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Food for local thought

A study on the dynamics between urban farmers and residents of Malmö

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Abstract

Urbanisation is an inevitable part of globalisation. With the globalised food chain in place to feed the growing number of people living in urban areas. A remedy is often expressed to be urban farming, with local, sustainable production of food. This study presents a preliminary assessment of the dynamics between urban farms and residents in Malmö. Urban farms produce available food for the residents of Malmö. The point of departure is that a sustainability goal needs cooperation from different parts of society. Using semi-structured interviews, the findings of this qualitative work appoint to certain contradictions in the main objectives of urban farmers and the priorities of residents when shopping for groceries. The results show that there is a disconnect between farmers and residents, which could diminish the prospect of continuance for urban farms in Malmö. If urban farms cannot become economically sustainable, the perseverance of the farmers might not be enough for the farms to stay in business resulting in a decline in urban farming.

Keywords: disconnect, local food, Malmö, social embeddedness, urban farming

Word count: 17 898

List of Abbreviations, Figures, Maps and Tables

Abbreviations:

AFN	Alternative food network
Agro-food system	Activities associated with production, processing, distribution, sale, preparation and consumption of food (Sage, 2018)
CSA	Community-Supported Agriculture
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
MFA	Material flow analysis
UA	Urban Agriculture
UHI	Urban Heat Island

Figures:

Maps:

Tables:

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

> *"And she feeds you tea and oranges that come all the way from China"*
>
> *Song "Suzanne", lyrics by Leonard Cohen (Cohen, 1967)*

This song, from Leonard Cohen's album in 1967, is an excellent example of the globalised food chain we encounter every day. Oranges and tea from China might have been special then but are common in the supermarkets of today. However, the impact of the global food chain on the climate is well known, and it is difficult to change. People might not be aware of the effects of their shopping habits on the environment. Even if consumers are conscious of this effect, it is a challenge to change one's shopping habits (Blay- Palmer & Donald, 2008; Conca, Princen, & Maniates, 2001; Johnston, 2008).

The food to feed the growing number of people living in urban areas, is produced and transported with the use of the globalised food chain. Food products need to be stored, cooled and transported, which causes the emission of greenhouse gasses (GHG) (Edwards-Jones, 2010). A decrease in the emission of GHG is a goal in different climate actions plans, e.g. the Paris agreement of 2015 and the sustainable development goals. Due to the increasing process of urbanisation, a decrease in GHG is becoming more of a challenge. That is why it is crucial in the cities in the Global North to become more resilient and sustainable. This calls for the urgency of ecologically sustainable production methods for the consumption of food.

Fortunately, the phenomenon of urban agriculture is one of many benefits for urban areas in this sense (FAO, 2017), all from making the city greener to reducing the urban heat island effect (WinklerPrins, 2017). Urban agriculture is said to provide benefits within the material or environmental flows connected to urban metabolism and the urban environment (WinklerPrins, 2017).

There are many definitions of urban agriculture. The most inclusive one, as paraphrased by WinklerPrins (2017), is a compilation of different sources:

"Urban agriculture is the production, processing, and marketing of food and related products in urban and peri-urban areas, usually through intensive cultivation and for consumption in the same urban or peri-urban area" (Pearson, Pearson, & Pearson, 2010; WinklerPrins, 2017, p.2)

At this point, it is important to clarify the distinction between urban farming and urban gardening within the genre of urban agriculture (Lohrberg, Licka, Scazzosi, Timpe, & eds., 2016). The difference is that urban gardening consists of agricultural activities to achieve social goals with economic independence of product sales. Urban farming, on the other hand, is a business model that considers the proximity of the city as an advantage when offering local products (Lohrberg et al., 2016). The latter is more dependent on the revenue. The business model is the production of food for commercial purposes in a city, usually practiced on a large scale (WinklerPrins, 2017). Examples of different variations within urban farming are *direct retail* of the products, and *community-supported agriculture* (CSA). There is a difference in social engagement and business model between these two variations. CSA is more a social commitment among consumers and farmers, and direct retail is more focused on the economic exchange. Marketing food as local food indicates a short food chain, with a direct relationship between the producers and consumers. The connection between gardening and farming is that the social and environmental values are a common characteristic of both types of urban agriculture (Lohrberg et al., 2016).

1.2 Problem formulation

The impact of urban farming, in an idealistic version, is that the food production of urban farms should be accessible for consumers from all socioeconomic classes. The food consumed within the city is primarily farmed in the close geographical proximity of consumption.

Local food, however, does not necessarily guarantee quality of food. Food quality can apply, but it depends on the farms and the method of production. If local food becomes a synonym for quality, then local food and alternative food movements can become a modern-day version of defensive localism (Winter, 2003). There is a need to avoid false dichotomies; where the globalised food chain carries as poor food quality and local food as standardised healthy (Winter, 2003).

Apart from the aforementioned idealized version, there is also a realistic view of urban farming in connection to urbanization. According to this view, middle-class consumers only buy a small part of their groceries from the local urban farm while the majority comes from the supermarkets (Olsson et al., 2016).

People will often go for the more comfortable option in which they have the freedom of choice. Creating the option to express their personality or preference through the food they buy. Food is a powerful symbol and stimulates passions that people can relate to, i.e. vegetarians or BBQ lovers (Jaffe & Gertler, 2006; Johnston, 2008).

Against the outlined premises, the Swedish city of Malmö provides an interesting locational context to research urban farms in action and the consumption patterns of residents. Malmö municipality publicised that by 2030 the city will become “climate neutral”, in line with the UN sustainable development goals (Alexis, 2011). With Malmö being the third biggest city in Sweden (SCB, 2020), food, resilience, and sustainability are important topics for the sustainability agenda. The land plots, used by many different urban farms, is owned by the municipality of Malmö.

Urban farming could be a solution for this, as it is a green space that produces food in the city and a place where people can come in contact with the origin of their diet. However, the municipality does not explicitly mention urban farming (Malmö stad, 2017).

In this respect, taking the literature previously mentioned into account, a result of this research can be that the municipality could help and promote local food more. Not primarily

because it is local but also because it is of good quality. If the production of the food is done according to the environmental agenda, it can contribute to it.

1.3 Aim & research questions of the study

Taking into account the abovementioned considerations, this local-scale research aims to explore the dynamics between producers of local food and residents of Malmö. To identify practices and drivers between the urban farms and the residents of Malmö

Two research questions that will guide this study, are relating both to the producers' and the consumers' perspectives:

1. What are the motivations of the urban farmers in Malmö, and how are they in line with the city's sustainability agenda?
2. What are the attitudes of Malmö residents towards the phenomenon of urban farming locally and in general?

1.4 Relevance to the field

This research has relevance to both global studies and human geography. A city is a site of interaction between local and the global phenomena. Globalisation needs urbanisation and vice versa, as cities play a profound role in the globalised world (Sassen, 2004). Urban farming in Malmö is a local reaction to the impact of the globalised food chain and the ecological consequences thereof. The ever-increasing number of people in the cities require food, which is mostly provided by the globalised food chain. Urban farming produces food nearby, and this results most often in less pollution.

If urban farms are environmentally aware of the use of ecological production methods, they can be considered an implementation of the sustainability goals. As such, the contribution of this research is to show the dynamics between urban farms and residents in Malmö. These dynamics can have a consequence on how we consider urban farming and the production of local food. This study can, in turn, compliment studies on similar topics conducted in other cities and municipalities.

1.5 Delimitations

The sole focus of this thesis is the dynamics between urban farms and residents of Malmö. The policies of the municipality clarify the context of urban farming in Malmö. It is, however, not a study focused on the policy implementation of the sustainability agenda.

The ambition of this thesis is to present a discussion on the connection between urban farming and residents in Malmö. It is imperative to understand that the number of participants is limited, and therefore only a small sample of residents could be included. However, the outcomes of this thesis present an indication of action that is required to not inevitably lose urban farms in Malmö.

1.6 Thesis outline

This thesis consists of eight chapters.

Chapter 2 presents a brief literature review, of scholarly work addressing urban agriculture and local food.

Chapter 3 deals with the context of urban farming in Malmö. Here, I explain the municipality's environmental program concerning urban agriculture and with that urban farming. I also elucidate the Swedish land laws and the location of the urban farms in Malmö.

Chapter 4 covers the theory on urban agriculture and food politics. This chapter starts with a philosophical approach by Karl Marx, - the metabolic rift, followed by the contradiction in urban agriculture and food politics as well as the definition of local food. Lastly, it will all be tied together in a summary.

Chapter 5 presents my methodological approach. An elucidation of situated knowledge and the metaphysical assumptions underlying this thesis can be found in the first part, followed by an outline of the practical data extraction methods, as well as my analytical framework. A discussion on ethical considerations and limitations of the study finalises this chapter.

Chapter 6 links my analysis to the theory set out in chapter 3. The analytical framework introduced in chapter 4 applies to the data gathered. The first part of the study focusses on

urban farming in Malmö, divided into two categories: the contradictions involved in urban farming and the marketing mix of the local food. The second part of the analysis focusses on the residents of Malmö, their shopping habits, and the social embeddedness of food.

Chapters 7 and 8 represent the findings of the thesis in a contextually and theoretically informed conclusion.

2. Literature review

This chapter will describe scholarly work addressing local food, locality and urban farming. Research within UA is often focussed on the theoretical aspects or, different empirical case studies of urban agriculture, or a combination of the two. Previous research on urban agriculture and local food has often been done separately with the focus either on UA or on local food. Therefore, this chapter will first elucidate research within the field of UA, and by extend, urban farming, followed by research pertaining to local food and the importance of the context in which it is produced. A brief summary is presented in the end of this section to connect UA to local food.

2.1 Potential for urban agriculture

Scholarly work on urban agriculture in relation to the potential of urban agriculture focusses on the sustainability it contributes to. It does not solely focus on the environment but also the economic and social sustainability (Ackerman et al., 2014; Pearson, Pearson, & Pearson, 2010). The two most common reasons to participate in urban agriculture (UA) are economics and food security (Ackerman et al., 2014). For in the global north as in the global south, UA provides healthy food, a contribution to the household income, and it can create jobs (Ackerman et al., 2014). UA is where people come together, be it a rooftop or a garden. It can create a community feeling. The environmental impact of UA on the city can be beneficial for it creates green spaces as well as the relief of the Urban heat island effect (Akbari, 2002; Pearson et al., 2010). The urban heat island effect (UHI) is that the urban areas hold warmth in the city, which results in a higher temperature and the surrounding rural areas. Increasing the vegetation in the urban areas, with the use of UA, is a way to moderate the UHI. Due to creating an area, not of cement, and therefore the heat can escape (Akbari, 2002).

Ackerman c.s. Published a paper in which the potential role of urban agriculture in New York City is analysed (Ackerman et al., 2014). As to create a more sustainable food system in NYC, the above-mentioned potentials for UA are motioned within their study. The study

stated the UA is already contributing to improved food security within different neighbourhoods of NYC (Ackerman et al., 2014). There are some particular advantages for UA in NYC, and rich farming history is one of them (Ackerman et al., 2014). The dependent on the globalised food chain only began with the invention of refrigerated rail boxes, which could transport food from all over the USA to the urban areas (Ackerman et al., 2014). Challenges for the participants working in UA were raised in relation to regulation, permits, funding and taxes. Based on Ackerman's study, UA in NYC can also contribute to the creation of productive green space related to the disposing of organic waste with compost (Ackerman et al., 2014).

In North America, urban agriculture is intensely connected to times of hardship (Gray, Diekmann, Algert, & WinklerPrins, 2017). During the First World War, liberty gardens were started in different urban areas with the main objective to promote patriotism and produce food (Gray et al., 2017). Different current themes in UA are food access, food justice or the creation of a sustainable food system. There is a visible association between the historical and the current functions of UA. As Gray et al. addresses in his research, the goal of the organisation taking part in UA often change the food system (Gray et al., 2017).

