

An Act of Translation

Actor-Network Theory and the Urban Natural Environment

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Illustration: The 'voodoo' in Kirseberg, made of hybe, apples, blackberries, feathers and lilac.
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Abstract

Malmö is an expanding, globalised and multicultural city with the aim to be sustainable and green. Throughout this aim, there is the actuality of negotiating space: space for housing, space for activity and green space for nature. Many different preferences of when, how and why to use public space meet and friction is inevitable. Within this debate of urbanization and nature following the western nature-culture dichotomy, I placed three threads of communication from a local social media group on Facebook. The discussions of the residents are reactions and associations to the unusual appropriation of a public park and the use of foraged resources. I adapt the method of Grounded Theory to approach and analyse the content, create categories thereof and define the overarching phenomenon, 'Local Community Expanded Through The Internet'. Common for all categories is the use of natural material for the translation of a network, to inform identities and last, to define territory. Inspired by Kärholm's use of Actor-Network Theory to understand territorialisation, I define the network created between the local natural material, the people and the space. Urbanization and a change in practical activities and engagement reinforces our nature-culture dichotomy and causes a growing abstraction of our knowledge about nature. Despite this, I argue that we still use natural material in the urban environment to inform our identities, define territory and create community.

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Introduction

Introduction

The topic of this thesis is centered around the question of people's perception of the local, natural environment and space in an urban area, with its point of departure in the event described in the next chapter. In a time of great environmental concerns, global migration, and urbanization (Hurley, Patrick T; Emery, Marla R.; McLain, Rebecca; Poe, Melissa; Grabbatin, Brian; Goetcheus, Carl L. 2015; Greenberg 2015:109), there are several reasons for the importance of assessing how people in an urbanized context apply their knowledge about nature and resources and negotiate space.

Fundamental for this negotiation is knowledge. Knowledge contributes to the formation of our perception (Jensen 2016:21) and informs our actions (Isenhour 2015:56).

Knowledge is a foundation for access and resilience. This counts for both recreational purposes in and around urban areas, as well as for foraging for traditional or substantial reasons (Shackleton, Charlie M.; Hurley, Patrick T.; Dahlberg, Annika C.; Emery, Marla R.; Nagendra, Harini 2017:11; Hurley et al. 2015:201) and life quality. Secondly, to know about the environment creates awareness (Jensen 2016:22) and emphasizes concern and care. Third, if the environmental values of people are assessed, it can be helpful in negotiations about the access to and creation and/or conservation of greenspaces in the city as well as in the surrounding area (Schackleton et.al 2017:9; Hurley et al. 2015:189).

An urban area is influenced by rapid social and ecological changes due to changing demographics, city development, greenspace management and climate change (Schackleton et al. 2017:6). Migration brings together people with various ontological, theoretical and practical skill sets in one densely populated area such as the Öresund (Malmö Stad 2018:3). Thus, both people and the environment have to adapt continuously (Hurley et al. 2015:187). It is within this process of constant adaptation that I am curious about how knowledge is present, what is perceived and what is practiced now? And how does this express itself in everyday actions of negotiating the urban natural environment?

According to associate professor and human ecologist Ebba Lisberg Jensen from Malmö University, people's knowledge about the natural environment has been shrinking in Sweden with increasing urbanization and literacy, the art of abstraction (Jensen 2016:21). This leads to a current situation where knowledge about the environment is mostly an abstraction and we want to 'experience nature' (Ibid:25) but (can) not engage with it on a practical level.

At the same time, the awareness of the necessity of a well-functioning ecosystem in general and the benefits of the natural environment in urban areas for the individual is growing (Hurley et al. 2015:188). In this thesis, I want to investigate a local example of the exchange of perceptions of the natural environment (I write perceptions, as I believe knowledge lies behind the perception and I do not have adequate data to say anything about the actual knowledge).

The exchange is happening on social media in relation to an uncommon use of the public park by an anonymous artist of 'voodoo', using the resources accessible for

foraging in the area (In an article in *Sydsvenskan*, the reporter briefly encounters the artist who defines her work as such, see Hamdan 2020. Still, as I am not sure about the definition, I will write 'voodoo' with quotation marks). The immediate and unfiltered empiric material is an illustrative point of departure for the investigation as it reveals a varying and broad range of practices, perspectives, feelings and perceptions that can help the researcher to develop a direction and deepen the analysis of people's knowledge and understandings of their natural surroundings.

An Encounter with a Facebook Group

Following, I will describe the content and my impression of the Facebook (Fb) groups used as empiric material for the thesis. (For the reading experience of this rather narrative chapter, all quotes are translated from Swedish to English by the author. The originals are added in footnotes. In the remaining chapters, Fb quotes are in the original language and the english translation is added in footnotes.)

In early autumn, I came across an interaction in a Fb group on the page 'Händer i Kirseberg' with 3500 members (date: 12.12.2020). Kirseberg is the neighbourhood where I live and the group is used to share information about the area like historic pictures, latest news and events and to post general questions where people think it relevant to ask in the neighbourhood.

The dispute was about the display of 'voodoo' in a public park. I didn't get the chance to meet the artist in person and the descriptions of her cultural background vary from African to Caribbean. Some participants on Fb call it 'voodoo', some a natural altar and another one describes the person creating the heaps and circles as an 'artist'.



1.



2.

Illustration 1: Apples, a skull from an animal, rosehips and feathers in a circle around a trunk in Tjuvaparken, Malmö. Reproduced with the permission of the owner, Tina Sanberg.

Illustration 2: Rose Hips and feathers in Tjuvaparken, Malmö (Ibid.)



3.



4.

Illustration 3: Rose hips, incense and an animal cranium in Tjuvaparken, Malmö (Ibid.)

Illustration 4. Voodoo with lilac and feathers in Ellstorps Hundpark (Ibid.)

The thread is opened up on the 30th of September at 5.57 pm by a post from TU (names anonymised) and closed down due to bad tone by the administrator at 8.31 pm, roughly 2.5 hours later. In this time, the post by TU receives 37 comments, two shares and 66 emojis expressed as hearts, smileys and thumbs ups.

TU posted a video of a lavish arrangement of berries, flowers, feathers, a cranium and burning incense around the trunk of a tree in a local park called 'Tjuvaparken' (see Illustrations 1-4). She writes 'The smell of burning incense and the tiny cranium caught my interest' ¹. The conversation quickly takes an unexpected turn. The first comment is 'the witches are back' ² followed by a comment by PS who is very active on this and other posts. PS writes that she met the artist while they ripped off the head of a dove and threw the body into the bushes. When PS interfered the artist threatened her 'The ghosts will come and take you' ³. PS' guess is that the skeletons and berries are offerings for the ghost.

The next two posts suggest reporting the artist and one writes 'This is the result of the psychiatric reform' ⁴. One woman comments that doves are like rats and so it's not so bad to kill them but she is told by other users that this doesn't matter, it's about the madness of offering innocent animals to a 'ghost', the artist should rather offer herself.

¹ ['Lukten av rökelse och ett litet kranium fångade mitt intresse.']

² ['häxorna är tillbaka!']

³ ['lägg dig inte i för annars kommer anden ta dig']

⁴ ['Psykiatireformens resultat']

Someone's heart is breaking. It is discussed who the artist is - man or woman what background does she have? There are comments about it being a waste of food to let all the berries rot in a heap. The world would be a better place if the monstrous humans were just a bit more like animals. It all builds up until someone says 'Dear, you are all so negative'⁵ - she is corrected and the last posts are two provoking GIFs⁶. The administrator closes the conversation.

I found another two Fb threads where the 'voodoo' of the unknown person is discussed. One is from the 12th of May and has 22 comments, two shares and 66 hearts and thumbs up. The tone in this thread differs from the other thread. People wonder, share pictures and express their liking. They speculate and one says 'What's there to speculate? Someone just wants to do something pretty in nature'⁷. Some agree but also three people think it is a waste of berries and the person who wrote 'what's there to speculate' also agrees that to waste blackberries is a shame, but otherwise it is 'nice and fine'⁸. In the last comments, people thank the people for posting about the art, people express their liking and someone posts a rainbow emoji, clapping hands and a hugging smiley.

The other is from the 19th of August and has 34 comments and 35 hearts and thumbs up. It has roughly the same content. In addition, someone mentions the art is made new each new and full moon and that it might be in memory of the witches burned in Kirseberg from 1546. In the last six comments it is discussed whether the artist is mentally ill or not.

These interactions puzzled me. There are topics present such as appropriation of local public environment, Facebook, traditional foodways, waste, religion, foraging, mental illness, children's safety, animal rights, historical facts and an esoteric, mystical artist. The discussion about a seemingly simple, legal act in the public sphere highlighted the complexities of negotiating our surroundings and navigating personal and communal narratives.

Further, the conversations are rooted in the nature-culture dichotomy where nature is an exterior defined by our cultural norms and values (Ingold 2000:40). The British anthropologist Tim Ingold describes the popular perception of 'culture' as following:

“Thus to individuals who belong to different intentional worlds, the same objects in the same physical surroundings may mean quite different things. And when people act towards these objects, or with them in mind, their actions respond to the ways they are already appropriated, categorised or valorised in terms of a particular, pre-existent design. That design, transmitted across the generations in the form of received conceptual schemata, and manifested physically in the artificial products of their implementation, is what is commonly known as ‘culture’.”

(Ibid.)

These cultural schemata can thus be said to inform our interpretation of the urban natural environment. The opposite to a relation to nature through the dichotomy would be to spend time in nature, to get to know it and to stay related to the non-human

⁵ [Kära nån vad ni är negativa!]

⁶ GIF: Graphic Interchange Format. A GIF is a file with still or moving graphics or pictures, used to illustrate emotions, associations and reactions in online, written communication.

⁷ [“Det är väl bara fint, något annat behöver man väl inte spekulera om? Någon som vill göra något vackert i naturen”]

⁸ [“just björnbär är ju inte så bra men annars fint och trevligt”]

environment (Ibid:47). It is difficult to infer much about each individual's relation to the environment/nature from their expressions and interaction on the Fb thread. However, as a group they act from a distance, through social media, and converse through culturally informed perceptions (see Appendix 1, Table of Concepts and Categories).

With the travel limit and the extended use of the digital for life and work, I thought it suitable to do a small, locally inspired project to investigate these online interactions.

Background

In this chapter, I will introduce current and past ideas of city development and greenspace management in Malmö. First, I briefly introduce general goals and then focus on Kirseberg to give the reader an idea of the geographical space discussed in this thesis. As we will see, the idea of cohesion within the city is an overarching incentive on institutional level for creating, managing and defining the use of green urban space.



Illustration 5: Green spaces in Malmö. Big red circle is Kirseberg and the small red circle is Ellstorp. Adapted from Laura Washer (2012).

During the past 50 years, Malmö has been through some rapid changes. The heavy industry that for many years had dominated the city's economy, declined from the 60s and after 1986 when Kockum, the local shipyard, closed it became a city with no future plan (Greiff 2008:26). Now, Malmö is a city with a strong identity centered around sustainability, a new university and embracing multiculturalism. In total, the citizens represent 184 countries (Malmö Stad, Befolkning, no date.) and 26% of the working population is foreign born (Engström&Gren 2017).

The city included the FN sustainability goals in its future plan (Malmö Stad Översiktsplan, dec. 2020). Another ambition is that no resident should have to walk further than 1 km to reach a park (Ibid.). The ongoing development of housing and public spaces as well as population increase will make Malmö a dense city. It has been decided that the city should grow within the inner highway (visible as a white curve on illustration 5), to preserve the fertile land that is found outside of the municipality (Engström&Gren 2017).

