as any conversation you had about food with anyone or any thoughts or ideas you remember having. Helping point: if it's easiest for you to remember, you can describe your food activities over the course of the last seven days. It doesn't matter if you can't remember exactly when things took place, concentrate on the things you remember and on your experiences.

Question – response phase

What is important for you at the moment when it comes to food?

! Follow up on notes from narrative accounts.

Guideline for narrative account:

Main narration:

Don't interrupt.

Use non-verbal encouragement.

Wait for signals of end of coda.

Questioning after narrative:

What happened then?

No opinion or attitude questions.

No "why" questions.

4.3 Interview guide – stage 3

Date:

Time:

Length:

Location:

Other notes:

INTERVIEW OPENING

This is our last interview. This interview is about reflecting on your experience in the garden over the year and getting a sense of what is important to you when it comes to food. I want to make it clear that this is not about imposing judgement on your food views but about understanding more about yourself.

Appendix 5: Diary template

Participant Generated Journal Instruction Sheet

Project Title: Understanding individuals' experiences of food growing and food practices.

15/08/2016

Dear ....

Instructions on the completion of your everyday food growing and food activities journal:

Firstly, I want to thank you in advance for your continued input into my research study and for sharing your everyday lived experiences, it is very much appreciated.

As we have already discussed this research study aims to explore your experiences of food growing, learning about food growing and your experience of and thoughts about food in general. The next stage of my research involves completing a personal journal which will capture everyday activities related to food growing and food.

What do I have to do?

Every day, for one week at a time, starting from a fixed date, I would like you to document and reflect on your daily experiences of food growing, learning about food growing and food activities in general; what you did, any feelings you have about this, what motivated you and anything else you thought about it.

What should it include?

Your journal should include brief descriptions of your food growing and food related activities and your personal reflections on your experiences alongside any other materials you feel will help to contextualise your everyday experiences for example, copies of receipts, books, news articles, flyers to events, web-links, photographs and so on (please can I ask that when you take photos of other people ask for their permission).

This is <u>your</u> journal, so I don't want to be overly prescriptive about the content of this. To help you with structuring your journal, I have attached a brief template for recording your day to day activities. The journal can be completed electronically or in hard copy format. You can also send it to me as an email update every day or audio record your experiences. I am open to any other suggestions or preferences you might have for documenting your experience.

How long should I spend on this?

I would anticipate that this should take you around 15 minutes per journal entry, indicatively between an hour and a half and two hours each week, depending on the format and the activities you wish to record. Feel free to spend as little or as long filling in <u>your</u> diary.

How do I send my journal to you?

You can email me your complete journal ensuring your name is clearly on each entry and any supporting attachments (photos or scans). If you would prefer to complete as a paper copy, I can provide you with a pre-stamped envelope. If you should require any further materials (e.g. printing, scrapbook, glue etc) please do let me know and I can arrange this for you. Either way my email is a.bocioaga.1@research.gla.ac.uk.

Any questions?

If you do have any queries or concerns please do not hesitate to get in touch by email or phone.

Thanks again for your participation and I am very much looking forward to receiving your journal in the near future prior to us meeting up again.

Andreea Bocioaga

a.bocioaga.1@research.gla.ac.uk

0141 330 2363

My Name:
"My food diary"

Today's Date: /   /2016

Journal Entry Number:

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   (circle as appropriate or underline)

Daily reflection on my food growing activities

What I did today:	**Reflections on my experiences of <u>each food growing activity</u> today:**
Helping points: *Describe your experience in the croft/garden today: how long where you there for, what did you do, what happened when you were there and who did you interact with*.	(*E.g. how did you feel? What or who influenced this? What did this mean to you? and so on.*

| | |
| | |

Daily reflection on my food activities

What I did today:	**Reflections on my experiences of <u>each food activity</u> today:**
Helping points: *Describe what you harvested from the croft/garden today and how you used the produce that you harvested, if at all. Describe any other food shopping you did today, where you went for that and what kind of food you got. Describe how you prepared or cooked your food, if at all.*	**Helping questions:** **H***ow did you feel? What did this mean to you?* *What was important for you when you did your food shopping?* *What were the main issues that influenced your food choices overall?*

Today's Date: /   /2016

Journal Entry Number:

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   11 12   (circle as appropriate or underline)

Daily reflection on my food growing activities

What I did today:	**Reflections on my experiences of <u>each food growing activity</u> today:**
Helping points: *Describe your experience in the croft/garden today: how long where you there for, what did you do, what happened when you were there and who did you interact with.*	(*E.g. how did you feel? What or who influenced this? What did this mean to you? and so on.*

Daily reflection on my food activities

| **What I did today:**	**Reflections on my experiences of <u>each food activity</u> today:**
Helping points: *Describe what you harvested from the croft/garden today and how you used the produce that you harvested, if at all. Describe any other food shopping you did today, where you went for that and what kind of food you got. Describe how you prepared or cooked your food, if at all.*	**Helping questions:** How did you feel*? What did this mean to you?* *What was important for you when you did your food shopping?* *What were the main issues that influenced your food choices overall?*

<table>
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Today's Date:　　　　　　/　　　/2016

Journal Entry Number:

1　　2　　3　　4　　5　　6　　7　　(circle as appropriate or underline)

Daily reflection on my food growing activities

What I did today:	**Reflections on my experiences of <u>each</u> <u>food growing activity</u> today:**
Helping points: *Describe your experience in the croft/garden today: how long where you there for, what did you do, what happened when you were there and who did you interact with.*	(*E.g. how did you feel? What or who influenced this? What did this mean to you? and so on.*

| | |
| | |

Daily reflection on my food activities

What I did today:	**Reflections on my experiences of <u>each food activity</u> today:**
Helping points: *Describe what you harvested from the croft/garden today and how you used the produce that you harvested, if at all. Describe any other food shopping you did today, where you went for that and what kind of food you got. Describe how you prepared or cooked your food, if at all.*	**Helping questions:** How did you feel*? What did this mean to you? What was important for you when you did your food shopping? What were the main issues that influenced your food choices overall?*

Appendix 6: Observation proforma

Please use this form for each time you conduct participant observation. Save each form using the same format.

Please make sure to save separately each time as to not override existing forms.

Date	
Time	
Duration of observation	
Space and place	
Activity being	

observed	267
Participants (to be referred by pseudonym)	
Object (things that are present)	
Actions (individual acts)	
Event (activities being carried out)	
Goal (what are individuals trying to accomplish)	
Thoughts and feelings expressed	

Appendix 7: Transcript

Note – lines in bold in the transcript signal the researcher's dialogue

John – interview one

Interview location: Church hall, Glasgow

Date of interview: 11.07.16, approx. 1 pm

Length: 1.40 minutes

Information about interviewee: Man, retired.