Pearson c.s outline in their article on stocktake the opportunities for sustainable UA (Pearson et al., 2010). As presented in the beginning of this section, UA addresses these opportunities. However, two elements are pertaining UA, those being knowledgeable and institutional structures (Pearson et al., 2010). There is, as Pearson explained, a difference to these aspects in developed and developing countries. The primary function in developed countries for UA being social or recreational whereas, in developing countries the primary function is cash-based and subsistence food (Pearson et al., 2010). Future research priorities indicated by Persons et al. emerge within the strategic principles of implementing UA and operationalism of UA to enhance the contribution to sustainable cities (Pearson et al., 2010). These priorities are also found in Ackerman's study where he underlines the importance of additional potential for UA (Ackerman et al., 2014).

2.2 Local food is context related

A consumer-based study by Carrol, is about; How local food is perceived in Ireland by the participants (Carroll & Fahy, 2015). The research focused on the association residents, of rural and urban areas, had with local food. The results presented that there is a difference in point of view between city and rural inhabitants (Carroll & Fahy, 2015). The term local was often associated with close by-products, even when it is was produced by a more prominent company. The research also showed that the participants have a different scale attached to local food, some attached local food production to Ireland whereas some only attached it to their own county (Carroll & Fahy, 2015).

Food miles are often attached to the globalised food chain, as the food has to be transported from different places around the world. The emission of GHG is high for products within the globalised food chain. There has been a tendency to assume that local food is a solution to the problem of food miles (Coley, Howard, & Winter, 2009). The emission of GHG, however, happens in more stage transport, i.e. the storage, distribution and retail. An advantage of the globalised food chain presented in the research by Coley et al. is that as the products are bought in bulk, the emission happens singularly. The concepts of food miles and local food systems need to be seen in the context of production as well as distribution and storage (Coley et al., 2009).

Related to the contextual nature of local food, is the local food trap (Born & Purcell, 2006). The term local is a geographical scale and does not hold meaning on its own. But only in relation to other geographical scales. A geographical scale is socially constructed and is considered a relational concept (Born & Purcell, 2006). Local food in itself is not inherently good or bad. The production methods and context are of importance in determining the quality of the food. A mass production an UA does not automatically result in the three aspects of sustainability; this depends on production methods used within the UA. The local food trap is mostly in relation to an urban city planner, in order not to hastily implement UA land plots but to make sure that the method of production is in line with the goal of the project (Born & Purcell, 2006).

An issue raised, in connection to the notion of local food, was the decline in agricultural land in some European regions. Olsson et al. c.s. study comprises three cities: Gothenburg, Copenhagen, and Gent (Olsson et al., 2016) where a considerable decline in agricultural land has been reported. On the remaining ground available for UA, they found that there is a significant change of production as well as of recreational interest. The three regions have developed governance mechanisms to cope with the above-described trends and pressure, where the rise in recreational interest above of producing food. The UA present in the peri-urban locations made use of the site when promoting the products produced. The interest in local food production is increasing in these three European regions, mainly among the urban middle class (Olsson et al., 2016).

2.3 Summary

There has been reported a significant increase in the literature pertaining to urban agriculture and local food. Some are solely on one of the two aspects while other research combines the elements within a case study. The link between UA and food security is made and exhibited in different contexts (Ackerman et al., 2014; Gray et al., 2017). The various sustainability aspects of UA, such as social, economic and environmental, have been elaborated by multiple researchers. The food security aspect of UA by providing healthy food for lower economic classes in the urban areas is one of the elements elaborated on by Ackerman and Gray (Ackerman et al., 2014; Gray et al., 2017; Pearson et al., 2010). As this study, in relation to local food, pointed out, the concept of local food is very much related to the context in which the product was created and the personal view of the individual (Carroll & Fahy, 2015). Local food in itself is not a quality or a sustainability guarantee. The geographical scale of local-only holds power in relation to other geographical scales. Productions methods do significantly influence and pertain to the sustainability of the local food. The interest in local food is increasing, as Olsson et al., showed within their research of the three European regions. Consequently, this section outlined previous research on urban agriculture and local food and there has been an attempt to showcase the various sustainability aspects of UA. Following the emphasis given in the existing literature, these sustainability aspects of UA

are of importance for this study as well. Therefore, this study is an attempt to elaborate and build on the knowledge that local food is contextual to the method of production as well as the various sustainability aspects of UA.

3. The context: Urban agriculture in Malmö

This chapter will first briefly go through the environmental program of the city of Malmö, as this research is linked to the sustainability agenda of Malmö, published in the local environmental program. Then, the Swedish land laws will be discussed, in that they form the basis for the location of the commercial farm. Finally, the farms participating in this study will be visualized on a map (map. 3.1).

3.1 Malmö municipality's environmental program

In 2009, the city of Malmö published its environmental program on how to make Malmö "Sweden's most climate-friendly city". Four objectives have been drawn up, as shown in figure 3.1 (Malmö stad, 2017). The municipality of Malmö was the first local authority in Sweden to adopt the Global Agenda 2030 with its Sustainable Development Goals. The program highlights that the municipality works towards all the goals; some, however, are more targeted than others.

These four environmental objectives are the areas that the municipality focusses on in order to make the city sustainable. With a local as well as a global perspective. The environment committee is responsible for checking, reporting and communicating about the state of the environment and the objectives within the municipality and beyond (Malmö stad, 2009).

Of special importance for this study is objective number 3, which elaborates on sustainable agriculture in Malmö. The goal is to provide more land for org anic agriculture and pesticides-free zones for biodiversity. Objective number 4, in turn, elaborates on food, stating that the municipality will increase the number of municipal buy-ups of organic and locally produced food (Malmö stad, 2009).

Figure 3.1 The Environmental Programme four main objectives (Malmö stad, 2017)

That said, the political situation in Malmö has changed since the sustainability agenda was published. While the former city council was made up of social democrats and the green party, the current majority of seats in the city council is now being divided between the social democrats and the liberals. This new majority means that there is a need to find the right way of formulating strategies (Malmö Stad, 2020). The local politicians decide on these strategies and the focus within the municipality. Swedish land laws guide the purpose of land plots: two categories that apply to the subject of urban farming will be clarified in the next part.

3.2 Swedish land laws

In view of the Swedish law, land in Sweden is divided into a number of land categories. Two of these categories comprise land types, on which agriculture is allowed in Malmö; these are *platsmark* and *kvartersmark* (Malmö Stad, 2019). Platsmark entails public land, with the purpose of the general public to be able to use it. Hence there cannot be a fence, nor an entry fee. On kvartersmark, on the other hand, one can grow products and make a profit. Both are suitable for urban agriculture; however, only kvartersmark can be used for urban farming.

On kvartersmark, companies and organisations can grow to produce and sell it to make a revenue. Here urban farming and more specifically local food farms of Malmö, are situated. The definition of local food farms, applicable to urban farms in Malmö, are farms located within the urban or peri-urban zone (Lohrberg et al., 2016). Urban farming on kvartersmark is done at two locations in Malmö: Botildenborg, located in Rosengård, and Vintrie, located in Hyllie (map 3.1).

3.3 The distribution of urban farms in Malmö participating in this study

Map 3.1 Urban farms in Malmö participating in this study (Google, n.b)

The location of urban agriculture within the city has an impact on its accessibility. Better accessibility makes it easier for city residents to visit. Areas of urban agriculture have three localisation options with different planning and structuring purposes (Lohrberg et al., 2016). An intra-urban zone is right within the city; in Malmö, it is most often used for urban gardening projects, because it is platsmark soil. A trans-urban zone is a mix of an urban and agricultural landscape. The third localisation option is peri-urban localisation, which is at the fringe of the urban built-up area (Lohrberg et al., 2016).

According to these definitions, Botildenborg – belongs to the category of a Transurban zone, while Vintrie – belongs to the category of a peri- urban zone (on map 3.1). Trans-urban is in closer connection to the urban landscape and therefore more easily accessible. Urban farming in Malmö is on kvartersmark, which allows the farmers to make a profit. As shown in map 3.1, the locations of Vintrie and Botildenborg are on the outer side of the city. In the environmental program of the city of Malmö, objectives 3 and 4 are of importance to urban farming.

In the next chapter, the focus will be on theory and definitions, starting with a more philosophical elaboration on the metabolic rift, followed by more practical theories. It combines both urban farming and local food theories, leading the way to a fruitful discussion with the data.

4.Theory

4.1 Introduction and choice of theory

The introduction and context have elaborated on urban agriculture and how it is interwoven within the city of Malmö. This is the theory chapter of this study, it pertains to different theories in relation to urban agriculture, and by extend urban farming. Starting with a more philosophical connection between the individual and urban agriculture. After which the contradictions in urban agriculture are elucidated and how these can be spotted. The marketing of the food produced on urban farms is sold within the city of Malmö and can be termed as a counterhegemonic action. The concept of counterhegemonic food politics will be elaborated on as well as the definition of local food. The concept of 'local food' is socially constructed within different contexts. Social embedded pertains to the social interaction within economic transactions. Figure 4.1 shows the four theories situated within this chapter.

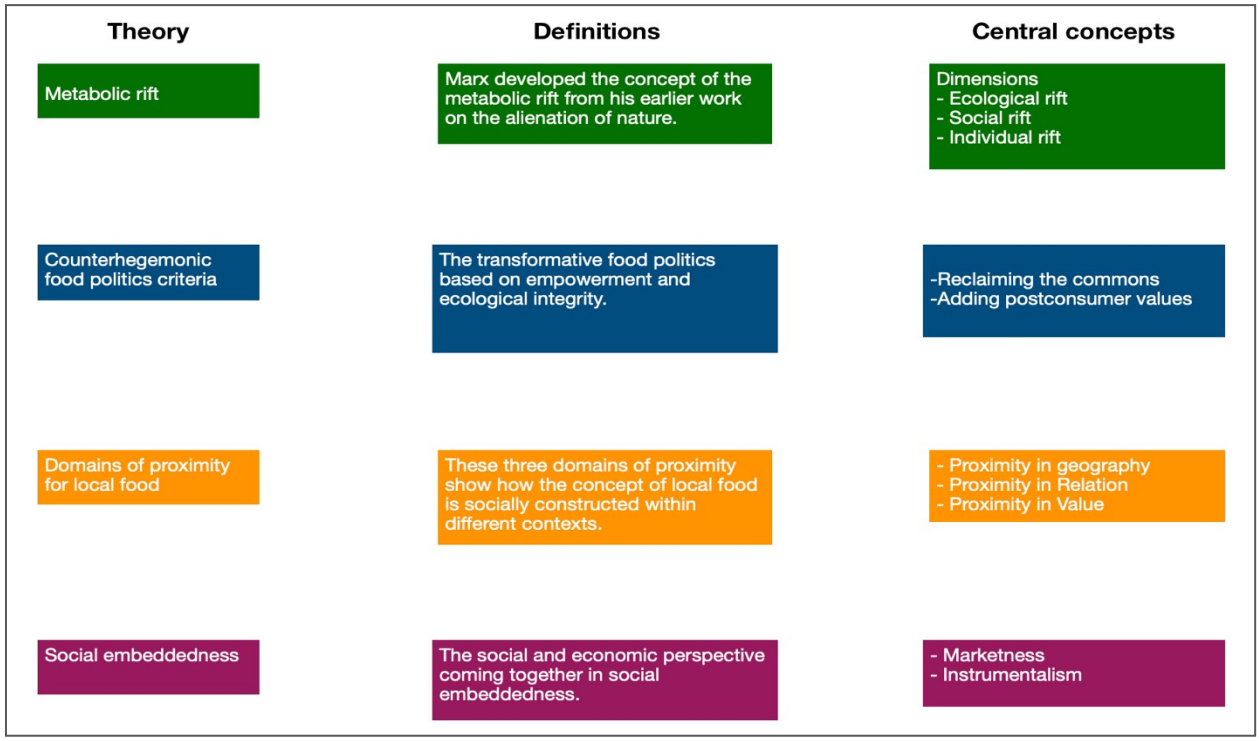

Figure 4.1 Overview of the theory, definitions and central concepts

4.2 The metabolic rift

Metabolism is the process of breaking down chemicals and nutrients to maintain life and happens in our bodies as well as within the urban landscape (Lohrberg et al., 2016). In cities, there is often a linear metabolism, that, is when the consumption of goods is supplied from outside of the city, and the waste materials after consumption are transported out of the city as well. For the input as well as the output stage, bringing in the goods and transporting out the waste has an economic and environmental cost (Lohrberg et al., 2016).