As described in the development reports of Malmö municipality for the areas of Östervärn and Kirseberg, population density demands extensive planning and management (Malmö Stad 2020; Malmö Stad 2021; Malmö Stad 2018). Environmental challenges of the area are noise and air pollution as well as polluted soil from the old industries such as the train yard in Kirseberg (Malmö Stad 2018) and Ellstorp Hundpark. This rapid city development for housing and economic activity is enclosing parks and wild areas, the latest example being Ellstorp Hundpark in Östervärn (Malmö Stad december 2020, Malmö Stad 2021) where also the 'voodoo' was practiced. Even though it was classified as especially valuable in biodiversity, the vegetation and wild fruit trees and the polluted soil have now been removed. A few old oak trees are saved as there are not many old trees in the area (Malmö Stad 2020 Miljökonsekvensbeskrivning:12).

Another source, though private, of biodiversity and for recreation are the allotment gardens. Most of the allotment gardens in Kirseberg will be kept due to their great environmental contribution and for the citizens' quality of life. Likewise the plans for the old train yard try to include biodiversity and life quality when developing the now fallow area. The trainyard is currently growing wild and the area is rich in rabbits and blackberries for foraging and small paths indicate regular walking activity by the citizens.

Common for all the reports on development of urban green spaces is the focus on design and management and optimizing the use of space (Malmö Stad 2018:6). Urban space needs an exactly defined purpose as e.g. beneficial for health through recreational activities and sports (Malmö Stad 2018:7).

According to an text written by Fredrik Björk, Ebba Lisberg Jensen and Pernilla Ouis called 'De gröna stadsrummens koreografi: Moral och motstånd i urbaniseringens tid' (2008) green spaces in a city have the function to be accessible for urbanites who often live in small housings and lead a life guided by work and family responsibilities, to increase their quality of life and satisfaction and ultimately increase productivity (Björk et al. 2008:58). Even historically the functions of green spaces have been defined by a moralized management of public space, as e.g. prostitution and drinking was forbidden

and women could not walk in the park without the company of a man (Ibid.) Also allotment gardens were introduced 100 years ago as a morally correct activity for the working class urban citizen where children could learn to appreciate the flora and fauna and would not damage urban nature (Ibid:60) and in general make less trouble. Then, as well as today, recreational activity such as sports is preferred in the public environment more than passivity such as barbecuing (Ibid:61). To be an active participant in the green environment of the city develops a healthy and democratic educated citizen and the emphasis is on continuous development (Ibid:70) as was also presented in the city development plans from Malmö Stad. This shows that parks and urban green spaces are managed and indicates a moralised imperative on how and where to engage in which activity in public space.

A park is a hybrid of nature and culturally constructed societal elements. To create cohesion and minimise friction, most people need to agree on the terms of utilization and access. This is not intrinsically bad but there will be a dominant perception of right and wrong that will decide what is happening. As we will see in the further chapters, the nature-culture dichotomy is the leading ontology that informs this management and perceptions of the non-human elements in public space. The local residents respond to unusual activity in several ways. And, as I will argue, partly take the moralising role of the municipality institutions, claim space and defend cohesion. For all of this, the materiality of the green space and material available to them plays a part in the creation of a fellow narrative.

Previous Research

In this chapter, I want to present some previous literature written about the perception of the environment in an urban area that I found central to inform my analysis. Two parts of the literature are about local research from Malmö (Jensen&Ouis 2009; 2014) and Kalmar län (Hornborg 1997). The article of Charlie Shackleton et al. (2017) contains international data and examples, amongst them one example from Stockholm. The last article I want to introduce is a case study from Buenos Aires (Carman 2015) about a conflict on the definition of 'natural reserve' and the construction by environmental activists of a preference for biodiversity alongside a dehumanization of local settlers.

The first article is concerned about the aspect of foraging, written by Shackleton et al., 'Urban Foraging: A Ubiquitous Human Practice Overlooked by Urban Planners, Policy, and Research' (2017). In the article, the authors investigate the foraging practices in urban areas on all five continents, differing from e.g. Stockholm to Delhi to peri-urban areas in Japan (Ibid:4). They argue that urban foraging as a skill and practice for cultural and substantial reasons is practiced across gender, class and age and is overlooked by urban planners. The argument is made that due to increasing migration, green spaces are not perceived in the same way by the inhabitants and thus, they suggest further research to investigate the meaning of foraging to people (Ibid:14). This

would help urban management to create 'policy, design and management' adequate to the inhabitants' needs. I believe that the differences in knowledge about the environment influences these various perceptions of green spaces (Ingold 2000:55). Even in my empirical material, people refer to the foraging of berries and attempt to position one use of the foraged material above another (making jam above 'voodoo').

The second is a book by Jensen&Oius (2014) called 'Det gröna finrummet. Etnicitet, friluftsliv och naturumgängets urbanisering'. The book describes the outdoor habits and knowledge that immigrants bring with them to Sweden and practice here. It is a detailed description of different perceptions of how to use nature and what activities to engage in (Ibid:159). Throughout the book there is a conversation of identity, knowledge and creation of place in Sweden, a strange space for the migrants interviewed, who bring many varying experiences and knowledge about their (home)environment (Ibid:93; 97).

In addition, the article 'I Brought a Hazelnut from Macedonia' (2009), also by Jensen&Oius (in slight adjustment and translation it is also a chapter in the previous book) describes how people maintain their identity through the growing and cultivation of vegetables relevant to their native cuisine in their allotment gardens in Malmö. Interesting in this article is, how people actually grow the very same vegetables. Still, they define the material as distinguished by the material of the other gardeners, unaware that they might uphold invisible boundaries (Ibid:133).

Also, inspirational for the perception of the environment in relation to skill and background is the article by the anthropologist Alf Hornborg (1997) 'Landskapet som >>text<<? Några funderingar kring ett stycke svensk skärgård'. Here, Hornborg walks the reader through his local environment of archipelagos and forest and describes how the perception has changed, from practical and direct engagement by farmers and seal hunters (Ibid:212) to abstract management by experts (Ibid:217).

Last but not least, I want to draw some parallels to a case described by María Carman in her article 'Spokespeople For a Mute Nature: The Case of The Villa Rodrigo Bueno in Buenos Aires' (2015).

The Villa Rodrigo Bueno is a settlement in a natural reserve (running for UNESCO candidacy) with about 2000 dwellers who have lived there for 20 years. Nearby there is an exclusive neighborhood, a polluted river and the source of pollution: an old car dump. The natural reserve has developed on top of 'rubble from the demolition of residences for highway construction during the last military dictatorship' (Carman 2015:242). The dwellers are by an environmental organisation considered a threat to nature (Ibid:44), 'affecting the ecosystem and development of animals.' (La Nación 2004 in Carman 2015).

It is obvious that in this case many people are threatened by eviction and the undermining of their livelihood, whereas in Kirseberg, the condemnation of the 'voodoo' by a few residents is not quite as far-reaching. Nevertheless, similarities can be found in the rhetorics of speaking for nature and the animals, using material traditions such as foodways for dehumanizing the perceived enemy of the harmony in place. The dwellers are accused of eating lizard tenderloins and polluted fish from the river, even stray dogs (Ibid:245). That this diet is a direct consequence of poverty (Ibid:246) does not cross the mind of the defenders of the natural reserve. Similar to the Fb

discussions where the rights of doves are defended and the artist is considered a better offer to the ghost (Fb 30.09.2020), here also 'certain animals are endowed with ethical standards while, simultaneously, certain "barbaric humans" fall under animal categories.' (Carman 2015:246). As Carman further writes:

The purifying operation of conservationists consists of considering nature as primal, external landscape, overlooking the mediations and translations to which nature is subjected. (Ibid.).

Similarly to the development of the ideal, pristine landscape I will refer to in the chapter of 'Using Space and Defining Territory', the conservationists defend a 'natural reserve' that is entirely human made and is a part of an extensive actor network connecting stuff, material, humans, present and past together (I write past, as 'The Villa' also served as a dumb for the ashes of murdered prisoners of the dictatorship). The environmental rhetoric of both the people in Kirseberg and the conservationists in 'The Villa', are built on the cultural translated values of contemporary, western trends such as biodiversity and animal rights. They do not consider nature as a mediated and constructed place within the urban area and as a tool for creation of ego, identity and power.

With this story of 'The Villa', I want to illustrate how the urbanized, western ontology of nature is working in the minds of individuals when they aim to define a territory destined for specific use, including and excluding other individuals or groups.

Common for the literature presented above is the fact that the place and the material is central for people's actions and narratives. I see this as similar to the case in Kirseberg where through the actions and the creation of narratives with the material, territory is defined and the nature-culture dichotomy upheld as the norm. In addition, the meeting of different nature and environment perceptions and appropriations are discussed.

Research questions

In the following I will present the three research questions I aim to answer with this thesis:

- How do the people of Kirseberg react to the 'voodoo' made of berries and other natural materials in their local park?
- What can their reactions tell us about their perception of the public, urban environment and values?
- What role do materials play in the creation of narratives?

Aim

I want to analyze the use of material tokens in a local Fb community negotiating space and appropriation thereof. I will do this with the Actor-Network Theory in an attempt to bypass the nature-culture dichotomy perspective.

I will in the scope of this bachelor thesis apply the Grounded Theory (GT) methodology for the selected object of study, the three conversational threads on Facebook. I will use the identified concepts to answer my research questions from a human ecological perspective in relation to the material and spatial context of Kirseberg, Malmö. The aim is not to develop a new theory but to apply the 'grounded approach' to the case investigated to gain an overview.

I will argue why the method of GT is useful and important for an interdisciplinary field as human ecology, interested in understanding the frictions that happen at the core of the triangular meeting: nature, society, and the individual, from micro-scale to macro-scale. Thus, I will apply my knowledge to this case of political ecology with the aim to highlight the dynamics expressed through the perception of the natural environment. Further, I will use Actor-Network Theory to discuss the use of the natural material for the creation of a narrative and a sense of territoriality.

Limiting the research field

In this thesis, I will not discuss further insights on Facebook dynamics and social and psychological effects. I will approach the use of Facebook as a social fact, a reality that we engage in, use and are influenced by in our everyday life (German 2017), familiar to most. The social fact of social interaction through social media, so to speak (Thomas 2017). A social fact shapes our behavior and creates a connection between people and the society. Norms and expectations are defined through social facts such as marriage or styles of communication. The ignorance or active opposition to social facts might lead to anomie, a breakdown of the social bonds between the individual and the (local) society. As Facebook has entered many aspects of our lives, I believe most people are familiar with the media and its norms of utilization and influence of socializing habits

(Blommaert 2016). Thus, I will mostly focus on the human ecological aspects of the discussion in this media and take people's expressions as an intentional truth (Miller 2011:49) and position myself on the positive perspective of this form of communication. Facebook can thus be seen as freeing people of the 'awkward face to face interaction', extending their range of social exchange (Ibid.:165).

Research Methodology and Analysis

Methodology

In the following part, I will share my considerations prior to deciding on the empirical material from Facebook conversations. I will describe how I approached the use of digital, qualitative research. Also, I will describe the methodology and methods of Grounded Theory (GT) used for my analysis and explain how I adapted the rather comprehensive method of GT to this bachelor thesis.