Interviewer: Thank you again for wanting to be part of my study, that's great

[00:00:07] John: my pleasure

Interviewer: can you just tell me about how you got involved with getting a plot at the back garden?

[00:00:15] Well I do voluntary work in the St Matthews centre on a Sunday where I help organise a soup kitchen or we call it a supper club give it a wee bit upper class name for

the homeless and the needy and I know the volunteers, meeting them at meetings, and I was asked if I wanted to go the back garden. I wasn't sure what the back garden was I thought it was the concrete garden which is the one here but I met when one of the boys, one of the volunteers from here saying I go up every Wednesday so I say I'll come up and join you see if I can learn a wee bit and give a hand [interrupted by knock; someone at the door] so I met with Don up at the back garden and we met [Gardener] she was there and she explained, we gave her a wee hand to tidy this up and that up in the gardens and she says into the bargain, I'm not sure if it was a week or two later it was a course on how to grow your own food, how to know the soil and that it was like a six week course so I volunteered for that and was tremendously interesting because my knowledge was zilch I just thought you put plants in the ground and hope they grow, my knowledge was nil so I learned about the soil, what types of soil, how to clean the soil, what to plant, what to look out for, how to water them and it was very very good you know, so I ended up I planted my little crops, I planted my garlic, my carrot, my lettuce and my onions and they're all coming up very well but also up there [Gardener] has grown a lot of herbs for food and I was amazed at the freshness and the scent of them so at the present moment when I do cook I use an awful lot of herbs and spices and it's made my food tremendous, it's helped me, say I've tried to stick to a bit of a diet, I've lost two stone, I've got two stone to go but I'm not under any pressure cause what I found out the fresh herbs and spices eeh you know I've cravings for salt and that all disappears and the same about the sugar you know if you've got [inaudible] all of that disappears and so while doing that we were taking we're harvesting some of the crops but we're taking kale and spinach, things that I would never eat before, I thought spinach was in Popeye you know and uhm fresh onions, carrots, spring onions, small turnips so I started making some lentil soup, vegetable soup using the turnips and the carrots and the flavours uft, unbelievable, no comparison to all the usual stuff because it was all fresh and it gave it, you were having a big meal and you weren't heavy laden because between and the various spices you could use it was exceptionally good, and then [interrupted] what happened I started doing a wee bit of experimenting went on to you and got a couple of some of these American programs and how to use various vegetables so I was using kale and the spinach slicing and cleaning it giving it a light fry with coconut oil, some spices on it and I had that and see the big load of mash potatoes you were like having one potato, and you're having fresh veg with it you know and it only helps supplement your meal you know instead of having a big stake you were going for things light you know, I was like having a bit of chicken so I've got onto my

eating habit and I say I got onto YouTube and they were telling you to use, this encouraged me, to use as much herbs and spices as you could and then the other thing I sort of do with the garlic eh what was the one, the garlic, I'm using it and I was using ginger and they were telling you to make a drink up in the evening boil it put in your cup and leave it overnight and it's a tremendously refreshing drink in the morning [inaudible] [00:07:27] all clean, none of this your all sluggish walking about you definitely get a marvellous benefit from it uhm when I go to the shops now, I go to the special shops, well I didn't used to, I go to shops, I go mainly to the Asian community, down the west end and uhm I buy spices and various vegetables down there, get everything fresh, get the fruit fresh, and uhm if you go to their butchers you get good quality meat exceptionally and its real meat and the whole secret was one of the things that I was reading? [00:08:17] Watching in the documentaries what helped me it gave me a list of the foods not too touch and it makes it adapt certainly easier see what they're saying you can't eat that, you can't eat that but see when they say to you don't touch that, you can make a menu or a diet, I'll call it a menu a diet is an old fashioned word now it's all been misinterpreted, basically it's a healthy way of eating it's no diet and what they're saying is eat proper food don't eat all your slum liner? [00:09:07] Because that's food that's' [inaudible][00:09:14] I'll give you a prime example, first thing says right never touch margarine, never touch, it's a special corn oil or it's a nightmare, don't touch the skimmed milk, your processed food because all the fibres and everything in the food everything's been taken out of it and basically you're only filling your stomach with sludge so lots of food they're telling you not to eat so you can plan around that what to eat. I go to the fish market I like to try and get a nice bit of fish [couch][00:09:56] because if you take for example if I can [inaudible] [00:10:02] about here in north of Glasgow, you take from Maryhill, Possilpark, Milton, Springburn, Royston, there is not one fresh shop oh if you go to Tesco you'll get some but you know the place where they get fish brought in early everything's all been wiped out, so I got to try and eat healthy we've got to look after ourselves. And healthy food is a good medicine for the body and mind I don't mean to sound like a Buddhist but it is true because you eat better you sleep better you feel better all the tension goes out and then when you're going up to the garden you're not in a different environment you're there with the plants the herbs the flowers and the other thing that I like to watch and I take notice all the time they had a big influx of bees this year, the bees were dying off they didn't know what was killing them but from the beginning of May the bees are there swarming about all the time and the other thing is it's a bit early the now, we gotta try and help the environment, we've got to

help the bees and we've got to try and encourage the butterflies, the butterfly are dying...[00:11:39] I didn't really bother with that, I knew about it but you see all my working life I worked for 40 years roughly in Kelvingrove in the art gallery and I knew the people from the natural history and they used to [inaudible][00:11:53] to do with all the census? And the wild birds and the butterflies and the bees but now that I've retired you've got time to concentrate and think on these things people say ay retired the grumpy old man the grumpy old woman no you've got more time to appreciate them and then when you see them getting destroyed that's when you object, ay you're grumpy but you're definitely helping the environment and I watch what I eat, I eat plenty of fruit which I didn't do before, have a quick fix a fish supper you know, clogging your arteries and all that you don't realise you're doing it, you're just interested in filling your stomach eeh. And working in the environment, with the thingme growing your own plants and seeing other people's plants and seeing their flowers and seeing the herbs and one of the wee customs that we have got into [inaudible] I'll go down to the mint, smell it you know the herbs and you see them up that they're selling in the shop people are out of contact with reality, you've got the mint, you've got the thyme, coriander, all these marvellous herbs and that your away from the humdrum of the outside just nature on its own and it is very refreshing it helps your thinking [inaudible][00:13:38] takes all the tension away you know...that's away I enjoy it so I've got my plants and I go down there and water them and give [Gardener] a hand [00:13:52] [inaudible] any way I can it definitely makes a difference to your life, when I go shopping I go to special shops now, a lot of stuff as I say I watch a lot of programs, they're telling you about healthy food and one of the programs I was watching with this nutritionist American chap and the chap was very good, he says I got into hotels he says I go and look at the breakfast bar and there's not one healthy thing you can eat, even at 5 star hotels the only thing you could touch would maybe be a boiled egg and some fruit he says and then you've got to be careful, he says the worst fruit, I'm not into politics or anything like that, the worst fruit you can touch or vegetables is anything from brasil.it is the worse chemical contaminated vegetables and fruit, I think they're into all that GM contaminated crops so just forget it, see if you go for a meal see all the packets of frozen veg, don't even think about it, just use your power your willpower not to think about them, just treat them all as bad so I wouldn't have thought it that way, I had never heard before, I'd never do that I mean walking to McDonalds, are you kidding me I've got to get in forced in with my great gran kids but I'll have a coffee, maybe ice cream maybe but everywhere you go you've got to look after yourself. And I say I make a special curry for