Linear metabolism is a big challenge when facing urban sustainability, as opposed to circular metabolism. In circular metabolism, part of the products consumed within the city are produced within this same area. The same goes for the organic waste that is produced and can then again be used in the city. By reinstating the production of primary goods in an urban environment, a way to this is urban agriculture, the input for the goods of consumption is partly within the city itself (Lohrberg et al., 2016).

Linear metabolism can be categorised as an *ecological metabolic rift*, which is a rift between city and country created by capitalisms vital need for spatial expansion (McClintock, 2010). When agriculture's natural biological base of recycling nutrients is interrupted by a linear metabolism, an ecological metabolic rift is created (McClintock, 2010). This biological base of recycling happens within the soil and the water. Industrialising agriculture and depending on inorganic fertilisers to sustain productivity is another way of keeping the metabolism linear.

Marx developed the concept of the metabolic rift from his earlier work on the alienation of nature. His critique of capitalist agriculture and the opposition between the rural and the urban are central in understanding the metabolic rift. The emphasis is on the role of the people in the metabolic interaction between humanity, the earth and the soil (Foster, 1999). Marx ascribes these dimensions of the rift to the expansion of capitalist modes of production, the rise of wage labour and urbanisation from industrialisation as well as the shift away from small-scale agriculture (Foster, 1999). The rift reifies a false dichotomy between urban and rural, and humans and nature by masking the linkages between them (McClintock, 2010). Leading environmental sociologists have criticised Marx on the lack of emphasis on the natural conditions of the environment and that his approach is focusing too much on the human aspect (Foster, 1999).

Besides the ecological dimension of the metabolic rift, there are two other independent dimensions, the *social rift*, and the *individual rift*. The social rift is linked to the commodification of land, labour and food (McClintock, 2010). The social rift is essential to explain urbanisation and the link between urbanisation and the current agro-food systems. Food production and consumption have become a market-based ideology for the cheapest food possible (Foster, 1999). To de-commodify the social rift, there has to be a connection with the land, labour, and food. De-commodification is not an easy process, and there needs to be personal motivation and willingness to invest time. Alternative food movements within UA, e.g. CSA, could be a way to reclaim the once common resources.

The last of the three dimensions within the framework of the metabolic rift presented by Marx is the *individual rift*. It is the alienation of the individual from labour and nature by seeing the individual as external to the environment. This dimension is internalised within the individual, related to mental health. Public health studies have linked UA to the improvement of mental health, the mending of the individual rift (Pothukuchi, 2004; Wakefield, Yeudall, Taron, Reynolds, & Skinner, 2007).

Placing UA within this framework shows that it, through different forms and sizes, can address the dimensions within the *metabolic rift*. The dimensions are not a 'one-fix' process but requires continuation and awareness of the individual and the society of which it is a part. The social and individual rift adds a social dimension to UA that goes with the environmental and ecological rift (McClintock, 2010). In relation to this study, it is expected that urban farms in Malmö to at least some degree contributes to the mending of the metabolic rift. For residents of Malmö it can be a way to connect to the soil and the nature of food. UA practices can be seen as a countermovement, on a local level, of capitalist practices at a global level. At the same time, capitalist practices engage consumers. These contradictions within UA will be elaborated on further in the next part.

4.2.2 Urban agriculture's contradictions

The approach to UA in the urban landscape is often a market-based solution (McClintock, 2014). This, in turn, sustains the capitalist habit, by locating a solution to a social problem within the market and not the states range of action (Alkon & Mares, 2012). When UA does not function as a viable business within the market, there is an increasing dependence on the non-profit status and voluntary community organisation. The reach of the organisation is limited to the sources, the size and capability of an organisation. The beneficial deeds for the environment and social interaction between the individual and the soil, in turn, encourage capitalism by trying to fix a problem and thereby taking away the responsibility of the state (McClintock, 2014).

The land plots used for UA within the urban landscape is often on land that is left vacant by the city or municipality. When markets are booming these spaces used by UA become valuable, the UA can then be seen as an obstacle to the development of the urban landscape. Making urban agriculture a reaction to, as well as an outgrowth from, the capitalist market (McClintock, 2014). This connection between UA and the market on which it is dependent, not only for the land plots it produces the products on, but also to sell its produce, results in the fact that it can never be separated from the urban political economics. These internal contradictions are a part of UA (McClintock, 2014).

The contradictions of UA are necessary, as is argued by McClintock. UA would not arise as a viable social movement without elements of both the capitalist market system and the countermovement against the industrialisation of agro-food system. Contradictory processes of capitalism have both created opportunities for UA and imposed obstacles to its expansion (McClintock, 2014). Urban agriculture does not challenge the underlying logic of the industrial agri-food system, and remains a reformist response to the externality of industrial agriculture. Urban Agriculture is not merely radical or neoliberal, but both, operating at multiple scales (McClintock, 2014). The contradictions can also be applicable to urban farming in Malmö. If this is the case this gives an insight in possible solutions for urban farming.

The food produced on UA is, as mentioned above, is sold on markets or something of the kind, which work within the current capitalist system. The food politics that come with this and how this part of UA can also serve a counterhegemonic purpose is one that will be discussed in the next section.

4.3 Counterhegemonic food politics criteria

Urban agriculture is a countermovement with internal contradiction interwoven and embedded within capitalism (McClintock, 2014). The food that is produced on an urban farm is often sold at a market. Food that is produced locally is not attached to the countermovement even though it is produced as a part of one (Johnston, 2008).

Empowerment is the collective side of power; collectives need to cooperate to affect an outcome. It moves away from the individualistic concept of agency toward collective empowerment and responsibility (Johnston, 2008). Johnston developed a framework for establishing counterhegemonic criteria for transformative food politics. Hegemony, as opposed to counterhegemony, is an ongoing process that is constantly being renegotiated, e.g. within contemporary hegemony is the belief in the continued economic expansion (Johnston, 2008).

The two counterhegemonic criteria are: (1) reclaiming the commons, (2) creating postconsumer values (Johnston, 2008). Reclaiming the commons is about the de-commodification of food, as something more than what you buy wrapped in plastic at a supermarket. Creating postconsumer values is about finding a connection between you and the person who produced the food or knows more about it.

The counterhegemonic criteria can be connected to the two social aspects of the metabolic rift (McClintock, 2010). The social rift can be connected with reclaiming the commons, the decommodification of the commons. The individual rift can be linked to both goals, as by working or contributing to the harvest of food postconsumer values are created, as well as the reclaiming and decommodification of the commons.

The criterion of reclaiming the commons are about the commodification of food with the industrialisation of the agro-food production (Johnston, 2008). Consumers are disconnected from the conditions in which their food is produced. By reintroducing a connection, they are more likely to see the consequences of their shopping habits. This can be linked to a dimension within the metabolic rift: the social rift. Making the distance between productions and consumption shorter is a way to de-commodify the social rift, with a connection to the land and food (Johnston, 2008).

The second criterion of the framework by Johnston pertains to creating postconsumer values. Postconsumer values are a collective ideal of empowerment. This can be achieved when actors, producers, as well as consumers, resist the need for consumerism (Johnston, 2008). Consumerism consists of the need to buy beyond what is necessary because it is presented as vital to a meaningful life. Bringing production and consumption closer together will most likely lessen the consumer's need to overbuy, with the knowledge that is gained from getting to know the farmer and see the place that the food is harvested (Johnston, 2008).

The framework of counterhegemonic criteria can be used to determine if the selling of the products is indeed counterhegemonic or if only the production of the food is a

countermovement. This is of importance because for urban farming, within UA, the food that is produced is often sold on the local market. To have the full image of the (inner) workings of an urban farm, the consumers need to be part of the theoretical framework.

The local food is a factor that can or cannot be used as a counterhegemonic movement in food politics. The definition of local food and how it can be categorised is of importance and will be clarified in 4.4.

4.4 Definition of local food

Thus far, there has not been a fixed definition of 'local food'. Many different definitions of local food were examined by Eriksen (Eriksen, 2013). Specific characteristics identify local food as local; certain scholars presented locally as the new defensive localism (Winter, 2003).

Local food is inherently specific to the context of production and marketing. The term local does not specify a location; it is an indicator of a geographical scale; as a consequence, it is only of significance to other geographical scales. Eriksen defines three domains of proximity. Proximity is *"the geographical nearness in space, time and relationship"* (Eriksen, 2013, p.51). The term proximity provides possibilities; this way, it can be location as well as a relation. The three domains of proximity, as defined by Eriksen, are geography, relation, and values (Eriksen, 2013).

Local food with *geographical proximity* is, a specific locality, the distance which the food covered from production to consumption. Food miles are often related to the distribution of food, giving local food an environmental label by having fewer food miles. There are, however, other parts of the food system that have an emission of GHG, as in the method of production, storage and distribution (Edwards-Jones, 2010).

Another domain of proximity of local food is *relational proximity*. This is understood in terms of relations between actors. It is reconnecting the food system through direct

exchange between producer and consumer (Eriksen, 2013). According to the counterhegemonic criterion for food politics, reclaiming the commons and creating postconsumer values can both be accomplished by relational proximity (Johnston, 2008). The relational experience is not available to consumers in the supermarkets. Face-to-face relations between the consumer and the producers is the direct counterpart of the large industrialised systems (Eriksen, 2013). This, in turn, can be connected to the social rift because of the social interaction between a consumer and produces (McClintock, 2010).

The third domain of proximity, as defined by Eriksen, is the *value of proximity* where actors attribute different values to local food. These values array several perspectives e.g. environmental, health, social and ethical. The proximity of values can be related to postconsumer values (Johnston, 2008). When the values of the producer meet with the values of the consumers, this creates a postconsumer value. Which, in turn, can be a small way of mending the social rift, or if the consumer is integrated into the process of harvesting, the individual rift (McClintock, 2010).

These three domains of proximity show how the concept of 'local food' is socially constructed within different contexts, which are, in turn, related to the metabolic rift and counterhegemonic food politics. A term that has both the social and the economic side of the sale of products is social embeddedness.

4.5 Social embeddedness

With the complexity of the definition of local food established, there is a need to look at the marketing of local food. As is mentioned in the contradictions of UA, local food markets make use of the contemporary market (McClintock, 2014). The relationship between the consumer and the producer is essential when marketing local food. Social embeddedness illustrates the social context from the economic perspective (Hinrichs, 2000).

The concept of social embeddedness is linked with the notions of marketness and instrumentalism. Instrumentalism is the individual motivation of the consumer (Block, 1990). Marketness is the relevance of price in the economic transaction (Block, 1990). All economic transactions take place along a continuum of marketness (Hinrichs, 2000). High on this continuum, there is nothing that interferes with the dominance of the price. The motivation for buying a product becomes more prominent when the relevance of price decreases (Hinrichs, 2000).

Two examples of markets within the local food system that Hinrichs mentions are farmers' markets and CSA (Hinrichs, 2000). There is a difference between marketness and instrumentalism, in farmers market and CSA. At the farmers' market, there is a bigger emphasis on marketness for the farmer who wants the best price, while instrumentalism places the consumer in a more prominent role (Hinrichs, 2000). Concerning CSA, there is a balance of both for participating parties, because all need to participate with working on the land and all need to agree on a price (Hinrichs, 2000). Social embeddedness is of importance for the producers and the consumers of local food, as both are within the dynamics of this study it is of relevance to understand. The conceptualisation of social embeddedness can show what is of most important for the dynamics between the producers and consumers of local food.