Why social media

In the recent months, the regular student life at Lunds University has become far more digital. Due to the circumstances of the global pandemic of COVID-19, all classes are conducted online via Zoom, group work is online on Canvas, communication is only online via email, Canvas, and Facebook, and the real life social interactions are reduced to a minimum. I was interested in conducting qualitative research for my bachelor project about urban gardening. But, as we had reached October and the season was over, people had retreated from the gardens and social interactions were increasingly reduced due to the pandemic, I became aware of the digital. I spent a lot of time on the computer studying and looking for material on urban gardening in Malmö. I occasionally rested on Facebook (Fb) and browsed through the posts, videos, and commercials shown to me by a personalized algorithm (Blommaert 2016). Here, a Fb interaction in the group 'Händer på Kirseberg' caught my attention. For this thesis, I chose three threads from this group with the same topic.

The Fb threads from 'Händer på Kirseberg' constituting the foundation of this thesis are about the 'voodoo' displayed in the parks around Kirseberg. It entails interesting aspects of online empiric material: it is a discussion of the natural and the experience in public space on the digital. The digital online and the physical offline world were interconnected around the same topic in a discussion forum.

The digital is no longer perceived as a virtual world but as part of 'the real' (Lai&To 2015:138). The world wide web of the internet is a source of connection, conversation, and information that influences people in their everyday life (Bryman 2016:448). The ethnographer is increasingly forced to do multi sited-ethnography: either because the participants observed move through different geographical spaces or, maybe even in addition to the physical movement, the researcher has to go online as social actors dwell a significant amount of their everyday life on social media (Caliandro&Gandini 2017:4). I decided to use this online ethnographic material as I liked the contemporary dualism it contained: the conflict and conversations were online and the physical phenomenon discussed was located in public areas in Malmö (Beijers Park, Ellstorps Hundpark, Tjuvaparken, R.F. Bergs statue in Limhamn and 'several places around Kirseberg' (Fb 19.08.2020). The online conversation entails both critique and praise to the behavior of an individual and their actions in a public space, all the while the public

space discussed was reduced in size and people lost access to a considerable green space in their city.

One of the parks where I had seen the art myself, 'Ellstorps Hundgård', was removed by October 2020 in favor of soon to be new buildings, kindergartens, and green areas (Sydsvenskan 2020). It was a wild and seemingly forgotten area used by people to walk their dogs, enjoy spontaneous techno parties, and by urban foragers and artists. As I read in an article by Linda K. Kaye, Rebecca L. Monk and Ian Hamlin (2018):

"The ability to collect data in real time can have particular importance for exploring issues which may be particularly susceptible to contextual influences."

(Ibid:13)

As the conflict circles around themes of public space, access, use, and appropriation thereof, it is relevant for me to have this material from the digital, created in real time when the park still existed. The material was generated without the influence of me as a researcher (Andreotta; Nugroho; Hurlstone; Boschetti; Farell; Walker; Paris 2019:1767), the 'call and respondent ties' were minimized (Lai&To 2015:148). I merely observe and harvest people's expressions of their own opinions and knowledge, mediated by personal experience and online/offline social network influences.

Ethical considerations about online research

Some ethical concerns arose using a public, online conversation as the research object without asking or informing all the participants. But, since I merely investigated what is publically accessible and not storing any data, I found there to be no privacy issues. According to Simon Lindgren (2017) there is not just one way to do online research in social media. The researcher has to reconsider their actions every time (Lindgren 2017:239). Another relevant aspect for online social media research is authenticity. As people in the fb group 'Händer på Kirseberg' are registered with their names and in their neighbourhood, there is no reason to anticipate any major lack of authenticity as e.g. false identities or information construction. As other researchers have stated, the user generated content (Caliandro&Gandini 2017:14) of online conversation and social media is rather immediate and authentic (Lai&To 2015:139). I believe the expression of spontaneity in the conversation to be positive for exactly this reason. In addition, the posted photographs add a visual aspect of posting online in real time: something that is meaningful to a person and caught their interest and curiosity is captured and shared (Bryman 2016:454).

I did contact the owners of the photographic materials and was allowed to use them in my thesis. This is the only interaction I have had in the three Fb threads.

Limiting the material collected

I have not counted the emoji reactions but only the written words and the content people directly expressed. As the conversations continuously evolved, I had to limit the amount of collected data. For the comments I chose the dates of first entry and a final

date 25.11.2020. Concerning the emojis added to the comments, since I can't see on what date the emoji is added and it could change during my time of analyzing the thread, I chose not to distinguish between the emojis. The emojis such as thumbs up and smileys signalise agreement or disagreement or an emotional reaction but did not further add content to the conversation. A reason to count them on the other hand is, one could argue, it does influence the aspect of 'forcefulness' and 'repetition' (Owen 1984 in Ibid.).

Further, I decided not to expand my data collection to interviews and/or further observations in the field. According to the Grounded Theory method, this thesis can be seen as a preliminary study. Further research would be necessary to reach the ultimate goal of developing a new theory. In interviews, people are more aware of what they say and might construct it according to anticipated expectations by me or themselves. The quality of the material would have a different character than the online conversation observed in a space that is online and public but might give the illusion to be private and without consequences as the opposite is not present in the same room.

Grounded Theory

In their article 'Reducing Confusion about Grounded Theory and Qualitative Content Analysis: Similarities and Differences' Ji Young Cho and Eun-Hee Lee write: "Novice researchers, especially students who want to conduct qualitative research, are often confused by the characteristics of the two as result of the lack of comparative references" (Cho&Lee 2014:1). I have definitely found myself in the same confusion. After extensive studies, I have nevertheless decided to use the methodological approach of Grounded Theory (GT). In the following part I will explain what the relevant characteristics of GT are, what methods I applied and how I adapted these for my project. Finally, I will present my initial findings of the inductive reasoning, the basis for the analysis in my attempt to answer the research questions.

Grounded Theory was first introduced by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in 1967 (Gibson&Webb 2012). Ethnographers have been using the circular method of inductive research, comparison, analysis and deductive validation/falsification for a long time but for social sciences, this approach was new (Moermann 2016). Since then, many different interpretations and understandings of how to apply GT to research have emerged (Gibson&Webb 2012:163; Cho&Lee 2014). Some scholars emphasize that GT is a complex methodology for empirical analysis both qualitative and quantitative, others stress that its focus should lie on theory development through the ping pong of inductive and deductive reasoning (Gibson&Webb 2012:162). I will follow the constructivist version of GT developed by the American sociologist Kathy Charmaz. The constructivist approach does not believe that any data or theories are discovered, but that the researcher constructs them throughout the research process (Thurnberg'&Charmaz 2014:3). Furthermore, the informants are perceived to construct their reality:

'Constructivist GT, the third genre developed and explicated by Charmaz, a symbolic interactionist, has its roots in constructivism.8,16 Constructivist GT's methodological underpinnings focus on how participants' construct meaning in relation to the area of

inquiry.'

(Tie; Birks; Francis 2019)

Following this reflexive approach was relevant. Own interests, knowledge and associations will by no doubt guide the research. Important for the quality of the result will be whether the findings and the theory constructed about a certain phenomenon will find recognition and resonance in other people and thus be able to help, guide, inspire or explain. Ultimately, human ecology in action is about mediating with informed compassion where there is a lack of knowledge, a misunderstanding, friction or conflict.

There were a few methodological reasons that made me decide for this method. First of all, my point of departure was the interaction on Facebook, a phenomenon from the real that puzzled me. I had to ask a lot of questions: What exactly was going on here? Was it about the art? Was it about the safety of the children? Was it to get attention and about socializing online? What is it that people do on Fb, discussing and fighting about the use of resources in a public park? What symbols attract their attention? What is important to them? What do they defend? What are the emotions? Do people understand that they talk about nature? How do people relate to the material they speak about?

When you approach your collected material for coding, asking questions is a must (Thornberg&Charmaz 2013:5). You are interested in building a theory from the ground up, not validating your theory (Moerman 2006; Vollstedt&Rezat 2019) top down. Also, you write memos on the way, that will inspire and guide methods and themes for further research (Thornberg&Charmaz 2013:4).

Secondly, I began the literary review only after the coding (Halaweh 2019:159). After reading the material many times, I designed three research questions that would guide my coding, still I did not impose any categories on my data. I know from previous research through interviews that sometimes personal interests or preconception can guide the focus of my analysis - detailed coding is able to reveal aspects and repetitions I was not aware of.

The third reason was a description of the 'place of GT in social research'. GT is especially suited to 'study social knowledge that is known but unofficial' and to study a newer phenomenon (Gibson&Webb 2012:162):

"Thus, grounded theory is especially useful in understanding how the people who are experiencing the phenomenon under study understand and think about that phenomenon. Individuals' internal understandings and their interpretative impulses are the key concerns of grounded theory research. In short, a grounded theory approach allows the researcher to discover informants' naïve theories of their experiences. Such an approach is especially useful when the phenomenon under study is not easily observable, such as virtual work."

(Ibid.)

To understand the different 'naive theories' applied by the users of this popular online communication platform, a method was needed that would allow me to do so, before I could set out to explain or contextualise any of the expressed experiences. This

inductive approach to go from the particular to the general and to depart in the phenomenon observed and the empiric material collected is characteristic for a theory grounded in the real. Here also lies the slight difference to a regular qualitative content analysis which begins with a research question followed by the collection of data and the subsequent coding (Schreier 2013:174). Another particularity of GT is the simultaneous work: collecting data and analyzing it (Thornberg&Charmaz 2013:2). As you analyze the data into e.g. concepts and themes observed, you create categories by going back to the material to see how frequent each concept is used and whether these relate to each other in any particular way (Cho&Lee 2014:5; Gibson&Webb 2012:165). Also a contextualisation of the themes, concepts and categories discovered is a part of this systematic yet dynamic approach.

I have added an illustration of the GT research process. In this thesis, I began with purposive sampling online and with observations in the area. Then I collected data from three interconnected Fb threads and reached the step of 'Initial coding' and analysis (see figure 1).

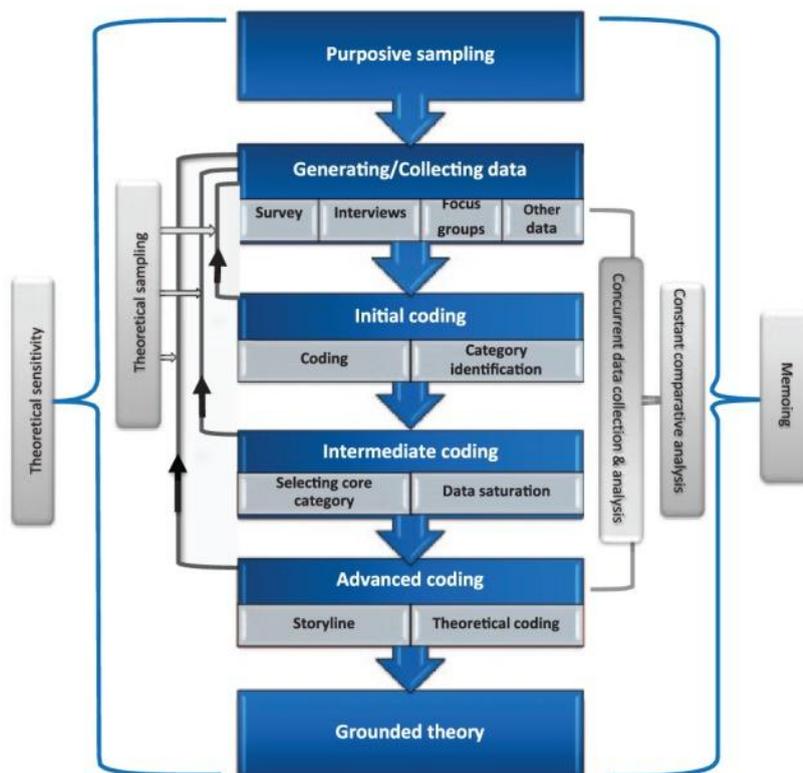


Figure 1: The Grounded Theory research process (Tie; Birks; Francis 2019)

The GT analysis of the empirical material chosen consists of four stages: 1. codes, 2. concepts, 3. categories and 4. theory (Gibson&Webb 2012:164). I have followed the method explained by Gibson and Webb (2012) and made an open coding topic analysis with the analytic classification of 'concept, recurrence, repetition and forcefulness'. Following, I made an axial coding to identify categories that embrace

several concepts and allow a higher level of abstraction (Ibid.). For inspiration, I followed an example by the German sociologist Patrick Heiser (2016).