my grandkids [00:16:06] [inaudible] we were in Spain a number of years ago on holiday and I said come on we'll get a fresh orange drink, no I'll get a can of Fanta, I says no come on and try fresh orange drink it's very 6[inaudible] so we went up to the fruit bar and I said to the young Spanish girl could we have to half pints or fresh orange juice I says gonna do me a favour gonna put fresh oranges in here and have my grandson see that been made?" he's never looked back on it, he goes to the shop says no, Fanta, coke, no. He knows the difference, which is quite good see fresh fruit, fresh drinks and see the sludge balls, what this American guy calls them. So that's the story about how I got interested about a lot of food, through going up to [Gardener]'s back garden and growing my own lettuce, fresh lettuce and my friend at work, my colleague at work, he used to grow a lot of courgette and everything and his family wouldnae eat them [00:17:33] [so I a managed to take them home] and what I ended up doing, I did what they call dry frying, basically it's just a hot pan with no oil in it, maybe a very slight touch of oil and cooking that with your pepper and your onion and no comparison, I wouldn't go to a restaurant, I wouldn't waste my money. If you can get fresh food it makes a big big difference into that I'm still a fat slob I'm still trying to get rid of my weight so that's my experience of the back garden it has a throwback effect in different ways and then I do a bit of work with Claire down here, do a wee bit of filming and trying to edit, we done the edit course now you need, when you get older you need sensible things to keep your mind and your body active something that you achieve something at the end of the day I don't mean it that you're doing it for gain but the satisfaction, that you've done something useful other than that that's story of coming to the back garden.

Interviewer: it's really interesting, you mentioned a lot of interesting things about food and health and I guess...so what do you think are things that are most important to you when you source and prepare food? What matters for you when you do those things?

[00:19:20] John: well what I like to do, I like to get proper fresh food, I like to use the herbs, It's gotta to be what I want.

Interviewer: what do you mean?

John: well I wouldn't use like tinned vegetables or thingme... and I like it to be cooked proper and I try and make it a wee bit presentable you know, if I'm putting cooked chicken out you know, like to put the vegetables beside it and the other thing I try and do now is

add extra vegetables to it like for example people seem to forget it they all like sliced carrot, I like mashed carrot I like mashed turnip, things like that, it gives it a different thingme, you know. Add a couple of potatoes right down or maybe one potato, you know instead of, not how much can you eat how high can you eat you know [laughing].... I think I eat sensibly, I think before what I'm going to have for my supper, is it healthy, that's the first thing, is this gonna help me is it just gonna be back to a bloated stomach you know buy a couple of bits of fish, maybe boil it, make a white sauce, things like that. Forget the chips, it's one or two at McDonalds off the grandkids you know but eh you wouldn't rush out and buy a bag of chips, nothing like that, they're the days of the past. Except if you're on holiday and you've not got much option you know or you've [00:21:21] [inaudible] a good variety of foods and it's all right. Yeah I would say it helps me see food through a different way, it helps your attitude in life, it's not just stuffing your face you know...

Interviewer: thinking about kind of... you were saying about trying to cook healthy and cook from scratch and thinking about your experience... uhm... how easy do you think it is to do that on a day to day life?

[00:22:04] It's only a matter of minutes, about ten minutes, [00:22:06] [inaudible] well I enjoy cooking right enough so I was chef in the army reserve but I enjoy the challenge of cooking a fresh meal because I want it to be good, I want it to be tasty I wanted it to be different and I keep trying to think of different menus and I've been through YouTube all the different things but what I found out is the best way of doing it is adding spices and herbs I find that the best way at the moment, maybe there's a better way, I dunno maybe I'll come across it maybe I won't but I find that that is the best way to make a meal more tastier put different types on a meal which you will enjoy you know like say putting cinnamon in a meal, ginger, things like that eh, I like the garlic that's my weak point you know

Interviewer: You talked about looking up things on YouTube,

[00:23:27] Yeah

Interviewer: Can you tell me like... how do you go about doing that, where do you start to think about that?

[00:23:32] When I get into the house at night, when I get, depends when I get in, I'll sit back and relax and I'll plan about, I'll be watching a movie at this time or watch YouTube

after that or if there's nothing on, I'll sit and watch YouTube, see if I get anything new up on it, I'm out the house in the morning, I wake up, have my breakfast, and if I'm not going out for a couple of hours, I'll, my first thing to do is look at the news, and see what's happening in the world then I'll go onto YouTube and see what I can find and the best advice I got on YouTube is if you're trying to eat healthy, doesn't matter what you're trying to do, the first thing you've got to do is set in your willpower, that helps you stick to what you're trying to do, like as I say one of the best advices I got was on one of the YouTube was the fifteen foods not to eat so that helped me quite a bit, that's taboo, I won't even think about it it's a lot easier than saying to yourself that looks tasty, that you just put up it's taboo. But what the chap is saying is you must straighten your willpower it doesn't matter what it is, whether it's food, alcohol, straighten your willpower, everyday...

Interviewer: So from your experience, how do you go about strengthening your willpower?

[00:25:38] Well what I like to do is I plan what I'm going to do that day, and I don't plan to break my routine I don't plan to eat something I shouldn't be eating or drink something I shouldn't be drinking so put that in my mind each morning I've got that through the day I canny sit and meditate like a Buddhist [laughing] no a lot of it is common sense basically but it's good advice this chap advice

Interviewer: So you talked a lot about planning and kind of having an idea, so if there any others methods, or tricks that you use to kind make sure that you do what you...