4.6 Summary

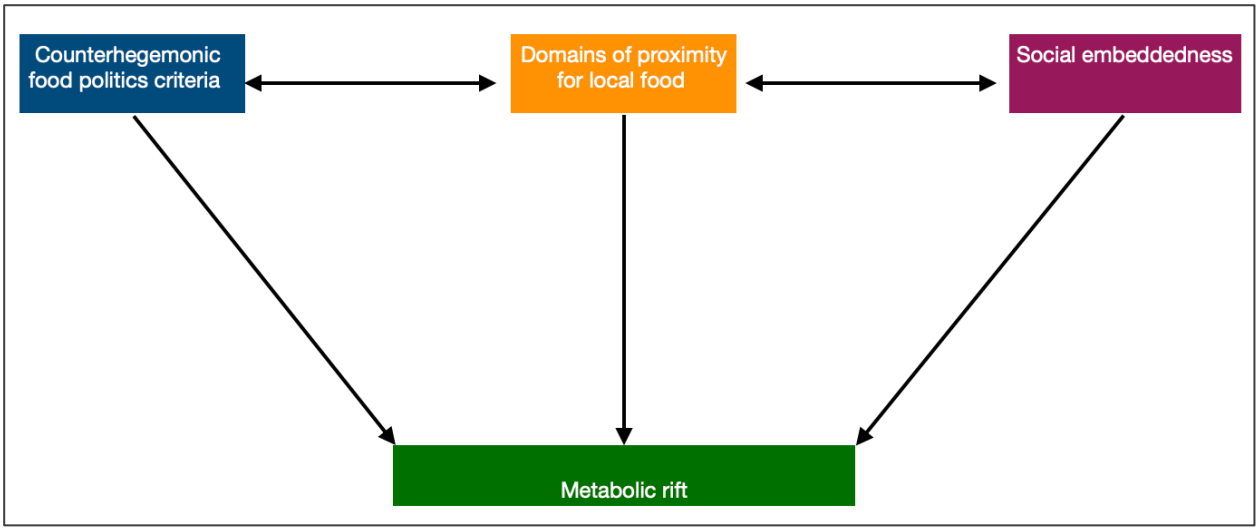

Figure 4.2 Connectedness of the theory

The interconnectedness of the different theories is shown in Figure 4.2. Combined, they make up the theoretical basis for the thesis. The interconnectedness of the theories will be elaborated on in the following parts.

Creating postconsumer values, a criterion for counterhegemonic food politics and proximity in values are compatible (Eriksen, 2013; Johnston, 2008). When the values of the producer meet with the values of the consumer, there is proximity in values. If both the producer and the consumer resist the need for consumerism, they create postconsumer values (Johnston, 2008). The latter being also an example of proximity in values. The values can be related to instrumentalism within social embeddedness. Having similar values can be a motivation for buying a particular product from a producer. This in turn can advance the mending of the social rift, by having a value-based relationship between the two parties (Eriksen, 2013; Hinrichs, 2000; Johnston, 2008; McClintock, 2010).

Local food with geographical proximity, with, e.g. a CSA as the form of UA can be an excellent example of a way to mend the individual rift (Eriksen, 2013; McClintock, 2010). Individuals are expected to participate in taking care of the farm in CSA, and it can reconnect the individual with the soil and labour in producing the

food. Social embeddedness in this form is part of a CSA with both marketness and instrumentalism applicable (Hinrichs, 2000).

Proximity in values and proximity in relation can come together as well. By having a relationship between the farmer and the individual, it also has advantages for the social rift. In turn, it is a way of reclaiming the commons and creating postconsumer values (Eriksen, 2013; Hinrichs, 2000; Johnston, 2008; McClintock, 2010).

Social embeddedness can be connected to the social rift. Having a social relationship between producer and consumer could be a slight de-commodification of the commons, which in turn could lead to a small shift in the social rift (Hinrichs, 2000; McClintock, 2010). A social relation between consumers and producers can lead to the relational proximity of local food.

By connecting the theory, it becomes clear that different forms of UA can work with these theories, separately or together. The counterhegemonic food policies align with, the three domains of proximity and with social embeddedness with the two dimensions of the metabolic rift. Ensuing in slightly different relationships and therefore likely different outcomes, but all are working towards mending one or multiple dimensions within the metabolic rift.

If and how this is done in relation to Malmö will be researched and analysed further on in this thesis. The following chapter is more about me as a researcher, my situated knowledge and assumptions about the world that influence my world view. As well as the way of researching within this thesis will be the next chapter.

5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter pertains to the methodology and methods used in this research. It starts with a philosophical statement, where I outline my position as a researcher within the research, a necessity in line with the premises of situated knowledge. This will naturally lead to an elaboration on the metaphysical assumption before, during and after the use of the research process. The data extraction methods, which were used to collect the data i.e. interviews, will be explained in more detail, followed by the framework within which the data were analysed. This chapter closes off with an elaboration of considerations pertaining to the ethics and limitations which apply to the whole research process.

5.2 Situated knowledge

Since this research is qualitative and mostly based on semi-structured interviews, I will begin with positioning myself as a researcher within this research project. This is important to obtain my perspective on objectivity and subjectivity, as well as on knowledge production, using the concept of situatedness.

Knowledge does not hatch in a vacuum and is always anchored somewhere. In that sense, the term "situated knowledge", coined by D. Haraway (1988), is an excellent place to start this methodology chapter (Haraway, 1988). The notion of situated knowledge refers to specific knowledge to a particular situation, and it can be applied to epistemology, ontology as well as ethical questions, signifying that these are not separate concepts but rather intertwined in the researcher and their research.

Some research presents a seemingly natural and objective way of research; it may, however, hide a specific position, for instance, 'the white male in the western world of research' (Haraway, 1988). This is what Haraway describes as 'the god trick' (Haraway, 1988). Therefore, situating one's knowledge is a way to prevent 'the god trick' from happening. It makes the researcher and the reader aware of standpoints

and perspectives that are constructed as well as the physicality of conditional objectivity.

Addressing these aspects does not accept that everything is simply a matter of opinion in the vein of relativism but rather a critical realist approach (Haraway, 1988). Positioning oneself as a researcher means taking the responsibility of elaborating on visions and a way of grounding knowledge in existing power relations.

Subjectivity is multidimensional, and so is the vision of the researcher (Haraway, 1988). As a person, we are never a finished being; we are ever-evolving and therefore able to adopt other views without being aware of it. The identity of the researcher or the objects that are researched do not produce social science; it is the critical position of the researcher towards the purpose that does so (Haraway, 1988).

The above-mentioned reasons make it necessary to place myself within my research, and the need to recognise the subjective practices layered within the study, with all its limitations and innate biases. As a beginner researcher, I am aware of the fact that I am a privileged western-European, 23-year-old, woman from the Netherlands, researching the phenomenon of urban farming in Malmö, while being non-Swedish speaking in a Swedish context. I have chosen the topic of urban farming because of its contemporary relevance and opportunities it has for developing as a teaching and entrepreneurial concept. Having a background in high-school education, I am aware of the ease with which people see food as a disposable commodity. The alienation between people and the origin of the food they eat is something I am quite passionate about. In my prior research, I have dealt with food waste, which I have developed into a teaching module, hoping to educate students about the topic. This led me to look into urban farming after I had lived in Malmö for a few months. These are some of the considerations I am aware of, but there may be others of which I am not, which inevitably impacts the research.

Connected to this are my metaphysical assumptions, which are at the core of the research and the methodology. They reflect my worldview and chosen research

paradigm for this thesis. The next part of this chapter will deal with these issues in detail.

5.3 Metaphysical assumptions

Metaphysical assumptions are a set of fundamental beliefs that represent the worldview of the researcher. Guba and Lincoln explain that these premises are fundamental beliefs because they rely on faith. There is no one established ultimate truth, they can all be well argued for; but believes they are, nonetheless (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Metaphysical assumptions consist of three types of fundamental questions: about ontology, epistemology and methodology. These questions are interrelated, as the answer given to any one question forms the basis for answers to the other questions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In the following part, I will sketch out my ontological and epistemological presuppositions, i.e. my perception of the world, what I believe to be reality, and how I see knowledge being produced. I will do so by connecting critical realism with transactionalism and subjectivism.

5.3.1 Ontological presuppositions

In this section, I will outline my ontological stance, which coincides with the standpoints of critical realism.

Critical realism, as developed by Bhaskar, is a philosophy of science that combines an ontological and epistemological stance against positivist approaches (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark, Karlsson, & Ekström, 2019). Critical realists look at societies and people, as well as what makes knowledge possible. At the onset, critical realism is the view that reality is made of three domains, the empirical, the actual and the real (Bhaskar, 2008). The *empirical domain* is that what we experience, directly or indirectly. The empirical domain is separated from the second, *the actual domain*, regardless of whether an individual does experience it or not. The *real domain* is what Bhaskar identifies as the deep dimension where generative mechanisms are to be found (Danermark et al., 2019).

These mechanisms are what, in turn, can trigger events. These events, when experienced by an individual, become empirical facts. To obtain knowledge about the underlying mechanisms, critical realists focus on the mechanisms that produced the events (Danermark et al., 2019). To address ontological questions, the critical realist asserts that there exists a world independent of human consciousness, but one we possibly cannot reach with socially determined knowledge about reality (Danermark et al., 2019). Knowledge is intricate, which means that with being produced in different contexts it may be misleading (Sherman, 1976). Knowledge builds on (and thus relies on) prior understanding of how structures operate, and the historical context that shapes the current meaning (Sherman, 1976).

Critical realism imbues my research in that knowledge is a complexity and is produced in different contexts. This research is therefore confined to the context of me as a researcher, the city of Malmö and the participants of the study. The data collected in this research lies within the empirical domain.

5.3.2 Epistemological presuppositions

The second of the metaphysical domain, as mentioned in the introduction, is epistemology. My epistemological presuppositions are transactionalism and subjectivism. Guba & Lincoln (1994) in their paper 'Comparing paradigms qualitative research' link transactionalism and subjectivism with the paradigm of critical theory, rather than critical realism. Instead, the ontology they link with critical theory is historical realism. However, there is an overlap between historical realism and critical realism. Critical realism, as elucidated in part before, developed by Bhaskar, and argues that there is an objective world that we do not have a way of observing. There is a connection with historical realism, which argues that the current reality is shaped by aggregation of factors, i.e. social and political. These new structures are taken as real, and for all practical purposes, the structures are regarded as 'real' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Both critical and historical realism, see the world as made up of structures. The first, critical realism emphasises that the structures are

what create events and we, in turn, interpret these events. Historical realism emphasises social factors historically create structures.

Even though Guba & Lincoln connect critical realism to the paradigm of post-positivism, here I am making a connection between critical realism and *transactional and subjectivist epistemology*. Taking into account the method of analysis, which is dialectics. I find transactionalism and subjectivism a more fitting epistemological foundation. As the interaction between the researcher and researched object, and with that, the relationship between the two, is a central part of the transactional and subjectivist epistemology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). We cannot separate ourselves from what we know, therefore the knowledge created in the interviews is a combination of knowledge of both the interviewees and the researcher.

5.4 Data extraction methods

Having laid out my metaphysical convictions, I will now proceed with the practical part of the research, beginning with the data extraction methods used. Data extraction is the process of retrieving data from different sources, gathered in this research from participants. In this part of the chapter I will elaborate on how the research data was gathered. I will begin with a description of the principal method(s), followed by an outline of the research subjects, including the sampling used and the subject characteristics.

5.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The principle method used in this study where semi-structured interviews. They were aimed to gain in-depth knowledge of the inner workings of urban farms, as well as the dynamics between them and a sample of Malmö-based residents in the capacity of potential consumers. The semi-structured interview is a middle way between the structured and unstructured interview. A way of communicating about specific topics, which are prepared in advance. Certain prepared items make it structured. It is unstructured because there is no particular order in which they should be answered. Some of the prepared questions are fixed in combination with topics that can be

talked about more broadly (O'Reilly, 2009). The interviews guides are in the appendix and contain the topics of the interviews.

Communication before and during the interview with the participants was conducted in English. My knowledge of Swedish is too limited to conduct interviews in. All the interviewees were comfortable speaking English.

5.4.2 Sampling

In this section, I will describe the sampling methods used when soliciting interviewees. The sampling methods will be described separately for the urban farms and the residents, as these were different.

Urban farms, sampling method

The sampling method used for urban farms was convenience sampling, a type of non- probability sampling (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). Members of the target group that meet specific criteria, such as geographical proximity and availability, are included in the study. The subjective nature of this sampling method is a limitation to be aware of (Etikan et al., 2016). Since this research does not aim to generate results to be used for generalisations pertaining to all the urban farms in Malmö, convenience sampling was deemed appropriate.