As mentioned above, I have for this thesis completed the first round of inductive research, comparison of concepts and categories and analyzed it to answer my research questions. Even though my empirical material foundation is rather small, I do believe that the abstraction of concepts allows us to see general worries and contemporary ideas of meaning and values within.

Grouping the informants

Inspired by the Non-representational Theory of Nigel Thrift (Thrift 2007; Cloke, Cook, Crang, Goodwin, Painter, Philo 2004; Vannini 2008), I have created one single sample group of all informants from the three Fb threads. All people in the Fb thread are affiliated to the geographical area of Kirseberg but fluently move in and out due to circumstances such as everyday routines, trips and migration. Interesting to me is how they commonly/collectively react to the 'voodoo' in the park.

The empirical material this thesis is founded upon does not invite for describing biographical backgrounds or culturalist explanations (Cloke et.al 2004:13) but rather to focus on the informants actions, experiences and reactions to the 'voodoo' in public space as a part of this neighbourhood.

Analysis

Quantitative Analysis

Sentiment Analysis

Inspired by Caliendo & Gandini (2017) I first conducted a Sentiment Analysis to quantify how people's sentiments were towards the unusual art in the public parks of Malmö. The thread from the 30.09.2020 was ended by the administrator due to a bad tone. The others seemed more positive, but I wasn't shure. According to Caliendo and Gandini, sentiments are usually divided into three main categories: positive, negative and neutral (Ibid.:198). Of the neutral, I made a neutral/informative and I added a category of 'wondering'. Not all comments were easy to categorise, and I chose those who were doubtless. Thus, the amount of counts is not exactly equivalent to the amount of comments in total.

Table 1. Overview of the Sentiment Analysis

Date	Positive	Negative	Neutral/ Informative	Wondering
12.5.2020	IIIIII	III	IIIIII IIII	IIII

19.08.2020	IIII	I	IIII IIII I	III
30.09.2020	III	IIII IIII IIII IIII	IIII I	I

As you can see in table 1 above, it is obvious that the thread of the 30.9.2020 had the most negative comments, 19 in all. The threads from the 12.5.2020 had only 3 and the 19.8.2020 had only 1 negative comment. A negative comment such as this one from D.D.:

“Det är en sinnessjuk kvinna som bland annat plockar döda fåglar på deras fjädrar för att göra det. Har pratat med henne vid ett tillfälle när hon kastade pinnar mot ett fågelbo och blev direkt slagen över hennes känslomässigt "platta" uttryck så jag tror det är schizofreni. Men visst, tjusigt.”⁹ (Fb 19.08.2020)

I believe it to be a negative comment as he calls her ‘insane’ for taking the feathers of a dead bird. To throw sticks at a birds nest can be perceived as a violent act, nevertheless he ends the text with diagnosing her of schizophrenia, he could tell by the look into her eyes. I believe this to be an assumption.

What was surprising was that all threads had a high amount of neutral/informative comments. The amount of neutral/informative comments is also connected to a higher amount of positive and wondering comments. Wondering comments included many questions about what is this art, who did it, why, how, where does the artist get the materials, where does the artist come from etc. Positive expressions could look like this one from D.S.:

“Nä men! Så himla vackert *SMILEY WITH PURPLE STARS IN THE EYES*”¹⁰ (Fb 12.05.2020)

My first assumption is so far, that apart from the negative comments that express dislike of different sorts towards the art, the conversations are used by the people of Kirseberg to express interest, liking, wonder and above all, to share information about what they have seen and what they think they know about the ‘voodoo’.

Engagement Analysis

The second quantitative analysis I did of the Fb threads was to see how many people wrote a comment more than one time. The result of the visualisation was rather interesting. In total, 55 people engaged in the three Fb threads. Of these, only two people engaged in two of the three threads. In each thread, there are four main protagonists out of an average of 18 per Fb thread. In each, there is one person who is more active than the other three. In one case this is the author who started the thread, in the other two cases it is someone else. The people speaking the most also lead the topic and atmosphere of the thread and conversation. In all cases, only the people who

⁹ [It is a woman who is mentally ill. She plucks the feathers of dead birds to do it. I talked to her once when she threw sticks at a birds nest and was directly struck by her emotionally distant expression so I think it is schizophrenia. But sure, fancy.]

¹⁰ [Oh but! So heavenly beautiful]

were very upset and angry about the art in the park posted in two out of three threads more than three times. There is one exception where a woman defends the artist and posts four times.

The last thread (30.09.2020) is the most angry thread, the few have built up anger and frustration about the recurring 'voodoo' in the park. I would call these people the deviants. They are loud but few. As we will see in the open coding in the following part, there are other topics that are brought up by the people in the neighbourhood.

Qualitative Analysis

Open Coding

The next analysis of the Fb threads is a concept analysis. My first version was inspired by Danna Gibson & Lynne Webb (2012). Here, they describe the first process of open coding as an attempt to find common themes across the informants conversations (Ibid:166). A concept can be identified through the three criteria 'recurrence, repetition, forcefulness' (Owen 1984 in Ibid.). I did not use the category 'forcefulness' as this is expressed by exclamation marks, angry emojis, GIFs and swearing words or degrading language and I was not sure how to grade this - in a range of 1-10? I will call the row of themes 'themes/words' as I also picked words that seemed interesting from a human ecological perspective and I wanted to add the possibility to see repetitions if this would be the case.

The aim of this was to get an overview of the themes mentioned in the three Fb threads and to see what was particularly repeated. Some expressions that are similar were merged into one theme. Unfortunately, I didn't document the merging and now, as I double check my results, I can not repeat it 100%. Nevertheless, this was just to get an overview, and I will do another kind of open coding.

Table 2. Overview over Open Coding

Themes/ words	Recurrence	Repetition/ Person
Något religiöst? [something religious]	I	
Känns som mycket jobb för att vara ett skämt [seems like a lot of work for being a joke]	I	
Känner besvikelse av 'killens'/ 'kvinnans' (identitet uklart) beteende mot djur [feel disappointed by the artists (identity unknown) behaviour towards animals]	IIII	III
Jag blir glad [it makes me	IIII IIII	IIII II

happy]		
Fint [nice]	I	
Gillar inte [don't like]	III	
'Voodoo', finns ett par till i Malmö ['voodoo', there are a few more in Malmö]	IIII	IIII
Människan är elak, bättre om vi var mera som djur [humans are mean, better if we were more like animals]	II	II
Himla vackert [heavenly beautiful]	I	
Intressant att veta: varför? [interesting to know: why?]	I	
Det är slöseri med bär som ruttner [it is a waste with berries that are rotting]	IIII	IIII
Sinnessjuk [insane]	IIII	
Höst [fall]	I	
Påsk [easter]	I	
Augusti [august]	I	
Sur [angry]	IIII I	IIII
Naturaltare [natural altar]	III	II
Fråga om 'voodoo' [questions about the 'voodoo']	IIII	III
Lagt upp en bild	IIII II	IIII I
Vil göra en anmälan till polisen eller stadskontoret [want to make a report to the police or the municipality]	IIII	IIII
Jamaikansk [Jamaican]	I	
Afrikansk [African]	I	
Svart tjej [black girl]	I	

This chart (table 2) shows us that people express their emotional reaction to the 'voodoo' in the park and the meeting of the artist, both positive and negative. They have an opinion about the berries, and are disappointed about her behaviour towards small animals. Some people know and explain a bit about 'voodoo' as they think the art is 'voodoo'. Some want to engage the authorities and six people post a picture of the art they have seen in the parks.

Table 2 does not tell me any context of the words and concepts. In the next version of open coding, I will take a look at every comment and of those, create concepts (see appendix 1). A concept can be 'rats can be killed' or 'waste of food'. Here, I have to be reflexive about my own influence on the result, especially as I narrow down the concepts to categories and create the axial coding to display connections. As I am interested in the human ecological dimensions of the three Fb threads, this will be my perspective, and I still think by this point that I will find it to be relevant.

As emphasized by Charmaz the concepts of my open coding should entail 'psychological processes and actions' (Charmaz 2006 in Tie; Birks; Francis 2019) and be as close to the original material as possible. Sometimes, I would use a quote as a concept, also called 'in vivo codes' (Heiser 2016).

The Categorisation

The categorisation of the concepts can be understood as the next level of abstraction. In the following chart you can see the categories I arrived at. This is my analysis of what is going on in the Fb threads. There are 14 different categories people associate with, talk about or engage in.

Table 3: 14 Categories, developed from the content of the Fb threads

Nr.	Category
1	Interest in religion and rituals
2	Opinion about distribution of resources and concept of waste
3	Opinion about public behaviour
4	Sharing information online
5	Local community expanded through online connection
6	Wonder and curiosity
7	Positive and encouraging expressions

8	Compassion for small animals
9	Expressions of worry and frustrations
10	Creation of 'the other'
11	Agree of necessity of correction and control
12	Thankful for sharing information about the art
13	Awareness of local surroundings
14	Radical conclusions

In the appendix in table 4, you can see the in vivo quotes and concepts that are grouped into a category.

The 14 categories give us an overview of what is going on in the Fb threads. My intention was not to create any kind of biographical narrative of who says what. My aim of the coding was to extract, organise and visualise what people were writing about in the threads. What are the associations, what are the concerns, what are the perspectives used and, finally, what are the perceptions of the local, natural environment? This result is useful and could help me, for further research, to design e.g. interviews and surveys and help to define the directions of investigation in order to understand how people relate to their surroundings, or, in this specific case, how this is expressed in the case of the 'voodoo' in the parks.

Axial Coding

The last method I want to introduce to the reader is the axial coding diagram. I used the model of Patrik Heiser (2016). Heiser used this method to analyze biographical interviews. I treated the three Fb threads as one complex narrative from a neighbourhood. Even though most people only say something once, I believe it gives me a picture of the implied diversity.