[00:26:22] No it's just in the morning I plan my day ahead before I go out well I'll be having that for lunch, I'll be having that for supper, I just put in my mind, no worrying or anything like that, it's just stick to it. You know when you're gonna let yourself down. Just the same you know when you've done wrong and you know when you've done right

Interviewer: Apart from YouTube, kind of thinking about food information and advice what do you think, from your experience what other places you've found that have helped with information and guidance

[00:27:05] Well I enjoy talking to some of the volunteers you know, cause a lot of them are very strict vegetarian but I'm not only talking about...I'm not vegetarian I will have a breast of chicken or a fresh fish but most of my food is vegetables and another thing that I learnt to take that a chap's telling me there's only one type of bread you can eat, is bread

with seed in it because large scale manufacturers they can't doctor the seed, you can do that with a big bread you bleach that and all that but if you eat wholesome food, don't eat the crap and if you eat wholesome you do feel your stomach feels content you know [00:28:08] [inaudible] don't be frightened to eat fresh butter oh but that's all fat in it but that's healthy fat you've got healthy fats and bad fats cause you know well, we're getting it drummed in hearing the television and the [00:28:22] [inaudible] see that's alright that's a healthy fat cause that burns up and I'm telling you know...there's lots of various things you learn, you just experiment to find something that suits yourself

Interviewer: was that advice from someone from the back garden?

[00:28:47] Yes, ay I talked to some of the volunteers they were telling us, said they're gonna go to YouTube and look up some of the channels and obviously there would be other places that I can find out about you know eh... it is healthy eating, common sense and you're helping the environment as well you know. What I like up there is that you do not have any waste. I don't have any waste in my house you know, if I have my grandsons on [00:29:25] [inaudible] they don't waste anything, they eat everything, but you try to make it good wholesome food so you're not going to have any waste, you know things like that

Interviewer: What do you mean by waste? What kind of waste?

[00:29:38] Well see if for example, I'll give you a wee prime example, see I had my grandkids up, they're teenagers you know, [00:29:49] [inaudible] if I was making boiled potatoes for them right I'd peel my potato usual potatoes boiled away and I try and make them as healthy as I can, I'll give them the mash carrot and turnip but fresh butter and pepper but I would also wash my potato peelings away and I'll stick them in a pot and later on that night dry them off and I'll put the pan on, just a little bit of oil and I'll put curry powder and garlic and other spices in them, like flavoured potato peelings you know eh my carrots I was them, I don't really peel my carrots, I really wash them heavy, ok maybe the tops and bottom that's about it get that chopped off. There's very little waste other than that I said eh any chicken bones and things like that that's all I think, there's very very little waste you know eh as I say I don't buy packets of stuff so I try to ...we have bins for paper and cardboard and things like that but likes up at the back garden any cardboard that goes into their compost and everything that goes to waste, your rhubarb, your leaves, everything

that gets shredded goes into their compost for the for the next year's crops. Everything is all very good, you know, paper cups, everything. So biomass biochemical, get in with that.

Interviewer: You mention eating healthily and thinking about you eat, when, thinking about your experience, when did this become an important thing for you?

About three months ago. Well I always thought it, but the past three months I carried it out, well, quite a bit I carry out. I've got to keep that in mind. With our climate you've got to try and feel better in the damp weather for by the good weather you know we all have our ups and downs but if you've got the energy and health to fight the down, that's what you need you know, just natural health to fight it. [Inaudible] [00:32:53] I'll take a couple of tablets for this a couple of tablets for that, you see it the night no problem sleeping, oh no up in the back garden, working in the environment, eating healthy, if you're eating better you definitely feel better and sleep better definitely do. And that was one of the things that I learned to do was get a, it was like a herbal drink to take at night it's sounds crazy, what you do is get a touch of ginger boil it in water, I'm no joking, it actually does work, chop the ends off a banana, peel the banana, banana skin in the water slice the banana up, boil it for about twenty minutes, through the strainer into the big mug it's a great night cap, sip that along, wake up in the morning, eh it's that time already?

Interviewer: and where did you learn about that?

[00:34:07] On YouTube

Interviewer: Did you look it up, like sleeping? Or?

[00:34:12] No it was accidental I came across it I didn't have a problem sleeping but I sleep better. I was one of the fortunate ones, I could lie down on the bed although I didn't go to sleep I could relax till I dosed aff. It does make a difference, it does help you, you know. But I think, the other think, that I like, what I do is for [00:34:43] [inaudible] I go to the gym and I go swimming I go down to the western baths down byres road I'm a member down there, you've got to keep active. This voluntary thing, it becomes your social life. And there's nothing wrong with that. I mean in the west of Scotland eehm... it was quite bad for a while. A lot of people, social life was a pub, day and night. But eh ...you've got that as your social life it helps you thinking better no? And you change your attitudes you know. What you used to, you only make it an occasional occurrence you know.

Interviewer: You said it helps you think well. Can you elaborate on that?

[00:35:42] Yeah...well. For example, if you anywhere the day, even talking to some of your relatives, or meeting some of your friends, or you're travelling or a bus all they're talking about is governments, and immigration and hardship, a lot of people are suffering. You learn to handle that and to take it face on and to try and do what you can about it. Eh, that's what I'd say about what I said early on. Lot of people, think eye he's a grumpy old man, a grumpy old woman the thing is you've got more time to take things on, you know like for example, they're putting the rents up go and negotiate with them and object to it. I mean you've got to do things like that. When they're letting the arrears be run down. What we have the now is lots of parts of Glasgow they're terrible, dog fouling on the pavements now it's been quite bad and the authorities are doing their best but... you've got to get your neighbours to help you, to stop it happening in your area. So if you see anybody you shout at them, well you [00:37:13] [inaudible] ball at them or argue them, hey get that thingme cause they're plenty of bins about and they know the laws. Its things like that but everybody is time stuck you know with their financial problems. So you've got to try and think that out, sort it out in a positive way. If you can sort it out, go to people that will help you sort it out. You know, there's money advice people, there's ... places that you can go [00:38:00]

[00:42:51] [Talks about addiction issues and Glasgow and the homeless shelter for six minutes and his involvement in the soup kitchen]

Interviewer: So what do you do with the soup kitchen?

[00:42:57] Well what we do is, there's a society for the catholic church [00:43:00] [inaudible] called the Saint Vincent at Pauls but the committee and the church and all the old people are in here, I said that's a good idea, keep it going?

Interviewer: So do you prepare the food yourselves?

John: no, well I do it sometimes, but what happens is they've got a list of volunteers, they've got a rota, it's so well organised. There are two women or three women will collect the food every Sunday and bring it down, and I'll give them a hand to cook it or they do it, I'll go round with the tea and the coffee. I help set it but some of the men are very good, we get them set the tables and chair a couple of various things out

Interviewer: And where does the food for that come from?

[00:43:46]John: Well people donate it. We don't ask for me or they don't ask for money, we don't ask for money. People are very good they offer you food rather than offer you money and it's been going since and they've saved a lot of lives cause a lot of these men and women in the street see if it wasn't for freshly cooked meal in there they wouldn't eat a cooked meal all week. The thing they'll do is they'll go to some of these other places into town but they do their best, most of them will give them soup, normally is packaged soup maybe they've improved a lot, or sandwiches and tea and coffee and a lot of the shops at the end of the day they donate their old food cause they won't use it the following day. And there's two or three places like that into town that helps them you know. If they didn't get fed they would be dying in the street because they've no got the... I don't know how to put it, they're so weak that they wouldn't think of making a meal, they would go and buy a bag of chips, the worst thing for them, or crisps or a greasy pie you know but most of the time they would go in that or the slot machines in these amusements arcades into town, they wouldn't be fed.