This sampling method was chosen for this particular group because it was a part of the solicitation process. Initial contact with urban farms was made in the end of February. The urban farms were approached through Instagram or Facebook; I informed them about the research and its aim, and then asked if they had time to do an interview. Positive replies took some time to get because of farmers' busy schedules. Four farmers were eventually able to participate, which is one farm less than initially planned for. I am aware that convenience sampling made the sample less representative of urban farming in Malmö in general, which inevitably resulted in a more specific study of the participating farms. However, the four farmers provided extensive answers to the questions, which instead resulted in a comprehensive database.

Residents, sampling method

The residents of Malmö participated in this research within a small sample. The small sample was motivated by a desire to obtain a snapshot of Malmö residents' grocery shopping habits and knowledge about urban farming and local food in Malmö. Since no prior knowledge about urban farming on behalf of the residents was requires, the sampling method used for this purpose was snowball sampling. A notable disadvantage of snowball sampling is that it is impossible to determine errors in the sampling, in that it reaches only a specific part of the population (O'Reilly, 2009). To be sure of the representation of the population of Malmö, a more extensive sampling quote would have been necessary (Flyvbjerg, 2004). That said, standard sampling differentiation characteristics like gender and age were taken into account. Moreover, a criterion to participate within the research was that the individual had to reside in Malmö. To avoid bias, friends were excluded from the research; instead, friends of friends were contacted and asked if they could participate in the study. This indirect relationship between the participants and me meant that answers were less likely formulated to please me.

5.4.3 The interviewees

This section is dedicated to the research subjects, i.e. the interviewees, categorised into urban farmers, residents of Malmö, and representatives of organisations. Two respondents, the municipality and Future Earth, have also been interviewed to obtain their story in relation to the topic. The data from these interviews, however helpful, will be less dominant within the analyses.

The information regarding urban farmers is shown in table 5.1. It shows an overview of the resemblances and the differences between the farms. The interviewed residents of Malmö and information about their gender, age group, and place of residence are shown in table 5. 2.

Table 5.3 shows the role of each interviewee within their respective organisation and the area in which their works takes place. The municipality of Malmö and Future Earth are organisations, which were interviewed because of their relevance for the

research topic. The city owns the land plots which the urban farms rent, and the sustainability agenda for 2030. Future Earth is an international food organisation that operates in Southeast Asia and Sweden. It works to promote issues relating to food sovereignty in both locations. In Asia, this is done in collaboration with locals in rural areas, while in Sweden it is done by promoting or advising policies on a national level. They have also done local campaigns concerning food in Malmö and other cities in Sweden.

Table 5.1 The urban farms, interviewees

Urban farm	**Gender**	**Role**	**Location**
Vegostan	Male	Owner	Vintrie
Botildenborg	Male	Director/educator	Rosengard
Stadsåkern	Female	Owners	Vintrie
Two Forks	Female	Owner	Vintrie

Table 5.2 The residents of Malmö, interviewees

Resident	**Gender**	**Age group**	**Location**
1	Male	26-30	Kronborg, Malmö
2	Female	21-25	Möllevången, Malmö
3	Male	31-35	Triangeln, Malmö
4	Female	26-30	Annelund, Malmö
5	Female	36-40	Västra hamnen, Malmö

Table 5.3 Organisations, interviewees

Organisation	**Role**	**Location**
Malmö municipality employee	An employee working with issues of farming on public land	Malmö
Future Earth	Project manager from Asia, stationed in Malmö	Sweden/Southeast Asia

5.5 Analytical framework

This part of the chapter pertains to the analysis of the data. I will develop on how the primary data material was analysed, i.e. transformed and categorised using *dialectics*. First dialectics will be explained as my analytical method, followed by an elaboration on the more detailed analyses of the data material.

5.5.1 Dialectics as an analytical method

Dialectics is a systematic method that arose during the postmodern turn within social sciences, i.e., a shift in perspective from Enlightenment believes in the relative determinacy to an increasing post-enlightenment belief in radical indeterminacy (Susen, 2015). As critical realism can be used to systematically analyse the agential sources of indeterminacy within role behaviour (Luke & Bates, 2015), this supports the idea that critical realism and dialectics are epistemologically interconnected.

Dialectical concepts are a representation of the real world, with different mechanisms interlinked. Dialectics, combined with critical realism, teaches us that while causal mechanisms obviously can and do operate in society, it is still interconnected to a historical totality. Concrete events are themselves moments of this totality (Roberts, 2014).

As an analytical method, dialectics is appropriate for this thesis because both producers and consumers have a central role within this research. By applying dialectics as part of the analyses, both the producers and the consumers contribute to the argument around local food production and purchase. This way, both influence the research and together form the narrative that is necessary to answer the research questions and aim of this project.

5.5.2 Analysing the interview material

This part pertains to the execution of the analysis, components that are elaborated, i.e. coding, categorisation and interpretation. All interviews were recorded and then transcribed. In a conversation, we talk without periods or commas. I did the transcribing with as much accuracy as possible, the punctuation and silences were

added within the transcripts to enhance the non-verbal aspects of conversation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

The coding of the transcripts was a dynamic process; there is a heuristic fluidity necessary to get insightful codes and analysis (Saldaña, 2015). There has to be a balance between generality and specificity within codes. Three typical steps of developing a code system are: first, to create codes 'with ideas as they happen'; second, to connect existing codes and new codes into categories; and third, to render the categories more abstract (Bazeley, 2013).

To code the transcripts the Nvivo software was used. The data-driven codes were identified by reading the transcripts (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). A few examples of codes defined are: "cash crops", "entrepreneurship", "accessibility", etc. The codes eventually become categories, reducing the interview material to categories in which multiple codes were suitable. The categories were created, much like the codes first from the data itself, maintaining the vernacular of the interviewees (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). These descriptive categories were then analysed against the theory. This resulted in more abstract categories in relation to the theory.

The interpretation of the interview codes was made using a hermeneutical analysis approach. This entails that there is no right or wrong, but a more or less interpretation of the data (Kuckartz, 2014). The researcher is never a blank slate, and prior knowledge is always a factor when interpreting the data, as has been elaborated on extensively in this chapter. This is elucidated as the inductive method of creating categories. Taking these categories and adding the codes and theory that go with it, led to a more abstract categorisation. These conceptual categories fitted with some of the theories. This relates to the hermeneutical perspective, meaning I cannot gain an understanding of the interviews without prior knowledge of the topic of the research (Kuckartz, 2014).

5.6 Considerations

Having discussed the metaphysical assumptions, data extraction methods and analysis framework, I will now elaborate on the ethical considerations and limitations of my entire methodological approach within this research, as well as Tits validity and reliability.

5.6.1 Ethical considerations

All participants were fully informed about what the research entailed. Consent to record and transcribe the interviews was obtained before the interviews (King, Horrocks, & Brooks, 2019). The interviewees were made aware of the utmost care that would be taken when handling the data material. The interviews took place at a convenient location for the participants, e.g. at the farm, or a café. Anonymity as to the interviewees' names was agreed upon with all participants. For the farms, I received permission to use the name of the farms and their locations; as a result of this, the farmers can be partly identified and therefore not fully anonymous. Full transcripts of the interviews are not included in the thesis; only the information relevant to the aim and research questions are reflected upon in the analysis.

5.6.2 Limitations

The findings of this research cannot be generalised to a larger population; as often is the case with qualitative research, the sample size is too limited for a generalisation to take place. Four urban farmers participated in this research. This is a limitation in the sense that these four farms do not represent all the urban farms in Malmö. It does, however, explain of the workings of the participating urban farm in Malmö. As for the consumers, the sample that was taken paid attention to age and geographical location in Malmö, to get a more diverse participant group. The sample does not, however, represent the city of Malmö in its entirety, nor does it reverberate some general opinion of residents of Malmö (O'Reilly, 2009). The interviews with the residents of Malmö indicate the knowledge of urban farms and what they think it entails. Dynamics can be visible, even with a smaller sample, and lead towards observation and results that illustrate the dynamics.

The urban farmers were interviewed at their respective farms, as to lessen the impact of time that the interviews would take from their work. The interview most often did not take more than an hour, as agreed upon beforehand; this way, there was sufficient time to get the data and information. Awareness of the agreed-upon time made that I, in some cases, did not exert extra push on some questions and stayed on the topics as outlined in the interview guide. While at other times, the interviewee guided the way by answering multiple items at once, in that case, I went with the participants and asked the questions relevant to that topic.

As a non-Swedish resident to Malmö, while soliciting residents of Malmö for interviews, I used my Malmö-based friends as gatekeepers. I asked them if they knew people who would be interested in being interviewed about their grocery shopping habits. By using my friends as gatekeepers, there is an indirect relationship between the participants and me. This can have benefits, like willingness to participate, and downsides like unwillingness to share personal information.

The sample of residents does not have significant diversity with regard to age; for instance, there are not participants over 40. The concurrent COVID-19 pandemic made contacting people and asking to participate more difficult, going out and actively looking for older participants was not possible. Instead, the limitations in age will be taken into consideration in the analysis and the discussion.

5.6.3 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability exhibit the ways information was gathered and is accounted for. However, a positivist explanation of validity and reliability would not be suitable because the assurance of quality over the statements and data can also be done by soft falsification (Tribe & Liburd, 2016).

Validity is reflecting upon whether the results that were obtained are in line with the aim of the research and questions of this thesis. External validity is related to transferability, which is the question of whether the findings hold without the unique context they were extracted from (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Internal validity is

credibility, the phenomena that social reality can be interpreted in different ways, in which the researcher and the researched object might have different worldviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The results obtained with the interviews are in line with the aim of the research, mentioned in the introduction. Both the producers of local food, i.e. urban farms in Malmö and potential consumers, i.e. residents of Malmö were interviewed for this research. The transferability of the data without the unique context is not applicable.

The interviews were focused on this research, within the context of Malmö as the findings of this research cannot be generalised across social settings. The credibility of the analysis of the data is specified by elaborating on the analytical methods and the steps of the analysis in previews parts of this chapter. Elaboration on the metaphysical position of me as a researcher has been done to illustrate the assumption and therefore, to achieve credibility.

Reliability is about the information gathered through the interviews from the participant: How 'true' is what the interviewees gave as information and trustworthiness of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)? The information gathered and the questions asked were in line with the everyday activities of the participants. The farmers are the entrepreneurs within their own business, and the residents of Malmö do groceries every so often to get their food. The latter might be less conscious about their daily choices when going for groceries, which can make their answers to the question a bit hesitant because they did not think it through in advance. It can also be an advantage because if the answers were not prepared in advance, they are less likely to be given in order to appeal and agree to the research. My understanding of the interviews, participants, and the content itself, is that all participants spoke without reservations and that what was said was reliable. In this sense, the empirical data is a solid foundation for this study (Bryman, 2012).

The considerations are of importance in connection to the analytical method of dialectics. Dialectics apply to this thesis, as both producers and residents are central in the dynamics between the two. With the use of dialectics, the dynamics are

illustrated first separately. This way, the analysis of the data of the urban farms as well as the data of the residents get their representation. The dynamics come together within the discussion. The data extraction methods, elaborated in this chapter, show the steps taken to acquire the data analysed in the next section. The metaphysical assumptions and situated knowledge at the beginning of this chapter are to establish an image of the researcher as well as to set a precedent for the study, within which these assumptions are vital, as they give form to the study. The following chapter entails the analysis, where the data is analysed and presented in categories applicable to the aim of this study.

6. Analysis

This chapter contains the analysis of the data in relation to the theory. The data were analysed with the analytical method, presented in the previous chapter, of dialectics. The analyses were done with the aim in mind. Therefore, the aim will be briefly repeated; to explore the dynamics between producers of local food and residents (potential and/or existing) consumers. The first part of this chapter is focused on the analysis of urban farms in Malmö and the second part on the residents of Malmö.

6.1 Urban farming in Malmö

6.1.1 Introduction

From the data, the two main categories were produced; *contradictions in urban farming* and *marketing mix*, shown in figure 6.1. When analysing the data, the metadata sets were made in the categories.