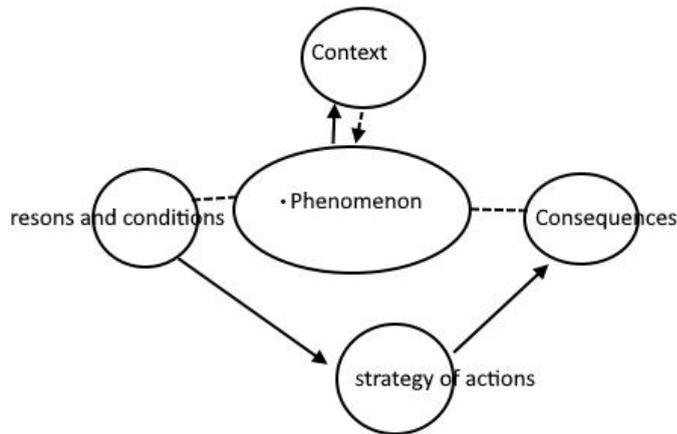


Figure 2: Patrik Heiser, 29.11.2016

In figure 2 above we see the investigated phenomenon in the middle. This phenomenon is influenced by a contextual situation. Left we see the reasons and conditions that constitute the phenomenon and leads to strategies of actions which again leads to the consequences of the whole dynamic. Heiser now positions the categories around the different circles in the model. The aim is to arrange the categories as plausible as possible. Here, he argues, one can make several different coding paradigms, each of which will emphasise different aspects depending on the position of the category in the model (Heiser, 2016, 00:30:00- 00:31:19). See below (figure 3) my coding paradigm for the Fb threads as foundation for this thesis:

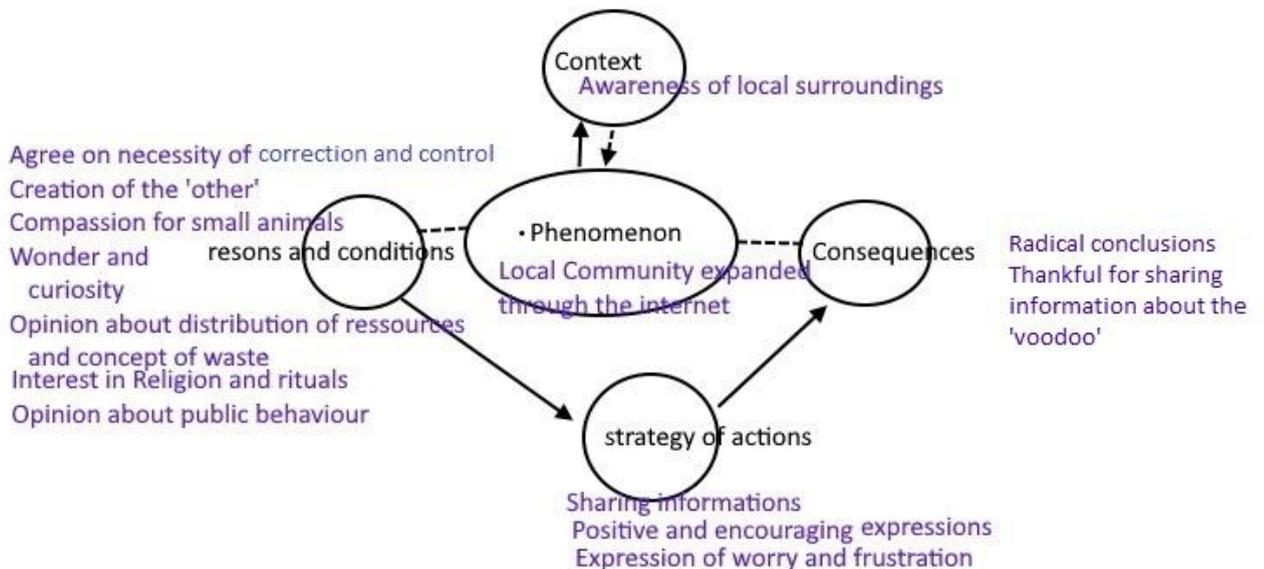


Figure 3: Following the example of Heiser (2016), my coding paradigm

In the center circle I have placed the phenomenal category 'Local community expanded through the internet'. I chose this to be the phenomenon, as it is the online conversation that allows me to get an insight into people's perceptions of their environment. The 'voodoo' is merely the means by which the locals are provoked or inspired to express their views, feelings and opinions who again, inspired me to

investigate the effects of local perceptions and 'naive truths' activated and expressed.

The contextualisation of this is the 'Awareness of local surroundings'. I argue here that the context is 'Awareness of local surroundings' as people in the Fb group 'Händer på Kirseberg' post and write about all kinds of sights, happenings and facts in their neighbourhood. This is the underlying activity. The phenomenon investigated is thus a discussion that exists due to the expansion of the local community through the digital. People have a wider outreach with their questions and opinions and in the three Fb threads I discuss it is about the 'voodoo' in the park. On the left you see the categories I have positioned as 'reasons and conditions' for people engaging in the expanded community online. The 'strategy of actions' is to share information and to share the experienced joy or concern. The 'consequences' of the whole interaction is thus: Some people are thankful for sharing information about the art in the park, others arrive at 'radical conclusions'.

Here, we can keep in mind the constructivist approach to GT (Thornberg&Charmaz 2014:3) and it's obvious that the results are not 'discovered' but constructed for my research aims. I positioned the constructed consequences mentioned above for two reasons: The center phenomenon is the sharing of information that informs me of the underlying perceptions circulating in the community. The consequences of the information sharing are two fold. Some express their gratitude and are satisfied as their curiosity was met and satisfied. Others arrive at radical and opinionated conclusions, such as "Bär som ruttar är slöseri." (Fb 12.05.2020) and that the artist should rather offer herself to the spirits than innocent animals.

Let the results be constructed according to my sense of logic, but the material foundation for the conversations is real and present (Kärrholm 2007:444).

Theory

As I place the phenomenon in the current reality of Malmö, consisting of migration, urbanization (Jensen&Ouis 2014:17) and a shift of knowledge about the environment from the practical to the abstract, I will in the following chapter present the theory to guide my deeper understanding of the categories developed and relate the theory to the environmental, political and social factors mentioned above. As I wrote earlier, due to the shallowness and small size of my empirical material, I cannot approach my sample group as individuals and focus on an expression or opinion on the individual level. Instead, I will approach them as a community informed by external factors and use the analysis to understand and identify possible, relevant frameworks.

As written in Jensen and Ouis (2014), we should study a phenomenon for what it can tell us about human behaviour and human nature in general (Ibid:15). And further, inspired by the Chicago School, they write: "... den allt intensivare urbaniseringen ställde människan inför nya utmaningar i termer av kulturella möten, politisk styrning och personlig utveckling."¹¹ (Ibid:15). Likewise, through the perspective of the chosen theory, I want to understand what is going on within the friction of the described phenomenon, under these migratory and dynamic circumstances of urbanization in Malmö. Maybe, it can tell us something about human behaviour and nature in general.

The theory I want to introduce is the Actor-Network Theory, developed during the 1980s and 1990s by Latour and Callon (Jackson 2015:31) and described by Sharon Jackson in an article called 'Toward an Analytical and Methodological Understanding of Actor-Network Theory (ANT)'. It has in recent years become quite popular within the field of studying material culture (Jackson 2015; Kärrholm 2007). Also, Miller (2010) has written extensive, anthropological accounts on material culture and pays attention and awareness to the influence stuff has on mediating our identities (Miller 2010:23;51) Another example of a study of material culture, territory and identity is Navaro-Yashins book 'The Make-Believe Space' (2012).

I want to focus on ANT, as I believe the philosophical abstraction of this theory can, by the end of the discussion, help us to understand more about the western nature-culture dichotomy so present in the time and space of this research, on which our perceptions of nature - and subsequently knowledge - are founded. The ANT 'makes no ontological division between nature, humans and technology', the three components meeting in the phenomena of Kirseberg. I think this perspective can be useful to my grounded theory approach and the attempt to gain understanding of what is happening in these Fb threads.

ANT investigates how we interact and engage with the material around us and conceptualise the nonhuman world around us. It perceives the nonhuman world such as animals and stones and technology, as actant in relation to humans who influence our behaviour, associations and possibilities (Jackson 2015).

Actants are all elements, both humans and non-humans, that engage in a symmetrical network in a given situation (Spöhrer 2017:3). Within the network, the activity is called

¹¹ [the intensive urbanisation confronted the humans with new challenges in terms of cultural meetings, political management and personal development]

a 'translation'. This is the act of 'association, combination and simplification of entities and the reduction of representations to one or a few actors' (Ibid.) or in other words 'the process of relating things that were previously different' (Shiga 2007). During the translation, roles and positions within the network are defined and distributed and allies are formed. Not only humans are ascribed a role and agency, as the agency only can derive from a collectively informed activity through non-human elements. All parts can depart from their role, by e.g. leaving or acting unusually and thus betray their network. The actor network can also be seen as a power relationship depending on the actants' position within the network (Ibid:34; Kien 2016). As Latour writes: "Power (is) a consequence and not a cause of collective action" (Latour 1986:268.269 in Jackson 2015). There is a collective action and the consequences can be that one actor is given all or most power as a result of the translation of the situation. This powerful actor will define the narrative.

Further, the theory goes that all social interactions are connected through things. Likewise, increasing, cultural complexity goes parallel with complexity in the material. The material is seen as glue between human relations, as a necessity in all social interaction. Here, Jackson describes a situation with a football. The group of children form a team around the play with the ball. The team would not exist, wasn't it for the ball who takes an 'active' role in the game (Angels 1995:47-48 in Jackson 2015:36). Further, Jackson writes, social order is not stable but in constant flux. Thus, we can say to follow an illusion of 'culture' as a stable institution (Jackson 2015:35). It is my impression, supported by Jensen&Ouis (2014) that this is a relevant perspective on urban areas as e.g. Malmö.

Relevant for my thesis is also the idea of the quasi-object, by Michel Serres (1982) (Jackson 2015:36). The quasi-object is a specific object with the special position to maintain a certain relation within a social group or a network.

According to Jackson, there have been several discussions and critiques addressed to ANT. One of them being, that ANT represents a symmetrical perception of humans and non-humans, meaning it gives equal agency to dead things, humans and animals (Jackson 2015:37). The critique is rejected by ANT theorists, as they claim their aim is being merely to reconsider the role of the material (Ibid:38) in contrast to modernist, western perceptions of human-non-human dichotomy (Ibid:37; Ingold 2000:38).

This brings us closer to what we generally call a non-western ontology where animals act, where things and humans and animals all are the same but inhabit different worlds. Tim Ingold, a british anthropologist, writes about the inadequacy of the western, dualist perception of nature/culture and counters this view with one of the Mbuti Pygmies in the Ituri Forest (Ingold 2000:40). They call the forest 'mother and father', as it shelters them, feeds them and comforts them, 'just like their parents' (Ibid.).

Jackson further exemplifies ANT with Callons case study from 'Some Elements in a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and Fishermen of St. Brieuc Bay'. In this case, marine biologists applied ANT to the cultivation of scallops and these refused their role as growing and healthy, actively causing a bad harvest for the local fishermen (Callon 1986a in Jackson 2015:33).

Another critique of ANT mentioned by Jackson which I want to introduce shortly, is out of a methodological concern (Jackson 2015:41). The question is raised where to draw

the boundaries for the actor network one is investigating or observing. Pragmatically, Miller's suggestion is just to include what seems relevant and follow actants of relevance (Ibid:40). ANT will always be human centered as we cannot give account of e.g. scallops or footballs, but nevertheless, it is an interesting effort for us who are deeply ingrained in a western epistemological ontology.

My choice of theory was inspired by an article by Mattias Kärrholm, 'A Conceptual Discussion of Territoriality, Materiality, and the Everyday Life of Public Space' (2007). Kärrholm uses ANT to investigate the materiality of territorialization. His examples are, amongst others, founded on observations in public spaces in Lund. Based on a historical view, territorialization was performed by individuals or institutions (Kärrholm 2007:438). Kärrholm changes the perspective and allows the territory to be a 'spatial actant':

"The actant perspective is a fruitful one because it turns the questions of what caused a certain territorial effect into an empirical one. The territorial power is then described as a network of different actants of artifacts, persons, rules of conduct, laws, and so forth (Latour, 1991), suggesting that territoriality is an altogether mobile and dynamic phenomenon (S. D. Brown & Capdevila, 1999). Territories are also material—they are not just constituted by the person setting and managing the rules of the territory, but by the boundaries and material characteristics of that territory."