Interviewer: You talked about they wouldn't think to make a meal, what do you mean...

[00:45:46] Well some of them are homeless but some of them have got but they couldn't even boil potatoes, put it that way. They could if they put their mind to it but their minds don't think that far they would rather go and try and get it for nothing

Interviewer: So thinking about your own experience of planning and thinking about food and ...kind of saying that they wouldn't think about... I guess what I'm trying to say, it's this idea of thinking about making food that it seems to be important?

[00:46:34] No, it's important, thinking about making the food is important in everybody's life, if you don't eat you die.

[00:46:40] Yeah.

[00:46:43] They get up, not them all, I'm not taking about them all, a lot of them are just they don't know how to manage and for example you get up in the morning and put your breakfast and a plate of porridge, what for, you could go down and get it for nothing. That's the way that goes through their mind if places like in St Matthews and in the town

were to stop you'd be finding people dead and see I saw it happening in Glasgow, a lot of these poor people with aids, didn't have any support a lot of them were getting found in back lanes you know, they were so weak, they.... that's what happened, no one to look after, they couldn't look after themselves. That is what would happen, I definitely believe that. I mean `....

TILL [00:49:21] [Talks about his son and addiction] – contains some sensitive information

Interviewer: So you've been doing the soup kitchen every Sunday for 40 years?

[00:49:23]: yes aye

[00:49:26] Mhm

[00:49:26] It's good cause I mean I enjoy doing it, you know, cause you just canny think to yourself, I mean imagine sitting back watching television day and night come on... no something as mundane as that, you couldnae live like that. I mean you should hear some of the guys in the bus when you're coming the bus. I want to rush home to see Coronation Street. You daft or something? Mon, you couldnae...I'm different, I would rush home and see a football match, I'm the same in a different way you know. But I wouldnae make it a way of life

Interviewer: Going back to food and your experiences, of food and just kind of things that are important for you, is there anything else that you'd like to mention.

[00:50:30] Well I think it's about for looking after yourself and you've got your health you should be trying and help the community in some way whatever maybe be, it maybe elderly neighbour that canny get out too much. Maybe do a bit of shopping for them but even, it's better to take them out and get them out the environment they're in take them a walk about the shops, maybe sit in a wee coffee and things like that, let them see the world's still going on, that's what we've got to do, we've got to look after them you know it might be elderly neighbours, it might be kids. I took my great gran kids out you know to give my granddaughter a break, I get on well with my neighbours but a lot of them are working and a lot are... they're only social life is a Christmas party so they don't get...

Interviewer: So you were saying that you like to cook for your grandchildren

[00:51:45] Oh yeah

Interviewer: Is that regularly?

[00:51:46] Oh yeah, maybe once or twice a week, oh I don't mind that cause my daughter she's always out and she doing various and that and they'll come up and say mum is not in so that [00:52:05] [inaudible] basically I'm impatient so I've got food there, I'll make it for them you know.

Interviewer: What do they think about it?

[00:52:15] Oh the enjoy it, I try to hammer in healthy eating, I get through to them, they're quite good see mxxx that time we were in.what airport we were in, Alicante airport and I asked the girl to make a fresh orange juice for him, he just never looked back all he done was talked about it to his pals "aaaw we didn't get that one, we got the real orange juice" and it helped him [00:52:48] [0inaudible] and he does eat healthy and they not touch salt or anything, I got them off sugar, wee simple things like that to help you know.

Interviewer: How did you go about doing things like that?

[00:53:06] I told him I said that alone will pollute your stomach, look I say it's false energy, I say that's you'll feel good for twenty minutes and then you'll want more, I was trying to explain it to him. I say and just try and you'll get used to it. And they did, they'll not take salt, they're quite good.

Interviewer: How old are they?

[00:53:37] [grandson is twenty and [grandson] is 18

Interviewer: Almost my age

[00:53:45] As I say, they won't even go to McDonalds, but my great grandkids, what they'll do, there's a wee cafe around the road, we call it the greasy spoon it's called daisy's cafe. But it's all fresh fruit, the chap makes fresh breakfast first thing, the kids all go around there because if they're getting a real cooked breakfast and get their porridge, I try ... sugar and all that cereal covered in sugar, I said forget all that so they're trying to keep fit so I said the porridge is the best meal for you, it's just of goodness and you can use it up. I try to talk it up a bit. They go for it but they round to this place in there to get a good breakfast and get it cheap and the night they'll come up to my house so I would give them chicken and veg and things like that or fish. But I say the food its part of your life, if you

don't eat you're gonna have an unbalanced life, you know no energy for walking or doing what you want to do you know as you know, as I say I plan the shops I go to, I don't go to the big stores, I like having it fresh you know or you know it's fresh cause it's brought in every day, that's why I go to a lot of the Asian grocers in the west end. Now the other things was, you were talking about waste, I try to show them with how to make a meal with some of these leftover meals so one day we had boiled cabbage and the mash potatoes with it. I made too much, so I say see that, we'll eat that tonight. Are we going to reheat it grandda? No, so I what I done was dice the cabbage up a bit a wee bit more milk and then the mash potato and mix the two together, what the English call bubbling squeak eeeh what the highlanders call it they call it scotch turkey I've been told that but you just shaped it into patties you know and put some pepper on it and some other spice but it was pepper I put on it and you dry fry it, don't put a lot of oil on the pan and fry it for them. Loved it! Grandda gonna make that for me? I get that all the time. Gonna make that for me? See you don't have to give them red meat, you don't have to give them meat at all but it's good to give chicken and fish a bit you know? But... later on, meet their girlfriends, it's vegetarian and obviously they'll become vegetarian, but until that day arrives you know, that's it you. I try and keep them as healthy as I can. They're like that [gestures thin] and full of energy, I'm the only fat one in the family. Only one that wears glasses. Anyway, that's life you know.[00:57:35] but I do plan my food and I think it's essential to get a good healthy balanced eating plan, I don't like to use the words diet I've heard the nutrionalist talking about it, don't use the word diet, they call it a new way of eating.

Interviewer: Was that a nutritionist you spoke to?

[00:58:04] Pardon?

Interviewer: Did you speak to a nutritionist?

[00:58:05] Eh... it was the nurse in my doctor's surgery. I'm type 2 diabetic, I go there and get a check-up once a year, usually you know. Talking about losing weight and getting healthy. Don't use the word diet, we're trying to do away with that. That's what they told me, and I've stuck by it. I think she's right enough. It's a new way of eating.