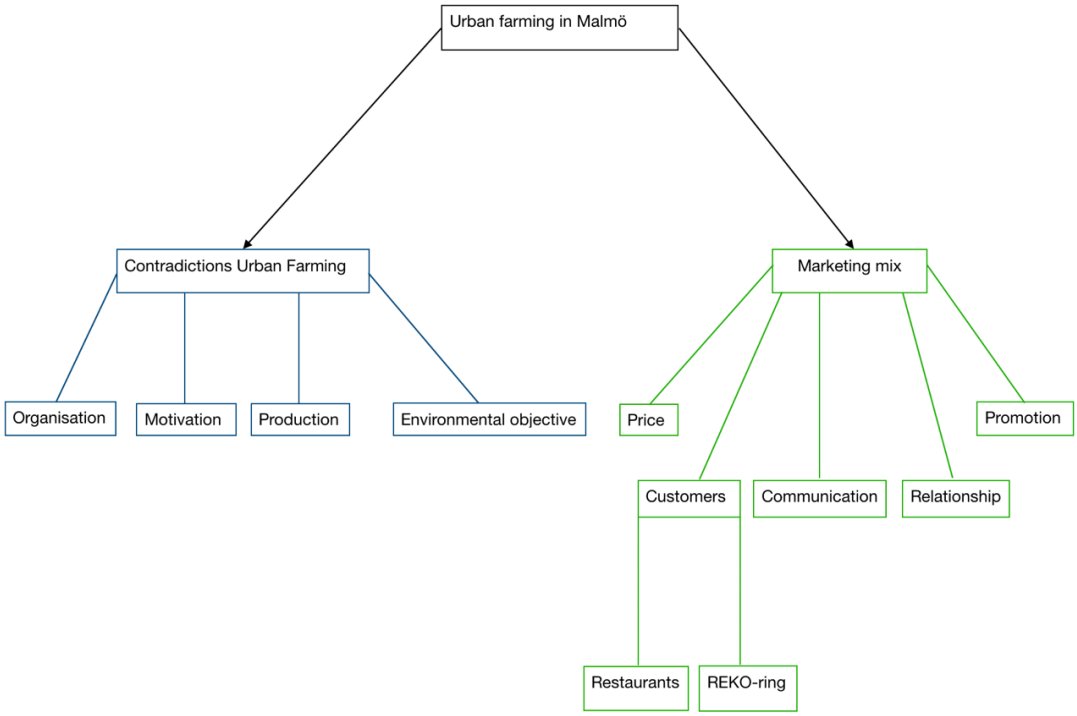

Figure 6.1 Figure of the analysis structure

To discuss *the contradictions of urban farming,* I will first present the organisation of a farm to get an idea of the size of and the motivation of the farmers on being in

the business. The production and the environmental objective follow as they are part of the farms as a business.

The *marketing mix* represents the factors that the business controls to influence consumers (Grönroos, 1997). Three factors within the marketing mix will be discussed in this category: price, communication, and promotion. The consumers, to whom the farmers sell, are divided into restaurants, and private consumers, the entrepreneurial motivation for this is discussed in this category. The relationship between farmers and consumers is discussed within this category, as it is part of reclaiming the commons within counterhegemonic food politics (Grönroos, 1997; Johnston, 2008).

6.1.2 Contradictions of urban farming

The contradictions within urban agriculture, elaborated in chapter 3, will be connected to the data in this part of the analysis. The type of urban agriculture researched within this thesis is urban farming and the following parts will show that these contradictions can indeed be applicable to urban farming in Malmö. The contradictory processes of capitalism have both created opportunities for urban agriculture and impose obstacles to its expansion. It remains a reformist response to the externality of industrial agriculture (McClintock, 2014).

The organisation of the farms

A general overview of the farms participating in this research is presented in table 6.1. The starting year shows that they all are relatively new; the oldest being in the third season and the youngest in the first. This shows that urban farming is a relatively new concept to Malmö.

Urban farm	*Since*	*Size of growing area*	*The main objective of the farm*	*Consumer*
Botildenborg	2018	1500 m²	Economic sustainability	Restaurants
Stadsåkern	2019	1000 m²	Economic sustainability	Reko-ring, private consumers
Twoforks	2019	1000 m²	Economic sustainability	Own restaurant
Vegostan	2018	1400 m²	Economic sustainability	Three more prominent restaurants, Reko-ring

Table 6.1 General overview of the farms

The capacity of the business is dependent on the number of people working on the land and the size of the growing area. The latest is related to the capacity of food that can be produced. The larger the size of the growing area, the more products will be ableto grow and harvest. For instance, Botildenborg has two workers, one full-time and a part-timer, and interns who are helping out. Vegostan is run by the owner and a part-timer who helps out for one day a week. The number of people working on the farm relates to the capacity of the business; more people means quicker harvesting et al.

Motivations

The main objective of the farm that every urban farmer mentioned was becoming economically sustainable, but not for the conventional reasons 'to become rich'. Vegostan explained that since starting the farm, he had not taken out a paycheck, all his profit went straight back into the farm. This, in turn, shows the perseverance of the farmer and the motivation behind the objective of becoming economically sustainable; *"We still have to prove our point that we are sustainable economically because nobody has proven that yet"* (Male farmer, Vegostan). The interviewee of Botildenborg explained that being the reference model for the incubator meant that they had to be economically sustainable to prove the model; *"It is not there yet. It is we are just starting the second season of the farm, but we are primarily working towards the economic sustainability of the farm" (*(Male farmer, Botildenborg).

Wanting to be economically sustainable as the main objective of urban farms is an example of the contradictions within UA. Urban agriculture is a reaction to, as well as an outgrowth from, the capitalist market (McClintock, 2014). Consequently, relating to the need to be economically sustainable is thus necessary for the business to be profitable.

Production

The production methods the farms vary, some have only production outside while others have micro-green as an add on. Vegostan and Botildenborg have a microgreens-productions, directed towards restaurants with which they have a contract. Microgreens are grown in a closed environment, e.g. a container, in which the farmer can control variables like temperature and humidity. These can be produced all year round and provide a steady income. Vegostan sells around 20 kilos of microgreens a week, which is a big part of its revenue; *"The microgreens are, like the last year, probably half my revenue"* (Male farmer, Vegostan). Not all farms grow microgreens, as well as, production outside, e.g. Stadsåkern produces that they also like to eat and will fit well together in a vegetable bag. Twoforks produce vegetables that they need for their restaurant.

Cash crops are a term used with production by some of the farmers. Stadsåkern explained it as follows; *"Cash crops are like the ones that grow fast and then sell them to restaurants* (Female Farmer, Stadsåkern). This is decisive for the selection of the products with their economic value on the target market. The production is done in an environmentally conscious way, as is elucidated in the next part, and geographical proximity to the location of consumption. The business, as in the sale of the product, is done within the contemporary market. This is a part of the contradiction in urban farming, in that it shows the importance of the contemporary economic system in which the farmers run their businesses.

Environmental objective

The environmental objective is a factor for many urban farms in Malmö but not the most prominent one. As elaborated on before, economic sustainability is the main objective of the farms. When asked about the environmental benefits of the farm, the farmers were aware of the benefits. The urban farmers chose to be an entrepreneur in the area of urban farming because they are passionate about what they do. Farmers are part of a social movement, being environmentally conscious while having economic sustainability as their primary driver.

Ecological and organic productions reflect on urban farmers' environmental consciousness. One of the urban farms, Vegostan, is organically certified since the beginning. This is imperative because it fits with their adopted ideology: *"This was an important step for me because I wanted to be able to call my products organic, and you are not allowed to call them organic even if my production is organic"* (Male farmer, Vegostan). This certificate consequently means that Vegostan can call the products organic.

While the environmental objective may not be the most prominent, it is one about which the urban farmers are passionate. Stadsåkern expressed it with the hard work the farmers do, the number of hours they work on the farm and the profit they make from it; *"You will be working way more hours than in most other jobs. So, it is not an easy way to get rich"* (Female Farmers, Stadsåkern).

6.1.3 Marketing mix

The category of the *marketing mix* is about the sale of the products that the urban farmers produce. These are factors that the business controls to influence the consumers' purchase (Grönroos, 1997). The factors within the market mix that are discussed here are price, communication, and promotion. The products are sold to different types of consumers, restaurants, and REKO-ring. The motivations for choosing these consumers and the relationship with the consumers is elaborated on. A relationship is part of reclaiming the commons within counterhegemonic food politics (Grönroos, 1997; Johnston, 2008), and will be related to the factors mentioned here. The price of the products, which can be linked back to economic sustainability and marketness within social embeddedness, will be discussed promptly, followed by the two types of customers.

Price

To become economically sustainable, urban farmers rely on the consumers to sell their products to. The sale of the product for the right price is the base of the conceptualisation of social embeddedness. Marketness is the relevance of price in an economic transaction. A fair exchange between producer and consumer, quality vs value (Hinrichs, 2000). Botildenborg explains how the price for a product is taught in the incubator: *"So local farmers and these small urban farmers, they're setting their prices higher and we always suggest them to set their prices higher in our incubator training"* (Male farmer, Botildenborg). By selling their products for a reasonably high price, the farmers act on the marketness of the interaction. Consumers are willing to pay for it within the economic transaction. For the farmers, this might lead to higher revenue, which can, in turn, contribute to their economic sustainability.

Customer; Restaurants

Botildenborg and Twoforks are both selling to restaurants, the latter having their own and the former working closely with chefs. Both have different motivations for choosing restaurants as their sole consumers. Twoforks elucidates it as follows: *"The financial success, I think, will come from being able to use our veggies at our restaurant. A carrot that is cooked nicely on a plate brings in so much more than a raw carrot at a market"* (Female farmer, Twoforks). This economic approach is the marketness within social embeddedness. The marketness is within getting the right price and knowing that a cooked carrot, as the example in the quote, is worth more than a raw carrot (Hinrichs, 2000). Botildenborg mentions it from a relationship perspective and elucidates it as follows: *"We are taking the collaboration into a deeper level where they are now writing their menus based on the availability of the products that come from the farm, a dream come true for both the farmer and the chef"* (Male farmer, Botildenborg).

This relation between the farmer at Botildenborg and the chefs also clarifies why there is, for their farm, no need to be organically certified. The trust between the farmer and the chefs makes this redundant*: "There is enough trust face to face interaction and recognition of our work. So, they treat our products as if they're certified organic"* (Male farmer, Botildenborg). The same can apply to Twoforks too because they sell it as an end product. In which the consumer gets the end product, and because of the local production, and marketing assumes the product is organic.

This way, both farms are, although in slightly different ways, contributing to the two criteria of Johnston. There is a relationship between the consumers and producers, which is a way to reclaim the commons (Johnston, 2008). Twoforks runs their restaurant, therefore when selling their food, the consumers see the farmer and chef who produced the meal. By serving the food, Twoforks is also adding a postconsumer value because the consumer gets the locally grown food prepared as meal (Johnston, 2008). In the case of Botildenborg, it is relatively different. There is no direct relationship between the

consumer and the producers because the chefs of the restaurants are the middleman. The added value is, besides organic production, done by the chefs.

Customer; REKO-ring

The two other farms sell to private consumers through Reko-ring. Both Vegostan and Botildenborg best explain the concept of Reko-ring:

"Where we put our adds out on Friday and Thursday, the week after it is a pickup point. So private consumers in Malmö order on Facebook the week before, and they make the payment before as well with the swish payment. And then we meet each other at the pickup point one hour every week, and they pick up their producers, and I only harvest what they have ordered"

(Male farmer, Vegostan).

"What Reko-ring is doing is some sort of, I think, trying to be a replacement for that a physical farmers market. So, it is a virtual farmer market online where producers meet and consumers on that platform. They order when you know that the producer announces what they have"

(Male farmer, Botildenborg).

Urban farmers market their food as local food, for it is produced within the city and hence geographical proximity. This proximity is focussed on a geographical scale (Eriksen, 2013). Concerning the counterhegemonic food politics framework of Johnston, selling it in close geographical proximity is part of reclaiming the commons. This is done by reducing the distance between consumption and production (Johnston, 2008).