(Ibid:440)

I here agree with the idea of territory being mobile and dynamic. As Jensen and Oui describe it in their book 'Det Gröna Finrummet' (2014), also Malmö is a place of many different and dynamic territories, redefined and negotiated with the cities institutions, inhabitants, the geographical preconditions and material additions and presences (Ibid:19).

Kärrholm identifies four different ways in which actors define territory. Below, I have reproduced the table by Kärrholm to visualize the four different forms of territorialization identified by him (Kärrholm 2007:441).

Table 4: Four different forms of territorialization by Kärrholm (2007)

	Impersonal Control	Personal Control
Intended Production	Territorial strategy	Territorial tactics
Production through use	Territorial association	Territorial appropriation

In the discussion I will use the territorialization perspective and relate it to the empiric material of Kirseberg. We will see the indication for how people use the park and its material to mark territory and maintain an identity, dependent on the interaction with the natural material.

Discussion

So far, I have indicated how knowledge constitutes the foundation of our perception of the environment. Further, I have described the current geographical and developmental situation of Malmö and Kirseberg where the phenomenon takes place. I have analyzed the three Fb threads with the methods of Grounded Theory and constructed my version of categories and concepts. With these, I have built a coding paradigm, connecting the actions in a way that seemed reasonable. The phenomena identified was 'Local community expanded through the internet'. Within this phenomenon and as a reaction to an unusual appropriation of space ('voodoo'), people express their knowledge and perceptions of the local environment, animals and space.

I have found that only a few people are upset about the 'voodoo', but also that these are the loudest. I have found that the other contributions, apart from expressing delight about the sight of 'voodoo', are curious and wondering, yet distanced to the actual material as they merely have the role of the spectator.

Common for all categories is that they emerged through the interaction on Fb and people used the material surroundings as tokens to create narratives and relations to their neighbours. As described above, within the ANT this creation of allies through the use of the same device or material in the same way is called a translation (Jackson 2015:31). In this case of the three Fb threads, the media is used by some actors to create a consistency of the right use of the natural material in public space and maintain it throughout time (Kien 2016), thus translating meaning between the actors in their network and creating relations. I will in this discussion describe the way I see perceptions/knowledge about the environment expressed in the three Fb threads and relate it to current trends described in secondary sources. Also, I will describe what I see as the use of material surroundings as tokens for the creation of allies and the distribution of power (Kien 2016) and subsequently a definition of territory.

Malmö and The Western Concept of Nature

According to Tim Ingold, the creation of knowledge and skill is mediated through relations with others in a given environment (Ingold 2000:171). This means, we learn about our natural surroundings through the way we use it. As mentioned above, the constitution of the knowledge we have about our environment has changed fast in the past 100 years due to more literacy, scientification, urbanization and industrialisation. Less people actually work and live in nature. What is left of this once intimate relation (Hornborg 1997:212; 217) is an abstracted perception of nature and a focus on the sustainable use and management of resources (Ibid:216), also relevant for and practiced in urban areas (Jensen&Ouis 2014:136; Isenhour 2015:56). According to this dichotomous worldview, nature is present for humans to use it (Ingold 2000:84). For example, we speak of 'eco services' when we try to incorporate trees, biodiversity and greenspaces into our urban areas (Jensen&Ouis 2014:136; Shakleton et al. 2017:13; Malmö Stad december 2020:28; Gyllin, Mats af Verchou; Kruuse, Annika 2008:140).

Through extensive migrations, the knowledge of our original surroundings can lose their relevance (Jensen&Ouis 2014:97) and we, even if we move within Sweden from a rural to an urban area, might lose the environmental literacy that would allow access to the new place. This counts for knowledge about where one can go to find local nature, how to get there or maybe one is just preoccupied with urban life. As Jensen and Ouis describe in their book 'Det gröna finrummet' (2014), they find many alternative appropriations of public space by immigrants who bring different habits and preferences to Malmö. One example is a family from Macedonia that made a fire on the ground in Bulltofta Park with sticks and wood pieces from the surrounding bushes- not at the designated barbecue place but in the middle of the grass. They didn't barbecue, either. They needed a fire to roast peppers of which they brought a whole box. Later, they would go home and put the peppers in jars.

In the case of Kirseberg, I see both dynamics represented, migration and the dichotomous worldview. The local people are through the 'voodoo' confronted with a different translation of the material. The 'voodoo' network includes something as abstract as a ghost, thus differing substantially from the mainstream perception of what is present in our world.

One dichotomous expression that represents the local idea of human beings superior to nature is the idea that the small birds and wild animals in the parks of Malmö need our consideration to survive (Fb 30.09.2020) and thus berries should be left on the bushes for the bird to pick and not rot in a heap. Another user romanticized nature and wrote, how good the world would be if we all were a bit more like animals (Fb 30.09.2020). In general, our society is about the domination of animals and the natural world (Ingold 2000:79). Both examples are what Ingold described as anthropomorphic, attributing animals human characteristics. As an alternative to this western, anthropomorphic perspective, he mentions the Ojibwa, where all things, organisms and natural phenomena such as wind can be persons. Or rather, persons can appear in all shapes (Ibid:93).

Even though the people of Kirseberg don't live in nature anymore, they still use nature and its products as tokens and define their conception of it and characterize their culture. The park, plants and animals are defined as nature and the artist is defined as a cultural being, as deviant of the norm by some, and as spiritual and creative by others. I see a similarity to the case of 'The Villa' described by Carman (2015). Carman describes how the natural reserve is defended by the environmentalists as nature with a right of undisturbed existence, undisturbed by humans. Even though the area is a cultural product of politics, construction work and social economic prerequisites. And the dwellers who have built their housing in 'The Villa' are deprived of their culturality, described as wild and uncivilized, closer to nature than to the common cultural norms and values. This exemplifies the dichotomous worldview where nature and culture are positioned as oppositions.

In Kirseberg, nature, in reality a park, exists as a concept executed on municipality level. The park is a cultivated area representing contemporary perceptions of nature and proper cultivations (Jensen&Ouis 2009:137-138). As Ingold writes 'The world can only be 'nature' for a being that does not inhabit it, yet only through inhabiting it the world can be constituted.' (Ingold 2000:40). Thus, the park is a hybrid space between nature and culture. It has trees, birds, grass, flowers and all kinds of organisms in the

ground. Still, it is cultivated and only present on the mercy of the municipality and people using it.

As Malmö is a melting pot of cultures and ethnicities (Jensen&Ouis 2014:14), it is a process of dissolving boundaries and to give people the possibility to dive into the multitude of material possibilities, regarding space, relations and activities (Ibid:18-19). This non-deterministic approach of the fluidity of actants within a network is relevant in human ecology as we are interested in human-nature relationships, both in a micro scale and on macro scale, with all the fluctuating influences constantly renegotiating networks 'prone to instability and collapse' (White; Rudy; Gareau; 2016:123). The ultimate goal is to mediate in this process and find suitable and just solutions for all (Hornborg 2015:384).

With my approach to the sample group as one group according to Non Representational Theory and the analysis with ANT I will try to bridge the traditional nature/culture divisions that we find in our society, that found our dualist and dichotomous worldviews (Jones 2009:309).

Actor-Network and The Quasi-Object

Through the ANT we move our perspective away from the dichotomy described above. A quasi-object facilitates the network between all actants. In this case, it creates a foundation for a sense of locality and belonging and allows people to claim power over territory by defining it and its use.

A park in Malmö is a public space with a designated way of use (Jensen&Ouis 2014:90). There are spoken and unspoken rules, which to list here would take too much space. I will just refer to the example of the bonfire from above. If there are mushrooms or berries to be found, foraging is welcomed, but the parks like Beijerspark and Tjuvaparken are in general not designed for this with e.g. apple trees or raspberry bushes (although there are other examples of this in the city, such as vast areas of sea buckthorn at the Öresundsbridge and walnut trees along the bike lane leading there from Ribersborg, Malmö). In Kirseberg, two different traditions seem to meet, and it is expressed through the material. ANT calls for an empirical investigation and a tracing of the networks and relations (Jóhannesson 2009:16). Further Jóhannesson writes: "A very important element of ANT in this regard was that it sees nature and the material as integral to the social and the cultural" (Ibid:17). I believe that my empirical material reveals this integration of the material to the social and cultural creation.

Some of the material in the network has a central role and can be called a quasi-object. According to Jones (2009) it takes constant activity to stabilize a network (Ibid:314).

This activity can be mediated through a quasi-object as described above. In the case of Kirseberg, the quasi-object consists of e.g. Facebook, likely applied through a smartphone. Facebook, social media and/or the smartphone maintain relations between many people (Jóhannesson et al. 2009:15). The 'voodoo' itself can also be seen as a quasi-object for the artist making it. It mediates a special relationship she upholds to the 'ghost' (Fb 30.09.2020).

As White et.al. explain the thoughts of Bruno Latour in their book 'Environments, Natures and Social Theory' (2016)

“(…) human agency is always premised on working with and through multiple networks that can never be adequately thought of as a simply individual or social affairs. ‘Things’ that already affect our lives can no longer be ‘objects’ in this perspective; they must be ‘quasi-objects’ or ‘actants’. Furthermore, if human agency is so powerfully enabled and constrained by rich forms of material networking then we, too, are ‘actants’ or, as he put it, ‘quasi-subjects’.”

(Ibid:121)

The actor-network is conveyed through the quasi-object. Through the media, people cultivate a technological routine which in turn creates a cultural practice and consistency in our contemporary culture (Kien 2016). Through social media, a certain understanding of how to use the park, how to behave and how to use the material is translated to the users of the Fb group. Within this interaction, an impression of power is granted to the few who feel entitled to speak, who have met the artist and who have strong opinions. But, above all, power is granted to Fb as the technological tool through which entities are associated together (Kien 2016).

The Translation

When we shift our perspective from the dichotomous to the symmetrical, it changes the position of actants and distributes agency differently. The assumed superiority of humans in the park and in the interaction on Fb is erased and we are presented with another picture: numerous actants in the same place, interconnected, dependent on each other, inducing actions into each other, making sense of a shared existence. In this following part, I want to describe the different materials and how they are used in the translation. The translation is the process of the assemblance of a network, and as more materials are mentioned, the network of people commenting on or within the thread grows. Characteristic for the Fb network are the fluctuations and the immediacy with which the network is surrounded. Also, their network can reach out to an audience, people not directly included in the conversations, thus the network can reach an unpredictable size. For this discussion, I will focus on the actors active and/or mentioned in the Fb threads and the network they create with their material surroundings.

The process of translation has four stages: *problematization*, *interessement*, *enrolment* and *mobilization* (Callon 1986a in Jackson 2015:32).

The stage of problematization in the case of Kirseberg is the post of a picture of the 'voodoo', the creation of a thread in search of answers to various questions. What is it? Who made this? Here, we see the distribution of roles within this acting network to the different entities.