Interviewer: And how do you think this new way of eating fits in with your routine or way of life?

[00:58:46] fabulous, great, easy. It's unbelievable, I feel good in the morning when I get up, good levels of energy. I'm gonna do what I wanna do and I keep myself busy. I'll be down here on a Monday, I go to church at 9, try and keep fit. Tuesday spend a full day in the gym, or a full evening. Wednesday I got up the back garden and I try to go to the gym at night, have an easy day, fall asleep in the sauna, relax, then aaa on a Thursday I'll try and go up if [Gardener] needs us then I come here on Sunday and I try...I'll go down on a Friday or a Saturday and I watch great grandkids, let my granddaughter out you know. She's just having a bad time, her granny's had the cancer, her mother had a heart attack. She threw her partner out, but it's not fair that cause it's upset the kids you know...they're suffering through it, I know that so I've got to try and help them. But young people are young people, they're not seeing it different, I'm not gonna say they're selfish, they're just thinking that, basically it, it's how their thinking [?]. You've got to think of the kids as well, they're your family. You've got to think of everybody. So that's like the story of my life... that's what I do with my thingme...

Interviewer: Thanks... that's really interesting. I'm just looking to hear people's stories and their experiences.

[01:00:31] My next ambition hopefully, in October, I moved house about 18 months ago I moved to a smaller house, it was better but I had my house all done up, and everything you know, I says my wife died. I used to buy her every year a new suite. What do you want this year? A new suite...you know but eh... we used to go on holidays quite a lot, we used to go on family holidays eh... hopefully I will get back on my travelling again. Hopefully this October. I like to go to Spain or go to Amsterdam. Go around to the museums, there's a place I want to visit in Amsterdam, I had a friend that told me about it but I didnae believe him. I say no way is there any campsites in Amsterdam. But there's Amsterdam island and I didnae know it so I found out he was correct so the last time I was over there I tried to go to the island but the ferries were all haywire. You get it from right outside the central station or grand central in Amsterdam. I love walking in Amsterdam, and my son that's the drug addict, I take him on holiday he walked it [inaudible] [01:01:54] [01:01:56] he walks for miles, if he goes to Spain he'll walks and walks and he eats like a horse but we're in here, a piece and egg. That was it. A piece and egg at night. Whereas there, we got up, we went down to the morning to the restaurant, full size breakfast, went out for a ten mile walk, have a light snack, come back, a big three course meal and he'll maybe two or three pints, see here if he has two or three cans of beer a year, he's had a lot. He wouldn't even

finish them. But he'll take a drink if he goes abroad, I think it's the environment. Maybe the sunshine. In Amsterdam we walked for miles and miles, he does well, here he walks to the chemist, get his medication back up the road, that's him. Different environment does help you, same as the environment, it just so happens the back garden helped me. Being amongst the plants, see them all, all the tensions is away, you don't think about anything, you're looking at the plants, what needs watered look at the thingme. My pal Ian that's in here, he says the plants, they're your friends, they're like people. They need help. You've got to give a wee bit help, give them a wee bit of water now and again.

Interviewer: So is that, for the back garden, you mentioned the environment, and being out there with the plants...

[01:03:34] Oh definitely, aye, I love being... and there's a lot of marvellous people we meet up there. We have a lot of asylum seekers or immigrants, I'm not sure what they are. They live in the local community and they're all wanting to grow plants. It's marvellous meeting them, it really really is like, say, the first person I met was an Indian woman she come over with her wee kid they used to wave to us every day from their window while [Gardener] and I were watering out plants or doing and she worked up the courage she come in to see, look about she saw us and [Gardener] told her see you've got...she said I used to grow my own plants back in. I think it was the Punjab, but I think because they were Indian they got chased out by the [01:04:28] [not sure if accurate] Moslims you know? Her husbands is not allowed to work, he's a qualified teacher so she gave us a hand and we gave her a garden, you know one of the raised gardens. She says I grow these vegetables leaves back home, it's a special leaf that they eat, they grow, it's like spinach. So she's over there, watering it. Then there's these African women say we grew the plants back home, we had our own gardens but it was all food we grew, say but you can grow your own food here, so they joined and they've spend a lot of time. And there's Chinese coming, a couple of Chinese families. I was talking to one last week. A lovely young woman and her wee daughter, xxxx, said I'm trying to grow an apple. They'd bought them for her mother's garden, she's planting these wee seeds. The kids are taking care of the garden and the mother, well they're growing Chinese leaves things that you can eat, things that you're gonna use. I mean when you eat food, it tell what I admire, see these people that can grow their own crops in the highlands and island and can fend off the land. I have great admiration for their independence. I would love, this is about what I want to do, I want to grow my own crops and then once I get on with that, I'll take a bigger bed so I can grow more crops to

feed myself. I have great admiration for these people. Save the having to walk down to Tesco's you know. I really really admire them.

Interviewer: What do you think is important about that that you admire?

[01:06:39] They're independence. Depending on no one but themselves, growing their own crops. Not having to wait on a bank manager or something coming through the door. I admire the way they can do it, grow their own crops, they can go down and fish. I really really admire them. They're hard working people, and they've got it hard, and they stick it through and they won. [01:07:06] [inaudible] [01:07:14] that's what I say a lot of the wee immigrants they're missing their own countries, that's how their trying, they're mixing with us, I have a lot of time for them. They're trying to blend in. they're mixing the wee things. We had an open day there about 4 weeks ago and it was choc-a-bloc. And it was people, things you wouldn't think about. I wouldna thought about it but [Gardener] she had one of her own inventions. Wild thistle soup and this man coming in says I've not had that for years. Say where did you get it, see when I was young the parents were Irish they used to go to their grandparents away in Donegal says my granny used to make thistle soup and rabbit stew. This thistle soup was lovely. We've got that many things lying about that we can use and we've lost the use of them because we didnae know how to use them. You know they're there for the using, it's time to get them back again. The soup was lovely. You know? She done an excellent job.

Interviewer: So you mentioned, about the back garden, being and mingling with other people?

Yes, aye

Interviewer: How do you feel about that?

[01:08:54] Marvellous, it's great to meet them. They're all be all sitting with a wee coffee, and sitting and talking about our plants and wee things happening like I went up last week, I went to check my plants I looked at the holes I said the slugs got it eh and she says look in the other corner the fox had gone to my garden and done the toilet and I had to clean all that you know

Interviewer: Is that the plot?

[01:09:22] Yes, aye. So, things like nature, you know. People generally would be surprised out and more what trees p [01:09:28] [inaudible] [01:09:30] that one in the right. I was standing there a couple of years ago; we were waiting on the caretaker coming. All of the sudden, down running along you'd see the red squirrel now I stay just ten minutes from here, just up the back of the speedway track now we got the wild deer coming down there, we got the foxes. The wildlife is abundant right in the city centre. The deer are coming right into the city centre, we're right into the thingme. And now the thing that I'm [01:10:02] [inaudible] it's see all the young kind and so on they watch it, they were talking photographs of them. They didnae destroy them. You know I think that was the beautiful thing.