Communication

The communication with the customer for all three of the urban farms, except Botildenborg, goes through social media: Facebook or Instagram. Instagram is used by Twoforks to communicate if the restaurant is open, and the other two farms use it to communicate their harvest availability. Reko-ring, as explained above, uses Facebook

as a virtual farmers market for farmers to communicate with their customers. Figure 6.2 is a screenshot of the Reko-ring Facebook page.

Figure 6.2 A screenshot of Facebook, REKO-ring 12/4/2020

Reko-ring uses Facebook as the initial place to meet, starting from proximity in values (Eriksen, 2013). Residents of Malmö with the same values have to search for it on Facebook. Then they can buy the products. Producers offering their products on the Facebook page are local producers and therefore share the same values as the consumers, which results in the proximity of values (Eriksen, 2013).

From the social embeddedness perspective, both marketness and instrumentalism come together on the Facebook page of Reko-ring. The farmers are selling their products for a reasonable price; this is the marketness in social embeddedness. Instrumentalism is the consumers' motivation for buying the products that are locally produced and might have a slightly higher price (Hinrichs, 2000). This can work towards mending the social rift by building a relationship between the consumer and producers, starting from proximity in values (Eriksen, 2013; McClintock, 2010).

Relationship

Having more social interaction with the consumers is what two farms mentioned as a plan. Vegostan and Twoforks mentioned wanting a more personal relationship with the consumers. Vegostan elaborated that he would personally not have much time for this but adding it to the farm would be an ideal plan: *"And I want to do more the social kind of integration with a society where people come here, and they can buy, like, vegetable bags"* (Male farmer, Vegostan). Twoforks plans to start a CSA with thirty families next season.

This shows that these urban farmers are aware of the fact that the current social interaction is relatively limited. More social interaction between farmer and consumer would provide for residents of Malmö to working towards mending the individual rift. The individual rift can be mended by working towards producing your food. It is a way of working against the alienation from labour and nature (McClintock, 2010), as well as, as previously mentioned, mending the social rift by building a relationship between the consumers and producers (McClintock, 2010).

Promotion of local food

The question concerning the need for the promotion of local food got different responses from the farmers. Some stated that they had enough customers, so they did not see the need for more promotion. The farmers stated that if there were more producers there would have to be more consumers. In the future might lead to the need for more promotion. The four farmers interviewed are satisfied with their consumer base. Twoforks phrased it as follows*: "I think it is growing just fine as it is right now! We are doing just fine even with them (*the municipality*) not being super good at making it easy for us to work"* (Female farmer, Twoforks).

Vegostan went on to place the need for promotion within the social-economic difference in society. Highlighting the fact that currently, only people from a higher economic class can afford the food produced by the urban farms: *"What I want to see is that not only*

the people who are educated and who are higher economics. I want to see everyone do that. So, that is kind of our mission now provide local vegetables to everyone" (Male farmer, Vegostan). Gravitating it back to instrumentalism with the social embeddedness. The motivation for producing and selling the product from the farmers' perception (Hinrichs, 2000).

6.2 Residents of Malmö

6.2.1 Introduction

In this section, I will provide an analysis of the data extracted from the interviews with the residents of Malmö. It will not be solely focused on urban farms and local food: Four of the five interviewees had never bought anything from an urban farm or had no idea what an urban farm was. Five out of five interviewees bought their food from supermarkets, and all chose the supermarket located close to home. The analysis will, therefore, focus on some of the shopping habits, awareness of products, and restaurant choices. The theory will be linked to the analysis where possible. Social embeddedness can be connected to buying in the supermarket and will be related when applicable.

6.2.2 Shopping habits

The shopping habits of the interviewees are divided into different parts about the *frequency of buying groceries* and the *choice of supermarket*. This is to create an image of the shopping habits of the interviewees and to find out if they are potential customers for Reko-ring.

Buying frequently vs buying weekly

All interviewees went to the supermarket more often than once a week. There was a scale in the amount of planning that goes into the grocery shopping. Some had allergies and therefore planned. One resident mentioned having habit products, products she bought every time they were finished: *"I kind of have my habit products. So mostly I just find the same things. Like my bananas, oats, you know"*.

The frequency is interesting to keep in mind, linked to the possibility to become a customer of Reko-ring. Shopping from Reko-ring requires preparing and planning, as the order of the product is a week before the pick-up. Vegetables and other greens, however, are not very difficult to make a meal of but do require some flexibility from the consumer side. For these residents to become consumers of Reko-ring, the instrumentalism of social embeddedness would need to be more prominent than it is now (Hinrichs, 2000).

Choice of the supermarket

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, all the interviewees' participants primarily chose the supermarket close to their place of residence. The vicinity of the supermarket can be related to frequently buying groceries. This, in turn, shows that accessibility is what all interviewees value.

A second reason which was often mentioned was the variety of products. The different supermarket chains have a wide variety of products. The interviewees with dietary preferences, e.g. vegetarians or allergies, mentioned the variety of products within the first few minutes of the topic. Even though the location was the first reason to be mentioned, the variety of products is also essential for these consumers. This variety of products relates to freedom of choice. Another research concluded that people participating in alternative food movements did groceries on the side to keep the aspect of freedom of choice (Johnston, 2008).

6.2.3 Awareness

While shopping for groceries, consumers make choices between products. The awareness of this while doing groceries might not always be as prominent. The sections are about different aspects of awareness, the location of the product, ecological vs price, and the seasons in which products are produced and harvested. Awareness relates to the potentiality of the interviewees to becoming customers from urban farms. More awareness could lead to more instrumentalism (Hinrichs, 2000).

Location

The location of the products is one of the aspects of awareness. All interviewees said that the location factor is indeed one that they are aware of. Not all, however, led it to guide their shopping habits. The kind of products they thought the location was important were vegetables and fruits. In the supermarket, these products are visibly linked to the location of origin.

A participant went explicitly to the topic of meat: *"Meat I only buy Swedish meat, because form other countries you do not know what went in it with like antibiotics and stuff and I know the regulations in Sweden for that"*. This is an example that shows that buying a product that is from Sweden gives some certainty. The consumer knows the regulations in Sweden. An alternative motivation for buying a close-by location can be the food miles.

Connected locations to the food miles the product made to the store is not always a safe way to compare. Elucidating that: *"I think it's often more complicated than just being how many kilometres it has been transported is complicated"* and *"I try to buy like things that can be produced in Sweden and I'm also aware of, you know, tomatoes from Sweden it's not very good because usually they're made in greenhouses, so I try to avoid that".* This is the local food trap, i.e. when a scale is synonyms with the ecological goals (Born & Purcell, 2006). There is, however, nothing inherently good about the production of local food; this can be just as unsustainable. Local products are often marketed as synonyms for organic produce, which does not necessarily have to be the case (Born & Purcell, 2006).

Ecology versus price

The motivation for buying a product, with regards to ecological or price led to different answers. Where some did not so much look at the price but the quality, others went for a comparison of the price of eco-friendly and nonecological products. The price of the product is the leading factor between the two.

The argument from ecological vs price is relevant to social embeddedness. Social embeddedness consists of instrumentalism and marketness. The motivation for buying ecological is applicable. The consumer is, however, still higher on the marketness continuum, which is expressed the dominance of the price in the choice of product.

Season influence shopping

The last aspect of awareness of the choice of products is the influence of the seasons. The global food chain has made it possible to be able to buy 'fresh' produce the whole year-round. Buying from a farmer makes the consumer more aware of the seasons in which certain produce grows. This awareness is part of food sovereignty and food security, knowing that not all products are available throughout the year. The price of the product is related to the season, as elucidated by a consumer: *"That* (the season of the product) *usually goes hand in hand with price. So, if something is cheaper, it is usually because it is the right season".*

The consumers were aware of the seasons, and it sporadically influenced their shopping habits. A participant accentuated that the Swedish seasons are quite short. Therefore the only thought about the seasons in summer: *"But only in the summertime because in the Swedish wintertime season is boring. It is just onions and potatoes"*.

6.2.4 Restaurants with local food

Two of the farmers produce food for restaurants as their sole consumers. Many interviewees could not recollect a specific restaurant that they had visited which served local food. Some had been to one that served local food but did not specifically choose it for that. The choice of restaurants was because of the food served, e.g. Indian or Chinese. The instrumentalism is here focussed on the type of food served and not if the food was produced locally.

6.2.5 Know urban farms

The one resident that had bought products with Reko-ring had some specific comments about it. Which are of interest to this thesis but cannot be taken into broader opinion because of the singularity. The resident emphasised that in other towns there were more prominent farmers markets: *"When I've lived in other towns, they've had better farmer markets. I bought a lot more there. I don't think that works very well in Malmö. It's not very often they have that"*. The participant went on to explain her experience with Reko-ring. A regular farmers market is, in her opinion better: *"I do think that the farmer market is better, I think Reko-ring is a little bit too complicated and it's a little bit too pricey. And therefore, I buy more in stores".* The participant remarks that the price of the products, which is marketness, is too high. The price of a product has more weight than her motivation for buying at Reko-ring. This shows that the consumer is high on the marketness continuum in social embeddedness when it comes to grocery shopping (Hinrichs, 2000).

The interviewees' motivation for buying at the Reko-ring is mainly on the quality of the product, and to support local producers:

"I have always liked the farmers' markets because I think you support local producers. And I do like cooking, so, I think it's nice to get it you get other products and also you kind of get into a routine of following the year."

When asked about the relationship between producer and consumer, she explained that it is not on a name basis but a familiarity.

The results in relation to the theory have been discussed in this chapter. It is particular that the urban farms and that of the consumers have a different perspective. The urban farms have started their businesses because of their passion and their ideology and are now working hard to achieving economic sustainability. Promotion of local food is from their perspective is not necessary as they are content with the number of customers. Whereas, the majority of the residents does not know where to get products from urban

farms. Accessibility and price vs quality are the most important when buying groceries. They are aware of certain aspects that can make them potential consumes from Rekoring. The step of finding the information, however, is one that they have not made. The next chapter is the discussion of the results, elaborated in this chapter, and the research questions and aim. The structure of the urban farms followed by the residents will be heed to.

7. Discussion

This chapter forms the discussion of the results and the analysis presented in the previous chapter. For this to be coherent, it is presented in the same order as is the analysis, with urban farmers discussed first, followed by the residents. This chapter ends with a discussion about the dynamics between the two groups. In section 6.1.1, the studied urban farms are connected to Malmö's sustainability agenda introduced in chapter 2. It pinpoints the relevance of the urban farming in Malmö, which is of importance for the remainder of the discussion. In section 6.1.2 the economic sustainability and perseverance are connected to the theoretical framework on contradictions and the metabolic rift (cf. chapter 3.2 and 5.1.2.). The counterhegemonic framework and the issue of proximity of local food are related to the studied urban farms in section 6.1.3, with 6.1.4 giving a succinct summary of the mentioned theories in relation to the studied urban farms. Sections 6.2 is about the residents, whereby the marketness within social embeddedness (cf. chapter 3.5 and 5.2) is elaborated in 6.2.1. The concept of social embeddedness and marketness continuum has shown that there is a need for an increase in motivation. This in turn is connected to the issue of awareness, for which section 6.2.2 provides further reasoning. The chapter ends with an exploration into the dynamics between the studied urban farms and the interviewed consumers about the disconnect between the two groups and the need for increased awareness of this problematic.

7.1 Urban farmers

7.1.1 Environmental program of Malmö

The studied urban farms in Malmö are conforming to both objectives 3 and 4 of the environmental program of Malmö. Objective 3 of this program pertains to organic agriculture within the city. Objective 4 is about the purchase of locally produced food; referring to the sale of products grown on the farms. The studied urban farms produce food using ecological production methods. The products are sold to private consumers and restaurants. Both the ecological production methods, as well as the sale of the products, conform to the environmental program of Malmö.

7.1.2 Economically sustainable and perseverance

The studied farms have the characteristic "*economically sustainable"* as their primary objective. This is within the entrepreneurial business they choose to be in and still are, by virtue of their perseverance. The contradiction in urban farming is that it is a solution to a social problem located within the capitalist market (McClintock, 2014). This contradiction (cf. chapter 5.1.2) applies to the studied urban farms. The farmers continue working on the farm because of their tenacity. Even though they are not yet economically sustainable.