An entity can challenge their defined role by acting unsuspected or acting out and thus leaving the actor-network. The different roles distributed here in the acting-network of the Fb threads can be defined as: the animals, the plants, the people, the territory, the artist and the 'voodoo'. Most actors stick to their roles, ask a question or answer one. Only at the end of the Fb thread from the 30.09.2020, one person rebels against the ambience and the result is the closing down of the network in that particular Fb thread. The network outside of the internet is nevertheless established and maintained in other forms through the quasi-object social media.

The process of collective intersement in the Fb actor network is the effort to bind the actors, meaning each other, to their roles. This is seen in the Fb threads through e.g. comments about the artist, her identity, defining her as crazy and foreign. Some people also defend her and her 'voodoo' and express gratitude and joy about the sight. Here, we see a struggle between the actors, some people might leave the network.

Arguments are made that the berries and birds have certain roles, such as 'black berries are for eating' (Fb 12.05.2020), 'it is a waste of berries when they rot in a heap' (Ibid). There are other emphasises on berries and their correct use which is to be 'respected'. In general, it is about respecting Swedish traditions (Fb 30.09.2021), one says. Another example is the effort to criticize the artist's public behaviour.

The enrollment starts, when people begin to ask each other to send their pictures to the police as proof of unwanted activity in the park and thus making the people into agents of law and order enforcement.

The mobilization is finally fulfilled, when the police are contacted and the 'voodoo', the berries and the dead birds, have been turned into a public complaint and a public definition on Fb about the wrong use of the park.

The social media can here be seen as an actor with the role of expanding the local community out into unknown realms. Without social media, a meeting of people and a discussion of a phenomena in the public park had to occur in real time, face to face and on site. Now, Facebook facilitates this interaction and allows the translation to expand. Similar to the example of the television (Kien 2016; Spöhrer 2016), where we earlier would listen to a story teller but now engage with a technological device that tells us the story, Facebook is the transmitter of the material translation of meaning from actants to an actor-network. The different actors mentioned, birds, berries, the 'voodoo', and the space, are thus used by some actors defining the translation.

As I see it, the actors use the material translation to create a sense of belonging. Through the connection to animals and the green space around them, they use the material to maintain and inform their identity as locals (Hurley et.al. 2015:188; Jensen&Ouis 2009:133). Some defend traditions and habits founded on the natural material historically present in the area (rats, doves, rosehips, blackberries). Others maintain awareness of the local surroundings, express their historical knowledge and express appreciation of the particularities of the area (a 'voodoo' artist in the park). In the next chapter, I will further my discussion of what I think this symmetrical and mutual interaction results in.

Using Space and Defining Territory

Through the creation of an actor-network around the use of a public park, I see the act of defining territory. According to Kärholm (see table above on p. 29) there is the intended production of territory and the production through use. In this case, we observe a production of territory through use, with territorial associations and territorial appropriation.

"Territorial associations and appropriations represent productions that are not planned or intentionally established but are consequences of established and regular

practices. These practices may be the effects of rational and planned decisions but are not made with the explicit intent of producing a territory. Territorial appropriation produces territories through a repetitive and consistent use of an area by a certain person or group who, at least to some extent, seem to perceive this area as their own. The object of territorial appropriation could, for example, be one's home, one's street, or one's regular table at a restaurant."

(Kärrholm 2007:441)

As described above, the parks in Malmö are associated with a specific range of uses and activities by the locals.

With the 'voodoo' installation, the artist appropriates the park and thus creates a place for herself and the 'ghosts' (Fb 30.09.2020) in the public space. She leaves a mark in the landscape, she moves around and experiences the topography, using the trunks of trees and local resources to build her 'voodoo'. The artist's way of engaging with the local environment is to use it for activities familiar to herself. Like the family from Macedonia, she does not conform to the unspoken rules of park use and appropriate Swedish use and distribution of berries (this would be limited to making jam and to leave some for the birds). The artist appropriates the land with her activity, maintaining an actor-network in the real through direct engagement with the material found and employed for her means. In general, the actants identities are relational to the network they are a part of and 'territory is a spatial actant' and provokes a reaction in a network (Kärrholm 2007:440).

Within the actor network of the Fb threads, relations to the territory are expressed through associations. The people realize a change in the neighborhood landscape (Fb 19.08.2020), they are curious about the unusual sight and express different, immediate associations such as 'voodoo' being a foreign tradition from Africa or positive or negative emotional reactions (Fb 12.05.2020). One expresses that 'a park is not a place for sacrifices' or for 'slaughtering animals' (Fb 30.09.2020), another is worried about the children's safety in the park (Fb 30.09.2020) due to concerns about them having to witness a dead bird. Another user expresses her association to the park with the historical aspect of the burning of 'witches' several hundred years ago (Fb 19.08.2020), a very specific and local knowledge.

All these associations happen within a technologically distant realm, people move around the territory as separate entities but connected through the quasi-object, the social media.

The associations and imagined proper appropriations of a park differ from the artist appropriation of the park. When the people of Kirseberg are confronted with deviant behavior influenced by a foreign culture, the local material and rats and doves, are granted strong symbolic meaning for the defence of their space. This anonymized, metaphysical relationship to the park/nature is described by the Swedish Ethnologist Orvar Löfgren as a historical development in the west (Löfgren 2000:18) in close connection to industrialization, urbanization and the development of tourism and idealisation of the pristine landscape. Landscapes became an object for humans to 'view' and to rest their souls on. The tourist (or city dweller) would leave the busy, urban area to enjoy pure nature and escape 'the commodification of everyday life' (ibid:26). But, as Löfgren writes, the market found ways to commodify this natural experience through e.g. shops and cafes. In Beijerspark in Kirseberg, we find a cafe.

But we find no personal traces of people using the space, it is anonymized and managed by the municipality. It is a product developed for urbanites.

The question of who gets to set the aesthetic standard and define proper use of a landscape, let it be rural or urban is a common discussion in human ecology as we also saw it be the case with 'The Villa' in Buenos Aires. Löfgren describes another case, the conflict around the Yosemite Valley. Local tribes were evicted to protect this first 'natural park' of the USA (Ibid:31); 'the landscape really belonged to those who could appreciate in a superior and correct way' (Ibid.). In this little historical detour, I believe we see similarities to the approach of the locals in Kirseberg to their public space. It has to 'please the gaze' of the visitor, in a carefully, cultural defined manner. The 'voodoo' is not appropriate for public spaces in Malmö. With increasing urbanization and migrations in this city, we will need to pay attention to various needs and traditions of engagement with the environment.

The creation of identity and belonging to a place through natural material can be a bit easier if you have access to private land in the city. In the article 'I brought a Hazelnut from Macedonia', Jensen and Ouis describe the creation of place and belonging by migrants through their allotment gardens. A woman emphasizes the plants she brought from her hometown in Macedonia, a hazelnut and a grape vine (Jensen&Ouis 2009:33). These plants seem to make her feel happy in Malmö, far away from her place of origin. Similarly, other informants emphasize the joy of climate change (Ibid:35): finally, they can grow the same vegetables in Malmö as they could in Syria and the Balkans where they are from.

In these conversations, I see how people interact practically with their environment and use their knowledge of plants and gardening to support their sense of place and identity. Both as a local gardener and as a 'Macedonian' or 'Syrian' with particular cultural, culinary habits. We see how personal engagement in greenspaces, similar to the artist's 'voodoo', can have a supportive role in the creation of a sense of belonging in the foreign place. Even though they migrated, they can engage in an actor-network with plants and gardening tools and cultivate a sense of belonging with ties to far away places. The material actant thus grants the human actant an engagement in an activity that grounds and supports an identity.

As Farnoosh Nazer Safavi & Maryam Khastou write about 'the most significant meaning of belonging to a place':

"It goes beyond the sensory and sensible experiences as it includes cultural beliefs and the type of activities that link human beings to the environment. In the viewpoint of Citalo, a sense of belonging to the place is interpretable in the terms of psychology and identity. In the terms of psychology, it refers to the relationship between a person's recognition of an environment or a specific place and in the terms of identity, it is the individual's sense of belonging and identity to the social environment which he or she lives in. In fact, a sense of belonging to a place is the established symbolic relationship by the people to the place which brings shared sensual, emotional and cultural meanings to a specific space."

(Rezaie, 2015: 49 in Safavi & Khastou 2017:57).

I believe this recognition of an environment can be created in several ways. Either through heritage and practical engagement and work in nature as the farmers, seal hunters and forest workers mentioned by Hornborg (1997). Another possibility is a

manufactured, abstract association and perception of your environment where concepts as sustainability (Greenberg 2015:106; Checker 2015:159), proper use and management become leading principles as we see in the case of the parks in Malmö and in western concepts of nature in general as described above. The third possibility that I see is the creation and appropriation of the urban environment to rebuild what was lost or create what had never been and allow oneself and others to claim a place in the urban jungle (Hornborg 1997:216; Löfgren 1997:49).

Even though we tend to have a distanced perception and limited understanding of nature due to our urbanized lifestyle, I have shown that many people still enjoy and profit mentally and emotionally from engagement with the natural environment. We constantly engage in interactions with material from our surroundings, whether it is the smartphone, our food or the tiles in our garden terrasse. What I have shown here is how actors use the quasi-object of social media to maintain a network around their local neighborhood and define a type of territory. Actors translated into position are materials, traditions, animals and other neighbors. I will in the following section show how I see the power distributed to the few and what this marking of territory and manifestation of identity through the material, traditional and cultural has further implications if we expand the range of our investigated actor-network.

Power and Taking the Institutional Role

Through the use of several different local materials as tokens for the creation of allies and the following translation of the actor-network, we see a distribution of power to the few.

In the third Fb thread of the 30.09.2020, it is decided to use the photographs of the 'voodoo' as proof material to be sent to public institutions such as the police and the park management to forbid the artist from her activities in the park.

Through this activity, we see the manifestation of territory as the local people take the role of the order management and turn themselves into judges, accusing a fellow citizen of improper behavior and dehumanizing her in several ways: first, her behaviour is criticized according to contemporary ideals of sustainability, her use of berries is a 'waste' (Fb 12.05.2020). Secondly, she is thought to possibly belong to a culture where animals are not seen as having a life (Fb 19.08.2020). And the ultimate: she is a threat to children (30.09.2020).

Also in this process, the animals are used as a token to define cultural superiority. Even the actors in the Fb group who express positive reactions stay in distance, connected through the quasi-object of a social media, directed by and reacting to the translation, inhabiting their role silently, being the audience to the few, loud and opinionated citizens.

According to the US based Professor of Communication, Grant Kien (2016) power, according to ANT, is 'having the potential to associate entities together'. In other words, there is a collective action and the consequences can be that one actor is given all or most power. In the Fb threads, the most active actants do this following a

human-nature dichotomy, utilizing the material to define and defend their territory. In the end, some actors actually call the police.

The translation grants power to the few who alienate the stranger. The powerful who take action in the form of a complaint accuse the artist and not the system that imposes restrictions on them, restrictions such as the amount of parks and variety of tolerated activity within the urban area. Also, the way space is administered could be discussed or addressed.

The actors defend territory and the idea and sense of community. Social media strengthens this sense of community and territory even through distance.

We see actor-networks of things and organisms on Earth, moving, dissipating, defining each other. According to Latour, 'attention should be turned to the stuff of which society is made' (Latour in Kien 2016 00:14:56-00:15:02) Our material constitutes nationstates in the form of resources and wealth accumulated, traditions and interactions conducted through it. If we look at the interaction in Kirseberg from an ANT perspective, we see that the nature/culture dichotomy places the meta-social subjects as 'animal rights' or 'right behaviour' and 'child safety' in the center of actions and renders material actants without agency (White et.al. 2016:121).