Interviewer: Where was that? The deer?

[01:10:23] Just off [01:10:21] inaudible] there's place called the Indian trail it's a bit of wild piece of land where they let everything all grow wild you know and it's marvellous, see in the morning it's like Sauchiehall street the racket from the birds all chirping away and everything and the gulls. [01:10:48] [Talks about wildlife]

Interviewer: So you said you had a fox that went to the toilet in your plot?

[01:11:46] Yeah, aye

[01:11:49] I don't mind the foxes being about, not in my garden right enough. I couldn't believe they would go into a garden but see as they go up they eat the slugs

Interviewer: Do they?

[01:12:03] I didn't know that and the other thing I like about the foxes, they help the environment, they keep the vermin down although they are vermin themselves, in the countryside they're classified as vermin they kill the mice and the rats they help keep the vermin down you know so I don't bother about them you know.

Interviewer: I think you were talking about being at garden and I think it was a girl who was planting apple seeds

[01:12:29] Yeah. She'll probably only get a wee shrub out of it but it was nice of her to try, it's only a six year old Chinese girl you know and the other marvellous thing, I don't know

who planted it but I want to see them harvesting it and what they're gonna do with it. Have you been up in the back garden recently?

Interviewer: Yeah I was there this week.

Did [Gardener] show you the wheat? There's wheat growing there. I was talking to my friend he's into gardening and that, it's not possible to grow wheat in Glasgow. Well we've got it six feet tall. Didnae believe me. He says it'll be something else you've got. I say not it's wheat so whoever is growing it will probably have to scythe it down. You know unless they got some of the African or Chinese women to batter off with a thingme and get the grain, I'd like to see what they do with it

Interviewer: Is your friend at the back garden as well?

[01:13:35] No he's one of your lot, he's one of the brain boxes fae the university

[01:13:45] I think they're trying to do an experiment with the wheat, they're trying to grow it and they're gonna get a mill

[I talk about the wheat and mention the gardener]

[01:14:18] I'd like to see that, that would be great, that would be...well he doesn't believe it can be done. Well it is done. Sorry Kenny, you're wrong again away and sing in the mod. He sings in the mod and all that, brilliant guy. Very kind hearted

Interviewer: And you said he grows his own food as well.

[01:14:38] Yeah he's got his own back garden and things like that he's got a cottage down in Galloway but he stays in the west end.

Interviewer: Does his grow food in the west end

[01:14:53] No, he does it down in Galloway, mainly carrots, potatoes, rhubarb. P
[01:15:00] when we were young people didn't have money for food, for buying, it was scarce. That's why you used to get custard and rhubarb, but I told you I was chef in the army reserve. With the university we were off to a training court what one of the favourites to do was, it wasn't their favourite, but you see the rhubarb crumble, you use everything up. There shouldn't be waste. Sell me your bread, I'll give you an example likes of bread, bread doesn't really goes off. So what you do if it goes a wee bit hard, there's two things

you can do, two things that I know at the moment is you can make toast or you can use it for pizza bread, you toast one end and use the other side or the favourite is making the bread pudding. You know your usual your egg mix and your milk you're laying your bread, your egg washing it, your sultanas and more bread on. You don't really waste anything.

Interviewer: How long where you an army chef for?

[01:16:23] Twenty-five years. It was only the army reserves you know, but you're away for about three months of the year you know.

Interviewer: What would you do as the army chef? Would you cook for...?

[01:16:41] Hundreds, you know for example, you know your weekend it was a couple of hundreds you were cooking for and then your annual camp. You know you've got to remember you're going away for about ten weekends a year so you're cooking the food for them it was a number of yous you know, you're cooking the breakfast, the dinner, the supper and then you're having to do special meals, maybe troops on the hills on exercise you've to send out special food in containers to them to do that. You had to keep their energy up.

Interviewer: Is that where you learned how to cook?

[01:17:27] Yeah went to [college] on a cooking course, got my second guilds. It's good to learn. All knowledge is good. I wish the kids would try and remember that. Get the knowledge you got a better a change of making a week career for themselves, finding their feet because the youth of this country they're getting down trod, no matter what governments in, I think they are. You know some are lucky enough they can go to university, my wee granddaughter; she's done well now. She's done about seven year she done computing science, computing design now she managed to get the position she wanted. She struggled for her first year and she got the job, she got promoted. She's quite happy, she's got the salary to do whatever she wants to do in life you know. She's quite happy; it's her and her partner. She married this, she not married him, they're getting married she met this estate agent, they bought a big house down Ayrshire coast you know plus they go abroad a couple of times a year, America, a couple of years ago she was over in Hong Kong [01:18:49]

[Talks about his great-grandson]

Interviewer: Have you ever brought any of your family to the back garden?

[01:23:22] Eh no not yet, they're always busy you know. I don't know if it's a good thing with some of their friends who would come back at night and climb over and try and sleep in it. That's what I'm a bit weary of. I had a wee ... my first time to grow flowers I grew flowers in my old house, I had a big garden but I didn't have clue about it, I had a friend to help me, I planted the peas, and then I put these flowers in the thingme, I put the soil, all the containers all the flowers and that so I'm going out to work in the afternoon I always notice when I was back all the kids were standing at the bottom of the lane oh you going away to work [name], "oh aye", "good, good". This was happening all the time and all my neighbours were looking at me. We get on well and nobody would say anything so this went on for a couple of months and then my son telt me, I was having, sitting in the back garden having my tea and here they all came up and down my back garden, [01:24:43] [inaudible], we're just wanting to see how your flowers are and then my son telt me, you know what it is dad, see what I'd planted in the soil I don't know how that happened it was loaded with magic mushrooms. I don't know how they'd come up it seems the soil; sometimes you get in the soil. It was soil that I'd bought out of one of the big garden places and they were coming up taking all the magic mushrooms. I didnae know it was there, I know what magic mushrooms are, when I worked in the art galleries you know Kelvingrove, used to look out the window at night time you'd see these cars, you'd see all these car coming up. I'm sorry it was your pals from the university you'd see them all going out and picking the magic mushrooms then all going away in their cars. We used to watch them doing that...so that was that.

Interviewer: Is there anything else you want to talk about, about food, or the back garden or the plots?

[01:26:01] No, not at the moment, that's all I can think about because I've only been there a short while. But it has changed my outlook. It definitely has

Interviewer: And how do you think it was changed your outlook?