This can be related to two out of the three metabolic rifts. The determination of the farmers is a big part of their motivation to run their businesses, as can be, at least partly, ascribed to the individual dimension of the metabolic rift. By working on the land planting and harvesting the products, the farmers are mending their individual rift (McClintock, 2010). By reconnecting the link between labour and food, the relationship between the individual and nature becomes visible. Benefits for mental health also have an effect on the mending of the individual rift (Pothukuchi, 2004; Wakefield et al, 2007).

Furthermore, there are other examples of contradictions in urban farming. The studied urban farmers chose to be entrepreneurs in the area of urban farming because they are passionate, not only about their actions but also about the outdoors. The farmers partly partake in the mending of the ecological rift with the use of organic production methods (McClintock, 2010). The produced products are an example of a small-scale circular ecosystem, with the use of organic production methods: e.g. fermenting waste to make organic compost. The urban farms, however, are businesses, and that is the reason why they need to generate profit to be economically sustainable.

7.1.3 Counterhegemonic criteria and the proximity of local food

The contradiction of urban farming can be further affiliated with the counterhegemonic criteria (Johnston, 2008; McClintock, 2014). The use of the counterhegemonic food politics framework (cf. chapter 3.3) determines whether the sale is accordingly. The

three proximities of local food (cf. chapter 3.4) can be related to these criteria. The way these two concepts combined apply to urban farming in Malmö is further elaborated.

The two criteria of counterhegemonic food politics are *reclaiming the common*s and *creating postconsumer values* (Johnston, 2008). Proximity in values or proximity in relation is a way of reclaiming the commons and creating postconsumer values (Eriksen, 2013), as is a relationship between the farmer and the individual. Additionally, in this area lies an improvement for urban farms in Malmö. This relationship at present is minimal, with most of the communication done through social media about the products available and ordered.

Creating postconsumer values relates to geographical proximity. Since the product has been harvested within the same vicinity as the sale, purchasing it from a close-by farmer is a way of creating postconsumer values (Eriksen, 2013; Johnston, 2008). The purchase of products for restaurants as well as private consumers within Malmö creates these postconsumer values. As the products bought or served are within the same vicinity.

7.1.4 Summary

The contradiction of urban farming is based on economic sustainability and the perseverance of the farmers. They contribute to the two criteria on the bases of the proximity of local food, while not being an economically sustainable business. The contradictions pertain to the farmers' motivations and perseverance of being an urban farming business. Having the drive to produce goods ecologically and to market them within the city while sustaining a business, as well as the satisfaction from running the farm, is their priority instead of economic sustainability.

7.2 Residents

The aforementioned theories are non-applicable to the interviewed residents of Malmö. The majority of them have never bought a product from an urban farm, as they do not take part in the practices mentioned above. Social embeddedness which is conceptualised with instrumentalism and marketness is applicable to the shopping habits of the residents participating in the study.

7.2.1 Marketness continuum within social embeddedness

The importance of marketing continuum in grocery purchases reveals to be evident for the participating residents (Hinrichs, 2000). Moving down along the continuum, more non-price consideration starts to become of importance. The relationship between motivation for purchase of goods and the relevance of the price. When the motive for buying a product becomes more prominent, then the significance of the price decreases (Hinrichs, 2000).

The motivation for buying products might increase when there is a connection between consumer and producer. This proximity in relation or values can be a starting point for consumers to search for locally produced food. It requires consumer awareness of the option of local food, as well as (of) the actual purchase. These steps are a threshold because ignorance is a comfortable place to hide and admit liability. An example of this attitude can be the accessibility of the Facebook page of Reko-ring or just insufficient knowledge about urban farming in general and local food in particular.

7.2.2 Motivation

Better knowledge about food, where it comes from and how it is produced, can result in a willingness to go the extra mile to buy local food. It requires the motivation to look for information and knowledge. The awareness of the consumer of the different options besides going to the supermarket might grow. The step to search for information is not quickly taken. The instrumentalism on the marketness continuum needs to be prominent for consumers to find information.

The contemporary situation depends significantly on the motivation, be it intrinsic or extrinsic, of the consumer to search for information about local food. It is convenient to go for the easy option, as the lack of knowledge is an easy argument to uphold when confronted with the consequences of their shopping habits. There is a need for the consumer to be more aware if instrumentalism is to increase. The consumer continuing to choose the most comfortable option without the increase of instrumentalism on the marketness continuum (Hinrichs, 2000).

7.3 The dynamics between urban farmers and residents

A clear illustration of the dynamics within the contradiction of economic sustainability can be observed. By the perseverance of urban farms on one side, and the marketness-motivated consumers on the other. This contradiction consists of different aspects with the focus on urban farms to become a profitable business.

The interviewed farmers produce and sell food, but their businesses are not viable. Promotion of local food is not necessary, in their perspective. The number of customers, to whom they currently sell their products, is sufficient. The criteria for counterhegemonic food politics and the proximity of local food are, in this case, applicable. It is, however, concerning theories of impact and relation and not of promotion or profit. Economic sustainability is the primary objective for all farms, while perseverance and passion are what keeps them going. With the right tools and customers in place, a business needs to be profitable to exist within contemporary society.

The relevance of price within the consumption of food is an essential aspect for the consumers. It shows a high marketness within the marketness continuum of social embeddedness. It gives an impression of how it might be improved when instrumentalism increases, and the significance of the price decreases. People might be keener on searching for information about local food and how to acquire it once they are motivated to buy local products. This motivation can enhance and support the

knowledge and a relationship not only with the food but also with the producers themselves.

How & Who is responsible for the dynamics between urban farms and the potential consumers is of importance to consider. It is a shared responsibility for creating awareness and knowledge. One of the issues arising on the surface is the lack of awareness on both sides. On the side of the farmers, there are more potential consumers, while the consumers themselves lack the motivation and knowledge about the option of buying local food. This ignorance from both sides results in a loss of contribution to restore the dynamics. More research on the dynamics between existing consumers and urban farms is therefore necessary to find a way of raising awareness.

8. Conclusion

The study presented in this thesis dealt with the dynamics between urban farms and residents of Malmö. The two research questions guiding this study were related to both the producers' and the consumers' perspectives:

What are the motivations of the urban farmers in Malmö, and how are they in line with the city's sustainability agenda?

What are the attitudes of Malmö residents towards the phenomenon of urban farming locally and in general?

The primary data to research the dynamics were obtained through semi-structured interviews with urban farms and residents of Malmö. The interviews with the urban farmers pertained to the workings of the farms and their consumer base. The residents were interviewed about the acquisition of products from urban farms and their shopping habits. Dialectics was used to analyse the data. The dynamics are presented both from the urban farmers' and the residents' perspective.

The dynamics between urban farms and the residents in Malmö can be described as a disconnect. There is ignorance on both sides: Whilst the farmers have the potential to cater to more consumers. The residents lack sufficient awareness about the option of buying local food. This lack of awareness from both sides results in the disconnect.

The situation of urban farms in Malmö aligns with the broader contradictions of urban agriculture. The opportunities for urban farming have both been created and restricted by the contemporary capitalist system (McClintock, 2014). The main objective for the farms is to quickly become economically sustainable. The perseverance and the environmental awareness of the farmers are what keeps the business alive, without economic sustainability. Contrarily, the residents' social embeddedness for buying food is high on the side of marketness, within the marketness continuum (Hinrichs, 2000). The price versus quality dilemma is ever-present for the residents. The motivation to

buy environmentally sound products is of equal importance for the resident as is the accessibility of the products. There is, however, a lack of knowledge about the location of the products and little knowledge of other venues to buy food other than the supermarket.

In conclusion, the apparent disconnect between urban farms and residents has consequences for the concept of urban farming in Malmö. If urban farms cannot become economically sustainable, they will not be able to stay in business, regardless of their perseverance and intrinsic motivations. The number of consumers has to grow in order to make a profit and gain economic resilience. If there is no change in this aspect soon enough, the very existence of urban farms in Malmö is on the line. Combining ecological and economic sustainability has always been a tricky question; this study, however local and limited, confirms its viability.

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Appendix interviews guides

Before we start:

- Recorded
- Data is protected
- Person anonymity, if preferred
- Wanne see the end result, I can send it to you, to see how I have used the data.

Interview guide for owners of urban farms in Malmö.

Part 1 Introduction; General Information about your organisation and urban farming set up.

Name:	Type (circle): Private Community Business Government Non-Profit: Other:
Starting year:	Address:
Total area (m^2):	Growing area (m^2):
Is production organic, inorganic or mixed (you use organic methods where possible but if needed use inorganic methods):	

Part 2 Operation of the Urban Farm;

Topic 1, the farm as a whole;

1. Who does the work? Solo project or volunteers?
2. What are the kind of tasks necessary to keep the farm running?
3. Did you have any farming experience before you started this urban farm?
4. What are your objectives for your urban farm?
    a. Financially
    b. Socially

    Which do you find the most important?
5. What factors make your farming activities successful or challenging?

Topic 2, Consumers;

1. What are your experiences in regards to customers?
2. How do you reach them?
3. Have you got a customer base?
4. Do you go to markets or deliver the food?
5. Do you think there is a need to promote local food production and consumption in Malmö? If yes, then do you have any suggestions on how?

Topic 3, Future;

1. What are the current plans for the future of the farm?
2. Do you think there is a need to grow urban farming in Malmö? If so, then what do you think is needed to help this along?

Part 3 Additional Comments:

Are there any points of interest, concerns, and comments which you think are important when it comes to urban farming in Malmö which was not mentioned above?

Interview guide for municipality employee Malmö municipality

Part 1, Introduction:

1. What is your role in Malmö municipality and how is it connected to urban farming?
2. Is there any way to know the popularity of Urban farming/Agriculture in Malmö?
    a. How popular is urban agriculture in Malmö, is it increasing or decreasing in popularity?
3. What are current policies from Malmö Stad regarding urban agriculture, including regulations, permits, fees etc?

Part 2, Malmö Stads role within urban farming:

Topic 1 Sustainability;

1. Does Malmö Stad recognize the value of urban agriculture/farming has in regards to sustainability?
2. The goals the Municipality published to become climate neutral by 2020, how is this progressing?
3. Is food and the greenhouse gasses necessary to produce this food a part of this agenda?

Topic 2 Support;

1. Does Malmö Stad support the urban farming in Malmö?
2. What is in your/the municipality the opinion of urban farms and the food they produce?

Topic 3 Possibilities;

1. What would be possible to expect from the municipality in regards to promoting or supporting urban farming and the local food that is produced?
2. Are urban farms seen as something important/valuable to support in the future?

Part 3, Additional Comments:

Are there any points of interest, concerns, and comments which you think are important when it comes to urban farming in Malmö which was not mentioned above?

Interview guide Malmö residents

Part 1, Introduction:

1. In which area of Malmö do you live?
2. How long have you lived in Malmö?

Part 2, The consumption of food:

Topic 1 Buying food;

1. Where do you get most of your food from?
2. Is there a particular reason why you go there?
3. How do you select which kind of product to buy? (cheapest, ecological, on sale)

Topic 2 The production of food;

1. Do you think about where your food comes from when you buy it?
2. Does this influence your buying habits?
3. Are you aware of the seasons in which you buy products? (fruits or vegetables)

Topic 3 Urban farming;

1. What does urban farming mean to you?
2. Do you know any urban farms in Malmö? If so, can you name them
    a. Did you buy anything from an urban farm in Malmö? If so,
        i. What was it?
        ii. How did you get in contact with the urban farm?
        iii. And what did you think of the product?
        iv. What would be your main objective for buying from an urban farm?
            - Quality
            - Financial
            - Social
            - Economical
    b. Would you be willing to buy food from an urban farm in Malmö? If so,
        i. Do you have any preference for product?
        ii. Would you know how to get in contact with the urban farms?
        iii. What would be your main objective for buying from an urban farm?
            - Quality

- Financial
- Social
- Economical

Part 3, Additional Comments:

Are there any points of interest, concerns, and comments which you think are important when it comes to urban farming in Malmö which was not mentioned above?