According to ANT networks on macro and micro levels are the same thing (Kien 2016). The indirect defense and manifestation of territory in Kirseberg is a micro level case. But the fight about territory mediated through material, resources and stuff is a well documented phenomenon worldwide. ANT exposes these processes, grants agency to all human and non-human actants and creates symmetry in the perspective.

Despite the talk on Fb nothing really happened. A park disappeared (see illustration 5) and there is less space to use for traditional material interaction outdoors, let it be foraging or 'voodoo'. One less urban possibility to make a place out of a space outside of the private 4 walls of the apartment.



Illustration 6: Ellstorps Hundpark after all vegetation has been removed for development of the area. Photo by the author.

Conclusion

Answer to Research Questions

I will now present a summary of my findings to answer my research questions.

- How do the people of Kirseberg react to the 'voodoo' made of berries and other natural materials in their local park?

In this thesis, I have analyzed peoples online reactions on the social media platform Facebook. According to the sentiment analysis, the users react in four different ways: positive, negative, neutral/informative and wondering. Negative and neutral/informative are the most represented reactions. The positive sentiments are for example represented by appreciation of the 'voodoo' in the public space as an interesting and beautiful show. The negative reactions are represented by diagnosing the artist with schizophrenia or criticizing her activities and use of resources in public space thus violating 'general knowledge' and unwritten rules such as the citizens' perception of waste, animal rights or appropriation of public space for certain activities. The neutral/informative sentiments are represented by sharing information about ideas of 'voodoo', how and where to get information about the neighborhood and to share impressions about the happening. Also, people post pictures and tell of their encounters in the public space.

The wondering sentiments are represented by questions about the character, reason and purpose of the 'voodoo' activity.

The participants in the Fb threads use the quasi-object social media and thus establish a network, engaging local actants such as the land, animals, the trees, the municipality and themselves to mention a few. They engage in a translation about the 'voodoo' in their park and through this social activity power is given to the few who are translated into position through persistent activity. As a result, some actors call the police to complain about the 'voodoo'.

- What can their reactions tell us about their perception of the public, urban environment and values?

Through the categories identified of the Fb content, I was able to identify some perceptions of the public, urban environment and values in the reactions in the Fb group. We see that the perception of the urban environment is informed by the western nature/culture dichotomy. Nature is perceived as something external, delivering services to us and in need of management by authorities and civilized behavior by the local residents in order to exist properly. The urban environment has no own agency and small animals are dependent on our consideration. The residents strive to a degree of cohesion, partly maintained through the Fb group. All four different ways of reactions mentioned above tell us about an awareness about their local area. With the Grounded Theory method I wanted to study 'what is known but unofficial'

(Gibson&Webb 2012:162). In this case, the idea of how and what to do in a public space entails many unspoken complexities, not expressed officially on signs when you enter the park. To access the public space you need to move within a spectrum of activities that residents intuitively conveyed to each other. If you are unaware of the unspoken rules due to migration or ignore them due to other cultural and habitual preferences, you risk sticking out and appropriating the space in a wrong way. Also, your presence in the park has to be rather anonymous and cannot leave personal traces. Parks have to be impersonal and accessible for everyone who conforms to the unwritten rules.

The content of the Fb thread, although informative yet fragmented and superficial, tells us not much about peoples practical and actual knowledge of the environment that is present in the parks of Kirseberg. On the other hand, considering the presentation of rather radical conclusions imply a lack of practical knowledge about urban wildlife and nature. To know more about this, interviews or surveys would have to be conducted.

- What role do materials play in the creation of narratives?

When we shift the perspective to ANT, a new picture emerges: the neighborhood is engaged in a network and human and non-human actants are positioned through the translation with the quasi-objects as e.g. social media. The materials thus play a central role in the creation of narratives. The materials inform and enable the positions in the network that are negotiated around the geographical space of the parks in Kirseberg. Through this, territory is defined and a sense of community is created for those who confine to the 'general rules of utilisation'.

From this perspective, the material is essential in the creation of a 'local' narrative and a narrative of right and wrong behavior according to so called cultural commonalities. The material translates narratives of belonging, identity and activity.

Nevertheless, as central as the materials are in this process, the networks are prone to collapse if maintenance can not be guaranteed. If one or more actants leave the network, a new network and narrative emerges. So, actually, who or what is central is hard to say as it is a shifting of coming and going, of attention and power translated, given and taken away again. As in the narrative of the necessity of making traditional swedish jam, the rose hip is central for a season, for identity and belonging. But who, really, makes rosehip jam these days?

Territory, though, does play a central role in the network and informs and activates many actants for the maintenance of their access.

Contribution of the study

The point of departure for this thesis was an interaction on Facebook I stumbled upon by chance. The many various reactions and topics represented in this brief Fb thread made me wonder and made me curious to explore the residents' perception of the urban environment. I have shown the diversity of perceptions present in an urban area today, discussed the necessity of knowledge, the use of the environment for life quality in an urban area and presented how natural material can be one of the components for negotiating and maintaining identity connected to a certain space. A sense of

belonging somewhere is a precondition for engagement and to be able to make a personal place out of an anonymous space is valuable if you find yourself as a migrant somewhere else. What I have shown in this thesis is an analysis of the effect of the actor-network negotiations with the quasi-object social media. It can be used to create community and also a sense of place and territory. To be sensitive to these human behaviors and need for a sense of belonging can maybe be useful in negotiations about space and use of resources in general. To shift the perspective from the dichotomous to the symmetrical can likewise contribute to a new view on our interaction with the environment. We move our perspective from an anthropocentric meta-social subject as 'society' or 'sustainability' or 'modernization' to the awareness of material networks of our everyday life, understanding that they are the condition of our actions and influence or facilitate our goals and failures.

I set out to learn more about people's knowledge about nature and their environment and have come to the conclusion that people act out of dichotomous abstract conceptions that maintain cohesion rather than on founded practical knowledge about urban environment and greenspace management. It remains to investigate what peoples practical knowledge is- in relation to the maintenance of cultural practices and identity in an urban space. As we have learned through the literature of Lisberg et al. it means a lot for migrants to be able to continue some traditions well known from home. Especially interesting would be in what way the awareness of this could be integrated in urban planning.

Further I have shown that anthropology and human ecology can contribute to an informed debate. Cultural aspects play a central role in the understanding of sustainability and the conflicts and issues around the environment and the distribution of resources and space. Trends such as 'sustainability' and 'ecology' can be misused if contextualised in a dichotomous way that ignores the human, material and spatial preconditions and the network activated around its use and distribution.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Table 4. Table of Concepts and Categories. The colours indicate which concepts have been summarized into a category.

	Concepts 12.5.2020	Concepts 19.8.2020	Concepts 30.9.2020	Categories
1	Bemærker forandring	Søger samtale med naboer	Noget udsædvanligt fanger interesse	Interest in religion and rituals
2	Anerkender arbejdet	Bemærker forandring i nabolaget	Hun er ikke rigtig klog	Opinion about Berries and traditions/ Worry/ opinion about distribution of resources and waste
3	Undrer om det er noget religiöst	Har en ide om voodoo	'Forstår ikke ni tycker det är vackert'	Opinion about public behaviour
4	'det är en naturlartare'	Under sig over hvem der laver kunstværkerne	Vakcer skapelse	Sharing information (online)
5	'Kvinna med afrikansk ursprung'	Glæder sig over synet	Hun har sikkert slagtet et dyr	Local Community-expanded through online connections
6	Voodoo er et udenlandsk fænomen	Anerkendelse af indsatsen	Dyrene ses som offergave til ånden	Wonder and curiosity
7	Voodoo er en naturreligion	Naboerne spørger hinanden	Burde meldes til politiet	Positive and encouraging expressions
8	Enligt voodoo er alt besjält	Umiddelbar henvendelse til fb gruppen	'så hemsk'	Compassion for small animals / animal rights
9	Enligt voodoo har man stor respekt for de døde	Positiv oplevelse i mødet med kunstneren	Taknemmelig for informationen	Expressions of worry and frustration
10	Behøver man spekulere over noget som er fint i naturen?	Har læst om kunsten i lokalavisen	Rotter kan dræbes	Anticipations about the artist/ creation of the other (with african,

				skitsofrenic, other cultures) validation or invalidation
11	Vil gerne forstå	Har set fænomenet andre steder I byen	Duer er mere beskidte end rotter	Agree on necessity of correction and control
12	Er nysgerrig	Historisk bevidshed om lokalområdet	Hun skal hellere ofre sig selv end uskyldige dyr	Thankful for sharing information about the art
13	Brombær er til for at spises	Opmærksom på månefaser	Små dyr er uskyldige	
14	Vil vide hvad der sker I parken	Formodning om at nogen vil hædre de afbrændte kvinder fra 1500-tallet	Vil høre mere om naboens erfaringer	Awareness of local surroundings
15	Bær der rodner er spild (scarcity)	Interesse I duer	Er bekymret for sine børns trivsel I parken	
16	Er interesseret I kunstværket	Medfølelse for duer	Er meget oprørt	Radical conclusions
17	Taknemmelig for at nogen lægger billedet op	Man er sindsyg hvis man gør dyr fortræd	Er afvisende mod kunstnerens adfærd mod dyr	
18	Bliver glad	Negativ oplevelse I mødet med kvinden	'otrolig elak människa'	
19	værdsættelse	Man er ikke syg bare fordi man er anderledes	Skuffet over kunstnerens adfærd mod dyr	
20	Sanker det som årstiden byder og som findes I byen	Modsiges hinanden	Ved hvad der er sundt og ikke sundt	
21	Vil snakke med andre om oplevelsen	'at skade dyr og deres hjem er ikke sympatisk'	Et hjerte for dyr	
22		Der findes andre kulturer hvor dyr ses som redskab og dekoration	Ikke vant til at se slagting	
23		Der findes andre kulturer hvor dyr ikke ses som liv	Uklarhed om personens identitet, køn og etnicitet	
24		Behøver ikke være syg når man er sin egen	Man burde ringe til politiet	
25		Kunstnere og åndelige er eljest	Spild af mad	

26		Plejer ikke at sætte diagnoser på fremmede	Gadekontoret burde rydde op	
27		det här kände jag igen!	Offerplads hører ikke til i parker	
28		Tror på egen ekspertise	Religiøse steder hører ikke til i parker	
29		Bygger udtalelser på egen erfring	Alle kan ikke bare gøre hvad de vil i offentligheden	
30		Youtube god informationskilde	Billeder burde bruges som bevismateriale	
31		'Desværre bruges mange levende dyr på kunsten'	Gadekontoret skal informeres	
32		At plukke fjer af døde fugle og plyndre fuglereeder er det samme som at ofre levende dyr	Hun spilder mange bær	
33		'man måste erfara det för att förstå'	Man skal vise hensyn til dem der vil plukke bær	
34		Skitsofreni forudsager særegent adfærd	Vise hensyn til dem der vil lave marmelade	
35		Fravær af 'kontakt' ved øjenkontakt kendetegner skitsofreni	Vise hensyn til dem der vil lave nyponsoppa	
36		Apati i social interaktion er uhyggeligt	Vise hensyn til svenske traditioner	
37			Vise hensyn til dyrene	
38			Dyrene har brug for bær til overlevelse	
39			Dyrene har brug for vores omtanke og hensyn	
40			Når regler bliver brudt må man anmeldes	
41			Når dyr skades skal det anmeldes	
42			Duer er ikke lette at fange	