[01:26:13] Well I eat a lot more healthier and I'm a lot more positive about what I'm gonna eat instead of just going to the fridge and looking for this and looking for that I only buy fresh food now. And I'm getting guidance on it with some of the programs, or going to

YouTube and look up this program and that. One of the taboo, process foods, if it's processed, bins it. You know

Interviewer: What would happen before, like what did you used to do?

[01:26:47] Eat anything I felt like, quite a clumsy eater, I'll put it that way. Maybe just go on, maybe I'd recook fries, sausage and bacon, no more. Couple of fried eggs, no more maybe boiled egg, scrambled, anything. Or I'll just have something out of the Chinese, our something out of the Indians. Nothing.

Interviewer: And did your own health, was it an important thing when you changed your diet. Your meal plan?

[01:27:30] Well what I did was, most of my days, I've kept pretty active. And I thought that because I was active I was healthy ... up to a point but I pay more attention...I pay more attention to my health now and to healthy eating. I do that and through going to the back garden. Walking up the road with a fish supper, things like that, everything. You just didnae think. You thought just because you felt well you were well. Probably you were well you know but you don't know what you're doing to your insides, you don' think about it you know. Well know I don't have to think what I'm doing to my insides because I'm not doing anything I shouldn't be doing. As far as I'm aware of, to do best of my knowledge, which I didn't know before.

Interviewer: And I guess, going to the back garden, and just kind of getting through, that might not necessarily be, you might not think straight away, oh this is healthy. I guess you have to think about what is healthy and when something is healthy and when something is not...

[01:28:54] Eh... well... when you're going to harvest something, you knew it was healthy, you're not going to take a bad thing out of the bad garden, any vegetable or crop or a thingme. Eh, you know you're going to make a good meal. You know you're going to make a good positive meal. When I say positive, it's gonna be nutritious and it will be healthy for you. One my foods that I want to try and I can't get a hold off I tried it once but I got conned, but the firm were fined half a million pound, that was marks and spencer, but it wasn't me that jailed them you know. I like spinach, I like all my greens and one of the best foods you can get, they do it in Ireland and down in the south of England a lot. Seaweed. I've read a bit about the seaweed. Now, I only ate once but I was chewing outta a packet

when I was in Ireland away about six years ago, just walking along the shore, hiking along and ... came across this wee what they call it dulse.

Interviewer: What's that?

[01:30:30] It's a form of seafood... seaweed. So that was that but I tried to buy it but you cannae get it in shops, very hard to come by. But I got told the dried seaweed is every bit as good. If I get I'll buy it and try and then decide. I find the spinach, you eat spinach, it's tasteless but you just blanche the spinach, shred it, couple of spice and a wee bit of garlic, wee bit of turmeric, wee bit of ginger it gives a new outlook, in my mind it does any way. As I say, you don't, because you're eating thingme, you can walk past the shop you'll not get the big strawberry, no threat. I have two weak spots in food but I try and cook it myself. Are the fish and the ice cream? But I like to eat healthy ice cream.

Interviewer: Sorbet or?

[01:31:56] No, yoghurt ice cream

Interviewer: Oh fro-yo?

[01:32:05] Yeah, the best place I got that, last time I was in Spain this ice cream parlour opened right in the centre of Benidorm. It was full of ice cream places, but this was out of this world and what I get annoyed about our government, the way they price food. So I says to the young girl, all lovely and immaculate and clean, and the girl she was immaculate, the place was immaculate and I say do you have any yoghurt ice cream? "Oh yes, healthy ice cream, that's to this side". I say my eyes bigger than my belly; I think I got five types of ice cream or maybe four. And you get the fruit to go with it. It's so cheap, what costs you for a wee cup over here you're getting all that over there. Our government is so... the price of food is quite dear and it is essential for the people's health.

Interviewer: So, do you think it's the government?

[01:33:16] Well they could force the manufacturers, to drop the price of good food. For example, I wouldnae believed it but if you go for a slice of fillet, fish you know, it's a same price as the price of fried steak. Basically, it's basically the same. But then of course you get different kinds of fried steak. I'm only quoting the example. It's things like that. I love shellfish but that's, you can get not a bad bargain

Interviewer: Do you think food pricing, is that, important when you plan and you think about your routine?

[01:34:08] No, not with myself personally, because I can afford to eat what I want you know. But I always make it a point to eat something that I want to eat which is healthy. You know, eh... likes for example, my young grandson Michael, when we were in Spain he became mad with octopus or calamari. It's a bit of rubber to me, it wasn't my cup of tea but getting nice fresh salmon, but that and fillet stakes was roughly the same price. They're not much difference in it you know. As I say, fish is good for people; it's good for young kids. Every fresh fish shop has been wiped out in the whole of north of Glasgow and other districts. If you go into Tesco's you can get it but I don't know how much fresh it is you know. Eh, that's your only place otherwise you go to Lidl and you get the frozen fish but I like to try and eat fresh fish. there's nothing wrong with frozen fish you know if it's got to be it's got to be you know but as I say there's other foods we should be experimenting on. To eat healthy and I think the health people should be encouraging the people of this country what to eat, the don't do enough, they definitely don't do enough, for example that documentary on YouTube that I was watching that says there's only one bread you can eat and it must have the seed in it. If it's not got the seed in it don't touch it. Because you need the fibre in the food to eat it. He quotes for example, fat reduced margarine, slum line skimmed milk, various foods all this reduced sugar, there's no such thing, it said they're putting other things in it with a different name, there's only and sugar and everything. See for example the skimmed milk, you take all the fat out of it you're taken all the fibre out of it. The fat in the milk is a healthy fat. Pure butter is a healthy fat. You're white bread, see that's just a time bomb going off in your stomach. It's whitened to make it look good.

Interviewer: So do you avoid white bread?

[01:37:26] Definitely, aye, but I had a friend years ago that told me about that she was allergic to bread it was before it all came out, she could only eat, it's a disease she's got, nobody knew about it. Gluten free?

Interviewer: Coeliac?

[01:37:44] Yeah coeliac, that's it. And you know I had the Chinese, get rid of it, get rid of the gluten, I was watching a thing, see when you toast it it takes it, first thing it does it erases the gluten. It takes it right out. Whether it's right or wrong I don't know. But they seem to go by it. But this lady, this fad, whether the guy is right or wrong it's got to be seed

in it, and I believe in because I've started eating see if I eat a couple of slice of wholemeal bread with the seed in it, and the fresh butter I'll not feel hungry all day. That's what he said if you eat the real food you'll not get hunger pangs. And a lot of it is common sense and it does work. It works for me, a fat slob like me, till I get rid of my other two stone of fat. .

Interviewer: Is there anything else you want to mention?

[01:39:09] No, that's all I can think off at the moment.

Interviewer: That's great.

[01:39:11] So I'll tell you in a couple of weeks' time when you come back, when I go out for shopping.